

STRONGIM LEK GEN

An evaluation of Partners with Melanesians in the Managalas Sustainable Development Project



Numba Village 1995

For Rainforest Foundation Norway

By Nancy Sullivan & Associates, October 2010 (revised April 2011)

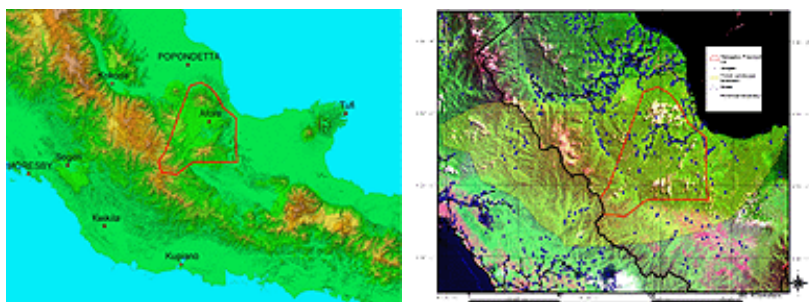
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1. Abbreviations

AusAid	Australian Overseas Aid Program
BNEA	Barai Non-Formal Literacy Association
BOD	Board of Directors
CBO	Community Based Organization
CELCOR	Centre for Environmental Law and Community Rights
CHE	Community Health Evangelism
DA	District Administrator
DEC	Department of Environment and Conservation
DOEN	Netherlands Lottery Charities
DUST	Dei Ugunumu Siribu Tabuhane Association (Zone 5)
EDA	Education Development Centre
EDC	Ese Development Association (Zone 6)
EFF	Eco Forestry Forum
ELA	Ese Literacy Association
ELC	Environmental Law Centre
FMA	Forest Management Area
GIS	Geographic Information System
GMX	Goldminex
GPS	Global Positioning System
ICAD	Integrated Conservation and Development Project
ICRAF	Individual and Community Rights Advocacy Forum
LLG	Local Level Government
LUP	Land Use Plan
MDF	Managals Development Foundation
MICAD	Maisin Integrated Conservation and Development Project
MOCP	Managals Organic Coffee Project
MP	Member of Parliament
MSDP	Managals Sustainable Development Project
MTC	Madang Teachers College
NACODA	Namiaie Community Development Association (Zone 2)
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NSA	Nancy Sullivan and Associates
PMV	Public Motor Vehicle
PwM	Partners With Melanesians
RFN	Rainforest Foundation Norway
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
TNC	The Nature Conservancy



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4. Executive Summary

This is an evaluation of the Partners with Melanesians' work in the Managalas Sustainable Development Project, with particular focus on those programs funded by Rainforest Foundation Norway. The Managalas Plateau, in Oro Province, has been aided by the Partners with Melanesians (PWM) in its conservation and development efforts since 1984, and it is on the verge of stepping out of the project now, and handing over its functions to a Managalas-based organization, Managalas Development Foundation. It's no mistake that the title of this report borrows from the report conducted ten years ago by Greg Abare, Paul Chatterton and Tialepa Samuel (Abare et al 2001). Following our terms of reference, we have tried to assess the changes between the Managalas Sustainable Development Project in 2000 and today, 2010, and especially to examine how well the first report's recommendations may have been heeded. Rather than call our follow-up *Lek istrong nau* or *Yumi sanap pinis*, suggesting all such work had been completed, and that all the old issues solved, we chose to call this *Strongim leg gen*---to imply that much still has to be done. It is our assessment that much has to be rebuilt for the project before Partners with Melanesians (PwM) can safely handover to Managalas Development Foundation [MDF], as planned.

Still, one of the important points to be made about this---as any other conservation project in Papua New Guinea (PNG)—is that there is never an end, never a 'mission accomplished' moment when people can walk away satisfied. In the Introduction and the Conclusion here we cite studies of similar projects that explain the particular politics involved in this kind of work: what scholars have come to call the 'political ecology' of Papua New Guinea (Van Helden 1998, West 2006). Much of what has transpired on the Managalas Plateau is much like issues in Crater Mountain, Bismark-Ramu, Lak, Collingwood Bay and other PNG high profile conservation projects. The chore now is to figure out how to move forward from this: how to set a precedent for successful conservation efforts in the future. We are therefore concerned that our evaluation become more than a report card, and that it is circulated as widely as possible to all stakeholders, including those on the Plateau. If it happens to misrepresent the events of the recent past, we apologize: but we also hope the discussion generates more positive changes than did the last report. It would be yet another terrible waste of precious donor funding if the recommendations and anecdotal opinions contained in this document were placed on a shelf and forgotten, or written off as too extreme.

It is our firm belief that conservation is always worth it, and that however rocky the effort, it is never wasted. Even the most difficult projects in PNG have succeeded in transforming peoples' awareness of their rainforest from being the home of spirits, and a source of limitless protein, to the most precious heirloom one generation can bequeath to the next. The simple fact is that the more time a conservation NGO spends in a target community, the more people come to value their forest. Thus, everything we say here is predicated on the assumption that the Managalas Sustainable Development Project can and will continue through a transition from Partners with Melanesians to the Managalas Development Foundation.

Summary of findings

Managalas Sustainable Development Project (MSDP) has been a success on many levels. Its main conservation objectives have been advanced, which is a considerable accomplishment. The consensus built to get to this point, twenty years on, is unparalleled elsewhere in PNG. Rainforest on the Managalas Plateau has been spared from predatory logging and other environmental threats.

But the threats still exist, and the pressure to capitulate to them appears to have escalated in the last few years. People told us in a couple of zones that they are now ready for logging and mining, they have had enough of conservation with no visible benefits to their lifestyle. Sentiments like these are ever-present in conservation projects, and constitute the most serious threats to their sustainability. The implication is that once the NGO(s) and their programs disappear, so too will the rainforest. But as part of the predictability of these projects, some policy needs to exist that will constantly address such threats. The best buffer is always rainforest literacy, which, over time, can convince the disgruntled that their best interests lie in conservation after all. But more fundamentally, the consensus building process needs to include awareness of the NGO's limitations and the fact that they are facilitators, not benefactors. Where we heard these comments we also learned that the PwM team had rarely come around to visit, and certainly had made little effort to explain their efforts on that zone's behalf. Negligence has an enormous price in conservation.

The levels on which PwM has not been successful are predictable, but not insoluble. There are political problems, organizational problems, and gender equity problems. These are all related. It appears that the nepotism and *wantokism* that clogs the wheels on the community level has also come to plague the office in Port Moresby. Understandably, the MOCP project officer who brought down that project and almost the entire NGO, Paul Konia, has now been fired and the staff rebuilt. But part of the collateral damage of that issue was the retirement of Paul's wife, Ruth, who played an important role both in the office and as a role model for women in the field. In addition, the project itself has not been recorded thoroughly, so has yet to be resolved in the minds of Plateau villagers. As a result, a real spike in the anti-Highlands sentiment can be heard everywhere we traveled, with people attributing the misdemeanors of Paul to all Highlanders, and therefore expressing their bigoted distrust of the current Executive Director, Kenn Mondiai. The fear on the ground is that monies intended for the Plateau project are being misdirected to the new highlands projects, and that PwM is no longer dedicated to Oro. The prevalence of misinformation on the ground reflects very poor communication and transparency on the part of PwM. However many *toksaves* have been conducted, they have clearly not been enough.

On the other hand, the success of the Tok Pisin literacy program is remarkable. Such is the Tok Pisin fluency on the Plateau that it now seems even more important to introduce English language training. Now that SIL has left the Plateau, however, there is a dramatic drop off in interest and application.

Communication has been important to the project for its absence. Charters and vehicles are expensive, which has kept the travel from Port Moresby to the Plateau down recently. But the lack of telephone or radio communication has been even more subversive. Telephone access can hardly be attributed to the Partner's negligence (although it can be argued that a campaign to bring Digicel or Bemobile towers would have been very important to the project), but radio communication seems to be a service PwM promised, then provided, and ultimately abandoned for various technical and perhaps financial reasons. As a result, the lack of communication has exacerbated the frustrations of people in virtually all zones. Many of the sociopolitical problems that have emerged in the last couple of years could have been dissipated by regular radio communication between the office and the field. This is a vital link that needs to be established now.

The roll of programs and legal battles has been poorly scheduled. It is our assessment that the legal status of the zone should have been established before some of the projects began. Conservation status has not been established, and twenty years later certain zones are ready to invite resource developers instead. We believe that the legal status of the plateau should have come well before most of the entrepreneurial programs.



At the village level only selected participants take part in programs and this approach can encourage biased selection, undermining the objectives of full participation. The level of involvement and interest has been reduced in the recent years and one of the contributing factors is the repetition of program activities. One interviewee commented called it: "awareness, awareness and no action." Awareness and training without appropriate technologies/materials has

come to look like a con game for the villagers. Most of zones are not currently benefiting from the programs. This has led people to call PwM lazy or disinterested—even incapable or unwilling to walk to distant zones like 4, 9 and 10.

There are a lot of conflicts, misunderstandings, and rumours circulating across the Plateau. Our impression is that these have increased in the past two or three years. People tell us that staff are being paid for not performing, both at the CBO and the NGO level. This perception will affect the sustainability of the conservation effort because it will erode consensus over time. To keep the project viable, PwM and MDF must urgently resolve their difference and allow cooperation to prevail. Only then can the two skill sets combine to preserve the project.

Women are pleased to take part in program activities and have not been as systematically denied power as was the case leading up to the 2001 evaluation. A number of women have joined CBOs and there are more women on the Boards than before. But it is a long road to gender parity in the western sense, and cannot be forced upon PNG communities of the

women themselves. A better approach to gender parity would be to focus on their economic needs as separate from those of the menfolk, and to establish microfinance and training programs restricted to women alone. The new Gender Officer for MDF must also make rounds to all the zones—this is crucial, as women everywhere feel neglected.

The following are our major recommendations. The data upon which they are based is spelled out and discussed in the body of the report.

*Note that this is a revised version of the report, amended to reflect suggestions and criticisms from stakeholders at a workshop session with PwM 22-26 November 2010. See Section 10 for details of that workshop.

5. Introduction

This report is an outcome of the participatory evaluation carried out between 7 July and 7 August, 2010, on behalf of RFN, PwM's main donor. One external evaluator was engaged by

RFN, namely Nancy Sullivan. She used a team of 10 local evaluators to help her carry out the evaluation. The evaluation aims to benefit both PwM and RFN. For PwM, it provides an opportunity for reflection on its work, project outcomes and impacts on the Managalas, and as a basis for future directions. For RFN it provides an opportunity to get important insight to the project which can be essential for improving the project management. The evaluation focuses on the period 2001-2010, and especially on RFN-supported projects and activities.

The last evaluation report for the Managalas Conservation Project was carried out in 2000 and the final report was compiled and presented in January 2001. *Strongim Lek* highlighted key findings and issues of urgent need of attention. For example, community participation in terms of contribution and support towards the programs were minimal or non-existent and recommendations were made on how to address it. Part of our task now is to see what has been the follow-up to *Strongim Lek* in the past 10 years.

Purpose and Objectives

As per the **Terms of Reference**, the purposes of the evaluation are as follows:

- a. To document and learn from past and current activities and achievements of PwM. The main focus will be core activities supported by RFN in the period 2001 – 2010, since the last evaluation.
- b. To assist PwM to evaluate the legitimacy, trust, relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, participation and sustainability of their main programs supported by RFN. This should also include an assessment of program management systems and relationships with donors, partners and stakeholders. The evaluation is thus a tool to monitor and keep track of the progress of the project and evaluate their successes and failures.
- c. To identify issues and suggest steps for further improvement and especially identify areas for strengthening and improvement. A special emphasis should be put on examining the follow-ups of the recommendations of the last evaluation.

The report is structured as follows: background information is provided for the MSDP, PwM and the MDF, as well as a table showing the 28 Priorities identified in the 1997 Combined Forum and still discussed on the Plateau today. This is followed by a description of our methodology. The demographic particulars of our respondents are then shown in graphs and discussed. We then provide a number of excerpts from 12 of our interviews, to represent the voices of people in the office and in the field. These are not wholly representative of the Plateau, but they express important points that are taken up later in the report. This is followed by a summary of our meeting with the MDF staff, and a discussion of the PwM financial reports. We then provide analysis of the important survey findings, and then brief discussions of individual PwM programs. A discussion of all the main issues comes next, and is followed by our conclusion and our recommendations. The recommendations come in two forms: both Plateau-wide, and specific to each zone. After the references and first two appendices, some of the details of our zone-by-zone data collection are included in the final appendix.

There are some holes in our analysis, however.

Only nine (zones 1-9) of the ten zones were visited. Zone 10 was not visited because the MDF and the CBO manager/activity coordinator for the zone failed to turn up to take the team to the villages. The oversight is a function of poor communication on many levels and indicates how remote and neglected these villages truly are.

We also had some difficulties getting access to program plans and reports. Nor could we find a single narrative assessment in the tens of documents that PwM supplied to us. This does not seem to reflect a reluctance to be transparent with us, as we had fairly free access to all players by interview and phone. But we could never get a response to requests for narrative assessments since the 2001 report. Indeed, as a team member represents the problem below, our limited records review was an inhibiting factor not only in our terms of reference, but also in the final conclusions of our report.



Henson Sinoma b 1946 and Doris Sinomu, Deobe clan, Itokama: some of the last full body tattoos on the Plateau

6. Background

The Managalas Sustainable Development Project

The Managalas Sustainable Development Project (MSDP) is the result of many years of hard work by Partners' staff and CBO leaders. Hardworking CBO leaders like Brian Kasira, currently the Consensus Building Coordinator, are the backbone of the project. Like any conservation project, it has had its evolutionary ups and downs. Conserving of the environment has been the primary objective, supported by programs like rainforest literacy, education and awareness, eco-enterprise and sustainable livelihoods.

Community Based Organizations (CBOs) were established to decentralize responsibilities and encourage capacity building in different aspects across the Plateau. Each zone now has a CBO. The first was established in zone 1, and as the project expanded to zones 2, 3 and elsewhere, so too have the CBOs. The MCP now covers a total of 10 zones and a population of 17,000+ people, with 10 IPA-registered CBOs. In 2002 MDF was formally registered with IPA too. Each of these 11 organizations has a management team and is governed by a Board of Trustees.

Prior to the establishment of MDF, Partners with Melanesians was working directly with the CBOs, but they eventually formed an umbrella organization for all the 10 CBOs which is now called Melanesian Development Foundation.

"A central plank of the Managalas strategy," says the original *Strongim Lek* report (Abare et al 2001:20), "is to establish a process of discussion and agreement at a clan, zone and regional level. The program is based on the clan as the basic unit of organization...The consensus building process works at three levels of clan, culture area or 'zone' and subdistrict. It seeks to ensure regular informed debate on key issues that starts with families, rises to clans, is then brought to zones and from there can lead to discussions at combined forum where all zones are represented. Three levels of consensus must be reached on an issue at any level before it can progress to the next level up. At each level, written information is provided in the vernacular language by the local literacy associations based on materials prepared by Partners."

Partners with Melanesians (PwM)

Partners with Melanesians Inc, was established in 1984 as a non-profit (Reg No 5-896) organization with a focus on the Managalas Plateau of Oro Province. The Managalas Plateau continues to be the primary concern of PwM 24 years later, although it has recently established two more interest zones in Enga and Eastern Highlands Province. The PwM mission statement explains that the NGO “is committed to establishing and promoting conservation, community development and eco-enterprise initiatives through education and consensus building programs that encourage equal participation and self-reliance.” It’s hard-won lessons in conservation management on the Plateau which have recently allowed PwM to expand its mandate to include two new projects, one in Ona-keto, Daulo District, Eastern Highlands Province, and another in Karamui, Chimbu Province.

Core Programs

In order to achieve its vision and mission statement PwM developed strategies, as follows:

1. For Conservation and Eco-forestry – the goal is “to produce materials and conduct awareness on biodiversity conservation and sustainable forest management”;
2. To build Consensus on Sustainable Forest Management – the goal is “to build consensus and support on sustainable forest management towards locally owned eco-forestry project”;
3. For consensus building, awareness, education, information and training – the goal is “to ensure there is prior informed consent on any community project/program or activity within the area”;
4. For the Eco-enterprise Support Program – the goal is “to provide support for alternative income generating activities in the area”;
5. For the Appropriate Technology Support Program – the goal is “affordable technology at village level in the area”;
6. And for Capacity Building for MDF Staff – the goal is “to equip MDF and CBOs to independently and sustainably run as organizations”.

In order to build the capacity of MDF and the CBOs in the plateau, a set of programs have been developed. These are the *training program, governance program, the administration program, and the fund raising and finances program*. Together with the strategies listed above, these elements comprise the strategic plan for 2007 – 2011.

All funding for PwM has come from overseas donors, with its major sponsor being Rainforest Foundation Norway. Over the years PwM has also developed procedures to ensure that accountability and transparency prevails in its dealings with donors.

The Program Manager is responsible for program matters with the support from each program leaders. On the administration level, the Accountant and the support staff ensure that proper procedures are followed. The Board ensures that there is good governance, and issues directives on major organizational matters.

Managalas Development Foundation (MDF)

MDF was established in 2001 to continue and run the project when PwM leaves. Damien Ase, the Executive Director and Principal Lawyer of CELCOR, and other prominent individuals were instrumental in setting this up as a sub-district-wide NGO. The focus of MDF is environmental awareness, community organizing, capacity building/training, and economic development. MDF is a replicate of PwM.

MDF now runs an office at Afore Station, mainly for administrative purposes. All program staff are based in their own localities. The office setup includes a computer, printer, a two-way (VHF) radio and a generator. The office in Afore station is also used as the field office for the Eastern Zones, while the previous office in Itokama is used as the field office for the Western Zones.

The Vision of the organization is: "A peaceful and self-reliant communal society living in harmony with the nature." The Mission statement of MDF is:

To strengthen the community

- Participation and ownership through coordination of programs that
- Promote self-reliance, education and sustainable livelihood, while
- Maintaining cultural heritage and conserving the natural resources

The overall **Goal** for MDF is to strengthen the work of community based organizations, and build the capacity of people to take a holistic approach to managing and using their natural resources on the Managalas Plateau, to meet the needs of the people while conserving it for the benefit of future generations.

Program Activities

Listed below are six (6) program activities MDF intends to implement:

1. Training – the goal is "To strengthen and build the capacity of MDF and CBOs through training."
2. Awareness – the goal is "To build the capacity of MDF to carry out effective awareness programs."
3. Gender and Development – the goal is "To make sure that women fully participate in the project."
4. Resource Inventory – the goal is "To develop and maintain an inventory of resources to assist the work of MDF."
5. Networking – the goal is "To strengthen working relationships with all stakeholders."
6. Governance – the goal is "To strengthen the management capacity and working relation amongst all stakeholders."

MDF is governed by its constitution and has a Board of Trustees; but the ongoing programs are implemented by program staff with the support from administrative staff. According to the

constitution, Board membership is reserved for the CBO chairman of each zone. MDF staff is limited to people from the Plateau.

The Managalas Sustainable Development Project (MSDP)

The Managalas Sustainable Development Project (otherwise referred to as the Managalas Sustainable Development Area Program—see Abare et al 2001:11) was established in 1997 as the major project of Partners with Melanesians. Its mission is to meet the social and economic needs of the people on the Managalas Plateau while sustainably developing the biological resources of the Plateau and its mountain periphery (Ibid). Secondly, it aims to maximize local involvement in community-based projects dedicated to sustainable development and resource conservation.

The MSDP Management structure is represented as follows:

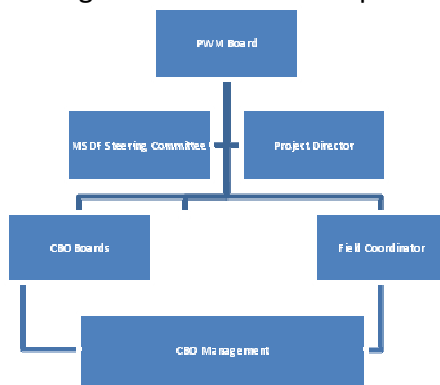


Figure 1 : MSDP Management Structure (from Abare et al 2001:14)

During the same Combined NGO Forum of 1997 that instantiated the MSDP, a list of priorities was drawn up to function, it is assumed, as a road map to the development of the Plateau.

Table 1: The 28 Priorities

<p>1. Acquisition of transport for the project on the plateau SBDC loan, subsidize individual to buy car Paul Konia?</p>	<p>2. Road maintenance to keep a thoroughfare for the project Provincial government support, seek donor support, locals work under engineer supervision World Vision?</p>	<p>3. Establishment of wholesale on the Plateau Each zone to have a wholesale, communities assist individuals who have vehicles to establish</p>	<p>4. Project assistance for the women of the Plateau To organize workshops, CAA funding for women's activities, women to be involved in new phases (expansion and wholesale) Sewing, soap making</p>
<p>5. Project assistance for the church TCDP to help with church community projects, EDC help source donors, church official attend workshops, participation in radio and newsletter projects</p>	<p>6. Hospital on the Plateau Office to submit project to provincial govt for funding</p>	<p>7. Training for CBO staff and management Staff training commence this year as money available</p>	<p>8. Doctors to be based on the Plateau Training for APO for time being -2 in Itokama and 2 in Numba, office to help get doctors on plateau regularly</p>
<p>9. Wokabaut sawmill BNES has the old engine which needs to be fixed, Once fixed training should be conducted</p>	<p>10. Telephone/communication in each zone AUSAID/NZHC sponsored radio-telephone, CB radio relays to existing phones</p>	<p>11. How to organize and sell coffee All coffee to be sold to the buyers on plateau, later sold together; awareness to be conducted re buying and selling Paul Konia</p>	<p>12. Each zone to market their own produce Need for cooperation w marketing, need to source new products for each zone to manage</p>
<p>13. FM radio for the plateau EDC Washington to seek funding for project</p>	<p>14. Financial assistance for the projects EDC to approach provincial govt, office to seek donors</p>	<p>15. Airstrip maintenance Engineer to advise on improving airstrips, AHC assistance</p>	<p>16. Price for produce on the Plateau must be improved Office to source new markets, combined efforts to bring best price, greater awareness on project cost in setting prices</p>
<p>17. How to</p>	<p>18. Organize literacy</p>	<p>19. Coffee mills on</p>	<p>20. Micro-</p>

<p>improve the education system Approach PNG Trust for literacy training, liaise with education officer for regular visits to plateau schools, identify individuals with skills for potential assistance and training</p>	<p>programs on the Plateau Approach PNG Trust for literacy training, EDC to seek training avenues</p>	<p>the Plateau Small scale coffee mills in each zone to come from prospective hydro power</p>	<p>hydro Project UN team to come for feasibility study in July, each zone should identify individuals to be trained in power projects</p>
<p>21. Identification of land boundaries Damien Ase and project staff to move forward on project</p>	<p>22. Water supply for each zone Provincial govt sponsored piped water for each zone, seek outside donors</p>	<p>23. How to manage land use Approach Damien on how to deal with OCP and other entities working on the plateau</p>	<p>24. Vocational center on the plateau EDC to approach Peace Corps, EDC to approach the National Education Dept for licensing info, EDC to talk with NVS</p>
<p>25. Police post on the Plateau Work to establish a reserve police post, each zone w reserve policeman</p>	<p>26. Insect farming EDC to seek markets</p>	<p>27. Equipment to assist material production EDC Washington on approaching World Bank</p>	<p>28. Bank agency on the Plateau Approach banking agency about establishing satellite office</p>

We have looked at these priorities closely, and they are discussed throughout this report. In this table, we have rated the items according to what may be considered currently important. Those with yellow highlights are still **very important**, and those with red type and yellow highlights we rank as **most important**.

7. Methodology

This evaluation team used a number of methods to collect data. Qualitative or ethnographic data was collected using participatory methods such as community dialoging, flexible conversation and timeline, and conventional approaches like in-depth interviews.

Whilst the qualitative methods were useful in collecting rich data for the evaluation, qualitative data alone does not reflect the breath of success or failures of the project so, beneficiaries' perceptions and experiences were gathered through a questionnaire survey. This provides better understanding of the achievements and shortfalls of the project.

The evaluation team has reviewed the written documentation available, including reports, plans and finance statements provided by PWM.

Community dialoging

A community meeting was convened in all the villages where a researcher and assistant facilitated the meeting. The meeting was spaced where every attendee had the chance to voice their concerns and experiences of the conservation project. Women and youths, including children were encouraged to speak their minds and in doing so they gave their perceptions of performance of MDF and Partners. In most instances, men dominated most discussions. This is a reflection of the magnitude of marginalization of women in the workshops and training run by both the MDF and Partners in their programs.

Outside of formal interview context casual interactions with the people, particularly those in leadership roles like church clergy, village leaders, youth leaders, teachers and other public servants. Very useful information was obtained through this approach.

Timeline

A session with MDF staff involved creating a timeline for the whole project. All the events plotted in timeline were memories or recollections of those who involved in the project from the very beginning in the likes of Luke and Douglas. Other staff of MDF also contributed. Time line was used to capture the history of the project visually. It helps us understand the achievements and failures of the project.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews are a conventional ethnographic method for eliciting detailed information on particular subjects, and for exploring case studies. We conducted in-depth interviews with key informants and stakeholders on issues from program history and content to Plateau politics. This included all the staff in PWM, NGOs, local level government and former PWM staff.

