

Local Governance Structures in Myanmar's Ethnic States

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Contents

Executive Summary.....	3
Local Governance Mapping: Chin State	13
Local Governance Mapping: Kachin State	21
Local Governance Mapping: Karen State	30
Local Governance Mapping: Karenni State	39
Local Governance Mapping: Mon State	46
Local Governance Mapping: Rakhine State	53
Local Governance Mapping: Shan State	62
Bibliography	72
General	72
State by State.....	72
Laws, government manuals, decrees/speeches.....	74

Executive Summary

Sub-national governance bodies and processes have undergone significant change since reform initiatives were announced by the Myanmar government in 2011. Steps to decentralise the system have been taken, though there remains many challenges to realizing the federal configuration of power that government and ethnic representatives have agreed to establish. Understanding how the structure of government has and is changing is critical for negotiators who will shape this federal vision at the forthcoming political dialogue. This report has been drafted to support that process by describing these governance structures, how these bodies interact, and the contextual environments that they exist in.

Reforms have led to limited deconcentration, and the locus of power in Myanmar remains at the central Union level. Although partially-elected parliaments¹, or *hluttaws*, at the state/region level are a major reform, they are significantly constrained by their capacity and by the limited responsibilities that they have been granted. Appointment of the executive remains centrally controlled, and ministers only have limited control over their line ministries and relevant departments. Budgets remain centrally allocated; a process which is indicative of the broader need to make further fiscal and administrative reforms that match the decentralization of political power that has been initiated.

The administrative and governance structures of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar are established in the 2008 Constitution. The Constitution provides the mechanics of sub-national governance and delineates seven states and seven regions, six self-administered zones or divisions², and one union territory containing Nay Pyi Taw and its surrounding townships. Myanmar's largest ethnic minorities are located in the states, and have been granted constitutional equivalence to regions in the Constitution. The governance structures of these states are the subject of this briefing.

The smallest administrative unit is the village, groups of which are together labelled village-tracts. Local elections took place in 2012 and 2013 to elect village and village-tract administrators to replace centrally-appointed village administrators. Urban wards replace village tracts in urban areas, and, taken together with towns and village-tracts, form townships where the lowest level of government offices are usually located. Groups of townships are organized into districts, which are in turn grouped to form the region or state. Township and District administrations are headed by a senior government official from the General Administration Department (GAD). The township is the level at which most local governance functions are undertaken such as tax collection, birth registration, and land registration.

The self-administered zones and divisions are constitutionally granted similar status to states and regions. However, they can form their own indirectly elected and appointed

¹ 25% of seats in all parliaments are reserved for members of the Myanmar Armed Forces, or the *Tatmadaw*.

² The five self-administered zones are that of the Naga in Sagaing Region, and the Danu, Pa-O, Palaung, Kokang in Shan State. The Wa Self-Administered Division is also located in Shan State.

“leading bodies”³ led by a chairperson, and have had certain functions devolved from the central government.

State and Region parliaments have the right to enact laws for the entire or part of the state for matters delineated in Schedule Two of the Constitution. It is also legally bound to submit a Region or State Bill based on the annual Union budget to the State/Region parliament concerned. Schedule five of the Constitution outlines the taxes and revenues collected by the State/Region government, which is also constitutionally permitted to form their own Civil Service organizations as necessary.⁴

States/Regions each have a High Court consisting of between three and seven judges, with a Chief Justice chairing the body. The Chief Justice is selected by the President in consultation with the Chief of Justice of the Union. An advocate general is appointed for each State/Region government by the Chief Minister to provide legal guidance and counsel, and is accountable to both the President and the Attorney General of the Union through the Chief Minister. All courts are subordinate to the national Supreme Court but for all issues of constitutional interpretation, power rests with the Constitutional Tribunal of the Union.

Finances for state/region bodies, such as the High Court and Advocate General, are included in a state/region budget which is prepared with the participation of its *hluttaw*. There are, however, certain offices at the state/region level, such as for Health and Education, that operate with budgets that are determined at the central-level. There are three main sources of revenue for state/region governments: taxes and fees assigned in Schedule five of the Constitution; a portion of the income generated by state-owned enterprises delegated to that state/region; and grants, loans, and development funds transferred from the central union government. Similarly to the Advocate General, an Auditor General is also appointed the Chief Minister. Under the 2010 State and Region Government Law, the Auditor General audits the budget and reports to the state *hluttaw*, though it is unclear to whom he/she is accountable to.

State and Region governments are recent developments in Myanmar’s governance history, and represent a first step in decentralizing what has been a highly centralized system for decades. The current political context in Myanmar has provided some space for a dialogue on how this decentralization process could continue in order to move closer to the “federal system” that has been touted by numerous stakeholders as the future configuration of the state.