Stakeholder interviews

Stakeholder interviews (with some overlap of in-depth interviews) give vital information of any project, and can lead an evaluation like this into important new directions. Stakeholders generally have specialized information on their field and provide privilege insight into an issue

or dimension of a project. In this case, representatives from organizations such as the Environmental Law Centre (ELC), The Nature Conservancy (TNC), government and the churches were all interviewed.

Survey

A questionnaire survey was conducted in nine (zone 1-9) of the ten zones, with a total of 253 respondents.

Informed consent

Written consent in English was read and translated into Tok Pisin. All participants of the survey understood the nature and purpose of the evaluation and agreed to participate by signing or putting a mark on the consent form.

Anonymity

In most cases, respondents to the survey and interview questions were happy to provide their names. For the purpose of the report, however, we have elected to publish only those names of key informants.



8. Demographics

Site location

Nine of the ten zones (zones 1-9) were visited. Zone 10 was not visited because the MDF and the CBO manager/activity coordinator for the zone failed to turn up to take the team to the villages. The oversight is a function of poor communication on many levels and indicates how remote and neglected these villages truly are. Fulfilling the program and visitation needs of zone 10 therefore represents the highest possible achievement for PwM and MDF in terms of stakeholder relations and consensus.

For the zones that were visited between 1 and 4 villages in each participated in the evaluation. Apart from the villages, people living in Afore government station also participated in the evaluation. One village refused to participate in the evaluation process when visited. The villagers reasoned that Partners and MDF had done nothing so there was no need for an evaluation.

Recruitment of informants

The participants of the survey were all from the conservation impact zones. Community based organization (CBO) workers; employees of MDF and PwM were automatically part of the evaluation. Board members of MDF and PwM were also asked to participate. In addition, other stakeholders, including the church and local level and district level government were invited to give their input. Complimenting this, sister NGOs including Environmental Law Centre (ELC), Centre for Environmental Law and Community Rights (CELCOR), Eco Forestry Forum (EFF) and The Nature Conservancy (TNC) were invited to participate.

Geographical and gender divide

The majority of the participants were from the eastern side of the Plateau 56.9% (n=144) whilst 43.1% (n=109) were from the western side of the plateau. Of the 144 participants from the eastern division, 70.8% (n=102) were males and 29.2 (n=42) were females. While for the western division, male participants constituted 55% (n=60) and 45% (n=49) were females.

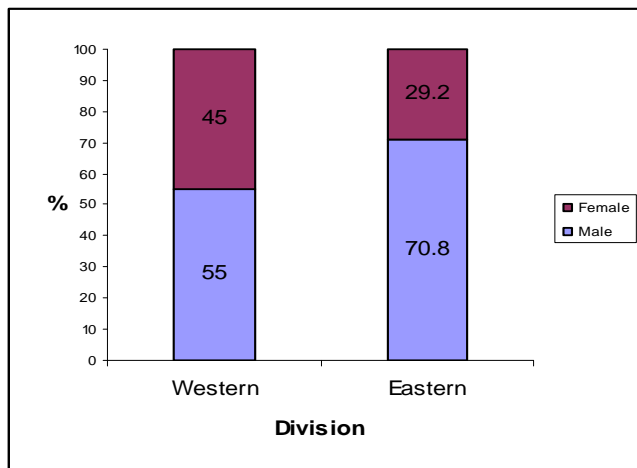
Zones

Ninety percent of the zones participated in the evaluation (zones 1 to 9). Zone 10 was excluded because of lack of cooperation by MDF and CBO staff to help the evaluation team to get there.

Table 2: Recruitment by zone, Managalas 2010

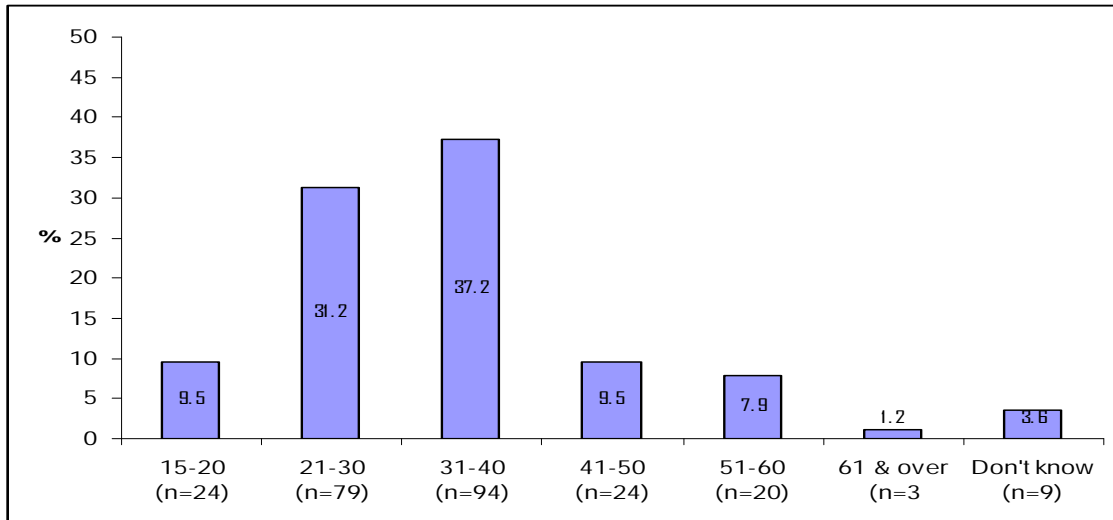
Zone of recruitment	Frequency	Percentage
1	31	12.3
2	28	11.1
3	27	10.7
4	23	9.1
5	34	13.4
6	19	7.5
7	36	14.2
8	28	11.1
9	27	10.7
Total	253	100

Table 3: Gender distribution



Of the 253 study participants, the majority or 64% (n=162) were males and 36% (n=91) were females. There were more female participants from the western division, 45% (n=49) compared to eastern division with only 29.2% (n=42).

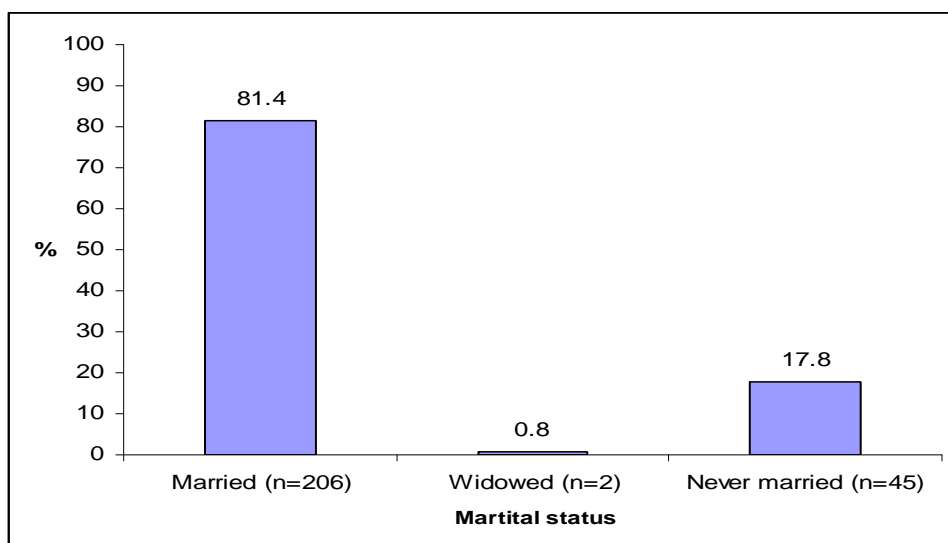
Table 4: Age distribution, Managalas 2010: percentage of total respondents, by age groups and actual numbers (n)



The majority of the participants in this sample were aged 31-40 followed by the age group 21-30. Together they consist 68.4% which is more than two thirds of the total participants. The age group 15-20 consist only 9.5% (n=24) which interestingly is the same as age group 41-50. Although there is no significant statistical correlation, the younger and older age groups are often marginalized in development programs, as in this the conservation project.

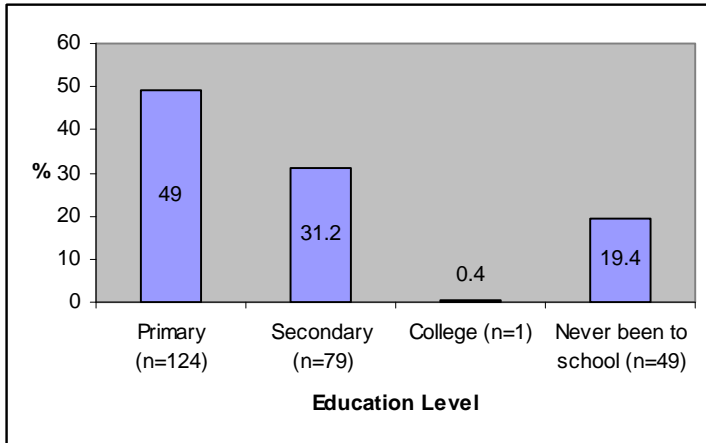
Table 5: Marital status

More than three quarters (81.4%) of the study participants are married whilst nearly a quarter (17.8%) of them never married. Less than 1% of the participants were widowed. There was no



case of divorce recorded. This does not in any way imply that there are no divorces in the Plateau.

Table 6: Education level



Almost half (49%) of the participants has completed primary school, whilst one third (31.2%) has completed secondary school. Only 0.4% (n=1) of the participants has been to college. 19.4% have no formal education at all.

There is a significant difference between the level of education for men and women. More males than females have attained primary education (68.5% compared to 31.5%), as well as secondary education (79.7% compared to 20.3%).

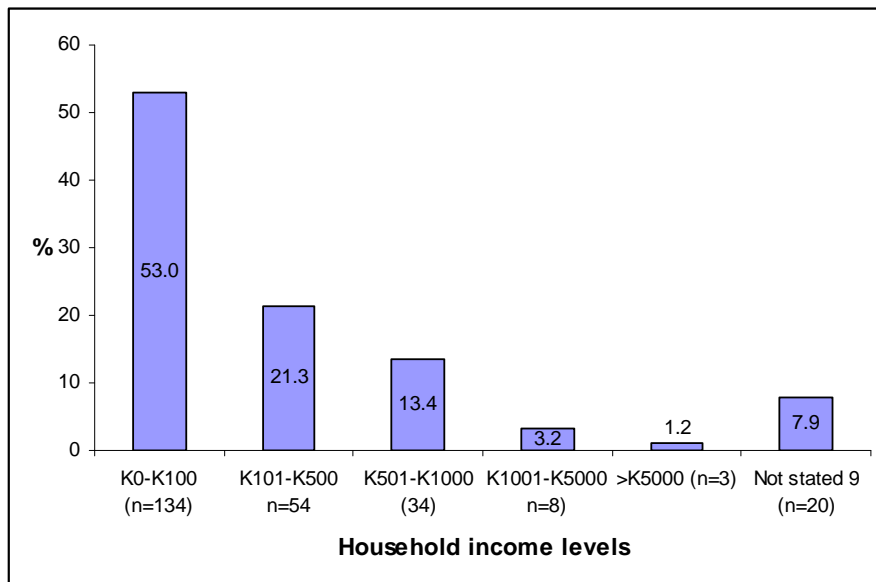


Table 7: Household income

More than half of the participants' annual household incomes are very low, that is, between K0-K100 per year. One quarter of the households have an income between K101-K500 a year. These two income groups together make up the vast majority of the participants (74.3%). Very few, (3.2%) have a

household income between K1001-K5000. Only 1.2% of the households earn more than K5000 a year.

Like ten years ago, the single largest employer on the Plateau is the MSDP. When trade stores and the MOCP were operational, these jobs would have been considerably more varied, and the number of self-employed would also have been higher.

Table 8: Religion

There are two religions in the plateau. The main religion is Christianity with over 90% and the remaining 9.9% is Bahai. The majority of the participants are Anglican (47%), followed by Renewal (16.2%), Seventh Day Adventist (12.3%) and CRC 9.1%. We did not, however, find that religion had much influence on people’s perceptions of PwM or MDF.

Religion (Denomination)	No. of participants	Percent
Christianity	230	90.9
Anglican	119	47.0
Renewal	41	16.2
Seven Day Adventist	31	12.3
CRC	23	9.1
Revival	9	3.6
Four Square	3	1.2
Salvation Army	2	0.8
Lutheran	1	0.4
Jehovah Witness	1	0.4
Bahai	23	9.1
Total	253	100

9. Other stakeholder data

Meeting with Managalas Development Foundation

Meeting attendants: The evaluation team (all 9 members) and MDF staff

All the MDF staff was present for the meeting at the school, except Mr. Bryan Kasira (reasons unknown) and Ms. Filma Arore (due to breakdown of the vehicle from Afore).

First a timeline was drawn by Mr. Kritoe Keleba (see Figure 3 below) to see when this conservation project started and what has happened since. Then the ups and downs of each program were discussed, listing these as achievements gained and problems or challenges faced, respectively.

Programs

- **Consensus building**
 - To obtain ideas, views and suggestions, as well as identifies types of activities or programs to be implemented in the villages. It is a bottom – up planning process where the organisation (MDF) collects or obtains these ideas and suggestions and identifies activities from the people in the villages during the meetings and forums and draws up its yearly plans.
 - Discussion making process
 - Community entry approach and visioning

How: The MDF facilitates, trains and monitors while the facilitators and the CBOs implement at the community or village levels.

Facilitation process:

- **Clan group discussions**

A clan leader from respective clans in the villages conduct clan discussions with their clans members before presenting at the zone forums. They discuss issues or problems affecting the clans, and identify alternative ways to find solutions, including what types of projects they should implement or carry out as a clan. Most items discussed are concerning the clan.

- **Zone forums**

At these forums, all the clan representatives, facilitators and the CBOs attend and talk about the issues of the zone, considering the issues raised by each clan from the respective villages. The clan representatives are the clan spoke person. During the forums, the participants choose a zone representative who will then talk on their behalf at the combine zone forum.

- **Combined forums**

These forums are usually held at a particular village in a zone where all the zone representatives, zone chairmen, the CBOs, all the MDF staff and the representatives from PwM attend. The zone reps and the certain individuals who wish to talk air their views also attend. The concerns are taken note by the MDF staff.

- **MDF meeting**

After listening to concerns, complaints, views, ideas and suggestions of the people at the combine zone forums, MDF hold meetings and come to resolutions, find alternative means of tackling the problems. Here they make priorities of what activities to do and what projects to implement and submit to PwM. The problems/ activities are listed in the order of priorities.

- **PwM meetings**

The Executive Director chairs these meetings and discusses what has been presented to them with his staff before including these prioritised activities, programs and projects into their yearly plan. The activity plan for the year is then given back to the CBOs to implement at the village level, while the activities to be implemented by MDF are given to them with a copy sent to the donor for funding. The MDF and CBOs implement the identified priorities respectively upon receiving the funds (see figure 2 below).

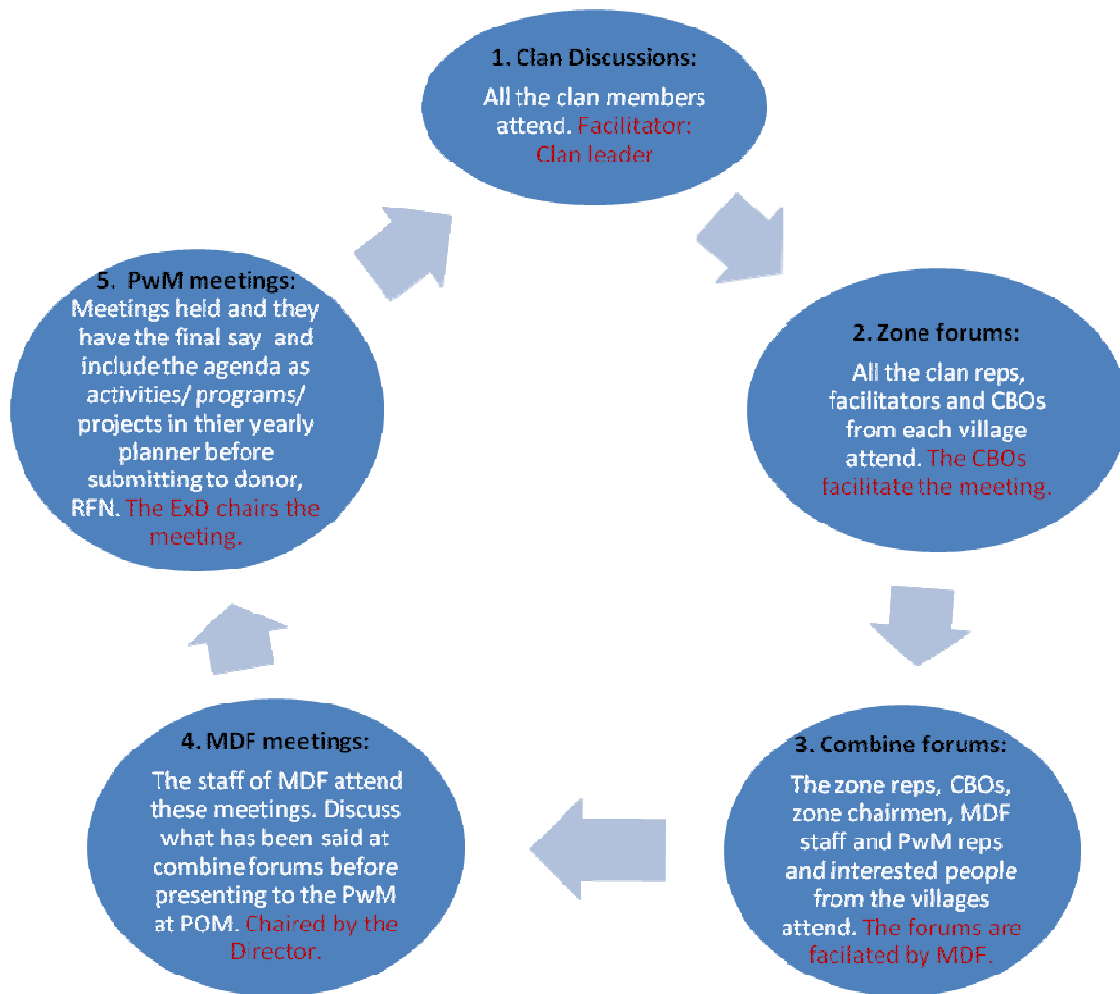
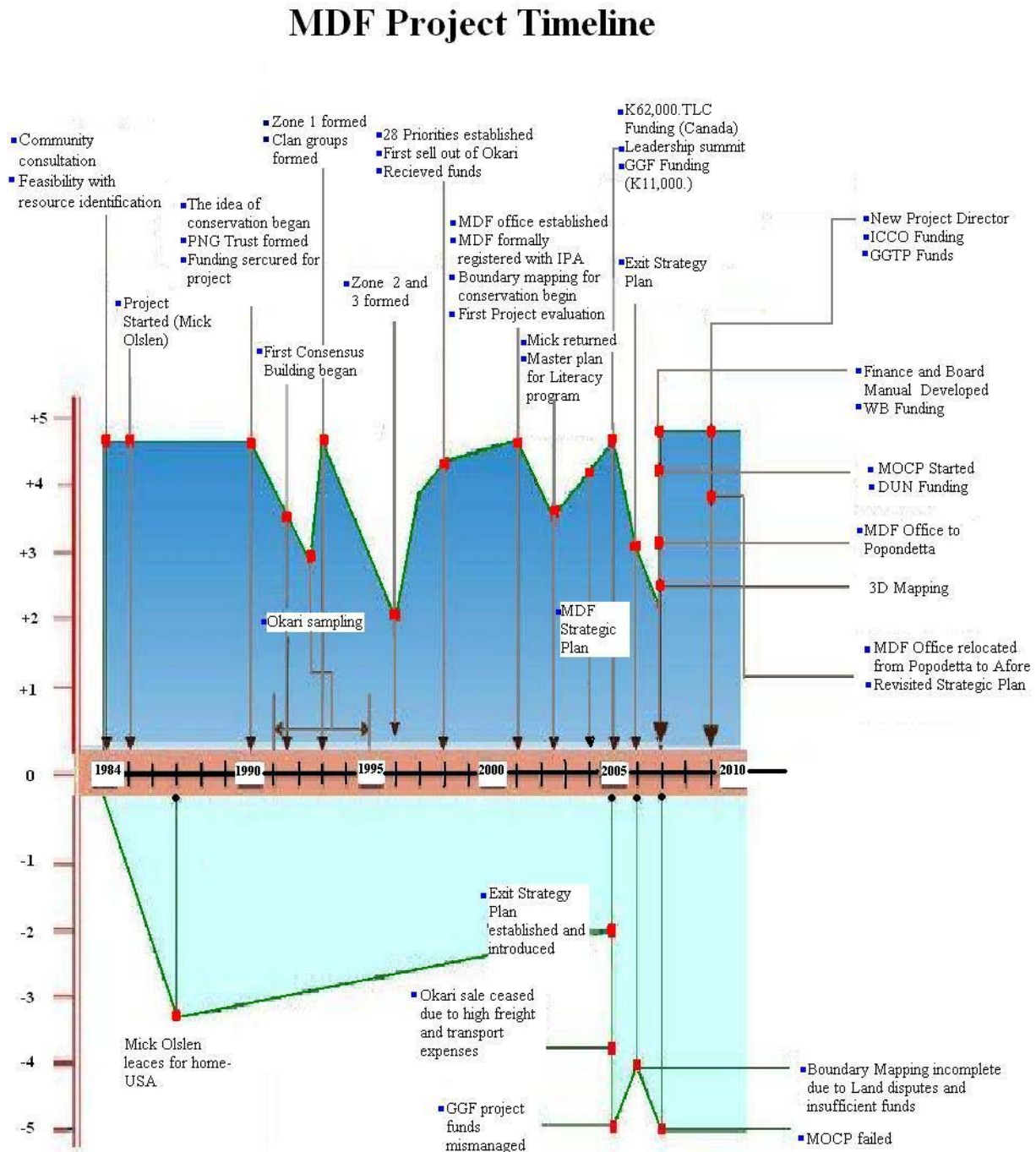


Fig 2: Consensus building cycle

Figure 3: MDF Project Timeline



Key Findings from meeting with MDF

Key findings/ opinions	zones
<p>no trust for MDF staff.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • misuse of funds • lack of know how, experiences and necessary qualifications • mdf staff lazy and incompetent to perform responsible duties • programs not completed • conservation project taken so long • most mdf staff have served for so long • bids staffing of MDF – concerns in the east of the project area • majority has no trust for mdf staff • most people expressed that ED should quit his job • MDF office and services inaccessibility due to its location • women do not trust male MDF staff and call for a women to represent their interests <p>effects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lack of cooperation • loosing interest to participate in the project • opting into large scale unsustainable/enclave development ie mining as in zone 9,4.(in zone 4 a clan has expressed interest to participate)-- threat to conservation 	<p>1-9</p>
<p>Behavior of Staff of MDF</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • not reliable due to mismanagement and funds misuse syndromes • not equal in project developments to cbo areas • bias in recruiting staff • defensive in admitting mdf successes and opportunities for change • reluctant in relinquishing their positions for change 	
<p>accessibility of mdf office and services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • relocate office to central location • VHF radios needed to be installed (more emphasis was on the remoteness and isolation • some people are not happy when MDF office moved to Afore • zone 7,6,8, MDF happy with office at Afore. 	<p>3,2,5, 4,9,3 1,2</p>
<p>Participation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • little participation by youths and women. • little involvement by male youths 	

Strongim Lek Gen Nancy Sullivan and Assoc 2010

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • clan leaders are isolated in decision making process (eg:MOCP). • majority do not benefit from the program which is because • high illiteracy hindering participation • remoteness/ isolation impedes program implementation. • MDF/PwM staff lazy to walk too far to work in furthest zones like 4,9,10 • repetition of programs reduce interest • only selected participants take part in the programs/workshops/trainings – the approach encourages the selection bias selection of participants thus undermining participation approach which imperative (for conservation project) • programs implemented are not supported with resources to continue (eg: sewing, cooking, baking, soap making) 	<p>3-10</p> <p>3 (the opposite in 5)</p>
<p>Management (A)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • some staff lack management and skills but it has been also identified lack of or no consistent incentives that give them the drive to work and perform accordingly. • unable or doubt MDF unable to manage the project after PwM withdraws • Misuse or mismanagement of organizations resources (eg. MOCP Vehicle). • incentives misused by MDF/CBOs. • misuse of project materials , assets and funds . eg. Traditional Learning Centre. • misuse of program funds for personal use. eg. Douglas, Luke. • all need professional training and education. • improper or disordered management system (general setup, filing, • lack of basic office equipment. eg. petty cash box/safe. • lack of financial management capacity • incapable to independently source funds without PMW <p>Management (B) (Management of Projects by PwM)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MOCP failed • mishandled consensus building program –thus developing 28 priorities which now seen as ‘Empty Promise’. • 	<p>3,</p> <p>View of MDF</p>
<p>Inconsistency of program (eg. Rainforest Literacy program)</p>	

10. Evaluation workshop and revision

Most of the MDF and PwM staff were interviewed during the study [evaluation period] by Dr. Samiak, Critor Keleba and Thomas Warr upon returning from Managalas. They spent two days in POM interviewing them while the rest of the team returned back to Madang.