This briefing provides detail of these structures, and local contexts, with a view to identifying entry-points for reform measures related to the decentralization process.

³ ‘State and Region Governments in Myanmar’, The Asia Foundation & MDRI-CESD. p. 9

⁴ This is not a step that has been taken in full in any State/Region.

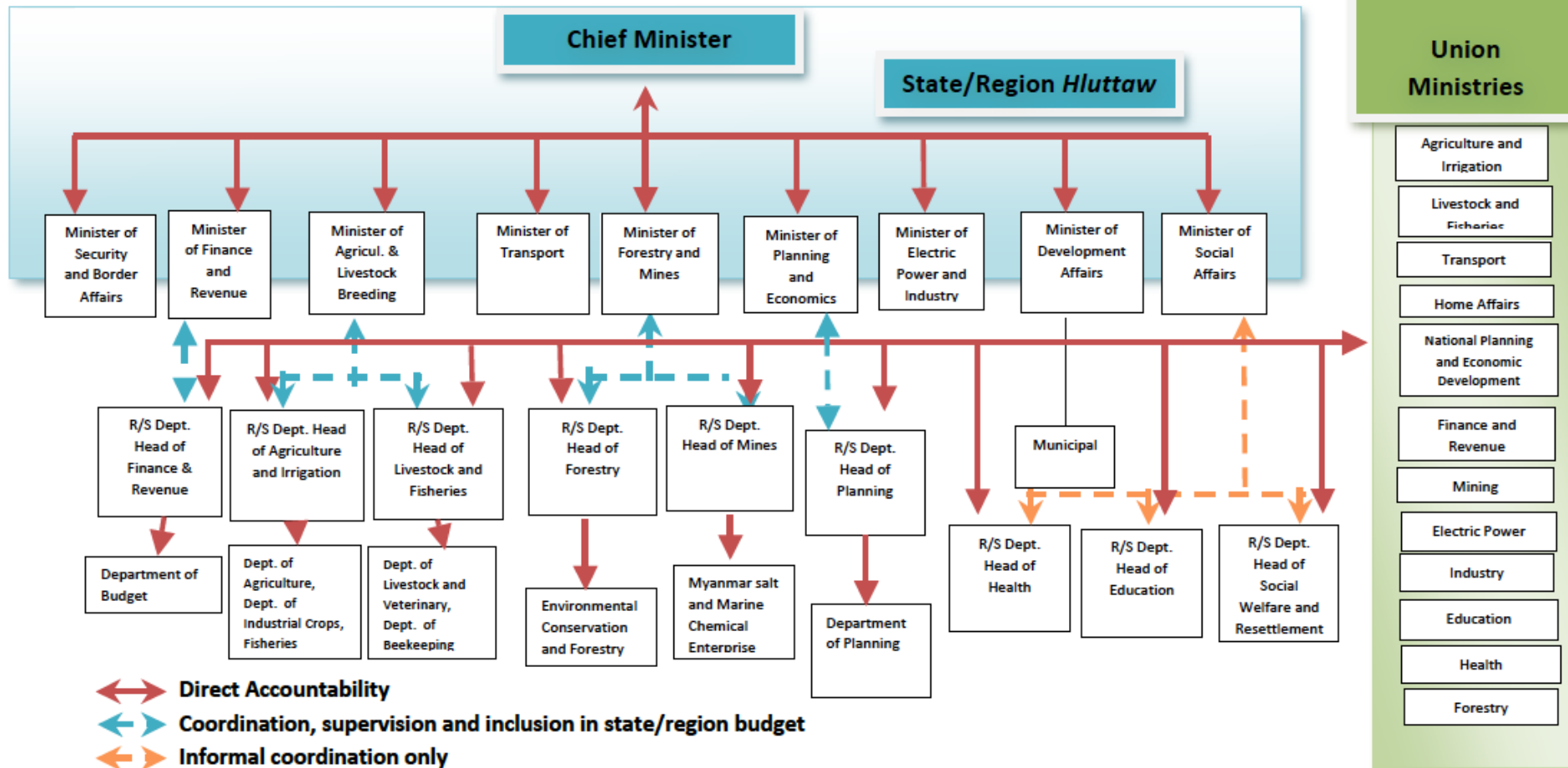
Definitions⁵

<i>Amyotha hluttaw</i>	House of Nationalities: Upper house of national parliament
Chief Minister	Chief Executive of state/region government
Decentralization	The transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government to subordinate or quasi-independent government organizations.
Deconcentration	Form of decentralization involving distribution of functions to lower tiers of central administrative units on a sectoral or territorial basis, while retaining accountability upward to the central institution.
Devolution	Form of decentralization involving transfer of powers and responsibilities to units of local government with corporate status and some degree of autonomy, often elected.
<i>Hluttaw</i>	Council or assembly. A legislative body either at the national or state/region level.
<i>Pyidaungsu hluttaw</i>	Union legislative assembly (both Upper and Lower Houses)
<i>Pyithu hluttaw</i>	People's Assembly: Lower house of national parliament
<i>Tatmadaw</i>	Myanmar army
Union government	Central government of Myanmar