So I [Graham] decided to interview those who were not interviewed by the trio. I arrived on Wednesday morning for the workshop and was busy with the evaluation workshop so the interviews were conducted on Friday afternoon, at the end of the workshop. I made an appointment with Mrs. Ruth Konia, Mr. Paul Konia, Mr. Simon Sovaiko [former PwM Director] and Mr. Ken Mondia [current Director], who said he wanted to say few more comments than he had before.

On Friday afternoon, I started my interview with Ruth, and was supposed to interview Paul after, but Paul started waiting for me while I was interviewing Ruth, but then left, saying that he had another appointment. After Ruth, I interviewed Mr. Simon Sovaiko. Mr. Mondia left during the workshop in the morning and promised that he be interviewed in the afternoon after finishing with Ruth, Simon and Paul. I waited for him in the afternoon but he did not come. I then phoned him and he apologized to me and made an appointment with me at 7pm that evening for interview at the guest house where I was residing. I waited for him that evening but he never came. So I flew back to Madang the next day at 10am.

Only two MDF staff that came from Managalas to attend the workshop. They were Crispin and Douglas, the Chairman, but they had already been interviewed by the team in the field.

Interviews with Ruth and Simon are included in the Appendix.

Managalas Plateau Evaluation Workshop notes

22-26 November 2010

Attending: Kenn Mondia, Rufus, Nick PWM, Chris Konia, Mana, Jacinta, Robin

MDF: Luke Mambe and Crispin

Ruth ,Graham, Afore LLG Pres Douglas Garawa

Date: 22nd to 26th November 2010

Venue: Holiday Inn, Port Moresby

[I (Graham) from NSA joined the workshop on Wednesday at 9am].

What Nancy Sullivan and Associates (NSA) should do:

- Interview current and former staff
- Also board members
- Comments by staff to be annexed

- Questionnaires and list of interviewees to be annexed
- PwM accept negative comments. NSA to include positive to balance the report
- Differentiate between different projects to the main project

- Indicate/illustrate program management systems and relationships with donors, partners and stakeholders – Include the illustration of the Operational Structure (PwM and MDF, PwM and MDF with CBOS, PwM with Donors)
- A stand alone recommendation section - Summary Recommendation at the end of the report.
- NSA to provide to PwM the edited 3rd version to proof read for accuracy and consistency before finalization.

Interviews:

The interviews of the staff were done except Mr. Ken Mondia and Mr. Paul Konia. An appointment was made with Paul for an interview on Friday at noon but on this time, I was interviewing the wife, Ruth. He waited and at 1pm went for another appointment. I was unable to interview him. For Ken, he made an appointment with me for interview at 7pm on Friday 26 but did not attend though I was waiting for him. Otherwise, I interviewed whom I thought I should. The interviews are to be transcribed.

Comments and Questionnaires:

The PwM suggested and wanted if the comments from the staff of Partners and MDF with the questionnaires and the list of names of the interviewees be included at the back or end of the report as annexes. And not in the content of the report.

Comments on the report:

The team (PwM and MDF) acknowledged the NSA team for the job well done for doing a critical evaluation. They said that NSA really pin pointed the areas that they have not implemented. But what they urged was for NSA to include some of the positive comments on what the two organisations (PwM and MDF) have done as most of the things mentioned in the report were the negative points. They strongly believed that in the last years of been with the people, they at least have done some good things. NSA has to include positive comments to balance the report. They also requested NSA to differentiate between the different programs and projects between the main projects. The 3rd edited report should be submitted to PwM for proof read, accuracy and consistency before finalization.

Proposed structure of the report:

1. Executive Summary
2. Introduction
3. Background
 - a. MCAP, MDF, PwM etc. And also elaborate on the system and operational structure and include a diagram in the annexure.
4. Methodology
5. Key findings
 - Program by program, that is;*
 - a. *Timelines*
 - b. *Achievements*

- c. *Failures*
 - d. *Lessons learnt*
- 6. Discussion of the Key Findings to be categorized program by program (RFN programs).
Only discuss what you discovered and the interviews can be referenced to in the annex.
- 7. Supporting activities to conservation
- 8. Recommendations
- 9. Conclusion
- 10. References
- 11. Appendix
Annexure
 - a. *Staff (PwM and MDF) comments*
 - b. *Questionnaires and list of interviewees*
 - c. *Interviews – Excerpts of the Recorded interviews, i.e; of the former staff and board and the current staff.*

General comments:

- Lambena project in Enga Province was withdrawn due to threat on the PwM staff from the villagers in the area.
- Please correct the name of the current LLG President of Afore LLG?? Not written in the report. Check??
- Should use MCSAP; Managalas Conservation Sustainable Development and not MSDP as mentioned in the report.
- A recommendation on the Ombudsman: Ken mentioned that 60% of the funds are spent on the administrative cost and 40% on the project. Those allegations mentioned in the report as we misuse the funds are not true.
- All the interviews will be transcribed and submitted.

Outline of the Workshop

Day 1: Monday 22 Nov 2010

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
Introduction and general sharing of views between PWM and MDF staff regarding the Evaluation Report	Discuss the evaluation 1. Staff to provide comments by 26 th with clear point of reference 2. Comments to be annexed 3. Interview with <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current staff • Former staff • Former board 4. Insert PWM Program highlights to MDF timeline (2002 – 2009) 5. Questions and list of interviewees annexed	PWM Reflection 6. Strengths & weaknesses 7. Admit fault 8. Lessons learnt 9. Reflection on the current joint work plan 10. Improve PWM/MDF/CBB O Structure	Recommendation & Findings 11. January 2011 4 th wk presentation of evaluation and work plan 12. Human Resource Inventory for Managalas to go into 2011 work plan. 13. 2011 Partners with Melanesians work plan projected to encompass evaluation report	Recommendation & Findings 14. Presentation of 2011 work plan for PWM 15. Presentation of 2011 work plan for PWM

PWM & MDF REVIEW of the 2010 EVALUATION REPORT

COMMENTS

1. PWM to insert Program highlights to MDF time line – 2002 – 2009 (Reports to RFN)
2. Admin decisions not communicated back to the community (explanation to be annexed to the document)

Day 3 reflection (SLA)

- SLA – lessons learnt
- Way things are done
- New way(s)????

Thursday/Friday

3. HR inventory for Managalas to go into 2011 work plan
4. Reflection on the current joint work plan
5. Improve on the Structure of operations
 - PWM – MDF – CBO
 - PWM presence and communication
6. 2011 – Presentation of Evaluation Report and work plan (MDF/CBO/PWM)
 - *Dead line for NSA to submit completed report – End of December 2010 in line with RFN contract*

Evaluation

Proposed Reporting Structure for RFN (Kamilla) – generally the structure of the evaluation

16. Geographical description
17. Introduction to the document
18. Methodology
19. Include in Annex – to include a comparative analysis between 2001 evaluation and 2010 evaluation.
20. Body to be categorized – Program by Program
21. A stand alone recommendation section - Summary Recommendation at the end of the report.
22. Maisin Case – is relevant to the Managalas and not the others (Yus).

To Note:

Points in the content of the evaluation to note and find how they are related:

- 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 – understand from MDF why things did not function
- 12 linked to 9
- 15 & 16 linked to 12 but are they relevant - did NSA miss out on anything?
- Appendix 18 c – relevant to 12?

People engaged in the evaluation – their professional experiences, CV as to determine the report

Comparative analysis of the evaluation report 1 & 2 – engage an independent evaluator/review – the analysis will be included in the annex

Day 2: Tuesday 23 Nov 2010

Discussion of the evaluation

- Identify the different parts and contents
- Establish link and relevance of the chapters
- Understand from MDF why things didn't function well
- Did NSA miss out anything important?

- Insert PwM program highlights to MDF timeline and also for PwM.

The timeline of PwM including all the activities that were implemented and those that were done was drawn. These activities or programs included involved those that were carried out since the initiation of the conservation project. (Get copy from PwM).

RFN ToR for NSA

1. Document past and current activities and achievements.
Focus on RFN activities from 2001 – 2010.
 - a) NSA have records of interviews
 - b) Insert PWM program activities and achievements into MDF timeline
2. To assist PWM ... legitimacy, trust, relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, participation and sustainability of main RFN programs.
 - NSA should include
 - findings and recommendation
 - PWM accepts negative comments BUT should include positive as well
 - Indicate/illustrate program management systems and relationships with donors, partners and stakeholders – Include the illustration of the Operational Structure (PWM and MDF, PWM and MDF with CBOS, PWM with Donors)
 - Include graphs etc

Some issues identified

1. Recurrence of the 28 priorities
2. Inadequate presence of PWM on Plateau
3. Unfulfilled/empty promises
4. Misuse of funds
5. Unbecoming PWM officers' behaviour in the project areas
6. Geographical locations of some zones has led to PWM isolating them
7. No program impact
8. No working relationship between PWM & MDF
9. Staff restructure, particularly with MDF and the CBOS
10. Reviving the MOCOP Project
11. Poor Networking
12. Follow up workshops are required

Day 3: Wednesday 24 Nov 2010

PwM / MDF Reflection

• Strength and weakness

The strengths and weaknesses were identified and listed down. Collect confidence and continue from these strengths and see the weakness as failures and challenges and brush up those areas.

Strengths:

1. Stable Donor (RFN)
2. Can attract other donors
3. Qualified technical staff
4. Sound organisational and management systems

5. Good internal and external partnership and networking
6. Timely reporting of activities
7. Timely achievements of work plan and activities.
8. Local and international exposure on MCAP is vast
9. Fair representation on BOD
10. Strong/good relationship between staff
11. Timely submission of donor applications
12. Clear TOR for staff

Weakness:

1. Implementation of activities on the ground
2. Absence of daily journals by staff
3. No data base of program activities and detailed documentation
4. Poor staff behaviour (*"Walk the Talk"*)
5. Undermining MDFs roles and responsibilities
6. PWM slow in building MDF's capacity (Administratively)

• **Lessons learnt (absence of data base)**

Some of the lessons learnt by Partners and MDF from the workshop include:

1. HUB: File/Copies of materials
2. Back up all Electronic Files
 - They (PwM and MDF) said that they would from now on, create a database and produce all the hard copies and have soft copies of the all the information and activities of what they have done, are doing and will do in the future. Such information including the financial and narrative reports and yearly activity plans.
3. No re-recruitment of former staff
 - From the evaluation report, they figured out where they went wrong. They mentioned that they would not recruit the former staff of either Partners or MDF. Because, the person who have been sacked due to for example; disciplinary case when recruited again may repeat the mistake again and this would tarnish the name of the organisation. Therefore, suggested that it would be better to recruit new people through the proper selection and recruitment criterias. This will also prevent recruiting a person who has no knowledge and experience the advertised positions.
4. To have back-up plans, options available for program implementation
5. To have tougher disciplinary measures to deal with misappropriation of project funds.
6. Regular field patrols and enough time spent on the field
7. Project fund not to be sent to personal staff account
8. Reporting and acquittal to field coordinators and field coordinators report to Project Manager (PWM) on joint activities.
9. Copies of activity budgets given to all appropriate staff to ensure transparency.
10. All project funds go into respective accounts for activities
11. Revisit reporting structure

12. Timely submission of work plan for funds approval and timely activity implementation on the field.

- **Improve CBO/MDF/ PwM structure**

- **Presentation and reflection on the 2010 joint work plan**

Day 4: Thursday 25 Nov 2010

Findings & recommendations

- Presentation of 2011 PwM work plan
- Presentation of 2011 MDF work plan
- Presentation of 2011 joint (PwM/ MDF) work plan. There should be a totally of three (3) work plans. A separate each for PwM and MDF and one joint one for both.

Day 5: Friday 26 Nov 2010

Findings and recommendations

- Presentation of 2011 PwM work plan
- Presentation of 2011 MDF work plan
- Presentation of 2011 joint (PwM/ MDF) work plan
- Tidying and Closing:
- **END OF THE WORKSHOP**

Tasks of PwM and MDF: promised what they wanted to do.

- Staff to provide comments by 26 Nov 2010
- KM to submit RFN the proposed timeline
- KM to propose the RFN an independent review of 2001 and 2010 evaluation reports (reports *ToR)
- Presentation of evaluation and joint work plan – 4 week Jan 2011
- 28 priorities RFL and (sustainability) Patrol
- Work plan to include partnership and networking (comment. & awareness)
- Staff to keep daily activity work plan
- Disseminate CBO budget and activities (information)
- LLG networking – petition Deputy Governor to sign CA application
- Finalise CA management committees to co – chair the meeting of PwM/ ALLG.
- Appoint new MDF business development officer or send the current staff for further trainings. (SLA/ Ms. Filma Arore)
- PwM question new officer (RFN/ SLA)
- Bring awareness on the Land use plans. Reward those who follow and penalties those who do not.
- Flagship species like singing dog, butterfly, or frogs for zone 4 as their project.
- Word competition for logo to design Managalas flagship. The current logo be changed and include a flagship species. The students from schools and the youth to participate in this logo competition based on the designing criteria. The entry with the best design be awarded a reward.
- Document business ventures in Managalas by MDF (both former and potential)

- Presentation of money report annually. All the financial reports of both PwM and MDF should be tabled during the meetings at the end of each year. This is allow transparency and accountable to happen. All the reports be given to the stakeholders and developing partners of the conservation project.
- Each zone to conduct AGM. This is because there was none held in the last years. The MDF and the zone mangers including the CBOs must liaise and work together in implementing the activities under each program. That is not done and the people think that they are left out in the conservation project. In 2007, was the first MDF AGM meeting in Ugunumo to be included in the timeline.
- Education awareness on voting rights at the AGM. The councillors in the district
- are made aware on the voting system and free of speech rights. This is because according to observations on the LLG Districts meetings held in Afore, the President (LLG Pres Douglas Garawa) who chairs the meeting does not make decisions after listening to the agendas raised by the ward councillors. He uses threats, and the approach is of 'dictatorship' where only one person rules everything.
- Copies of activities and responsibilities to be spelled out publically before carrying out the activities.

Finance:

- Outsource funds to secure short term accounting training for Emmanuel and other MDF staff, but priority be given to him as the moment until we secure more funds. (MDF & ICCO funds). This should be done as part of the capacity building program.

Eco – enterprise:

- MDF to operate on cash - on delivery (COD) "No Credit Practices". The MDF should stop the idea of buying garden produce or what so ever on the credit basis. They must the produce or cash crops with cash. Instead of crediting the people and promising that they would pay the money after selling the produce. THIS MUST STOP!

Gender:

- PwM and MDF to seek out other viable incentives to promote SLA involving women.
- SLA garden sales to be carried out by mothers and girls (women). The women be given the first priority for now.
- MDF to acquire all ward profile and development plans to identify key priorities needs area.

Education:

- PwM to factor M&E on workshop held in the plateau to be included in the workshop to be budgeted.
- PwM to make awareness on the roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders on the plateau.
- Introduce Managalas Day – showing conservation lessons learnt in the plateau. This day should be held for bringing the conservation message and show casing
- MDF and PwM to address speculative issues of biasness in selection of MDF selection. They should make themselves clear to the people on the plateau during the combine zone meetings the process of the selection and recruitments of staff.

- MDF to improve working relationship between MDF and zones managers, CBOs and the communities in each zone.
- MDF and PwM to put emphasis on management trainings for zone managers
- Awareness to be given to the people on the current CA status.
- Fast track the outstanding boundary mapping for zones that are yet to be mapped
- Outsource partnership with Research and Conservation Foundation (RCF) for professional training of the teachers.

Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E)

- Some of the M&E tools and equipments that can be used to do monitoring and evaluation:
 - Daily journals or narratives for officials where they can ink the daily activities that they do.
 - Inscribe the standard evaluation sheets and distribute to the people via the CBOs so that they can assess the performances of the PwM and MDF staff. This can be done monthly or bi-monthly.
 - Engage independent evaluators to conduct evaluation such what was recently done.
- Also use Rainforest Literacy program to do M&E, because according to the evaluation report, most participants understood the importance of the RFL program.

WHAT WE (PwM) SAID WE WILL DO

- Recover money stolen by Dougie (for MDF) to restore trust and confidence by the community members
- Get NARI to assist with the eminent 18 month drought that will begin 2011
- Make an audition/set a selection criteria for selection of Theatre members
- Clan group discussions, zone forums, to be under consensus building
- Set an agreement for attachments who wish leave the organisation to be in their individual contract
- Recruit a Business Development Officer for MDF (SLA) on a full time basis
- Develop terms of Reference for a CA officer for MDF for recruitment
- WED competition for students come up with a new logos for PwM
- MDF/PwM
- Each staff to have a daily journal/diary
- Presentation of money report – particularly – on activities at the end of the year
- Zone AGM – Differentiate membership right and participation between CBO and MDF board.
- Include 1st MDF AGM on the time line.
- Budget of an activity should be known by all members of the team – no program officer should have absolute power, meaning that they should not hide.
- Source funding for MDF staff capacity building
- SLA garden sales for the female population
- Some monitoring and evaluation patrols should be arranged to measure the impacts of the workshops, trainings and other activities to identify the short falls and to verify what to do next
- Awareness on scholarship for school leavers work and assist with community successes – for distinguishing who (Government or NGO-PwM) is responsible.

- Managalas Day – Day of exhibition. Also another medium to measure the impact of PWM’s assistance
- Zone 3: Rainforest Literacy and eco-enterprise education required
- Revive honey bee project and the rice mill
- MDF need to include in work plan on visitation to all zones
- Need SLA to be conducted in zone 8
- Additional awareness on Conservation in zone 7
- Equal and fare participation on MDF staff
- Zone 3: They do not want cash hand out. They want financial management training
- Awareness on current CA status.
- Awareness and education and emphasise on the importance of conserving their land and not to be rewarded. It is for their own good.
- RCF to run an in-service with the school teachers in Managalas
- Identify monitoring and evaluation tools/options e.g. using questionnaires by officers to communities or an independent monitoring and evaluation or personal diary
- Use RFL to do a monitoring and evaluation

Additions:

- Zone 10: Opening of airstrip
- Zone 4: PWM + MDF officers stationed in Zone 4
- Zone 9: twice weekly visits to Zone 9
- Zone 5: PWM/MDF Stationed in Zone 5

Options:

- a. Pairing of officers – PWM/MDF – for the field patrols
- b. Officers to be properly equipped

Key Points and Corrections:

- Ken Mondia clarified that the funds for Lambena is different from the Managalas as they have the proposals for funds and different activity plans and programs. The funds are obtained from the same donor but there is no diversion of it. They said to clarify that to the people when in the plateau. Thus, they have to produce financial statements and narrative reports so that the educated elites should understand. The MDF should assist in where applicable.
- Imparting the skills and knowledge is okay to MDF but the building the capacity building process is too slow from PwM.
- MDF to make inventory of the educated elites (human resources) in the plateau so that when PwM leaves (exit strategy), there are people who can shoulder the activities. Thus, training needs to be done to this educated people if possible or otherwise.
- Hands –on training need to be done by PwM on MDF staff where necessary. It should be carried out often and should be continuous.

11. Financial assessment

Name	Purpose	Years	Donor	Value (Kina)
Managalas Sustainable Development Project	Protection of the environment through consensus building and sustainable development	1997-2000	RFN	1.099 million
HF radios	Install HF radios in key zones; familiarity visit by UN for hydro installation	1999-2000	UN GEF Small Grants; DESA	21,000.
Land tenure	Mapping of boundaries of Managalas lands	1998-1999	McArthur Foundation	100,000.
Awareness, Gender and Development Workshops	Train facilitators in awareness raising techniques	1998-2000		38,000.
Institution and Program Support	Core costs	1997-1999	TCDP	100,942.
SRDP	Methods for local governance of natural resources and community participation; institutional support	1995-1997	World Bank	200,000.
Biological surveys	Okari sustainable harvest study	1994-1995	Biodiversity Support Program	50,000.
Institutional development		1992-1993	Kennecot Mining	10,000.
Resource mapping		1992-1993	Biodiversity Conservation Network	50,000.
Community organising	Establishment of consensus building process	1992-1993	MacArthur Foundation	100,000.
Institutional support	Establishment of PwM operations	1992-1994	Liz Claibourne Foundation	100,000.
Totals		1992-2000		K1,868,942.
PHRD	(see Strongim Lek p 9)	?	Govt of Japan and World Bank	USD 512 000
Incentive Fund	(see Strongim Lek p 9)	3 years	AusAid/RFN	AUD 2,678309.

Table 9 : Project funding for PwM from 1992 forward (Source: Strongim Lek [Abare et al 2001])

Depending upon exchange rates over the years, this total amount could equal as much as AUD \$ 4 million in the years roughly 1992-2003.

The financial reports we reviewed looked good, and we understand that the PwM Board of Trustees and the donors are satisfied with how PwM is managing its funds with Kenn as compared to previous Directors.

However, we were not impressed that about 60% of PwM's cost is on administration while 40% is on program activities. The program activities cost also includes the cost of MDF's administration. In effect, the programs receive less than 40% of PwM's budget annually, which goes some way toward explaining the lack of program impact on the ground.

The CBO Managers of each zone, as well as the CBO activity coordinator, are also paid some kind of allowances. One of our recommendations (see below) is that these allowances be pegged to specific activities and costs, so that they must be acquitted before new disbursements.

Apart from administrative costs, salaries and allowances starting from PwM down to CBO level are relatively high, from what we gathered. It would seem that the office salaries are pegged to the cost of living in Port Moresby, understandably. But there is no indication (from the materials we gathered) that performance reviews are also related to salary levels, and we recommend that staff who fail to perform, or whose field behavior raises ethical questions, should not be eligible for pay rises or benefits otherwise afforded to them.

The question seems to be how PwM can cut down on excessive or dual administrative costs to focus cost on actual program activities at the CBO level.

One of the guiding principles of NGO work is to minimize the bottleneck at administration level. Nonprofits in the US, for example, are required to keep their administrative costs below 40% of their total budget. The needs of a Port Moresby office will always be disproportionately high, as Port Moresby is one of the world's most expensive cities. But every *toea* that is not spent on one of the key objectives of PwM (consensus building, conservation, education, eco-enterprise) is potentially lost to grassroots development.

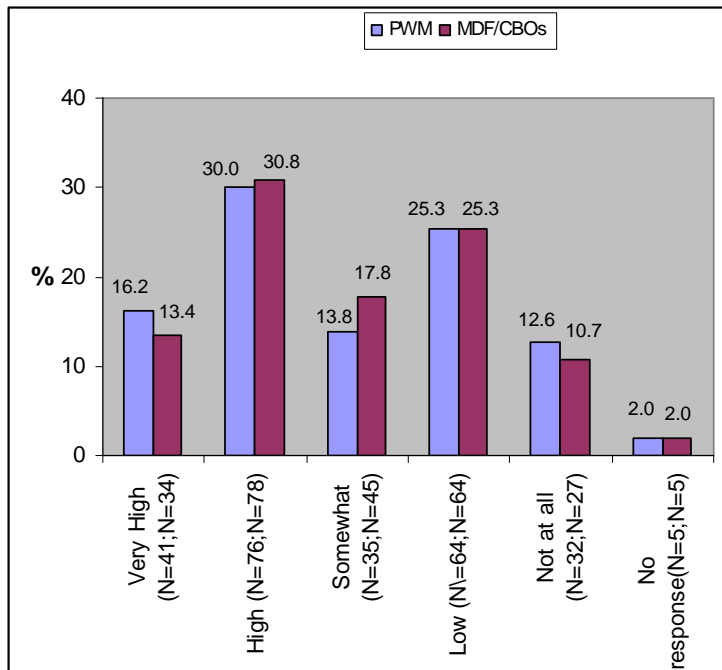
The more NGO workers see themselves as players in the political life of Port Moresby, the more likely they are to consider their own needs before their client's. This is not to say that building a middle class in the capital city of PNG is unethical, only that an NGO cannot behave like a profit bearing business. When NGO staff approaches a program for political, economic, or any reason other than its stated objective, there is no way to predict the course of development. Projects are easily hijacked for other ends, and this applies not only in the field but also to office personnel. The coffee project is one example of a project redirected toward non-development goals. In the end, all the investment made in time, money, effort and materials—not to mention interest—is wasted.

Mistakes cost more than their capital investment. They cost more than the human resources lost. The highest price paid for failed programs in the field is always paid in trust and consensus. This is why fiscal and program planning transparency is vital at this time to recover the incalculable loss of truth and sustainability in the Plateau.

12. Key findings

Levels of trust and respect for PwM, MDF/CBOs

Table 10: Trust and Legitimacy: percentage of respondents characterizing their trust in PwM as very high, High, Somewhat, Low, Not at all, and No Response



At the onset of the Managalas Conservation project, the level of trust for Partners by the communities in the plateau was exceptional. Over the years their trust dwindled. Several factors contributed. According to the participants, failure to fulfill promises, misuse of funds and unethical behavior of PwM staff including consuming alcohol whilst in the field are some common examples given.