⁵ As defined by State and Region Governments in Myanmar', The Asia Foundation & MDRI-CESD. ii.

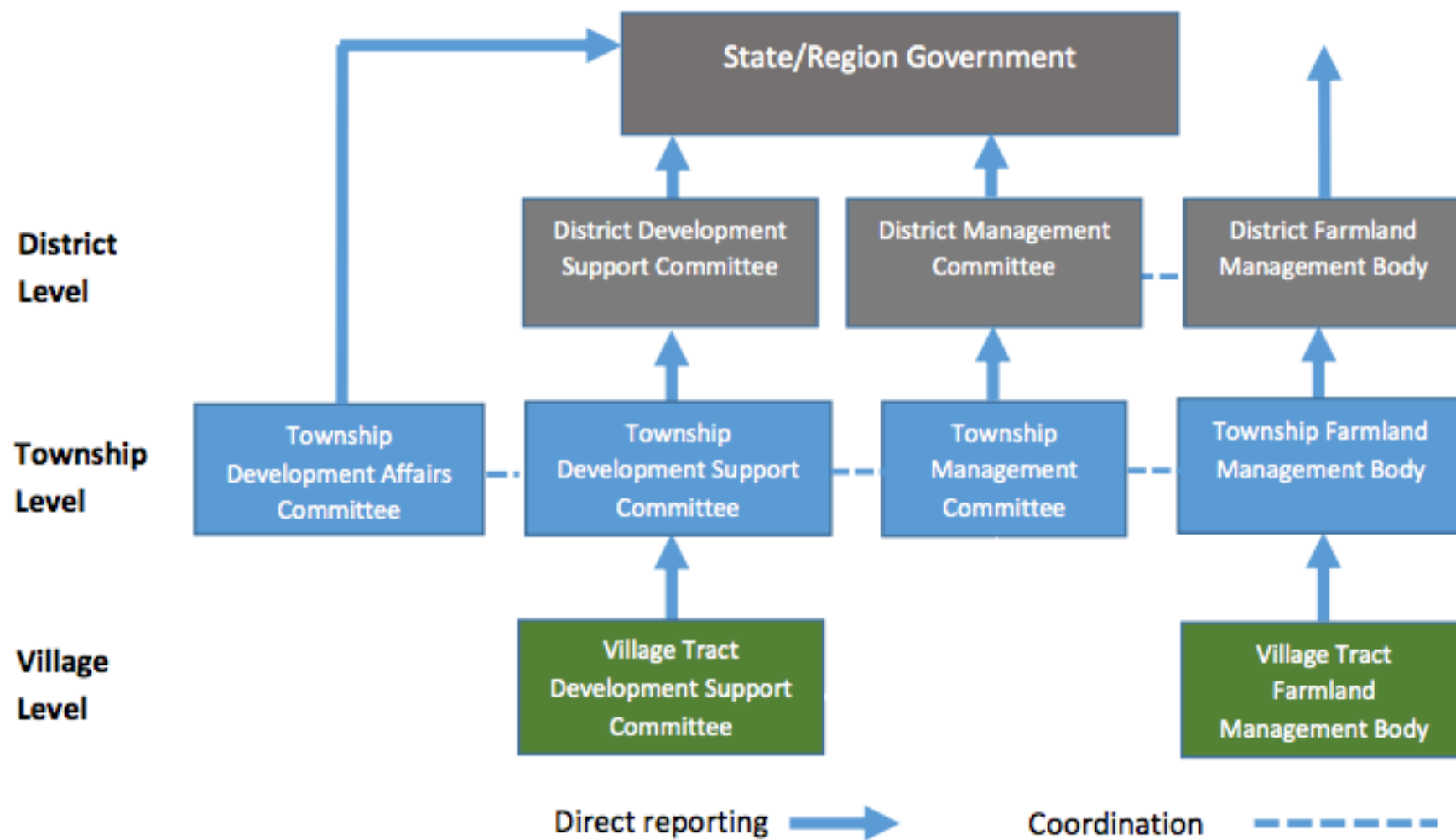
Fig 1.⁶ Ethnic State Governance Structures: Overview diagram

Figure 2: Indicative organization of state and region governments



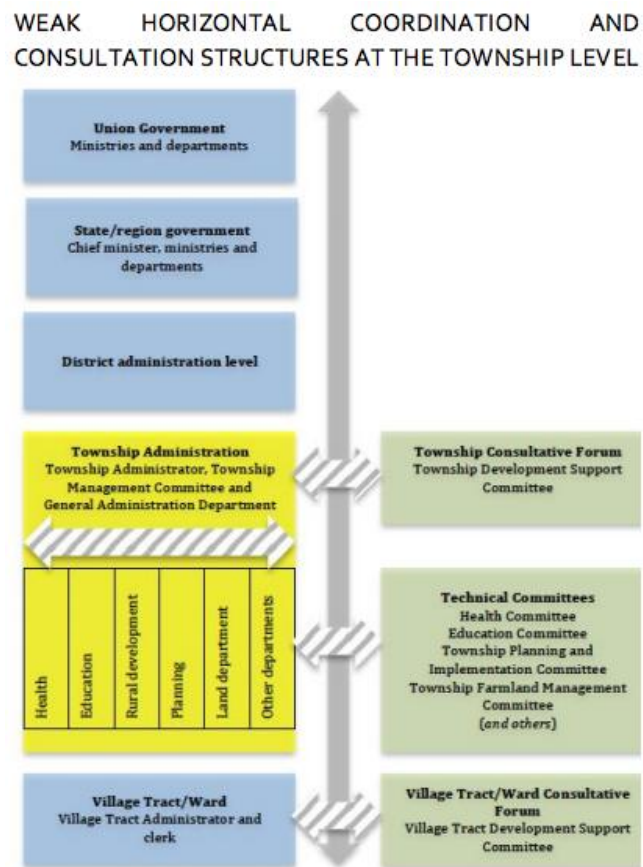
⁶ Asia Foundation, 'State and Region Governments in Myanmar', (September 2013)

Fig 2.⁷ Ethnic State Governance: Major committees



⁷ Asia Foundation, 'Administering the State in Myanmar: An Overview of the General Administration Department', (October, 2014)

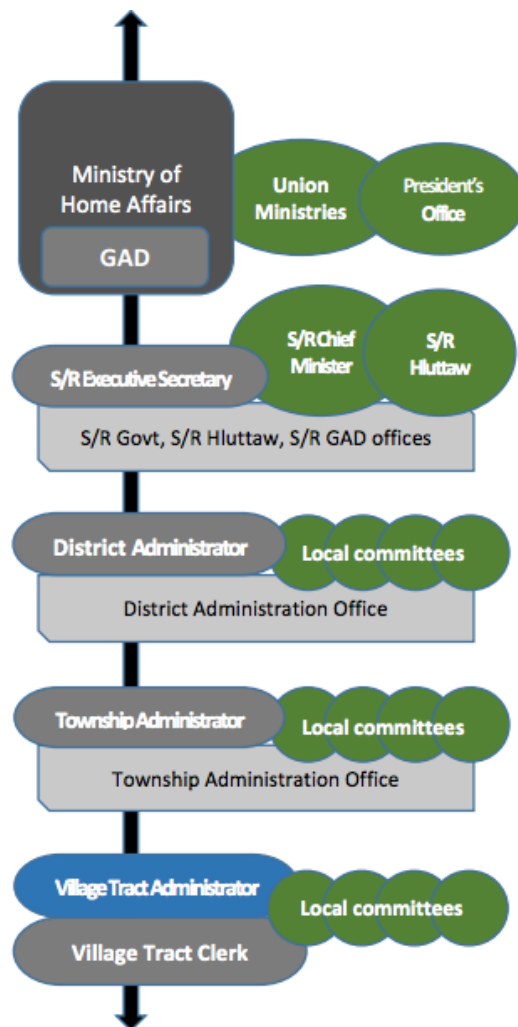
Fig 3.⁸ Horizontal co-ordination between township-level governance structures



Source: UNDP Myanmar.