The introduction of MDF was generally perceived as disaster for the conservation project. The process of delivering programs slowed down and it seemed to the

target communities that all the money was spent on two administration cost, one for PwM and the other for MDF. In conclusion the level of trust and respect for that matter has negatively changed and that depended very much of the effectiveness and efficiency of programs implementations at the community level.

According to what we gathered there was a good level of respect and it is probably due to the many years of work in the plateau. However, the people in the plateau are beginning to lose their trust on PwM. Too much has been expected from PwM but since expected projects were not delivered people started to have a negative views and approach towards the project. The process of program delivery at the community level is not very clear to the people and there is no continuous interaction with the target communities for the last 2 years.

Table 11: Level of Respect for PwM, MDF/CBOs: Percentage of respondents characterizing their respect for PwM as Very High, High, Somewhat, Low, Not at all and No Response

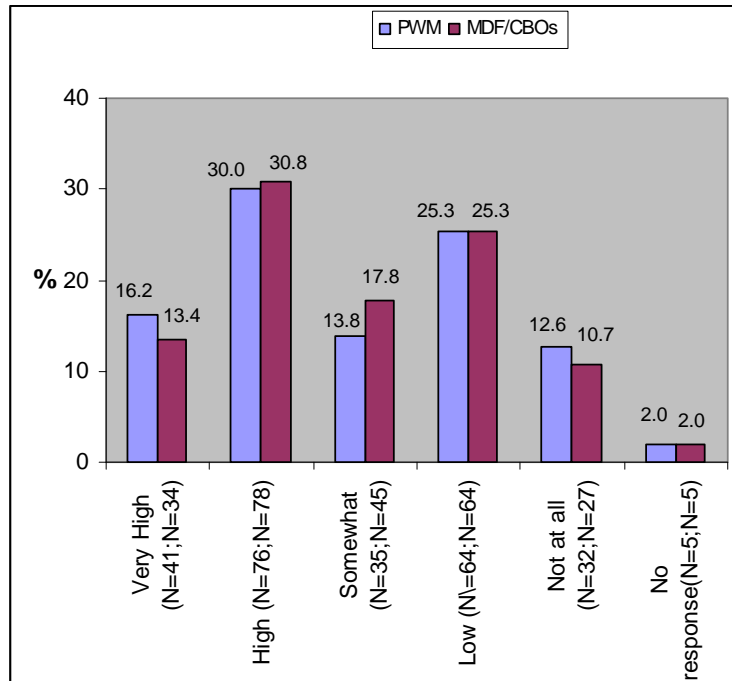
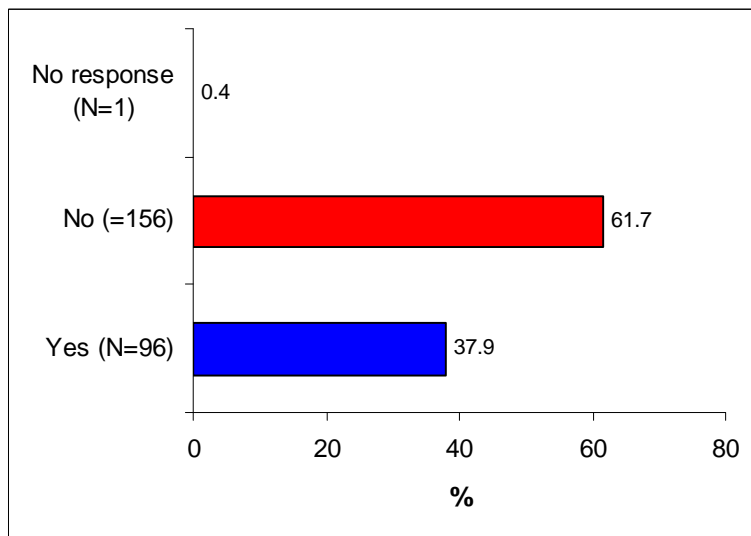


Table 12: Have you benefited from programs? Percentage of respondents saying Yes, No or No Response



Program Relevance

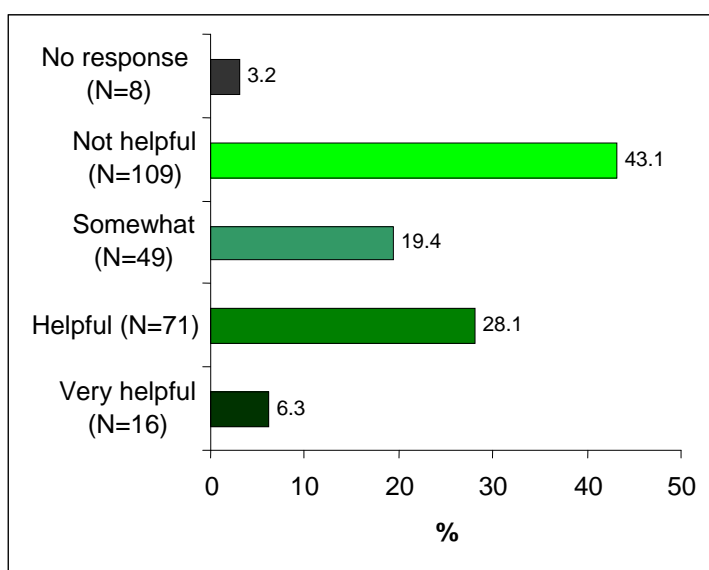
The programs were designed to help support and compliment the conservation initiative. An area of 360, 000 hectares of land/forest is in the process of getting recognized and gazette as Conservation Area. The village communities are well informed and can differentiate between destructive and sustainable developments. However, they feel that repetition of the same things is becoming boring and are just mere words which only build

up frustration and dissatisfaction. We have come to a conclusion that there is a mismatch with the programs planned and delivered by PwM and the needs of target communities.

The communities stated that they are not benefiting from the programs. Across the Plateau people are convinced that Consensus Building Program encourages bottom up planning and the 28 priorities are the core of that process.

On the other hand some said they benefited from K100 to each clan as incentives while others and women in particular who received trainings are happy with some of the trainings like nutrition.

Table 13: Level of help received from PwM: percentage of respondents characterizing the help received as Not helpful, Somewhat, Helpful, Very Helpful and No Response



After all the years of work in the plateau most people do not feel that the help they get through programs implemented by PwM is sufficient enough. Especially in regards to the trainings the community's feedback was "the trainings are not properly planned and sometimes done in short period of time" i.e. training is supposed to have gone for 5 days but is done for only 3 days". Another example is sewing training for women, after the training women expected to be given a sewing machine each.

Stakeholder relationships

MDF, as the local umbrella body, is linked to all the CBOs of all the zones and the programs are rolled out through that arrangement. There have been many ups and downs in the relationship between MDF and the CBOs, and our findings show that the working relationships are still poor. Generally trust and respect for one and another has deteriorated and this has affected the programs negatively. A lot of misunderstanding and miscommunication, and failure to perform duties, have contributed to a stand-off between the two organizations. As a result, the question of taking ownership and responsibility is becoming irrelevant in light of a general CBO "do it for me" attitude.

Stakeholders' views/opinions

The team had the opportunity to talk with other stakeholders on the ground as well as a few outside of the project area. One of the very important stakeholders on the ground is the aLocal Level Government. The following is the account of the discussion with the LLG President, Mr. Douglas Garawa.

According to Mr. Girawa, PwM is yet to give a full briefing to him and his LLG. “NGOs have created high expectations,” he said, “and that is because people in the Plateau lack understanding which due to the level of literacy.”

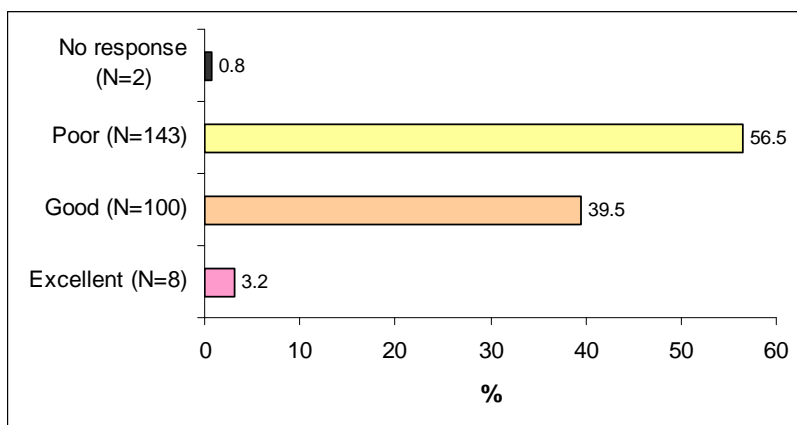
He raised concerns that before anything happens in the Plateau the people must fully understand what is going to happen and its implications. Most recently the LLG could not sign the papers for endorsement because, as Mr. Girawa stated, “As a leader I am very cautious with papers I sign, especially when talking about land, we are talking about people’s lives.”

In addition, he stated that for development purposes there must be trust and confidence amongst all stakeholders so that big projects like conservation will be successful. As the government on the ground, The LLG should have ownership of such big projects. Conservation is a good initiative but a better approach must be employed to increase the participation of the LLG and other Plateau stakeholders.

Other NGO partners like CELCOR, ELC have mixed views and opinions. Damien Ase, the Executive Director of CELCOR thinks PwM has done well in the preparatory work on conservation but needs to re-strategize to get the area legally recognized. PwM has a lot to do before it can think about exiting, he says. Mary, a senior lawyer with ELC, thinks PwM is doing a good work and must continue and replicate what is done in other parts of the country.

Most seriously, Douglas Garava, Chairman of the Board and now president of MDF, wants to block the DEC plan. Clearly the relations between key stakeholders have become a threat to the viability of the project itself, and without some remedial diplomacy, they could undermine it altogether.

Table 14: Working relationship between PwM, MDF and CBOs: percents of respondents characterizing the relationship as Poor, Good, Excellent and No Response



Participation

At the village level, only selected participants take part in programs and this approach has encouraged bias selection, undermining the participatory imperative. The level of participation and interest has been reduced in recent years and one of the contributing factors is the repetition of program activities. As one interviewee put it, “awareness, awareness and no action.” Most zones are not currently benefiting from the programs, and in some villages people said they were unaware of existing programs altogether. It was also said that PwM and MDF staff are too lazy to walk to distant zones like 4, 9 and 10. The most accessible zones have always been 1 and 2, and their higher levels of participation has resulted in greater awareness of the project objectives in general. The contrast in enthusiasm and consensus between the most and least accessible zones is so marked as to raise the question of whether or not PwM or MDF have even tried to include them.

In the previous evaluation it was stated that “it would not be too strong to say that there is a systematic exclusion of women from project decision-making structures and benefits and that the organization as a whole has a coherent emphasis against women”. Like most PNG traditional societies men play dominant roles and the Managalas Plateau villages are no exception. Each CBO has got on board a female casual/volunteer responsible for women’s affairs. Julian, a local female volunteer engaged with Nacoda Inc, the CBO of Zone 2 finds it challenging but she believes she can learn to improve her performance as time goes. These new positions are positive actions that should be encouraged: hopefully these women will not drop off the boards, but inspire more to join.

At higher levels, there are also efforts to enable women to contribute meaningfully. The composition of the Board of Directors of PwM, for example, now includes two female members. The PwM staff also includes 4 women in a total of 20. Jacinta Gure holds one of the senior positions in the organization as the accountant while the two other female staff are coordinators of Conservation and Eco-forestry and Rainforest Literacy Programs respectively.

Sustainability

There are a lot of conflicts and misunderstanding between PwM, MDF and the CBOs. More serious, however, is the virtual non-existence of programs in the plateau recently. Staff are getting paid while there is nothing tangible happening at the community level and that raises a serious concern. This will affect the continuity project and sustainability of the many years of conservation efforts. In order to stem these problems, both PwM and MDF need to put aside their differences and reach consensus on important issues, including which roles each player can perform. This may involve drafting new work charters for each position.

13. Programs

Managalas Conservation Project has been a lifeline for the people of the Plateau. The general perception of it is an alternative government, which means the expectations for PwM to deliver services and development are always inflated. The reality is that MCP is a flagship project for PwM, but no longer its only project. It is and was always intended to be a provisional authority for the Plateau people, but not a substitute for local, provincial or national government. In many ways it has been a stepping stone for PwM, MSDP and the Plateau people themselves.

Nevertheless, any dissatisfaction expressed by the Plateau residents cannot be dismissed as the result merely of inflated expectations. PwM must be judged according to its own stated and implied objectives. Over the past two years, in particular, the discontent with PwM has grown in response to the programs themselves and the failure to deliver them effectively. People report that the education and enterprise programs are not reaching their target communities and as a result the general population has begun to feel 'in the dark' about them. Despite this, however, there remains a strong consensus on conservation and the need to stand up against major resource exploitation like logging, mining and oil palm. People understand these to be destructive not only to their environment but also their livelihoods now and the years to come. Thus, while it is possible to say that specific programs have faltered, the general effort to build consensus and educate the communities with regard to these environmental threats can only be deemed a success.

The communities have experienced two major eco-enterprise developments. These are the Okari nut and Coffee production and sale. Okari has been a long-established revenue source for Plateau people, and the first biological survey for its viability was conducted in 1994 with a grant from the Biodiversity Support Program. An Okari project office was constructed in Nauconane village, Zone 1, and much of the buying of nuts was based there.

The coffee project was managed and run by Managalas Organic Coffee Project (MOCP) under the management of Paul Konia. Initially successful, this project was apparently built on poor management principles, including the purchase of coffee on credit, and it took only one major mishandling of funds (in a vehicle purchase) to drive the entire effort into the ground.

According to many people, both these projects were run into the ground by unresolved social/political issues. Remarkably, however, there remains strong interest across the Plateau to revive both projects anyway. The need for cash is pressing enough that people believe better management would guarantee success for both businesses.

Having visited 9 of the 10 zones in the plateau we have come to realize that the program activities in the plateau were radically reduced in the past two or three years. Rainforest Literacy, for example, is not covering the whole plateau, including part of zones 3, 4, 9 and 10. In most communities people are not sure whether programs run by PwM and MDF do still exist.

Some responded negatively to our queries about the programs, and were not even interested to talk to the evaluation team.

Conservation and Sustainable Forestry

According to the feedback from the participants, PwM has done well in the preparatory work for establishing the conservation area. People in the plateau are aware of the pros and cons of large scale natural resource developments like logging, mining and oil palm. Most land boundaries are established, and (4) biodiversity surveys have been conducted. Our company expertise cannot assess the quality of these surveys, but we did send them to one field biologist (Chris Culter, University of California, Santa Cruz), who questioned whether these were adequate for the process of gazetted the conservation area. His comments were that they were sufficient but not exhaustive.

To the credit of PwM, landowning clans have given their consent to go for the option of a conservation area. According to the clan leaders, village chiefs and the others, people are very happy with the conservation area initiative. However, they expressed their frustration over the process of getting the conservation gazetted by the government. It has taken too long, they say. They have waited for 18 years or more and, for some, the wait has prompted them to consider other form of development, like mining in parts of zones 4 and 9. People also perceive conservation area status as a means of getting development and the fact that development has not come makes them feel entitled to seek other means.

There are few land related issues to be sorted out and boundaries yet to be established, which complicates these issues in certain zones. These boundaries must be mapped immediately to ensure that the conservation process does not disintegrate.

The implementation of conservation and sustainable forestry depends on each clan and how they perceive the idea. As an introduced concept, the integration of traditional practices were crucial to its acceptance. Traditional land uses were adopted and incorporated in land use plans as a requirement for the conservation area. But this seems to have been a hollow gesture. On paper all clan groups developed land use plans, but in practice only a few are implementing or even aware of their land use plan. Not all of these plans are documented or available in the zones.

The lack of involvement of the LLG in the conservation process is another important issue. Most recently, PwM failed to get the LLG to endorse the conservation area proposal. According to the LLG President, Mr. Douglas Gawara, he and the LLG members have yet to be fully briefed on the benefits of conservation. In his words, "about 360, 000 hectares [are] soon to be conserved but the people do not understand the implications."

Rainforest Literacy Program

This program is confusing to us. First, we are not clear what the literacy aspect includes, and when we asked out it in the zones, people could not recall any activities that had recently been

carried out. They did remember that clans had received K100 (and more in the past) for microenterprises under the program.

What we gathered from clans groups was that they are not happy with PwM's plans to stop handing out money to them. They do not understand nor were they made aware of why money under this arrangement will be stopped. We understood that the K100 to each clan was an incentive for them conserving their forest. Most of the money from this initiative was misused and not put into the micro-enterprises they intended to do. For some clans, they distributed the cash amongst themselves and used the cash for their family needs. Fortunately, not all failed; few are now successfully running their small business and even expanded to other businesses. For example in zone 8, Peter Sokomo is now buying coffee and has an assets valued more than K10, 000.00; Robin Taboia in zone 3 expanded his clan's trade store from K100 to K8, 000.00; and in zone 2, Christopher Amanenga, is running a trade store at value at K15 000, and has moved into coffee buying as well.

Rainforest Literacy should focus on addressing literacy and knowledge of the rainforest itself. Nor should it be conducted in isolation, but in partnership with existing players on the ground. Summer Institute of Linguistics [SIL] was extremely important to the start of the program, as they had already produced literacy materials that PwM could avail. But now that SIL is gone, we believe that what is missing is the networking with government run educational institutions like elementary schools, primary schools and the only high school in the plateau, Bareji.

The current program design is also not applicable to the current situation. The focus should be on the younger generation and promoting new ideas and efforts related to rainforest conservation. This is where sustainable conservation is built. Inventive ideas could be rewarded; science-minded youth could be supported through university; and competitions for new eco-enterprise or appropriate technology ideas could be established.

Consensus Building Program

This program creates avenues for clan group discussions and for addressing issues affecting Plateau livelihoods through a consensus building process. Unfortunately in the recent years community participation has been reduced, and this has put community ownership at stake. Instead of communities deciding their own destination with some or limited outside support, they expect development to come from outside.

One of the main concerns raised by the communities was that PwM and MDF are not implementing the 28 priorities. The people in the plateau now see these 28 priority projects as empty promises. Moreover, since PwM is not making any attempts to implement these 28 priorities some communities say they want PwM out of the plateau. Our team repeatedly heard the complaint that PwM has used the villagers to secure huge amounts of money for which they have done nothing to implement the 28 priorities.

Pwm's position on these 28 priorities is quite simple and straight forward. Most of these priorities mentioned are not in line with PwM's and they are also beyond their capacity. The

current staff is not aware of how that very long list of priorities was developed and cannot do much about them, they say.

All these priorities came out of the Consensus Building Program. We therefore assume that these 28 priorities were the result of mishandling of the consensus building process in 1997. A better approach following the drafting of this list would have been to network the means of achieving them through outreach to local government, small businesses and other organizations at hand. Certain



attempts were made, such as inviting the District Health Program Manager to participate in a District-wide forum. But it appears that most networking efforts were incomplete and the result is that the plans to effect most of these priorities were eventually abandoned, placed in the 'too hard' basket and never retrieved.

This sequence is not unusual to any NGO, nor is it unique to NGOs either. But the difference with PwM is that their project is conservation, and it depends entirely upon the goodwill of those people who actually own the rainforest in question. The relationship between client and patron is delicate at its best, and these proprieties have acted as the final straws to break the back of legitimacy and trust between PwM and the Plateau communities.

No one can take back the 1997 forum and the moment these priorities were drafted. But they can be amended immediately and made more appropriate to the time and budgets of 2010. Rather than ignore them, which exacerbates the impression of them being abandoned, the PwM staff must redraw them and make them fluid priorities, open to constant revision, and part of the regular agenda of field officers. Every step in the stages of fulfilling any priority must be announced with fanfare, as a means of dispelling the idea that PwM no longer cares.

Education and Awareness Program

Education and awareness activities have covered the area since the inception of the project. The communities which we visited in the western side said that so much awareness has been carried out, but nothing tangible is happening at the community level. They argue that there is no point in conducting education and awareness activities on the same subject when they already know what it means to conserve their rainforest. Now it is time for action, they told us.

This raises the question of the type of education and awareness activities that were carried out and how they were carried out. Education and awareness activities would have covered cross-

cutting issues like HIV/AIDS, gender parity, appropriate technology, health, etc. The team hardly heard a thing about such topics from the communities. This sort of awareness may have dropped off so dramatically in the last few years that people have failed to recall the information they only recently received. They certainly did not acknowledge the importance of these programs, as we might have expected.

Eco-enterprise and Sustainable Livelihood Program

Two main eco-enterprises PwM attempted to facilitate were Okari nuts in the early stages of the project, and coffee in 2006-2007. Chili was also introduced, on a smaller scale; and other sustainable livelihood activities like soap making, producing kerosene from coconut oil, honey production, sewing, baking, rice farming, fish farming were initiated in the training stages. And yet during our visit across the Plateau, there was no community that could boast of a single successful eco-enterprise. The reasons are varied, but the most common cause for this seems to be lack of follow-through from PwM. In some cases training workshops were conducted and materials never supplied, or technologies were introduced with inappropriate parts. Marketing is a major problem on the Plateau, principally because transport is difficult. This is a prevailing problem for any enterprise, and the Managalas people are not unaware of this factor. But the general impression (importantly) seems to be that PwM has let them down with small business matters.

The easiest way to reassure them of PwM's ongoing interest in sustainable livelihoods is to appoint a Small Business Development Officer to MDF and ensure that he or she continually visits all zones in the project.

- **Okari nut sale – the pilot eco-enterprise**

The Okari nut enterprise failed due to certain factors and that included an increase in the cost of air freight, mismanaging of the revenue raised from the sales, and the small size of the market. Money from the sales of okari was invested in a trade store which also failed. There are also unresolved issues like outstanding debts with the villagers who gave their nuts on consignment. The general view of the people is that okari was a feasible business and it should not have failed. Those we interviewed are convinced that the enterprise is still viable for should be revived.

Okari is a problem because the nuts must be sold immediately or they soften. Within a day or so of picking they are no longer fresh enough to sell. They would last if they were not shelled before transporting, but the cost of unshelled nuts by air freight would certainly be insupportable. Those in zone 1 tell us Peter misused the Okari sales money; he never explained what profits were made. In a good season you can sell 4000-5000 kilos at K2/kilo (to a low of K1.5 per kilo). Okari season is May to August, roughly the same as coffee.

From 1997 to 2004 Okari was selling, but by 2007 it was finished. All the enterprise activities had stopped by 2008.

- **Managalas Organic Coffee Project (MOCP)**

The team visited the plateau during the coffee season and witnessed buying and selling of coffee and large volumes of coffee being transported out of Afore station to Popengetta. The prospects for coffee enterprises are excellent and small growers and buyers are doing well in certain zones. The bases of the economy now is growing and selling of organic coffee and chilli, which is cultivated on the entire plateau. Coffee and chilli are sold to Java Mama and Java Chilli, which are the same and the only exporting company in the area. The dried coffee and chilli are transported from the plateau to Oro Bay, where the wharves are located. Previously, during the harvest, local growers carried coffee to a central place in Afore, where transport was available and then sold to travelling buyers who came to meet them. Many communities could not carry loads and so coffee was not harvested. They thought it was a waste of effort and time harvesting and carrying loads very long distances.

MOCP buying and selling of coffee was a promising eco-enterprise project for the target communities. MOCP was DOEN funded project and according to all the stakeholders, it failed. From what we gathered several factors contributed to its downfall.

From the community level there is a strong suspicion that revenue made from coffee sales were misused by PwM, and in particular Paul Konia, the MOCP manager. The allegations include:

- Paul used some of the money to purchase himself a used Toyota Land Cruiser from the oil palm company in Popengetta – a 10-seater-- and shipped it to Port Moresby
- Some money was spent on frequent beer parties up to the time the project failed
- MOCP got coffee from farmers on a credit basis when there was still money to pay for it. In Tahama village, zone 2, there is an outstanding due of K4, 800.00
- Paul Konia ran the show with his spouse Ruth Konia, who was at that time the Executive Director of PwM.
- 2nd grade coffee was bought at the price of 1st grade coffee.

On the other hand, according to Paul Konia, the project could not have failed had PwM not withdrawn the funds. This was done without his consultation as the person responsible for managing the project.

PwM also lists the following factors as responsible for the failure of MOCP:

- Increase in the cost of transporting coffee out of the plateau.
- There were other buyers who were buying at a higher price and that provided competition for MOCP.

The unassailable facts are:

- MOCP secured a donor funding for project but when it failed the donor stopped releasing the next lot of money.
- The management was a product of nepotism at PwM and run by one person.

- There is no evidence to show that the enterprise was for the people or that they had share equities.
- There are still outstanding yet to be settled with the farmers for their dry coffee beans
- MOCP may be an inappropriate label, as the project never sought or acquired organic certification.
- With donor funding there is no reason Peter needed to have growers bear the risk of the project by giving coffee on a credit basis; MOCP should have borne the entire risk of the project.
- PwM did not involve the District Department of Commerce and Agriculture in the coffee project when they would have been in a better position to provide technical expertise.

We asked villagers if they are still interested in the coffee enterprise and they said yes; some suggested the revival of the enterprise in the next project phase. They also said that the management and ownership of the enterprise should be made clear and allow them to actively participate in the managements and other aspects of the business.