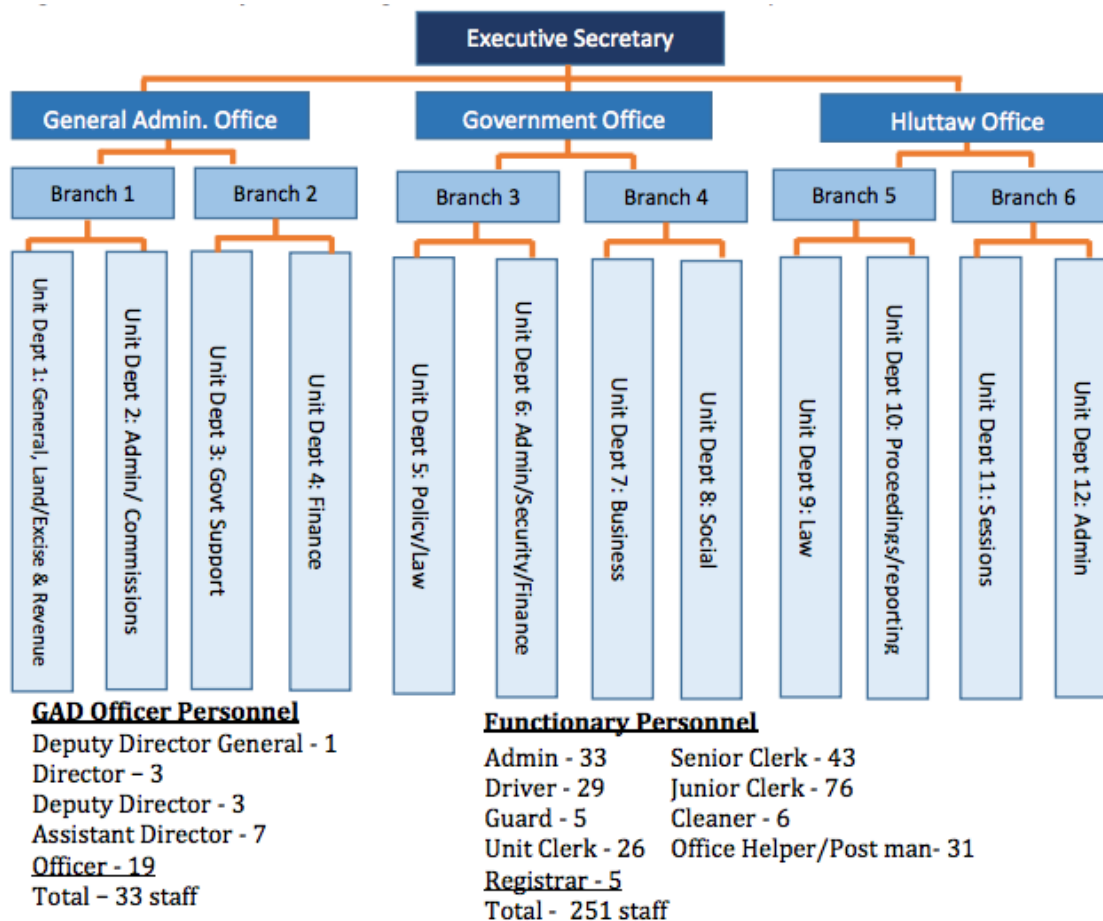
⁸ UNDP Myanmar, 'Governance Overview', (June 2014)