NGOs struggle to make up for the government while people put enormous pressure on them for not deliver basic goods and services.

50 kg bags---in a good season you can sell 4000-5000 kilos at K2 (max to K1.5 per kilo.) We were



told Peter would take the bags, sell them and bring the profits back. People in the village were never clear what's sold and what's spent.

Even before MOCP was established, there were existing coffee buyers and growers associations across the Plateau with whom they may have worked. The choice was to establish MOCP instead. Other buyers were not involved in this work with MOCP. It worked for 3 years and was finished.

- William Suremo established Nahara Coffee Growers was established in 1978, for example; but they did not invite him into MOCP.

- In Zone 5 Ubunumo Village SADA Development Corp is also buying coffee.
- Java Mama has US buyer, the company is run by Australians from Cairns, the woman owns Ocean Harvest Seafood in New Ireland too. Numba Coffee Tanuane Village (they have 2 open back cruiser vehicles, 1 10 seater, 1 isuzu, 2 mitsubishi, one 4 WD)

Comments on the Business Plan for MOCP, and the MOCP 2006-2007 Technical and Financial Report:

A non-dated [2006?] business plan for Managalas organic Coffee Project (MOCP) was produced by Luisito D. Uy. It is explicit and appears to establish an excellent model. We are not business experts and therefore not qualified to assess the particulars of the plan, which looks comprehensive.

But is the plan too ambitious? Was the report distributed to the sharehold farmers?

Elements of the plan suggest that Mr. Uy may have been unfamiliar with the conditions of the Managalas Plateau or coffee marketing in PNG more generally. We understand that he is from the Philippines and has considerable experience, but he may not be as familiar with the PNG conditions as was needed. A plan of this quality would need to be 'actualized' by verbal consultations with local experts.

Turning to the document produced by Paul Konia, Managalas Organic Coffee Project 2006-2007 Technical and Financial Report (n.d.), we find a very different kind of report. This allows us to measure not only the distance between what Uy planned and what Konia was able to effect, but also the difference between a business professional and a management failure. Although one is a planning document and the other a financial report, there is a world of business comprehension between the two. Ironically, when we suggest that Uy may have been uneducated in the pitfalls of conducting business within PNG, individuals like Paul Konia represent an extreme case in point. Surely Uy would not have conceived that his detailed and professional plan for MOCP would be effected by Konia in the ways that it was.

On the whole, however Konia acquired his position, and however much experience he may have in coffee marketing, his report to PwM, along with a personal letter in the files regarding his dismissal, suggest that he has never had real project management experience. We acknowledge that herculean tasks were performed to bring coffee to market on the Plateau, to repair the vehicle and corral the growers—and credit goes to Konia for the hours, the effort, the unpaid labour that went into this project.

But these efforts are overwhelmed by the tone of his report, which is so unprofessional as to draw the wrong attention to his actions, making him sound defensive and paranoid rather than managerial. Nowhere in this report is there any admission of fault, or assumption of responsibility for actions that contributed to the demise of the project. He blames everyone else but himself. Surely the first rule of business protocol is that the 'buck stops at the top' and the boss must take the blame. Certain caveats can be recorded, and explanations entered, but

in the end, some admission of responsibility must be made by the project manager. Because of the pervasive need by Papua New Guineans to deflect blame, and prevent people from defaming one's self enough to invite compensation claims, this rule is too often broken. Managers everywhere in PNG have perfectly rational explanations for why things go wrong: someone else did it. The mark of taking responsibility for one's own actions is so alien to Papua New Guineans, who are not so much individuals as representatives of a line, a clan, a province or region, that it is one of the rarest events to behold a PNG boss admitting to his or her mistakes.

The problem in this is that it feeds a perverse business protocol in the country. People *expect* others to be blamed, so they no longer press those responsible for answers. The wrong people pay the price, the entire company assumes the loss, and the debacle is filed away as quickly as possible. This has clearly been the case for the MOCP failure at PwM.

Both reports contain very important recommendations and lessons learned, even admirable pieces of a potentially amalgamated business model.

As the Uy business plan projects such excellent profits (however unrealistic they may be, they are at least based on experience elsewhere), the project is worth reviving. The final narrative report on the rise and fall of MOCP has yet to be written, but clearly this will be the linchpin document in setting up an improved, more realistic project in the future.

We cannot resist pointing out a few comments in the report that have a bearing upon this evaluation now. There is clearly a great need to forge relationships between LLG and the provincial government and the MDF/PwM. At the same time, the 'new ideas' Konia lists toward the end of his report are nothing if not divisive. For example, on p 8 he suggests:

An option now is to bill the Afore Local Level Government Council or Oro Provincial Government to reimburse MOCP's monies and labor costs as the government is getting the credit for it and not MOCP. I have seen other people getting compensation for similar community service work outside of Oro province and I believe it can be done to recoup our funds.

Elsewhere Konia suggests that he gave too much freedom to the CBOs and they now need to be controlled. This is surely valid when it comes to funds being used for other projects and thus denied the MOCP. But his criticisms over tarps and bags he distributed being used for other purposes seems just petty, especially for someone who professes to have experience in coffee in PNG.



On p 9 he isolates another factor that is intrinsic to doing business in PNG.

A Wantok system (kinship relationships) involved in buying/paying higher price for low grade coffee supplied has become a huge problem for MOCP.

For example; a mother may bring in low grade coffee which is still wet/ has higher moisture content and sell it to our agent who happens to be her son or daughter, the norm is that the agent accepts[sic]the coffee and pay[sic] for it using the A grade price of K2.50 per kilogram, which is MOCP standard pricing for high grade coffee. The lowest is C grade at K1.50. Anything beyond is rejected as it is full of moisture or over due coffee.

Because agents cheat the project by overpaying their relatives, the suggestion is to have them pay a fee to become an agent. Does this follow? Surely this fee will not cultivate 'ownership' and responsibility but drive the incentive to cheat even higher. One solution is to have monitors for agents, or appoint agents from outside their residential area to prevent this favoritism. Or, more feasibly, apply one low standard price for all coffee, as do other coffee buyers—at least until the process of grading and drying properly can be better established.

P10, Konia explains a change of protocol that seems to have worked well:

...I changed the operation of conducting awareness and disseminating information and skills on coffee grading and quality control. Everyone was told to come to each buying points [sic] starting from Itokama all the way through to Afire to gain basic skills and knowledge whilst actual coffee buying was conducted by the MOCP grader and the contracted coffee buying CBO at each buying points [sic].This tactic worked very well and we managed to train almost 8-12 people at each buying points [sic]. With that data we believe we have trained more than 70 individuals on that skill which can be passed on.

The original awareness workshops were aborted because they were considered expensive, and training in place was substituted. This appeared to work, but that the agents still favored relatives with better prices. The competition applies a standard fee and attracts some growers, but they may be cheating themselves in the end. Did MOCP ever reach out to Numba for advice or collaborative assistance? Could MOCP not have been a product of cooperation between all preexisting buyers—as an umbrella organization? Numba seems to have saved the 'cheating' issue by applying a standard price, and making the downward adjustment in profits at the end. There is something to be said about this strategy.

Konia, rather than finding a lesson learned in the above narrative, concludes that the MOCP needs to acquire land and establish a model plantation--in complete disregard for the larger conservation objectives of PWM.

Someone needs to step back and draft a review of the MOCP with special emphasis on the social breakdown between Konia and the participants. Could this friction have contributed to some of the misdemeanors Konia describes?

For example, on p 12, we read that:

K3500.00 was stolen at Konio and almost K2600 went missing at Kworuo when the person tasked to look after the funds passed away. K500 was taken by MOCP plateau

coordinator with no explanation to this date. In all, MOCP has spent well over K32,605.80 to amass this coffee. However coffee price at the mill was low and the grade we supplied was higher at PSCX grade after paying for tips (Bribes).

We read in this aforementioned the kernel of the problem as his insistence on a graded buying scale. They have paid an A grade price for coffee on the plateau that was not sold at a commensurate price, or a price high enough to see profit. Konia writes this off as an unforeseen failure, when in fact it is the very reason other buyers on the Plateau are buying at a blanket rate---and not offering inflated prices for un-guaranteed returns.

In addition, and perhaps more importantly for the sustainability of the project, Konia has admittedly paid bribes to sell the coffee in the first place. Surely, for a man who is outraged by favoritism by coffee agents, this is nothing less than hypocrisy.

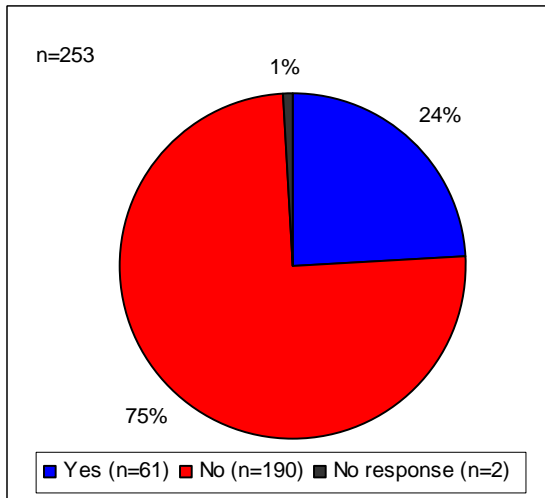
It is important to remember that this is a business that intends to serve a larger ideal, that is, conservation. The holism of a conservation project requires that it subscribe to certain other ideals that surround conservation: community consensus, sustainability, best practice, transparency, and so forth.

To run a business that acquiesces to local custom by undermining any one of these ideals is a serious concern. But to run one into the ground that has failed to serve either local or international objectives is tragic, and a waste of time, goodwill and money.

To some extent the problems of MOCP are the problems of community-based enterprises everywhere in PNG. The considerable labour and stress of running a vehicle through rough terrain, dealing with internecine politics on the ground, serving many masters, and never being rewarded enough either verbally or monetarily---goes with the job. These are the mitigating factors that Uy's business plan did not and could not have taken into account.

Nevertheless, the job of an MOCP manager/director is to innovate new protocols with local routines, based in large part upon his or her own experience of PNG businesses. This did not happen. Konia worked tirelessly, no doubt about it, but he was unable to merge local and management values into a successful entity. Commercial success in PNG sometimes means obviating local custom, in other instances, it means conforming to it. But everywhere it requires a level of diplomacy that Konia clearly lacked. Whatever the reason, the social distrust and general tension was a greater obstacle to MOCP's success than it should have been.

Capacity Building and Training for MDF



This program aims at building the capacity of MDF and the CBOs on the plateau to operate independently and continue to sustain the conservation and other activities when PwM exit. However, the feedback we gathered does not show that MDF and the CBOs can confidently manage and run their affairs when PwM leaves.

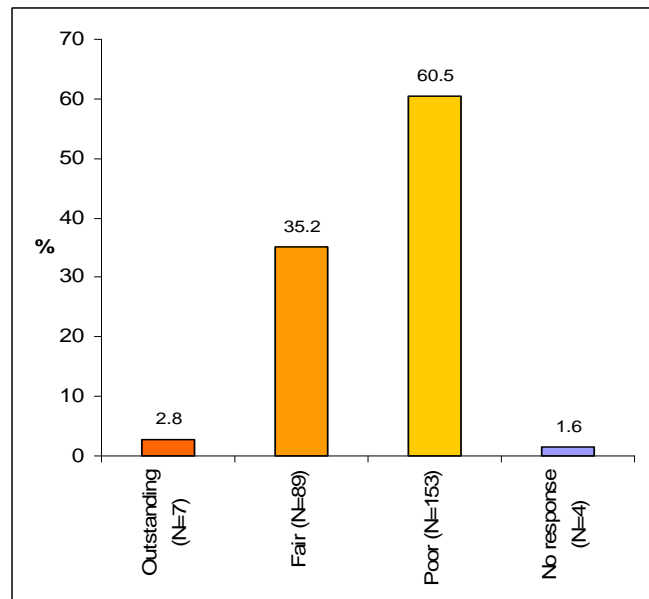
Figure 4: Can MDF manage to continue when PwM leaves? Percentage of respondents saying Yes, No or No Response

One MDF staff told us: “MDF does not have the capacity to continue and deliver the programs.”

On the other hand PwM think that they are doing everything to get MDF staff capacity properly built before they leave. According to PwM’s accountant, MDF are improving and PwM will continue to facilitate capacity building training for them as well as providing mentoring.

MDF received a funding support from ICCO for the purpose of capacity building. According to Damien Ase, ICCO is keen to continue to give financial support to MDF. Aase played the instrumental role in establishing that link for them.

Table 15. Overall project rating for PwM, by percentage of respondents



Overall program management and implementation

The programs should have been effective if only approached differently. PwM has done a good job making a few changes as recommended by the evaluation report of 2001. It would have been much better if PwM put most of their efforts in getting the conservation area declared by the Government prior to getting MDF established as local NGO of the Plateau. It is in our opinion that it was premature to have MDF established and that has distorted the whole process of getting the forest area conserved as well as creating more management problems.

The interviews and surveys results showed that the programs were not effective and have not achieved any results. It has become clear that the programs are not relevant to the community needs and aspirations.

Both our quantitative data and qualitative data showed that nothing tangible have been achieved in terms of program implementation at the community level. According to PwM and MDF they believe they have done a lot in terms of getting the project to where it is now. Unfortunately their efforts are not appreciated by the target communities in the plateau.

As shown in the graph about 60 % of the target group stated that the program is not getting the result as expected and even not benefiting the target communities.

Achievements and problems/ challenges faced by each program

Consensus building program

Achievements:

- People agreed and wanted development.
- Managalas Development Foundation (MDF) formed.
- Managalas Organic Coffee Project (MOCP) started.
- Confidence and skills transferred to younger people.
- Five students were sponsored to Madang Teachers College (MTC), and are now teaching.
- 2 students sponsored to study at POM Business College, one continued to do further studies at Pacific Adventist University (PAU) and the other working with MDF.
- Culture and conservation are maintained.
- SLA, rice milling in zone 3, sewing, baking and women issues (violence) honey bees.
- Combine efforts, participatory from the beginning to finish.
- There were some exposure trips that really helped us.

Problems/ Challenges:

- New approach imposed on both the community and MDF
- Using peoples' or project's name to secure funding
- False reporting by partners to the donors
- Activities funding diverted

- Fixed budgets issued by partners
- Poor monthly packaging
- RFN funds Karamui and Managalas
- Constraints in the channel of communicating
- Exposure to similar projects of RFN by partners
- Involvement in project proposal writing

Conservation and Sustainable forestry program.

Achievements:

- People and the communities aware of the negative impacts of developments
- PEC endorsed this conservation project for registration (2008)
- Sustainable forestry at Afore (2010)
- Culture conservation activities, example; cultural shows
- Education awareness on the flora and fauna of the rainforest in the area
- Traditionally identified conservation and revival initiation, Traditional Learning Centre (TLC)
- Informed issues on land use management; number of food gardens reduced and cash crops farming and growing
- Boundary mapping with increased number of people realized after the biodiversity study undertaken by the UPNG students. During the study, after number of new species of animals were found; a wild dog in zone 4, rattle snake, new species of snake, and a frog in zone 2.

Problems/ Challenges:

- Influence and discouragement by younger educated elites on older people in proposed conservation areas (zones 8/9) to bring in mineral prospecting and logging companies. For instance; Supergreen, an Asian owned company.
- Personal grudges between the Afore LLG President, Douglas Garawa, and the current Executive Director of partners.
- Lack of development of dialogue between MDF and LLG.
- Theatre skills training lacked.
- Equipments and skills needed to produce documentaries.

Rainforest literacy

Achievements:

- Similar to consensus building program
- Incentives has grown and expanded small businesses or eco – enterprises, for examples; at zone 8, Peter Sokomo, buying coffee and assets valued K10 000 plus, Robin Taboiya expanded trade store from K100 to K8000 in zone 3 and in zone 2, Christopher Amanenga, trade store asset value at K15 000, and coffee buying. Formation of theatre group, called *Kuaefienami* in 2010, with 12 sub groups established, 6 from each division.

- Design of new program approach from radio programs.

Challenges/ Problems:

- Funding limited for material production
- Misuse of incentives funds by the facilitators and clans
- MDF fundraising for programs are narrowed.
- Capacity building needed to take over from current coordinators
- Exposure trips and exchange learning fading
- Non availability of effective materials and meeting.

Capacity building (MDF)

Achievements:

- Board – board and financial manuals
- Strategic and action plan
- Basic book keeping and computer skills
- Skills and knowledge to apply for donor funding
- Fundraising (x50)
- Developed networking and partnership.

Problems/ Challenges:

- Ineffective board
- Long term and advanced training to manage MDF in the future
- Lack of networking and partnership programs to implement
- Lack of infrastructure and logistics
- Lack of networking
- Project proposal writing skills lacked
- Lack of advanced financial skills or softwares and auditing skills
- Lack of advanced project management skills and knowledge and financial base.

PwM and its partner local NGO, MDF, have needs that we have divided into two categories-- short term or *immediate needs*, and long term or *distant needs*.

Table 16: Needs Assessment for PwM

	Needs	Situation	Required Action
Immediate Needs	People's skills	1. The MDF staff work in isolation from the communities. Very distant relationship hence low trust for PwM and MDF staff.	2. Improve staff relationship with local people: For example, conduct community relations and interactive skills training. Involve women, children and disadvantaged men.
	Social Responsibility	1. Lack of accurate information on programs 2. Not all zones are visited for some of years 3. Alcohol consumption by certain staff of PwM and MDF (direct breach of PwM Staff Manual Section 4 (F).	1. Accurate information on every program is necessary. Regular field visits 2. Frequent field visits to all zones, at least annually 3. No drinking during fieldwork by staff of both PwM and MDF
Immediate Needs	Defined priorities	1. High expectation of the current 28 priorities. People blame PwM for not 'keeping its promise'. The 28 priorities are considered promises.	1. PwM need to reconvene the consensus building program to explain to the people, the meaning or 28 priorities.
	Capacity Building	1. Majority of the staff are experienced but have no proper qualifications.	1a. MDF need to recruit qualified and experience staff. 1b. MDF need to send its Finance Officer to obtain degree in accounting to help with management funds
	Networking with stakeholders	1. PwM has outstanding working relationship with other environmental NGOs and donors. 2. At loggerheads with the Afore LLG Pres Douglas Garawa 3. Community no longer trust PwM.	1. Maintain this position 2. Reconvene dialogue to settle difference 3. Work closely with communities to gain their trust again.
	Reporting: Finance and Programs	1. Accused of mismanagement of funds for the programs by the people.	1. Financial books and reports audited. Distributed to all stakeholders for the financial standings of PwM.

		2. No narrative reports	2. Produce narrative reports and have them available for all stakeholders.
	Gender equity	1. Poor gender equity in program participation. More male participate in the workshops/trainings.	1a. Encourage more women to actively participate in the trainings and workshops. 1b. Reevaluate the programs and enterprise to reduce the work burden on women and raise the benefits to them.
Distance Needs	Staff Welfare	1. PwM's staff is well looked after. They are satisfied with the benefits they receive. MDF staff considers itself overworked and underpaid. CBO complain that MDF staff don't do any and still get paid 2. MDF and CBO staffs are paid with program money (significant proportion of administration money is used) thus programs are not implemented in the field. 3. Some staffs expressed were not happy in the way they were treated by their colleagues or superiors.	1. Pays should be performance based. Improve the pay systems so all staff are happy. 2. Pays should of MDF and CBOs staff must come from administration cost and not program cost (in the original budget) . 3. The management of PwM must ensure that all its employees are treated with respect, including those in power or position or authority.

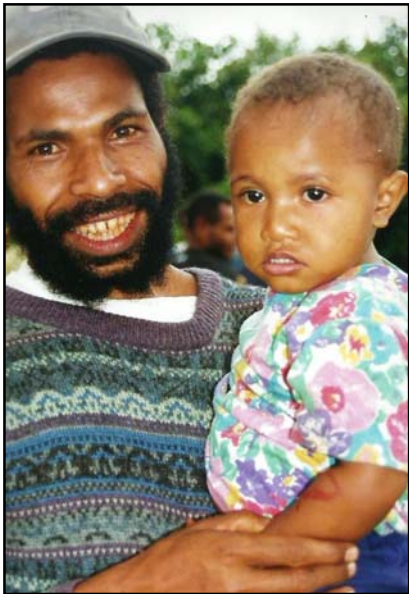
Table 17: Program evaluation matrix

<u>Program Implemented</u>	<u>Program Goals</u>	<u>Target Outcomes</u>	<u>Steps to Achieve the Outcome</u>	<u>Status/ Results</u>	<u>Activity Analysis and Action Plan</u>	<u>Time Frame</u>
<u>Consensus Building, awareness, education, information and training</u>	To ensure there is prior informed consent on any community project/program or activity within the area.	Full community participation in the conservation project	Consensus Building Process: meetings????	Community Participation has reduced over the years	No Analysis and Action Plan	Annually
<u>Eco-Enterprise Support Program</u>	To provide support for alternative income generating activities in the area	Improve living standards through alternative and sustainable business activities	Vegetables, Okari nuts and coffee purchased or collected from the people, sold outside Plateau, and money returned	Some people participated in the regions that were involved. Some regions, including, zones 4, 10 and all of the eastern zones never participated. All the activities ceased and MOCP failed.	No report on MOCP failure or other projects that ceased to continue. No further Analysis and Action Plan for alternate business activities.	Stopped
<u>Conservation and Eco-forestry</u>	<u>To produce materials and conduct awareness on biodiversity conservation and sustainable forest management</u>	The communities become well informed on the importance of their forest and the resources in it and how to use them wisely	Trainings and workshop are conducted in the Plateau where (selected) people attended.	Nearly all the people are aware of the importance of their forest resources.	No analysis and narrative report. No action plan.	Annually
<u>Consensus on Sustainable Forest Management</u>	To build consensus and support on sustainable forest management towards locally owned eco-forestry project	The communities in the Plateau take ownership of their forest resources. They develop and manage this resource responsibly.	Partners has planned annual activities which it implements directly, or through MDF	A sawmill was bought by PwM and stationed at zone 5 but it is not functioning.	No documented analysis of the programs or results. No action plan strategizing new approach	Annually
<u>Appropriate Technology Support Program</u>	Affordable technology at village level in the area	Promote local production of basic household goods	Trainers were brought by PwM to trained selected people on how to make soap, farm honey etc	Participants knew how to make cooking oil, soap using coconuts. Their knowledge was not used, however, due to lack of resources.	No analysis was done to determine if the training was appropriate. No action plan established	Stopped

<p>Capacity Building for MDF Staff</p>	<p>To equip MDF and CBOs to independently and sustainably run as organizations</p>	<p>Qualified and competent staffs to run MDF and the 10 CBOs</p>	<p>PwM is has given multi-skills trainings and workshop to the staff of MDF and CBOs.</p>	<p>The staff of MDF and CBOs gained basic office and finance management skills only--hence poor office administration and by both MDF and CBOs</p>	<p>No Analysis and Action Plan for real human resource/capacity building</p>	<p>Ongoing</p>
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14. Discussion

All the reasons we need NGOs are precisely the reasons people come to reject them. They are essentially 'foreign.' The expertise that keeps an office running—the grants coordinator, the logistics personnel, the accountants, the conservation experts, managers, etc---the business of running an NGO---is what the village itself lacks. And ultimately the village suspects these services—the 'experts'-- to be sucking the life out of a project. This disparity between office and *ples* becomes the operative dialectic generating every dissatisfaction about development---both for the office staff and the people on the ground. Office staff grow frustrated with the 'cargo mentality' of landowners, the fact that they want to be bought for doing the right thing. And landowners grow militant about the bottleneck of funding that keeps their revenues at a trickle when it looks like all the office workers are awash in money. (See McCallum and Sekhran [1997] on the Lak conservation project in New Ireland, which was plagued by inflated expectations--mainly due to prior patronage by Niugini Lumber [NGL], which caused villagers to demand the NGO cover the shortfall costs of forfeiting logging income---prompting Colin Filer to write, at the time, that "it would probably be difficult to find another place in Papua New Guinea where local landowners were more insistent on the need to have their trees cut down as soon as possible" [Filer 1991:71]).



Managalas 1995

As Barker remind us for the Maisin, these NGO's are essentially western institutions being imposed upon very different forms of authority in the community (Ibid:196):

[Maisin Integrated Conservation and Development's (MICAD)] immediate origins lay in the landowners' refusal to cede control over the forest in the mid 1990s. The emergency, perhaps for the first time, brought together all of the Maisin villages in large political rallies, including even remote Uwe, lying far to the north and possessing no commercially valuable stands of timber. The model of integrated conservation and development being introduced nationally around the same time gave this political movement form. That form was recognizably Western and democratic. Working closely with Conservation Melanesia, MICAD developed a constitution laying out procedures for electing officers and their duties and responsibilities to the community. While the Maisin saw the need for a unified front to stave off attempts by individuals or whole villages from signing contracts with loggers, the partners perhaps had the greater need for a formally constituted political organization. Indeed it is hard to see how the partnerships could have continued without the invention of MICAD or something similar. MICAD's constituted authority included the power to negotiate projects with outsiders, make arrangements for food and accommodation for visitors, and handle profits from tapa sales and the telephone, along with direct grants, for the benefit of the Maisin people as a whole. Without MICAD, the partners would have had to negotiate

virtually everything they did directly with individual villages, adding enormously to their expenses as well as the difficulty of getting projects up and running.