Fig 4⁹. The General Administration Department: An Overview



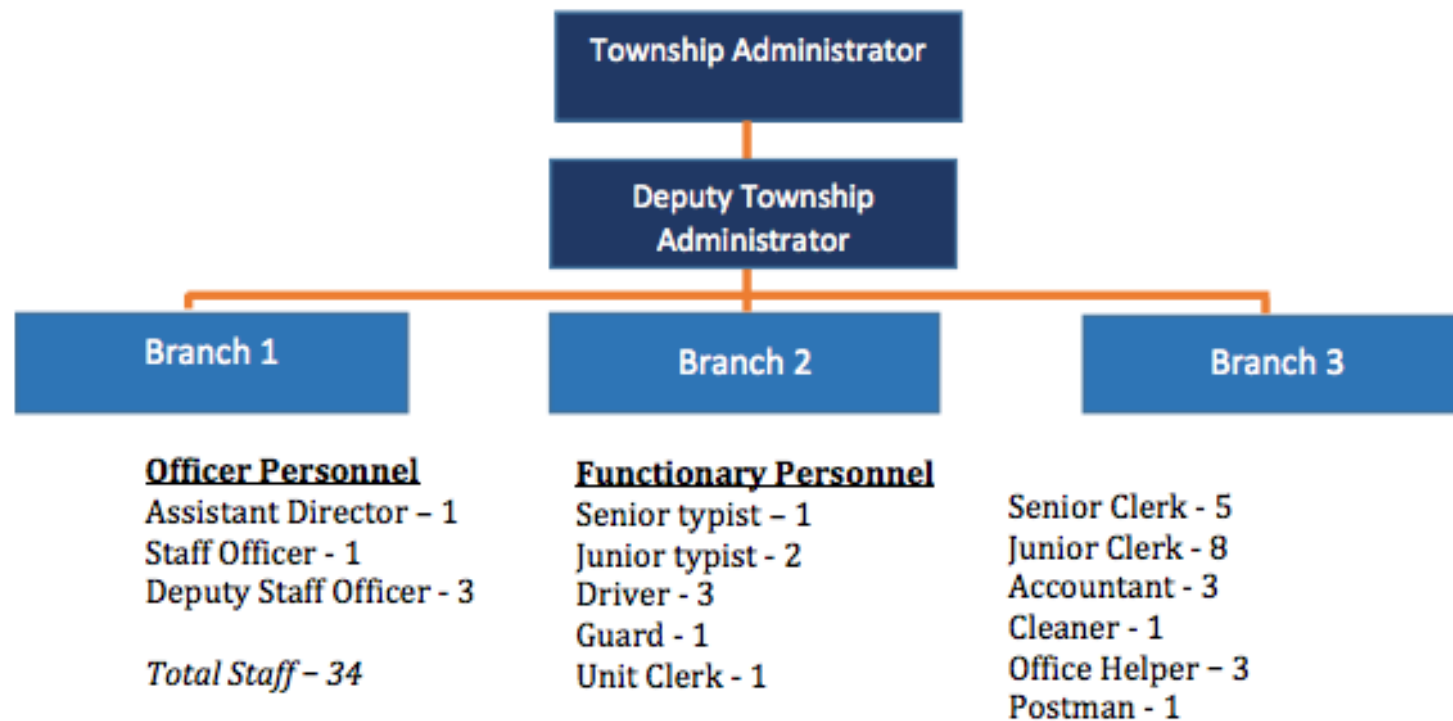
⁹ Asia Foundation, 'Administering the State in Myanmar: An Overview of the General Administration Department', (October, 2014)

Fig 5.¹⁰ The General Administration Department at the State-level



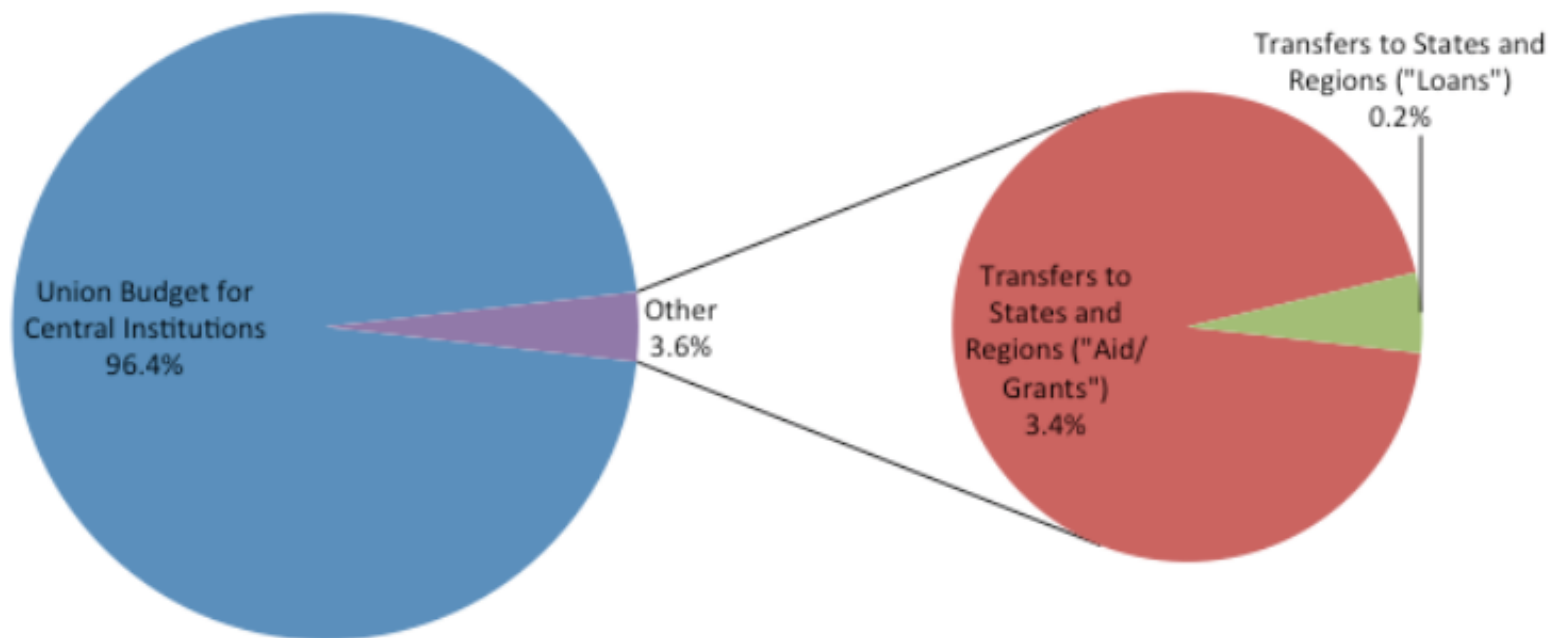
¹⁰ Asia Foundation, 'Administering the State in Myanmar: An Overview of the General Administration Department', (October, 2014)