After an extensive review of the Maisin's MICAD experience, Barker writes that (Ibid:193, 196-7):

Every villager I spoke to was delighted by the money that outsiders brought to the community, either directly or through tapa sales. However, this was coupled by strong discontent with how things were actually working out. Many people harboured deep suspicions that some partners were getting far more out of the arrangement than others, pocketing more than their fair share of the profits that the cloth fetched overseas. Most partners, it was thought, were good and working selflessly on behalf of the people, but perhaps not all. Much of the discontent, however, was directed inwards, upon the Maisin themselves. ...Rumours spread that the managers of the cooperative tended to favour their own relatives and perhaps had sticky fingers, skimming off profits for their own use. At times the griping and gossip grew so intense, I felt that the main accomplishment of the tapa initiative had been to stir up a hornet's nest. ..Everyone agreed that the cooperative was a good thing. However, the inflow of cash brought by tapa sales directly challenged deeply ingrained notions of fairness because it proved impossible to guarantee an equitable share across the villages and among tapa makers....

...Assessments [of MICAD] are deeply informed by the key value of equivalence. While villagers I spoke to clearly took great pride in forming MICAD and its accomplishments, it did not take long before the talk became critical. People everywhere (including some MICAD leaders) complained that the organization did not fairly share projects and the money they brought in. Such criticisms were especially acute the further one moved from Uiaku [the project office site], which was widely perceived as receiving the lion's share of benefits. ...Such suspicions were not misplaced. MICAD leaders tended to be heavily represented on overseas delegations, to visit Port Moresby frequently, and to take other perks.

While NGO workers are busy spinning their needs to fit the donor organization's mission, villagers are busily expanding their concept of the NGO's mandate: what it should be doing, what it hasn't done, and what it must do next.

Some of the language is itself ironic. NGOs talk about landowners and stakeholders needing to 'take' ownership of projects. Stakeholders speak of NGOs hoarding power and not 'giving' ownership to them. The hard job is forging a bridge between these two. When this bridge is weak or absent then the great risk is that money will be misspent and actually finance bad developments rather than good ones: when an NGO loses sight of its donors and feeds the requests of landowners only, they are likely to be reaffirming imbalanced or even corrupt systems of power. The squeaky wheel in many communities gets the most oil, leaving everyone else dry. By the same token, the constant demands from landowners that arise mainly from lack of access or communication can actually cause NGO staff to turn their backs on the clients, and

even shift their attention to other projects. Local politics can also act as a lever or even a direct threat to the NGO, and prompt otherwise diligent NGO workers to retaliate, if not give up altogether.

Managalas 2010

We need to get beyond predictable contrasts and sentiments. We should expect animosity from both villagers and the NGO workers. It is simply part of the process. We need to prepare for it, and frame it differently, as part of the bigger effort. Villagers could be warned, NGO workers certainly need to be prepared, and donors who may be familiar with the pattern of events but not used to how nasty things can get in PNG absolutely need to be briefed before it reaches them. Were the government of the day providing infrastructure, schools, health, and environmental protection, there would still be friction as a result of new hierarchies being formed: tensions between the old and young, the literate and nonliterate, the traditional and the modern.



Again, we can learn from the Maisin experience. (Ibid:202):

The longer partners work with the Maisin, the more likely they feel discomforted. They fret about what their relationship means. Hence, some activists I spoke to in the late 1990s told me that one of their biggest concerns was that most Maisin were not hearing the conservation message but were seeing organizations like Greenpeace and Conservation Melanesia as cash cows to be milked for immediate benefits. Some speculated that many villagers were engaged in “cargoist” thinking, believing that the mere appearance of the NGOs and others would magically bring about a new era of prosperity with no additional efforts on their part. Others interpreted Maisin requests for ever more compensation as a type of extortion, a thinly veiled threat that unless the partners anteed up, villagers would change their minds and invite in the loggers. This was of great concern. Supporting the Maisin, for the partners, meant providing them with tools to better adjust to the challenges of globalization. This was supposed to be a short-term intervention with the aim of increasing autonomy and not creating a new dependency. Many Maisin professed to be committed to conserving the rainforest. Yet in light of their demands, how deep did this commitment go? What would happen in a few short years when the NGOs and others shifted their attention and efforts to other places?

These concerns are not unrealistic. There is a strong element of coercion in the ways that Maisin and other Melanesians insist upon “balance” in their relationships. I attended many meetings in which some villagers, in the absence of the partners, angrily

denounced their “friends” for secretly pocketing the bulk of profits from overseas sales of tapa and for not adequately compensating people for their time and efforts. Such talk tends to get around and eventually back to its target. It helps to realize that the Maisin often speak of their own leaders in the same harsh terms.

The concept of equality as a fluctuating and competitive ideal is discussed below. Importantly, here we need to acknowledge that there is no basic equality between the NGO and its clients, just as there is none between the donor organizations and the NGO. These hierarchies of value and of objectives create a pyramid of expectations, starting with, for example, an international donor agency that needs outputs (like square kilometers conserved) for their investment. This multiplies on the national level as a series of project funds that concurrently fulfill certain government and international treaty objectives. Finally, these programs filigree into many different forms of influence on the ground, with smaller and smaller amounts of material assistance expected to be reciprocated by greater commitments, and those commitments are vested with incalculable expectations of development.

The sustainability of a project may depend, in the end, on the flow of communication between these tiers of authority and making each level understand the demands of the others.

All too often the grassroots is the default position or moral center of a project, and the management team is considered ruthless liberal economic pragmatists. “Yes, we fired X not because she was related to the local MP but because she didn’t have the right bookkeeping skills. And we hired another Highlander or Papuan (or whomever the ‘other’ may be) because he/she does have the political network in Port Moresby, and not because he/she is better suited to the management than your Uncle [who happens to come from the next village and actually deserves to be hired]...”

Every conservation project has, in its constitution, some provision that landowners be represented within the NGO management. It usually has a mandate for gender equity and transparency, too. But an NGO is also a business, and business is rife with injustices. Sometimes people are hired for their contacts and not for their skills. Sometimes they’re hired solely for their skills and not as a local representative. Inevitably NGOs are built from educated elites and well-meaning local partners. At any given time, there will be an imbalance between the two and the project will either appear to be run by outsiders, or run down to the ground by locals.

Barker remembers that (Ibid:196):

During my fieldwork in the late 1990s, I was very curious to learn more about MICAD. The various partners I had spoken to for the most part dealt only with the MICAD leadership and talked about the organization as a kind of government, albeit one that was still finding its feet. ...Because I had “family” in Uiaku, I was treated somewhat differently than other partners. I arrived in 1997 and 1998 with places to stay. Still, I now paid an accommodation fee that had been set by MICAD for visitors.

People in his field site had become more capitalist over time. But the danger is in seeing this mercantilism as greed, when the new system of governance had actually been successfully

introduced. Be careful what you wish for: If we continue to hold firm to a project's original constitution, or priorities, we are also expecting people's outlook to stay the same, when in fact social change involves material and ideological change. People think differently about conservation twenty years into a conservation project.



The 28 priorities have become empty promises. The 28 priority projects (list) was drawn up in 1997 as a product of the consensus building process. Our assessment thirteen years later is that this was a serious mistake, a mishandling of the timing and the politics of the project that has now become a major obstacle to its success. To draft a laundry list of goals well before any guarantee of fulfilling them is the most dangerous way to raise expectations. Not only is an NGO incapable of fulfilling everyone's objectives, but these desires also change over time, and to hold a project to an outdated list of 'promises' can only make the NGO look insincere.

Beware of promises in any other name. In the PwM case, a list of 28 Project Priorities drafted from the 1997 Combined Forum has become less of a map for the road forward than a series of edicts etched in stone. The original *Strongim Lek* report recommended in 2001 that these needed to be adapted then, and nine years later this is even more important. Once a laundry list of desires has been made, they will always be referred to as unfulfilled promises. The problem with the 28 priorities is that they appear to be a laundry list of tasks that PwM would be expected to perform rather than elusive goals for the NGO and the community to achieve together. There may be a better way to draft such a document, and have it relate to land use plans in each zone.

In 1995, the Maisin formulated a declaration that acknowledged the importance of the forest for the Maisin people while also stating clearly that:

...we do not only wish to live as our ancestors did. We seek to maintain our heritage but also improve our lives and the lives of our future generations. We therefore require better opportunities for education, health and transportation, to name a few. The Government has failed to adequately assist us in developing these opportunities. We require money, information, training and technical support to develop them ourselves. (Barker Op cit:186-7)



This is more of a media declaration than a working document, but it is instructive for its generalized language. What they seek is a better life, and training to become autonomous from government ---not dependent upon a substitute government.

By contrast, the new MDF constitution makes no reference to PwM whatsoever, neither to its history nor the transition period. This

is itself worrisome.

Equality

Anthropologist Ira Bashkow has worked with the Orokaiva, to the north of the Plateau, and written succinctly about the importance of equality in that region, especially as it pertains to exchange, and the way exchange keeps the status of clans and individuals fluctuation. His comments are useful background to understanding the Managalas identity. Give and take is the means by which hierarchies gets recalibrated, he says, and no one (not even foreigners or NGOs) are ever on top for long. As Bashkow explains (2006:32-34):

Orokaiva values exhibit the familiar Melanesian contradictions of egalitarianism versus a stress on competitive achievement, and individual autonomy and willfulness versus a valued sociality that is premised on conformity and obedience. And as in other Melanesian societies the focus of Orokaiva community life moves back and forth dialectically between locally grounded activities like gardening and village-building, and socially expansive activities like public speaking, gift exchange, and feasting, all of which are associated with the extension of influence, control, and fame across distance....

Orokaiva are...used to constructing regional status and identity in ways that are relational and dynamic, entailing reciprocities and reversals of position over time. Traditionally Orokaiva had no fixed hierarchical relationships between villages....Reciprocity and reversal of status is similarly exhibited by the hierarchical relationships created through feasting. The recipients of a feast are 'pushed down' (*kikira*) by the giver's superiority at that moment. But when they later return the gift of a feast of their own, it is they who will have the superiority, reversing their earlier roles.

Such cycling of status has historically characterized Orokaiva intervillage relationships, even from the point of a village's founding...

There is something interesting Bashkow also says about how this competitive ethos gets played out in constantly contradictory sentiments---what westerners would certainly consider 'hypocritical' behavior. As he says (Ibid):

As a rule, guests do not contradict their hosts' claims of centrality during a visit, but when they later receive their erstwhile hosts at *their* village, the roles will normally be exchanged. I often saw this etiquette observed by guests in the face of hosts' claims that their village was the 'center' of the Orokaiva world and the 'root' of its culture, notwithstanding that the guests claimed as much for themselves while on their own ground. In addition, hosts would sometimes flatter guests by praising their villages as the 'root' of culture, history, traditional knowledge, or particular arts. Even within a single visit, praise and forbearance of others' claims were themselves exchanged between guests and hosts, and it was on the basis of such exchanges that the relative status of villages was negotiated. It was never unambiguously fixed.

But what is most pertinent to the dynamics of NGO and community in Managalas is the way Bashkow explains introduced hierarchies of power as being fundamentally different for being permanent, not shifting. Thus he tells us (Ibid):

Unlike these traditional relationships among people and localities, the hierarchical relationships that were introduced as part of whitemen's custom are permanent and relatively unambiguous. Modern western-style institutions and infrastructure tend to be organized hierarchically around a superordinate central position. This is especially true of government, which people understand is successively subdivided into provinces, districts, and wards.

This emphasis on constant competitive, which seems to apply in Managalas just as it does elsewhere in Oro Province, is in direct contrast to all external structures of the modern age, not just NGOs. But whereas local level politics are easily subsumed by this fluidity of power on the ground (as it is in most places in PNG: one's local level government always responds first to the LLG President's own clan and community)---and to some extent this is also true of provincial level politics---NGO's are required to establish much wider forms of consensus. Their Boards and donors require as much. Thus the complaints heard in Zone 1 about the MP from Zone 4 who appears to have graded the road only so far as to service those zones that voted for him, and not others, are pretty typical of politics across all of PNG. Whether this gets written off as 'wantokism' or just the give and take of competition, it is fundamentally different from what people expect from their national government and, more importantly, from NGOs. Thus we read John Barker's explanation of the Collingwood Bay MICAD as a project that is fraught because it sits between egalitarianism and authority (Op cit: 198-9):

MICAD exists in the tension between the need for an authority that can speak for all of the Maisin and the cultural expectation of equivalence. ...Building and maintaining consensus in a politically egalitarian society is enormously difficult even when limited to

a single village. The ambitions of MICAD, of course, are much greater. Like any big man, Sylvester [Moi, the original director of MICAD until his death in 2003] was subjected to constant scrutiny and gossip. He was an obvious target for sorcery attack from a jealous rival. ...I have no doubt that many Maisin attribute his early death to sorcery. MICAD, however, has survived him.... MICAD is perhaps the most impressive testimony to the Maisin's faith that solidarity and social amity provides the foundation for health and prosperity, for it continues to operate despite the gossip, the disappointments, and the death of its major founder.

Writing about the Bismark-Ramu ICAD Project, Flip Van Helden reminds us that:

If one's children die of easily preventable diseases, if one cannot afford to send them to school, and if one cannot meet the basics that are necessary for a decent life, most people would sell their forest in the hope of that one chance which provides them with a lifestyle similar to that of the outsiders, who tell them not to cut their bush. **Ultimately, the conservation issue is an issue of socioeconomic equality** (Ven Helden 1998: 263)(Emphasis added).

Gender

Strongim Lek (2001) made a strong point about gender inequity on the Plateau and within the project: "It would not be too strong to say," the authors wrote, " that there is a systematic exclusion of women from project decision-making structures and benefits and that the organization as a whole has a coherent emphasis against women".

Like most PNG traditional societies, men play dominant roles on the Managalas Plateau. There are some efforts to ensure and enable women to contribute meaningfully and thus increase their participation at all levels. There are now two female Board Members at PwM.

Out of a staff of 10, four PwM workers are female: of them, Jacinta Gure holds a senior position in the organization as Accountant, and two other females are Coordinators of the Conservation and Eco-forestry and the Rainforest Literacy Programs.

Each CBO also has a female casual/volunteer responsible for women's affairs. Julian, a local female volunteer engaged with Nacoda Inc, the CBO of Zone 2, finds it challenging but she believes she can learn to improve her performance as time goes on.

Importantly, MDF has now brought in a Gender Officer in Filma Arore, whose ideas we have heard and would like to encourage. Filma is a grade 10 leaver, sister to David Arore, the Open MP. Richard Arore, her father, is a Board member, her mother Leah Arore is the Womens Representative for the Afore LLG and is attached to the Womens Resource Centre in Afore. Filma is based in Afore, where she has planned a Zone 3 baking workshop, but they have no drum ovens as yet. These she plans to make. The Womens Resource Centre is AusAid funded and has a conference centre, which will help Filma bring the women together.

But no single officer or project will change the role of women in Managalas, and this is too much to ask of the project itself. It should be noted, however, that similar projects have had as much difficulty as PwM with establishing the kind of gender equity that outside donors require. We take heed of the comments by John Barker on this issue, as they pertain to the Collingwood Bay MICAD. Barker (Op cit: 194-5) tells us:

Unfailingly respectful and polite, the partners working with the Maisin on various tapa projects insisted that women have a prominent place not only in the making of the cloth but in making decisions and enjoying the benefits. Just as politely, the Maisin leaders resisted...Women were formally, although not effectively, given equal control over Maisin Tapa Enterprises, and women's councils were formed in Uiaku and Airara to meet with partners when they came into the area to discuss tapa-related projects. In 1997, I was amazed to find senior women sitting *upon* (rather than below and beside) the shelters with their male counterparts during the various meetings I attended. They sat apart and sat quietly unless prompted by the men to speak, but a number made eloquent speeches not only about tapa but about the need for the Maisin to preserve the rainforest. This state of affairs didn't last long. By 2000, senior men again sat alone on the shelters. I was then working on the early stages of organizing a delegation to visit Canada. When I told people it had to be half women, a number of men complained bitterly to me that I and the other partners were "interfering with the culture." ...It was clear that Uiaku was not on the brink of a feminist revolution. The women's council only convened when visitors requested a meeting... Whether because of jealousy or notions of appropriate behavior, senior women were among the most adamantly opposed to women joining delegations, and those who managed to go overseas could count upon tongue-lashings, particularly from their female in-laws.

Amongst the most insightful of Barker's conclusions is the basic fact that the tapa enterprise was more a burden than a favor to the Maisin women. He writes (Ibid):

The main problem, I suspect, was that despite all the good intentions, the tapa projects did not do much in a practical sense to support women. Indeed, they added considerably to their burden ...Women still remained responsible for most daily subsistence tasks. The increased pressure to beat and design tapa added to their already heavy workloads, as did visits from activists, museum curators, and film crews who needed to be housed, fed, and entertained. In many cases, their husbands, brothers, and fathers appropriated any cash earned from tapa, so women often saw few of the benefits. This all suggests to me that their resistance had less to do with cultural conservatism or a reluctance to upset them men as resistance to being burdened with additional work....Thus, I was not entirely surprised when an old friend shared with me her hope that the next development project for the Maisin would for once require the men do "real work" rather than just sit around and talk, as they did incessantly about MICAD.

There are a number of important points here. First, that any form of development which burdens one part of the population over another certainly cannot expect to have unilateral support. Women are the backbone of all village labour and the fact that many introduced projects involve materials at the 'downstream' or 'value-added' side of production does nothing to benefit them. A cocoa fermentary, coffee mill, tourism scheme, even a vehicle, may have trickle-down benefits for women, but for the short-term they represent no change in their labour-intensive lives and always, invariably, mean more visitors who need to be fed, housed and generally entertained.

The income generated by new modes of production or better marketing is rarely seen by the women themselves. Unless they are extremely lucky to have great husbands willing to divert this income back to household needs, they may in fact suffer even more from new wealth circulating through menfolk---to air fares, PMVs, beer, feasts, etc. A 2006 study our company conducted for HELP Resources (Sullivan et al 2006) following the vanilla boom and bust in East Sepik demonstrated exactly how dangerous these economic fluctuations can be to women. Men suddenly had the ability to buy more wives, girlfriends, vehicles, travel and, in consequence, domestic strife, disease, and violence. Unfortunately, very little vanilla money in the East Sepik Province ever went to school fees, solar panels or water tanks. Part the reason for this was because the vanilla grower centers, like Dreikir and Maprik, did not have banks, and those banks even in Wewak did not relax their terms enough to allow newly rich farmers to open savings accounts. The vanilla experience may have had its silver lining in convincing Sepik people of the importance of savings and loan societies, which are now far more commonly available.

Even the best entrepreneurial efforts can look fruitless at the start. The tapa enterprise established in Collingwood Bay saw a brief period of financial returns, for example, but these were mostly frittered away along traditional exchange networks, and ultimately the project folded before more stable incomes could be established. As Barker explains (Op cit:192):

While the tapa promotion campaign along with the cash injected by visitors resulted in a sudden rise in the prosperity of the Maisin villages, particularly Uiaku, no one became wealthy. Most of the money was quickly dispersed along exchange networks and spent on store-bought food, clothing, transportation fees, and other consumables rather than put in bank accounts. In any case, the surge didn't last long. [key players left these NGOs]...The fundamentals kicked back in. Faced by the problems of irregular and expensive transportation, no control over market prices, and the failure of some purchasers to pay for the tapa they received, Maisin Tapa Enterprises was moribund, and individual tapa sales, mostly to artifact shops in the towns, had slowed to a trickle [by 2000].

There are numerous case studies from conservation and development that teach us how women can be both positively and negatively impacted by both. Deforestation, as a rule of thumb, makes it harder for women in the developing world to get water or firewood for their families. But conversely, inappropriate reforestation can also cause women to walk longer distances to perform daily duties. Inappropriate development has the same risk: agricultural

projects that encroach upon or distance a woman's garden will make her life that much harder, as will schemes to intensify production that require skills she may not have (like driving a tractor). At the same time, deforestation and industrial pollution is devastating to human health, and effect pregnant women most directly. Similarly, studies in India, for example, have linked high rates of miscarriage to the heavy loads of water women are expected to carry. In Nepal, women get prolapsed uteruses from carrying loads of wood (See, e.g. Fisher et al 2008:38).

In the context of PNG's almost total lack of services to remote villages, the Gender Officer of a conservation project should be engaged in finding solutions to the growing strains of development on women. How to make their lives easier, as the demands of modernity grow, is the first priority. This is the crucial first step to consensus on conservation for women, as well. Marketing collectives, birth control, homeopathic/natural medicines, fitness advice, water projects, appropriate technologies for the home, basic literacy, time management, and microcredit (discussed below) are all recommended strategies. Gender Officers are not so much about representing women on management for a (although that is certainly important), but most importantly about facilitating developments of the right sort to the women of the community. In a gender study of the tuna industry in Fiji, for example, a team of researchers and myself discovered that women cannery workers in one plant were more interested in better boots and access to chiropractic services (because they work on their feet for long shifts) than other services ---and that no male management had ever considered these requests (Ram-Bidesi 2007). So many roles are gendered, and because management is mainly male, most so-called improvements service male and not female conditions.

Women have long been recognized by development workers in PNG to be the most effective bankers, and even better community organizers. Women's church groups and church-sponsored micro-credit schemes have seen great success in mobilizing community income and consensus. Historian Anne Dickson-Waiko (2003), wife of the Orokaivan politician/historian John Waiko (who himself has written succinctly about the Orokaivan 'competitive' ethic [see Waiko 1970 on their success in enforcing 'egalitarianism' on the Australian administration]), tells us that one of the most effective forms of community organizing is through women's church groups, and especially in Oro, through the Anglican Church's women's groups. John Barker also reminds us (Op cit:194):

In Melanesia, the most stable and effective community organizations tend to be women's church groups like the Anglican Mothers Union. Hence, a number of experts have argued that rather than channeling money and projects through men, who tend to fritter away the proceeds or use them to advance their own political careers, a better strategy would be to work directly with women who are much more likely to use the resources to the betterment of their communities (Dickson-Waiko 2003).

Interestingly, when people write about the imposed structures of western authority, and especially how they grate upon Melanesian egalitarianism, they generally overlook the two-tiered authority of Melanesian society itself. Women in PNG do not wince at taking authority, nor do they need to compete as publicly between themselves. They are generally married in to

a community, and live comfortably with the concept of being subordinate to their menfolk. By the same token, they are not worried about the inequity of the church, which is their primary experience of modern life. Women's groups across PNG pay dues to the mother church that never seem to result in direct services, and yet they rarely complain. In Itokama I spoke with Noreen Mumure who explained that the Anglican Mother's Union requires a K3 fee that they assume goes back to the church itself. Anglican Parish Mother's Union group has 300 or more women, and meets every Wednesday in Itokama. There are no enterprise projects, only occasional baking and sewing fundraising efforts, and an Okari nut account for the women (a vestige of the Okari nut project). They raise money for traveling to church events, but the annual dues go back to the diocese. The Orokaiva seem to have a similar situation, as Bashkow reveals (Op cit: 34-5):

Orokaiva are keenly aware that the Anglican Church is organized on a pattern of radiating authority, with a "mother church" in England and the Papua New Guinea daughter church divided into dioceses, parishes, and chapels: when I asked Agenehambo women about their 3-kina (about U.S.\$3) annual dues for the Anglican "Mothers Union," they explained that 1 kina was kept by the parish of Agenehambo, 1 kina went to the Mothers Union of the whole diocese, and 1 kina was sent all the way to London.

And yet when the CBO wanted Zone 1 women to come to Port Moresby, he organized them through the women's group. Each woman contributed K5, and it totaled something like K1000, as a fee for the CBO's work applying to the AusAid Community Development Scheme for travel monies. When the women wanted to meet about the money, their CBO refused, Noreen said.

It is useful to read what Anne Dickson-Waiko has written about women in PNG and their peculiar relationship to the church, and to modernity itself (2010:1-10):

Women in Papua New Guinea fell into the same category as the rest of the population particularly those in the interior Highlands who went from first contact to independence with very little experience if at all, of colonialism...It could be said that Colonialism was experienced indirectly or from a distance, through hearsay and rumor thereby reformulating oral traditions for the next generation...The way women are structurally located within the patriarchal cultures of PNG societies; as well as their structural relocation during the colonial period. It also had to do with colonial policies that were gendered and racialized thereby institutionalizing gender inequality and subordination. The effect of the latter meant that women's pre-colonial experiences and positions in society continued to be reinforced during the construction of the colonial state and becoming more embedded in the postcolonial state.... Indigenous men began to acquire an individual entity while women remained part of a group or community, family, clan and lineage... If taking over [at Independence] meant taking over political leadership, women are still waiting to take over, not from colonials but from their countrymen. The problem is that men will not allow them to take over political leadership without a fight, legal or otherwise.... Despite the hierarchical and patriarchal nature of Churches, to their credit they allowed women to organize bringing together women from different villages

and later districts and provinces... Membership in women's groups gave women a life beyond the village and the province. They are constantly attending women's workshops, meetings and conventions. They are creating relationships with women from other provinces, helping to breakdown those fragmented societies that existed in 1975 into nation. For the younger professional women, the 'save meri' educational institutions and Sports have helped whittle away the cultural barriers that existed in 1975. Church women's groups have created spaces for ordinary semi-literate women to participate in civil society and be part of an emerging nation.