Fig 6.¹¹: The General Administration Department at the Township-level



¹¹ Asia Foundation, 'Administering the State in Myanmar: An Overview of the General Administration Department', (October, 2014)

Fig. 7¹²: State-level budgets



¹² Asia Foundation, 'State and Region Governments in Myanmar', (September 2013)

Local Governance Mapping: Chin State

Governance branch	Level of analysis	Context	Challenges & Opportunities																																								
Executive	State	<table><tr><td>1.</td><td>Hong Ngai</td><td>Chief Minister</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>2.</td><td>Col Zaw Min Oo</td><td>Ministry of Security and Border Affairs</td><td>Military-appointed</td></tr><tr><td>3.</td><td>Nan Zamon</td><td>Ministry of Finance</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>4.</td><td>Van Thoung</td><td>Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding</td><td>N/A</td></tr><tr><td>5.</td><td>Kyaw Nyein</td><td>Ministry of Forestry and Mines</td><td>CPP</td></tr><tr><td>6.</td><td>Yan Mann</td><td>Ministry of Planning and Economics</td><td>CNP</td></tr><tr><td>7.</td><td>Ngun Hsan Aung</td><td>Ministry of Transport</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>8.</td><td>Nein Nai</td><td>Ministry of Development Affairs</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>9.</td><td>Ba Maung</td><td>Ministry of Social Affairs</td><td>N/A</td></tr><tr><td>10.</td><td>Kyint Hlyan Paung</td><td>Ministry of Electric Power and Industry</td><td>USDP</td></tr></table>	1.	Hong Ngai	Chief Minister	USDP	2.	Col Zaw Min Oo	Ministry of Security and Border Affairs	Military-appointed	3.	Nan Zamon	Ministry of Finance	USDP	4.	Van Thoung	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding	N/A	5.	Kyaw Nyein	Ministry of Forestry and Mines	CPP	6.	Yan Mann	Ministry of Planning and Economics	CNP	7.	Ngun Hsan Aung	Ministry of Transport	USDP	8.	Nein Nai	Ministry of Development Affairs	USDP	9.	Ba Maung	Ministry of Social Affairs	N/A	10.	Kyint Hlyan Paung	Ministry of Electric Power and Industry	USDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Chief Minister is selected by the President, and is always a member of the <i>state hluttaw</i>. He/she is only accountable to the President, and not the State assembly.▪ Currently, he is ethnically Bamar, and a member of the USDP.▪ The rest of the cabinet is appointed by the Chief Minister and designated portfolios by the President.▪ Military appointees in the cabinet remain, and the ethnic composition of the cabinet does not reflect the political ambitions, or the ethnic breakdown of the citizenry.▪ Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women's participation in politics.▪ State ministers have very little supporting administrative apparatus.▪ Defined in the Constitution under Schedule 2, the relationship between State departments and their corresponding union line ministry is ambiguous and requires further clarification.▪ The dependence on the GAD, which sits under the military-led Ministry of Home Affairs, undermines the extent to which decentralisation can occur.▪ Other key union ministries have yet to be decentralised, meaning that issues of social service delivery, ethnic identity, and natural resource management, all remain centralised.
		1.	Hong Ngai	Chief Minister	USDP																																						
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		<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ The State-level government, led by the Chief Minister, is the highest executive body in each State/Region.<ul style="list-style-type: none">• District level committees are directly accountable to this body, as well as the Township Development Affairs Committee▪ The state government is supported, and administratively dependent upon, the General Administration Department (GAD). GAD's responsibilities are wide-ranging from tax collection, land management, assorted registration and certification, but primarily acts as the civil service.▪ At State-level, the GAD Deputy Director General is the most senior civil servant.▪ The GAD runs through all levels of government, down to the village-tract level:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Under the Ministry of Home Affairs, with Union Ministries and the President's Office;• State government, and State <i>hluttaws</i>;• District Administration Office and local committees;• Township Administration Office and local committees;• Village-Tract Administrator and local committees.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Consider formation of state civil service organizations▪ Greater autonomy for Ministers and Departments from GAD structure.▪ Greater responsibilities for state government – eg. Formulation of education policies▪ Modest and gradual budget deconcentration																																								