Filma would like to establish a microcredit scheme for women on the Plateau. This is also our recommendation. Women will come forward on their own terms. Once their efforts are rewarded directly, and they can see them benefit the entire household, they should be able to take leading roles more often.

Previously, a Revolving Funds system was introduced in the program. All CBOs benefited and funds were returned to MDF from the proceeds of an activity. But the CBOs mismanaged this and it was stopped. This could be re-introduced through the Womens Groups, with string stipulations that men not manage any of these funds.

Interviewee: Ms. Fiona Arore [Gender Office, MDF staff] , Venue: Anglican Youth Centre [Popondetta]

Fiona: Yes, the result was overwhelming as there was equal participation by the women, both young and old. The women were very keen to learn more. This was in the eastern division, so now I'll go to western division and conduct one for the women there.

The sewing training will be conducted at Afore, Micro credit scheme will be at Itokama (MDF office) so that the interested mothers and women can attend, and also join the scheme get started. The women from my village will start the poultry project for a start. I am waiting for funds from partners to kick start these projects in the selected villages in the zones. The rice milling is at zone 3 which has started a long time ago in 2002 and on fish farming, all the ponds are ready and we are waiting for the monies to be given to us to buy fingerlings. Baking started last month (June). The first time I conducted a workshop was at zone 3 and all the mothers and women were very happy and that motivated me so I'll continue with programs based on my plans. For the workshop arrangements, I will invite certain number of mothers form each zones to attend the workshop, and upon returning home, they can implement it. For the last workshop, I wrote letters to mother's representative in each zone and wanted 2 mothers from each zone to attend but only those from zone 3 to 5 attended. Those women who are very interested in the programs are very happy with what I am doing.

If we do want to conduct our programs then we will write invitation letters to women representatives in each zones and let them know what is going to happen. The poultry will start at zone 3 because they are already ready as they have built the poultry or chicken houses and fish farming will commence in zone 2.

The information on implementing of these programs went reached all the zones except zones 1, 9 and 10. I do want to visit each zones but the program is tight so I might not visit all the zones. I do want to really speed up my work but my boss doesn't do the reporting very quickly and signs the paper, especially the MDF boss.



It is important to note that on the macro level women are becoming more and more important in development funding. Recently, the UK's Deputy Prime Minister, Nick Clegg, announced to a UN summit that the UK government intends to reorient its entire aid program to "put the lives of women at its heart" (Boseley 2010:16). The way most G8 countries have assessed the gap needed to close before they meet the Millenium Development Goals by 2015 now points to women. Funding their efforts, their basic needs, and their roles at the centre of family life, have always been the linchpin to better livelihoods in the developing world, but now donor agencies and major overseas governments have begun to acknowledge this. Most of the indicators now involve women: maternal mortality, women's education, women's suffrage, and women's legal rights have all become the salient indicators of social growth recently. What this means for the Managalas Plateau is not only that focusing on women will help raise all these indicators and therefore benefit the entire population, but also that doing so will allow the NGOs and CBOs greater access to overseas aids targeting at these measures. When Plateau 'outputs' match

global ones, then it can be said the programs are as sensitive to the needs on the ground as they are to international donor agendas, and that's a very good thing.

Program planning

Programs are not in line with the community needs and there is too much repetition of the same programs. Awareness is only useful in beginning. Some trainings conducted on site were not relevant or were poorly planned. For example, the rice farming and milling training was under resourced. Production of kerosene from coconut oil, and soap making, were also poorly planned: the supply of coconuts in the plateau is low and to get coconut from the coast would be very difficult and expensive; while the caustic soda needed to make soap is simply unavailable to villagers. **Appropriate technology matters.** For the sawmill, sewing projects, water projects, etc.—technologies must be appropriate. Replacement parts are simply not available to people on the Plateau.

PwM and MDF staff are not delivering the programs. Too many excuses are placed on financial limitations and therefore there is nothing happening. Certain things can be done without money. The communities are not happy about MDF staff being too lazy and doing nothing while still getting their allowances. CBOs have activity plans but are not conducting them because they say they have no allowances. This can be addressed by payments, or by a strong public relations push that includes meetings on the Plateau and a clarification of what is to be compensated monetarily and what is not.

Major eco-enterprise projects like okari and coffee buying and selling failed due to lack of business development capacity within the PwM. There is no proper documentation of both enterprises and it would not be wise to consider reviving either eco-enterprise activities without a proper review of their lessons learned. There are also some unresolved debts relating to both projects, not only with the recipients of the project but also the donors.

MDF needs to build fiscal experience, proposal writing, accounting, and more. They are primed to fail for lack of management experience. They have the consensus PwM in some locations, but for the most part the zones have far less confidence in the MDF's abilities than PwM's, which suggests that consensus can unravel as soon as PwM leaves. It is intrinsic to the management of conservation and development projects that a dualism between village and desk starts to pit landowner against manager (as middleman), village versus town, farmer versus bureaucrat, tradition versus human rights, and so forth. Thus, villagers begin to see gender equity and NGO activities like constant reporting as imposed objectives, and inappropriate to their lives. It is absolutely crucial that the MDF learn basic donor-reporting and accountability skills to be able to maintain any funding. The risk is that the MDF will only be able to receive one-off grants because they cannot acquit their spending.

In the end, the flaws of prior and current PwM administrations are similar, having to do with nepotism and wantokism. If, as the general consensus runs, the original PwM Board stagnated and lost money because it followed a well-meaning principle to its death---that only Managalas people should be on the Board, then the current PwM sabotaged itself for a related reason:

hiring Paul M because (and primarily because) he was married to another staff member. Capacity over social identity was compromised in both cases. In the first place, because they followed an admirable Constitution, but once the Constitution was amended, they failed to follow the underlying principle of its revision.

The fall out in both cases has been detrimental: Damien Ase should not have been alienated and could play an important role still in the newly transition (but he has lost interest and may instead impede the process). In the second case, Paul's bungling of the coffee project, coupled by his personal behaviors, brought down a crucial staff members (his wife), a very important investment, and sullied the name of all highlanders in the Plateau. The result is a loathing of highlanders that had enveloped Kenn and planted suspicion in the newer operations of PWN in Enga and EHP.

PwM desperately needs to debrief the entire Plateau on their larger role now, to make full disclosure on program monies and the coffee fiasco, among other matters. Unless PwM makes the effort to clarify their history, all the issues that continue to trail them as neither failures nor successes will only be considered scandals when they do leave the Plateau. Paul Konia of PwM [gone now] and Luke M of MDF have been liabilities for personal social behavior and cannot be placed in leadership positions.

Damien Ase started MDF in response to PwM politics. Prudent management became an 'outsider' skill. And yet Kenn was preparing for elections and failed to oversee Paul, *who may not have been a wantok but who appeared to be so to the general Plateau public*. As a result, the MOCP become a disaster that keeps resonating negative impressions of PwM across the Plateau. The sooner this project is examined, reported upon and corrected, the better it is for all players.

PwM and MDF staff must adhere to **ethical working standards** and avoid alcohol consumption in the field. There are a few stories circulating about one or two male staff drinking in the field, and one case where a fight broke out.

If the donors and staff are happier with the new PwM management, there are still critical management shortfalls: no discursive reports on the projects and their outputs (only plans). No final report on the failure of coffee. Planning a transition before the conservation status of the land has been finalized.

And strategically, they have lost Plateau consensus. They have not brought the LLG onboard, and failed to include Damien Ase, for reasons unrelated to the Plateau and more about EEF NGO politics. They might have used the LLG and DA to approach the MP on behalf of the Plateau's conservation needs, thereby allowing the political players to take partial ownership of the success. But failing to do so actually alienated these players.

Much of what is wrong with the way the Zones perceive PwM/MDF can be typified by a brief section of an interview with a man from Zone 8. He has enumerated the responsibilities of PwM and MDF in terms of service provision, because he says they are there to fill the gap of an

ineffectual government. But then he goes on to explain what he means by 'services', and they are not training courses or health, nor even infrastructure. Services, in this person's view, are cash investments. In his words:

As far as I am concerned and from my observation and experience, there is not one [NGO in the area]. However, we have what is known as Java Mama; an American Coffee Exporter has come some 6 years ago to assist local farmers in terms of buying their dried coffee beans and exporting them overseas to markets in the US, Europe and NZ. This company gives some service to the local communities in the plateau.

What kind of service are you referring to here?

Services in terms of buying coffee, where local villagers receive some sort of payment after coffee beans are bought from them. They use this little money they receive to buy basic services and goods from town [Popondetta] where they travel in very rough conditions. The coffee was bought at K3 and now it has been raised to K4. Per kilogram. Now there are 2 companies. Java Mama and Nunma. Nunma is locally owned by people of Tabuane.

Do other NGOs come in? Has World Vision done anything yet in the community or the zone?

Well, it organized the construction of the road from here [Juorura] to Natanga. The road was actually built by villagers physically. No machines were used to break through the mountains and fill the valleys. I personally speaking was one of them engaged. Apart from that, they have not done anything in terms of tangible development in this community and the zone.

PwM lacks the capacity to network and link with relevant or appropriate stakeholders or is not doing enough to establish the network and links. PwM does need the support of the LLG, Government Departments, NGOs and Faith based Organization to effectively deliver its programs.

Timing issues

Was establishing MDF and the CBOs premature? The CBOs have no declared function at present. The MDF office and Board are supplanting whatever roles there are for CBOs. The functions of the CBOs have been transferred to MDF, and yet the MDF is an administratively expensive project (says the PwM accountant), not a program cost at all.

There is a tendency of NGOs to proliferate and compete for scarce donor funding---spawning baby NGOs that are more indigenous or closer to the source, and yet less and less capable of satisfying accounting requirements of major donors. The teacher Ezekial in Zone 5 is registering his own NGO now in Siribu. This in part because Zone 5 says no programs whatsoever were initiated in their zone. But how viable can the new NGO be? How viable is MDF?

Most conservation projects begin by trying to establish or return the management to the field site, to maintain consensus and morale in the field. This can be an expensive investment. When communications break down or never eventuate, it is common for field offices to devolve to town again, where they can have international and even better domestic contacts. It's a lose-lose situation. Field offices require constant maintenance and rely on air charters and freight---which is to say on aviation fuel and its volatile price. We would not need the NGOs to begin with if we did not have these critical disconnects between town and village---it is these gaps that government monies fall into and disappear from. The unwritten role of NGOs is to create better communications between remote and metropolitan centers, and to innovate new ways of unifying what are basically very different perspectives.

But development work in PNG also has a few well-worn truths. One is that most social change comes from individual innovators. The original big man, the first rep for the big donor, the VSO or peace corps worker who lived for 3 years in the village, are all typical PNG change makers. In Managalas there have been many, from missionaries to volunteers, to PwM Board members. Mike Olson, Vincent Maukaiyasi, Richard Brunton, Flint Hobart and Damian Ase come to mind. These are the people who find a way to build consensus and make things happen for the duration of their term. It could be a literacy program, a legal action or even a media campaign. Whatever it is, it establishes a role model for succeeding generations and raises the bar just a little higher for the next worker. But when they leave, most of the air goes out of their project.

Skills transference across PNG tends to suffer from student temerity. People who have been trained and shaped by key players have problems stepping into their mentor's shoes. This is related to ideas of copyright and information ownership, but perhaps more seriously it reflects a leadership phobia found in many communities. Those who take the lead also carry the greatest burden. They get the most criticism. Thus, outsiders are generally more effective than local community members. They have less to lose and can take the greatest risks.

Handover should be postponed until more capacity is built: there are too many strategic plans and no reports on outputs.

Dadakul is the NGO in zones 7 and 8 that began as Conservation Melanesia's effort and is now subsumed by MDF. It has higher morale, better productivity, and stronger leadership ethics thanks to the training by CM. At present there are 8 farmers in their area planting potatoes, all of whom have training in marketing and planting (certificates), and all of whom are responsible for planting and selling and moving seeds and training forward. As a mark of their success, their CBO Manager has been appointed to run the District Transport Company, Chair of the Afore Transport Company. The Member clearly supports Dadakul. For public relations reasons alone, Dadakul should be brought in to help train the other CBOs. They have clan leader is a member of the Dadakul Board, so it is a Committee of Elders. CM brought in Bismark Ramu Group (BRG) and CELCOR for help drafting the constitution, and also brought in a consultant for bookkeeping etc. They established a butterfly project. This connection between Conservation Melanesia, BRG, CELCOR and the major stakeholders of these entities has been forfeited in the reshuffling of PwM. But it is an expensive loss for the sustainability of the MSDP.

Sustainability

An important conclusion that follows any discussion of peoples' motivations for conservation is that social sustainability is never guaranteed (Van Helden 1998:263).

The fact that one is dependent upon people and their values for the access to and conservation of natural resources makes any project vulnerable to changes in these values. In particular, where the monetization of the economy proceeds, and younger generations are increasingly disenchanted with their lot in life, the project will have to make a continuous effort to prove that it provides the best possible course of action under the circumstances. ... The only attempt that various types of ICAD projects in Papua New Guinea can make, is to buy time and use that time as well as they can in order to educate people on the importance of conservation in a rapidly changing world. ICAD projects, without an education component, are a missed opportunity (Ibid).

Remote PNG communities are among the world's best guilt-mongers. They write letters, send texts when possible, put out radio calls, to force facilitators of all kinds to come back and fulfill so called 'promises.' They are the Jewish/Catholic mothers of the developing world: You are killing me with neglect! They're always saying.

The impulse is to deflect this as much as possible from the city or office, partly because it is sometimes exaggerated and partly because getting to and from the village is always difficult. But promises must be kept, and relationships must be maintained with even the most remote villages. Whatever the cost, traveling back and forth is invaluable to sustaining consensus and good will---sometimes even before program roll-outs.

Conservation

There has never been a species management project on the plateau. Those with potential, involving the Managalas signature Queen Alexandra Birdwing Butterfly, or insect farming more generally, have never been fully supported by PwM. Conservation Melanesia supported the butterfly initiatives, and an insect farming initiative mentioned in the 2001 report seems to have disappeared since then. But our assessment is that this has lost MSDP valuable appeal nationally and internationally, and would be an excellent eco-enterprise to initiate again. It is strategic on many levels, not least because it can attract a new generation of young people on the Plateau and provide constructive small scale activities in the face of encroaching mining and logging interests. It is educational, and potentially unifying for a plateau with two distinct zones and as many as ten dialects. Such has been the case for the Tenkile Conservation Area. Having a flagship specie places the Plateau within the purview of international wildlife observers, whose watchful eyes may also provide financial support. We recommend establishing a butterfly project in zone 4 where there are serious threats at the border from mining. Need a flagship species of flora or fauna for local conservation understanding (not so much to sell to donors).

The Tenkile Conservation Area has the tenkile. Crater Mountain has the harpy eagle. Kamiala has the Leatherback turtle. The Adelbert's has the bowerbird. But the Managalas is a plateau with 17-18,000 people and a complex range of land uses. This makes it more difficult to cultivate a flagship specie, but not impossible. Could there be a tree? It might even be the precious eaglewood, or the omnipresent okari nut tree, or maybe an orchid.

Of fauna, there are many possibilities. Those species considered 'protected' on the Plateau include:

Raggiana Bird of Paradise (*Paradisaea raggiana*)
Magnificent Bird of Paradise (*Cicinnurus magnificus*)
Magnificent Rifle Bird of Paradise (*Ptiloris magnificus*)
Buff tailed Sicklebill Bird of Paradise (*Drepanornis albertisi*)
Papuan Hornbill (*Aceros plicatus*)
Queen Alexandrae Birdwing Butterfly (*Ornithoptera alexandrae*)
New Guinea Harpy Eagle (*Harpyopsis novaeguineae*)
Eastern Long-beaked Echidna (*Zaglossus bartoni*)
Boelen's Python (*Morelia boeleni*)
King Bird of Paradise (*Cicinnurus regius*)
Doria's Tree Kangaroo (*Dendrolagus dorianus*)
Palm Cocatoo (*Probosciger atterimus*)
Papuan King Parrot (*Alisterus chloropterus*)

Boundary mapping is urgent. No physical mapping---no GPS land boundary work done. The program is incomplete. They are using a 3D modeling system that is flawed (we saw inaccuracies in the modeling in places and distances) for zones 4 and 10, and this is being used for their submission. They need Dadakul help in physical mapping with GPS.

Communication. The MP is against a Digicel tower because coffee buyers are said to be afraid of theft potentially aided by mobile phones. But the greater need for infrastructure and communication should overrule this, and it would make the Afore office more responsive to remote zones. Mobile phones would raise productivity for all businesses on the plateau.

15. Conclusion

In Papua New Guinea, NGOs are proxy governments. They exist precisely because government services do not, so their clients unavoidably look to them for what the government has not supplied: management, materials, services, and justice. The problem is that NGOs have limited mandates and capacity. They will never be good substitutes for local, provincial or national governance, and yet, year after year, we keep asking them to function as everything from a village court officer to global diplomat.

John Barker has been working as an anthropologist in the Collingwood Bay area of Oro for more than twenty years, and his book *Ancestral Lines* (2008) provides an excellent overview of the Maisin people's history with conservation in that area. In various ways, their experience mirrors the Managalas one, from the rise and fall of community consensus, to NGO political infighting, the strains of legal battles, and the inevitable divisions that arise over different expectations of development. He explains how NGOs function in these remote communities (Barker 2008:189):

The unusual political clout of NGOs in Papua New Guinea is also an important contextual factor. Although politicians and civil servants often react angrily to the complaints of activists or simply ignore them, the NGOs are mostly tolerated and often even encouraged. Part of the reason for this that the organizations have strong support in the rural communities where most people live. However, it is also the case that many politicians share at least some of the concerns raised by the NGOs about deforestation. In addition, the NGOs fulfill some important needs. Despite its rich endowment of natural resources, Papua New Guinea is greatly dependent upon foreign aid, particularly from Australia and the World Bank, which have long insisted on more sustainable forestry practices. This has encouraged the government to bring in experts from some of the NGOs to help develop policies and to carry out projects. Finally, the NGOs have come to occupy a small but significant niche in the country as years of economic shortfalls made worse by mismanagement and widespread corruption have contributed to a weakening of state-provided services in most rural areas. In the late 1990s, for instance, Conservation Melanesia became a major conduit for mail and medical supplies to Maisin villages years after local government services had completely broken down. Some politicians praise resident NGOs as examples of "self-reliance." For their part, NGOs echo the dissatisfaction of their local supporters with the failures of social services and a perceived lack of interest or will on the part of politicians to respond to their needs.

The structural tensions between NGOs, their clients, and their patrons, is never going to be easy. But the larger the project, the greater these strains will be. When they plan to step back or retrench, they suffer the misperception on the ground of abandoning their clients, even if they have succeeded in fulfilling their major objectives. It is all too easy to see them as failing in their duty to serve, and these days, even easier to paint them with the same brush we use to label bad government--as 'corrupt', 'greedy' or 'nepotistic.'

As Barker reminds us (Ibid):

A final important factor attracting the NGOs to the Maisin has to do with their basic funding requirements. NGOs are voluntary organizations that rely upon donors to pay their salaries and carry out their work. Typically a great deal of fundraising is required, as well as writing project proposals and reports on progress. Collingwood Bay was by no means the largest or most significant project undertaken by environmental NGOs in Papua New Guinea during the 1990s (Filer 1997). Yet, apart from Greenpeace and Conservation Melanesia, it attracted an extraordinary number of organizations and individuals who made short visits and provided limited consultations....

The importance of rainforest literacy

The PwM has lost track of **rainforest literacy**. Need to take a card from RCF and use the govt school curriculum to introduce rainforest literacy in the schools. And need to invite VSO or AVI or Japanese volunteers to teach literacy in all zones.

Barker (Op cit:203):

[M]any people told me that they would agree to some limited logging but objected to the secrecy of the projects that had been foisted upon them without their consent. Others, however, also expressed a love of the forest and the need to conserve it. Such sentiments were especially common among women and younger people, although I also heard them from adult males. This marked quite a difference [in 1997] from a decade earlier, when the forest was rarely mentioned and then mostly as a source of danger from enemies, human and spiritual. Yet now school children were drawing lovely pictures of the animals found there. Most impressive to me, I heard very little talk about poverty compared to a decade earlier. Instead, many people talked about the wealth they possessed in the rainforest and about the fact that no one went hungry and everyone had shelter. These findings held consistently through my three visits between 1997 and 2000.



The advantage of Managalas Plaetau over other conservation sites is that the economic pressures are still relatively limited. There are school fees, health, transport and basic needs like kerosene, rice, sugar and salt--the costs for which are always rising. But a stabilizing counter-indicator is the low cost of customary obligations. Brideprice, now as in 1995 when Nancy Sullivan first visited, remains low, and compensation costs are negligible compared to other areas. These are not

litigious or bellicose people, either, so the frequency of paying compensation payments remains limited.

Combined with the increasing awareness of conservation values, and the continued dependence upon the forest for peripheral subsistence protein, this decreases the pressure to log or mine the forest. On the other hand, the less cash income that the plateau enjoys translates into greater dependence on agricultural space, and with population increase, these communities are always in need of more gardening land. The expansion of coffee blocks in some areas is a direct threat to the forest, for example.

Project evaluations are but one moment in a wider and constantly fluctuating process of making a project ideal a reality. A project is not a concrete thing but more of a campaign to assign importance to certain values. It is therefore not so important *whether* a project succeeds in producing any set of outputs, but in *how* it achieves this. Every 'success' can only really be judged in terms of its potential as a model for the next effort. Thus, remote villagers who coincidentally abide by conservative land use plans are not, in fact, accomplishing an output until they have been recognized by neighbours or outsiders as having done so. Moreover, reaching an end result is not as significant as maintaining a positive interpretation of the project itself. It is only authorized observers who can say whether a project succeeds or not, whether a threat to conservation has been thwarted or simply deferred, and whether a quality of life has improved or eroded because of certain interventions. In one context the same programs and activities may be deemed valuable, or durable, and yet in another they may have no impact whatsoever. Much of the difference lies in creating a plan, acknowledging those who follow it, rewarding those who excel, and penalizing those who do not. Conservation is a social process, because it is people who shape the biodiversity of an environment in a mixed use conservation zone.

If, on the one hand, the Plateau communities seem to demand payment for every act of conservation compliance, creating a quid pro quo relationship with PwM, it is not entirely the result of callous self-interest. PwM has had a checkered history with the Plateau, raising expectations, dashing them with neglect, evading explanations when things go wrong, and not always practicing what it preaches. Goodwill has been built and destroyed several times over in various zones.

It is depressing to read through the 2001 report and find so many of the same recommendations made at that time that we would make today. Even more dispiriting is the strain of optimism that runs through many of the comments---great expectations that a forthcoming grant or a certain program officer will turn things around. Clearly many of these plans never came to fruition—from hydro power to insect farming, one idea has imploded after another. SIL has left, along with its literacy services and materials; HF radios and satellite phones have broken down. It is more vital now than ever before to rebuild the perception of conservation success, and to build on this to recover goodwill. MSDP must be redefined as a viable, successful and long-term effort.

One of the easiest ways to do this would be to start redirecting accolades to the communities: make land use plans right away and begin rewarding those clans who do follow them with incentives like further training, scholarships, project materials. If every zone and every clan cannot be fully serviced by the PwM budget, then distribute the small incentives in meaningful

ways. Jump-start the competitive feeling that already exists between clans and zones. What is most interesting about applying rewards to those most compliant clans is that the more distant and otherwise neglected zones may thus have a better chance to get ahead.

Whereas ten years ago the evaluators were critical of the in-bred relationship between the Education Development Centre and PwM, this problem has long since been solved. People in Port Moresby as well as the Plateau felt that the EDC was a bureaucratic diversion. Now it seems a similar problem may evolve between MDF and PwM. Those who would like to localize all aspects of the Project believe the sooner PwM leaves, the better. But the majority of community members we spoke to were wary of the transition and believe PwM should stay for several more years before MDF is healthy enough to assume full control. In the meantime, the two-tiered NGO structure is hopelessly flawed because of internecine politics between staffers and supporters of both.

Because individuals have been so influential on the Plateau, we recommend new volunteers be recruited from National Volunteer Service, VSO, or Australian Volunteer Services, to reanimate some of the excitement in the Project that could be felt fifteen years ago when Nancy Sullivan first walked across the Plateau. These people come for two or three years (hopefully longer), and while they don't always succeed in building the capacity they might hope, they almost always leave a positive impact upon their host communities. As literacy or adult education volunteers, agricultural consultants, health workers, even volunteer clerical workers for the MDF office, their skill sets are always needed.

16. Recommendations

There are several major recommendations that apply to all zones on the Plateau, and all participants in the MSDP. Others apply to several programs, and so are repeated under separate headings below. Specific recommendations for each zone can be found in the Appendix.

Education:

Recommendation: *Restart the education and eco-enterprise programs. Conservation, Forest Literacy, eco-enterprise and sustainable livelihood programs are very effective, but it appears they have been subject to sporadic activity fnding. Most communities say they have not been implemented for the past 3-5 years. Elsewhere, people say trainings and or workshops have been conducted just once a year.*

Recommendation: *Focus on the eastern communities, even as the programs roll out across all zones. The programs have been concentrated in the West subdivision of the project area, which has led to unequal distribution of goods and services, as well as loss of interest from the eastern communities.*

Recommendation: *Bring in volunteers. Because individuals have been so influential on the Plateau, we recommend new volunteers be recruited from National Volunteer Service, VSO, or Australian Volunteer Services, to reanimate some of the excitement in the Project. These people come for two or three years (hopefully longer), and while they don't always succeed in building the capacity they might hope, they almost always leave a positive impact upon their host communities. As literacy or adult education volunteers, agricultural consultants, health workers, even volunteer clerical workers for the MDF office, their skill sets are always needed.*

Conservation Forest Literacy

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communities. As literacy or adult education volunteers, agricultural consultants, health workers, even volunteer clerical workers for the MDF office, their skill sets are always needed.

Eco-Enterprise

Recommendation: Restart the education and enterprise programs immediately. Conservation, Forest Literacy, eco-enterprise and sustainable livelihood programs are very effective and consistent, but it appears programs were only implemented according to Activity Funding. Most communities claim that the programs have not been implemented for the past 3-5 years. Elsewhere, people say trainings and or workshops have been conducted just once a year.

They are also concentrated in the West subdivision of the project area, which has led to unequal distribution of goods and services, as well as loss of interest from the eastern communities.

Recommendation: PwM must document both eco-enterprise projects (coffee and okari) and any further action e.g. reviving these projects (enterprises) will depend on the outcome of these reports.

Recommendation: Eco-enterprise programs should not be run on a consignment basis (selling resources before paying growers/providers). This requires all risk to be taken by the villagers and establishes a bad precedent for small businesses across the Plateau. The program should either begins with a grant, as an entrepreneur would begin with a small loan, and creditors will then be paid when services are rendered.

Recommendation: Introduce revolving credit or microfinance to women's groups across the Plateau, preferably through churches in each zone. MDF Gender Officer should focus on small business opportunities for each and every zone.

Recommendation: Source appropriate technologies for small business opportunities, from mat sales, to chilli growing, to hand-powered sewing machines, to coconut oil products. Projects must be suitable to each zone, and cannot be distributed equally---stress the enterprise only where the resources exist (to prevent disappointments and wasted effort).

Recommendation: Mobile phone are excellent tools for gender empowerment. Around the world, the presence of mobile phone has been positively correlated with better access to markets, elimination of middlemen, raising awareness and personal safety levels for men as well as women. PwM should campaign for a mobile Digicel tower and the wide distribution of phones across the Plateau. Note that families must have an income to maintain these phones and prevent them from draining otherwise minimal resources.

Sustainable Livelihood Programs

Recommendation : Recruit a person with a background in small business development to work full time with MDF on Sustainable Livelihood Programs.

Recommendation: Focus on the eastern communities, even as the programs roll out across all zones. The programs have been concentrated in the West subdivision of the project area, which has led to unequal distribution of goods and services, as well as loss of interest from the eastern communities.

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Consensus:

Recommendation: The consensus building process should be revisited and redesigned and use that process to sort issues, misunderstanding, and frustrations in relation to the 28 priority projects. PwM to seek external support to facilitate this confidence and trust building process. MDF does not have the financial capacity, nor the knowledge and skills on how to manage and administrate resources. There appears to have been, and in some case still be, misuse of resources in both the management and board levels of MDF and PwM.

Those who argue in favor of MDF reason that the staff has the capability in terms of management and administration but that they are hindered by funding given by PwM under the program budget. It seems that the incentives as well as other aspects of the project are not fully catered for. This has led to staff losing interest and commitment in doing their job. However, most have sacrificed time, effort and resources to carryout activities and other management and administrative functions.

Recommendation: Identify relevant or appropriate stakeholders and establish dialogue with them and have them feel that they part of the programs. Development and documentation of concept papers of each programs and present to relevant stakeholders specifying their roles and how they will benefit from the programs. Have specific activities like stakeholder workshops, meetings for this purpose.

Recommendation: PwM staff must walk the Plateau. They must meet MDF in the zones, walk through the villages and focus on the most remote and neglected zones together with the MDF personnel.

Recommendation: Focus on communication from the zones to the field and Port Moresby offices. This means providing CB/VHF radios and also lobbying Digicel and Telikom for towers. The single most important tool for the transition---including sustaining consensus and building networks—is regular and open communication.

Recommendation: Bring in volunteers. Because individuals have been so influential on the Plateau, we recommend new volunteers be recruited from National Volunteer Service, VSO, or Australian Volunteer Services, to reanimate some of the excitement in the Project. These people come for two or three years (hopefully longer), and while they don't always succeed in building the capacity they might hope, they almost always leave a positive impact upon their host communities. As literacy or adult education volunteers, agricultural consultants, health workers, even volunteer clerical workers for the MDF office, their skill sets are always needed.

Conservation:

Recommendation: Fast track conservation status efforts.

Recommendation: Draft land use plans for each zone, and institute both rewards and penalties for adhering to them. In some cases, families that follow plans closely should be given priority treatment to other programs (like training, enterprise, etc).

Recommendation: Address the existing mining and logging threats in key zones. Investigate the levels of outreach each developer has made to the community and remind CBOs of the conservation objectives of MSDP.

Recommendation: Establish a butterfly project in zone 4 where there are serious threats at the border from mining. Need a flagship species of flora or fauna for local conservation understanding (not so much to sell to donors).

Management :

Recommendation: PwM must document both eco-enterprise projects (coffee and okari) and any further action e.g. reviving these projects (enterprises) will depend on the outcome of these reports.

Recommendation: Each Program Officer must keep a narrative diary of their efforts and the lessons learned from them.

Recommendation: Distribute annual budget reports to each zone, and brief MDF and CBOs on their main points.

Recommendation: Distribute MSDP Constitution and by-laws to each CBO. Distribute this report to MDF and CBOs.

Recommendation: In order to stem the deteriorating relationships between MDF and PwM staff, both PwM and MDF need to put aside their differences and reach consensus on important issues, including which roles each player can perform. This may involve drafting new work charters for each position.

Recommendation: Redesign the 28 priorities and keep them flexible, as generalized objectives not concrete outputs. Needs change over time.

Recommendation: Terminate all staff with bad work ethics and better still advertise all positions of MDF and recruit competent people to replace old staff who are too tired of walking long distances and/or performing their duties.

Recommendation: Campaign for a mobile Digicel tower and the wide distribution of phones across the Plateau. No single technology will be more important to maintaining contact, eliminating delays and financial wastage, securing logistics, as well as tracking and monitoring programs on the ground. Note that Plateau families must have an income to maintain these phones and prevent them from draining otherwise minimal resources.

Program relevance:

Recommendation: Redesign programs and avoid repletion of programs activities relevant to project phases. Conduct proper needs assessments and entertain the suggestions for program design from the CBOs themselves. Keep programs relevant.

Recommendation: No program officer should have absolute power over a program, without required acquittals or regular reporting to the overseeing authority, either MDF or PwM.

Transparency:

Recommendation: PwM must document both eco-enterprise projects (coffee and okari) and any further action e.g. reviving these projects (enterprises) will depend on the outcome of these reports.

Recommendation: Each Program Officer must keep a narrative diary of their efforts and the lessons learned from them.

Recommendation: Distribute annual budget reports to each zone, and brief MDF and CBOs on their main points.

Recommendation: Distribute MSDP Constitution and by-laws to each CBO. Distribute this report to MDF and CBOs.

Finance:

Recommendation: Cut down on redundant administrative costs between PwM and MDF to divert more money to programs and avoid the syndrome experienced earlier between PwM and EDA.

Recommendation: Accounting training for MDF staff, and a certified account for the time being to work with them.

Recommendation: Eco-enterprise programs should not be run on a consignment basis (selling resources before paying growers/providers). This requires all risk to be taken by the villagers and establishes a bad precedent for small businesses across the Plateau. The program should either begin with a grant, as an entrepreneur would begin with a small loan, and creditors will then be paid when services are rendered.

Gender:

Recommendation: Introduce revolving credit or microfinance to women's groups across the Plateau, preferably through churches in each zone. MDF Gender Officer should focus on small business opportunities for each and every zone.

Recommendation: Source appropriate technologies for small business opportunities, from mat sales, to chilli growing, to hand-powered sewing machines, to coconut oil products. Projects must be suitable to each zone, and cannot be distributed equally---stress the enterprise only where the resources exist (to prevent disappointments and wasted effort).

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Table 18: Recommendations by zone

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Education	Consensus	Gender	Enterprise	Politics
	Better literacy education	Appropriate technologies--no lye for soapmaking Sewing training Rainforest lit and ecoenterprise educ needed	need literacy training cooking and sewing training based in zone	better literacy scholarships thru rainforest program no follow up from 2004 training	scholarships for school leavers work with church--sil bible college--on literacy	assist in community successes: educ and health for ex	Education needs followup	Program coordinator must physically visit the program sites to ensure that work is done. Staff must visit villages in each zone regularly to collect ideas, concerns and suggestions on how to implement the programs.		Need to meet gender officer	Small business training needed, need MDF Small Business Officer	No more empty promises; terminate staff who make them; Staff representation in MDF should be changed and strategic approach must be used in recruitment. This also applies to selecting Board of Directors.	
	Need enthusiasm--an event. A meeting				more womens projects--work w jivitari Womens Assoc start revolving funds thru women and church								
	Women do not trust MDF here-- need Filma's efforts and attention. Need a radio. Fast track conservation.	Appropriate technologies--no lye for soapmaking Coffee project	Butterfly farming/protection	Sustainable and tangible development, maybe little or big need MOCP report	work w ese development assoc								mining coming up in the Musa area as well as logging and eco-forestry in Pongane. With my eco-forestry project we are neighbors
	Better pig fencing needed			Change of Board at CBOs and MDF PWMI needs to work on relationship with CBO--eliminate MDF MDF staffing biased	build relations bet cbo mdf and PWMI need more mdf recruitment from eastern zones								
		Something for youth?											

Communication	Health	Finances	Conservation	Programming
		CBO pays must be based on performance, Pays for MDF staff must come from administration cost rather than programs cost.		
			too slow in conservation? We here are in a confusion situation about the effects of this mining and logging.	
			boundary mapping needed	monitoring and evaluation of programs
distribute bi laws and constitutions to all CBOs and zones	assist in community successes: educ and health	ombudsman investigation into project finances	some recompense made when forest is restricted LUP awareness needs to be rewarded	more consultation re program designs projects like EU water also abandoned? Water supply and transport are our very basic needs
Awareness re priorities---need to be rewritten Need visitations need radio			More awareness of PWM programs, conservation. Start a butterfly protection project.	
Radio		More office equip, petty cash Better financial management training	Need to finish gazetiting Awareness for conserve needed	Appropriate technologies---no lye for soap-making
	More protein needed		Hasten gazetiting More conservation education needed	

William Asare, Ugi Cultural Group, Zone 5, told us:

One drama that we performed in Tahama goes like: *A bird goes looking for prey to feed and eventually discover a snail, picks it up with its beak and flies to a branch of a tree. It sits there and starts calling other birds to come. When other birds arrive, it breaks the shell and eats the meat himself and flies away. The others feed on the left shell.* This drama and song means that everything comes in our name but it is only you who benefits. Partners receive funds using our name, but misuse these funds, benefiting themselves and nothing is done for us. We played this drama for the partners to know.



Numba 1995

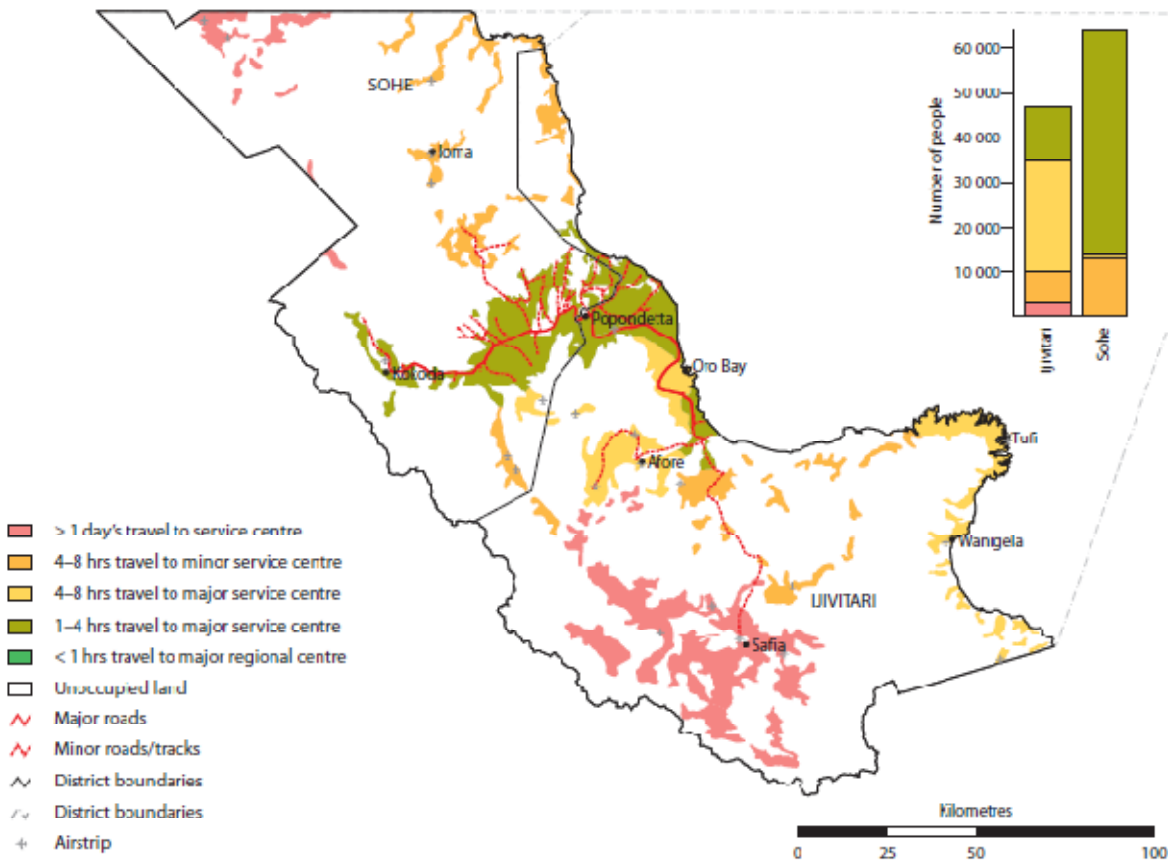


Figure 5: Oro Province access to services map, from 2000 census (Source: Papua New Guinea Rural Development Handbook [Hanson et al 2001:80])

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18. Appendices

Appendix A: project survey

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

QUESTIONNAIRE SERIAL NUMBER: [_ | _ | _]

Partners With Melanesia (PwM) and Managalas Development Foundation (MDF),
Papua New Guinea

Evaluation of the Managalas Plateau Conservation Project

INFORMED CONSENT

Nancy Sullivan and Associates (NSA) are conducting an evaluation of the Managalas Plateau Conservation Project for the donor, Rainforest Foundation Norway (RFN).

This evaluation will evaluate the work of PwM, MDF and the CBOs they work with.

The aim of the evaluation is to make full assessment of the project and the programs which are implemented.

All information gathered will be confidential so you need not fear telling the truth or expressing your views. You can refuse to answer a question if you feel uncomfortable. You can also stop at any time of the study should you feel you do want to continue. I hope you fully understand (if not explain further in your own words, also give opportunity for informant to ask questions for clarity).

If you have completely understood the nature of this study and agree to participate, then sign in the space below. By signing you take full responsibility for disclosing the information you provide here for this study.

Signature of participants: _____

Date: _____

Signature of research supervisor: _____

Date: _____

Section Two: Legitimacy and Trust

What's your level of trust for PwM? Very highhigh.....somewhat.....low.....not at all.....

What's your level of trust for MDF/CBOs? Very highhigh.....somewhat.....low.....not at all...

State your level of respect for PwM? Very highhigh.....somewhat.....low.....not at all.....

State your level of respect for MDF/CBOs? Very highhigh.....somewhat.....low.....not at all...

How can you describe the working relationship amongst PwM, MDF and the CBOs?

Excellent.... Good....Poor.....

How can you describe the employee's commitment to their work? Highly Committed..... Committed
.....Somewhat.....Not committed

Section Three: Relevance

Have you benefited from the programs which PwM and MDF carry out? A) Yes B) No

If yes, which program have you benefited? List_____

How would describe the help you received from the PwM? A) Very helpful B) Helpful C) Somewhat D) Not helpful

How do you assess your life because of the project? Much Improved.... Improved.....Still the same

Section Four: Effectiveness

In your zone, do PwM and MDF deliver projects on scheduled time? A) Yes B) No

Do you blame them if they fail to deliver on time? A) Yes B) No

How can you describe fieldworkers' attitude toward their work? Very hardworking..... Fairly hardworking.....Lazy.....Very lazy.....

Describe generally, the level of achievements for all the programs? Outstanding.....Fair.....Poor.....

Can MDF, without the help of PwM continue to carry out existing programs as well as create and design new programs? Yes.....No.....

Section Five: Efficiency

What would you say of PwM and MDF of the way they manage their resources? A) Excellent B) Good C) Poor

Do PwM and MDF employees use organization's resources for their own benefit? A) Yes B) No

Do PwM and MDF workers encourage sharing of resources? A) Yes B) No

Can MDF, without the help of PwM manage resources well to continue existing programs as well as create and design new programs? Yes.....No.....

Section Six: Participation

What can say of your/family/community's involvement in the programs implemented? Very active.... Active Somewhat active..... Not active

Speaking of PwM and MDF, how can you describe their ability to engage with community the programs? Excellent..... Good.....Poor.....

Do women lead at community level in the entire process of implementing programs? A) Yes B) No

Do women participate equally as men in the programs? A) Yes B) No

Do young people participate equally as other populations? A) Yes B) No

Do old people participate equally as other populations? A) Yes B) No

Has MDF participation in programs build their capacity to attract confidence of donors? Yes..... No.....

Section Seven: Sustainability

How likely is MDF to operate without the support of PwM? A) Absolutely Possible B) Fairly Possible C) Somewhat D) Impossible

If possible (absolute, fairly, somewhat), can it MDF operate beyond 5 years? A) Yes B) No

What strength will MDF capitalize on? List _____

What are potential constraints? List _____

Section Eight: Program specific and other question

Rainforest Literacy Program:

Since the implementation, what impacts has it had on the people regarding their rights to land and forest resources?
People are; A) more aware....B) Some awareness... C) Little awareness... D) No change at all...

Is this program helpful? Yes.....No.....

Do you want this program to continue? A) Yes.... B) No.... (explain why below).

Conservation and sustainable forestry program

Do you like this program? A) Yes.... B) No.... (Explain your answer below).

How do you see this program? A) Very helpful..... B) Helpful....C) Somewhat.....D) Not Helpful.....

What is your level of support for this program? A) Very Strong.....Strong..... Somewhat.....Not at all...

In regard to this program, how would you describe the work of PwM and MDF? Excellent.....Fair.....Poor.....

Is this program likely to continue when PwM leaves this area? A) Yes..... B) No.....

Consensus building program

How often are meetings/ forums etc.. held between PwM/ MDF/ CBOs and the local community? _____

Who dominates attendance of this program? A) Young..... B) Elderly

Is there equal participation during group discussion/ forums/ meetings by young and elderly?

A) Yes.. B) No..

Who dominates attendance of this program? A) Men..... B) Women

Is there equal participation during group discussion/ forums/ meetings by men and women? A) Yes.. B) No..

Are activities discussed in the meeting/ forums implemented? A) Yes..... B) No.....

If yes, how soon? A) Immediately.... B) After a short while C) Delayed

Education and awareness program

Have you participated in any educational programs/ awareness? A) Yes..... B) No.....

If yes, how would you rate it? A) Very helpful.... B) Helpful..... C) Somewhat..... D) Not helpful

How often are these programs/ awareness carried out?.....

Are school children, youths and religious groups engaged in this program? A) Yes.... B) No....

Has these education programs/ awareness changed the attitude/ behavior of the people? A) Yes B) No

Since PwM came into your area and the establishment of MDF, how would you measure the level of developments/ improvements done to the schools/ hospitals? A) Most developed.....B) intermediate.....

C) least developed..... D) No development.....

If there were developments/improvements done, then, in what ways? List.

Eco -enterprises and sustainable livelihoods

Since the establishment of PwM and MDF/ CBOs, were there any developments in terms of sustainable business activities? A) Yes B) No

If so, list some of these activities.

Are these business activities still operating? A) Yes B) No

If there were or are no sustainable business activities, why? (Explain below)

Which zone has most of these business activities? Why? (Explain below)

.....Thank you for your participation.....

Appendix B: Schedule for the Managalas Evaluation – 7th July – 5th August, 2010

Date	Description of Activity	Who	Remarks
7 th July, 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Team fly to Port Moresby b) Team fly to Itokama c) Debriefing at Itokama 	<p>NS and Team</p> <p>CBO/MDF</p>	Same day transit in POM. Airniugini and Airlines PNG Charter
8 th July, 2010	Assemble at West MDF field office for briefing and zone 1,2,3,4 and 10 managers with activity coordinators and teams start departing to respective zones	NS/Team, PwM, MDF and CBO west managers with activity coordinators	Debriefing for all to prepare for Evaluation next day
9 th to 20 th July, 2010	West Evaluation		
21 st July, 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Assemble at Itokama for the Vehicle to pick up for Afore station b) Debriefing at MDF office and maybe leave for respective zones or rest for the day 	NS/Team and West CBO managers and activity coordinators and hire vehicle, MDF/PwM	Give enough time for those far zones to make their way to Itokama, MDF East zone managers, activity coordinators, MDF/PwM
22 nd July to 2 nd August, 2010	East Evaluation		
3 rd August, 2010	Assemble at Afore for MDF staff interview	NS/Team and MDF staff	Team will interview all MDF staff. There should be 2 or more than 2 to interview one staff
4 th August, 2010	Assemble at Afore for team to depart for Sakarina or SILA for return trip to POM through Airlines PNG	NS/Team and zone 6 manager and activity coordinator and hire vehicle	Zone 6 Manager and activity coordinator to bring the team to Sakarina for departure to POM

			next day
5 th August, 2010	Depart for POM from Sakarina or SILA	NS/Team	Goodbye to Managalas Community
6 th August, 2010	Team interview PwM staff	NS/Team and PwM staff	Team will interview all PwM staff. There should be 2 or more than 2 to interview one staff
7 th August, 2010	Depart for Madang	NS/Team	End of Managalas Evaluation

PwM Staff Schedule for Interview

No	Name of Staff	Designation	Date	Time	Remarks
1	Kenn Mondiai	Executive Director	6 th August, 2010	8.30 – 9.00	Given ½ hour
2	Rufus Mahuru	Program Manager	6 th August, 2010	9.00 – 9.30	Given ½ hour
3	Jacinta Gure	Finance Officer	6 th August, 2010	9.30 – 10.00	Given ½ hour
4	Jacinta Mimigari	Conservation Coordinator	6 th August, 2010	10.00 – 10.30	Given ½ hour
5	Lillian Bago	Rainforest Literacy Coordinator	6 th August, 2010	10.30 – 11.00	Given ½ hour
6	Nickson Piakal	Consensus Building Officer	6 th August, 2010	11.00 – 11.30	Given ½ hour
7	Patrick Vuet	Conservation Support Officer	6 th August, 2010	11.30 – 12.00	Given ½ hour
8	Mana Mare	Receptionist/Secretary	6 th August, 2010	1.00 – 1.30	Given ½ hour
9	Edwin Noaka	Admin Assistant	6 th August, 2010	1.30 – 2.00	Given ½ hour
10	???????	Admin Officer	6 th August, 2010	2.00 – 2.30	Given ½ hour

MDF Staff Schedule for Interview

No	Name of Staff	Designation	Date	Time	Remarks
1	Luke Mambe	Project Director	3 rd August, 2010	8.30 – 9.00	Given ½ hour
2	Emmanuel Garawa	Finance & Admin Officer	3 rd August, 2010	9.00 – 9.30	Given ½ hour
3	Crispine Burawa	West RFL Coordinator	3 rd August, 2010	9.30 – 10.00	Given ½ hour
4	Bradley Dabadaba	East RFL Coordinator	3 rd August, 2010	10.00 – 10.30	Given ½ hour
5	Douglas Tumai	Sustainable Livelihood Coordinator	3 rd August, 2010	10.30 – 11.00	Given ½ hour
6	Filma Arore	Gender and SLA Officer	3 rd August, 2010	11.00 – 11.30	Given ½ hour
7	Brian Kasira	Consensus Building Coordinator	3 rd August, 2010	11.30 – 12.00	Given ½ hour
8	???????	Conservation Officer	3 rd August, 2010	1.00 – 1.30	Given ½ hour