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	District & Township	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sitting underneath the various state-level ministries are their respective Departments, as depicted in Figure 1. in the Executive Summary. ▪ District level bodies are important in connecting township-level bodies to State/Region governments but most key government actions are taken at the Township-level (such as tax collection, birth & land registration) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The District Development Support Committees (DDSC), and the District Management Committees (DMC) are the two bodies accountable to the State government at this level. ○ The District Farmland Management Committee is not accountable to State/Region governments, only to union level ministries. ▪ Most Union ministries have offices at the township level, though some, such as Border Affairs, only have offices at district level. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ All Heads of Departments in townships are accountable to their supervisor at District or State level, and, barring the Development Affairs Organization, receive budgets and plans. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Co-ordination between different Departments remains extremely poor. Township Management Committees (TMC) have been introduced to address this issue. ▪ Whilst these new bodies are a step in the direction of decentralisation, almost all decisions on budgeting and planning remain centralised at either union or state-level. ▪ Township Administrators often see representatives of VTA's as "their staff". ▪ Departments generally only implement union ministry policy, and rarely go beyond strictly mandated areas. ▪ Female representation at this level remains extremely low.
	Village-Tract & Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2012 Ward or Village Tract Administration Law has been implemented with varying success across the State. ▪ Village-Tract Administrators (VTA) lead a Village-Tract Committee (VTC) that discuss and select a range of development projects. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Public participation is varied between community to community. ○ The VTA also acts as a grievance channel up to the Township level. ▪ In towns and cities, wards replace village tracts and the ward administrator is the most local government representative from the GAD. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ At a community level, the greatest challenge is the "traditional patriarchal, patri-lineal systems" that "represent major challenges to achieving gender equality". ▪ Just one of the 470 village tract or ward administrators across the state is a woman. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Furthermore, under Chin customary law, women have no rights to property in divorce or inheritance cases. ▪ Information flow is particularly bad in Chin State, with 2/3rds of respondents in a recent survey saying that they don't have any information about new projects in their village.
Legislature	Pyithu (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 5 seats; ▪ Chin National Party (CNP): 2 seats; ▪ Chin Progressive Party (CPP): 2 seats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. ▪ 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	Pyithu (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ National League for Democracy (NLD): 7 seats; ▪ Zomi Congress for Democracy (ZCD): 2 seats 	

	Amyotha (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> USDP: 6 seats; Chin Progressive Party (CPP): 4 seats; Chin Nationalities Party (CNP): 2 seats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	Amyotha (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National League for Democracy (NLD): 9 seats; Zomi Congress for Democracy (ZCD): 2 seats; Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP); 1 seat 	
	State (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 24 members (18 elected, 6 military); Speaker: Hauk Khin Kham (USDP); Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 7 seats; Chin Progressive Party (CPP): 5 seats; Chin National Party (CNP): 5 seats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State parliaments, or '<i>hluttaws</i>', are partially elected unicameral bodies. Two ministers are elected per township, representatives of "national races" and appointed military representatives. State-level budgets are small (probably under 5% of public expenditure) and the budget composition process lacks transparency. Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women's participation in politics. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	State (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National League for Democracy (NLD): 12 seats Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 4 seats Zomi Congress for Democracy (ZMC): 2 seats 	
	State committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bill Committee Chairman: Na Htan (CPP); National Races Affairs Committee Chairman: Zaam Cii Paw aka. Zo Zam (CNP); Representatives Vetting Committee: Noe Son (USDP) 	
Judiciary	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sitting under the Supreme Court at union-level, each State & Region has its own High Court. The State High Court is headed by its Chief Justice who sits with 3-7 judges. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Judges serve until mandatory retirement age of 70. The High Court supervises a subsidiary district, township and self-administered area courts. State/Regions also have an Advocate General, nominated by the Chief Minister to provide legal council. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The AG is accountable to the President and the union-level Attorney General, through the Chief Minister. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no independent judicial service. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a process by which the High Court judges can be impeached, but this can only be initiated by the President, or the Chief Minister. States do not have any authority on constitutional disputes, as power rests with the Constitutional Tribunal of the Union. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The President and the House speakers select the members of this body, and there is no appeal process. All positions are appointed directly by the President, usually in consultation with the Chief Justice of the Union and the regional Chief Ministers. The system, therefore, remains centralised and to a

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> great extent, not meritocratic. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation.
	Township, Village-Tract, Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informal mechanisms that are reliant upon networks of influential individuals (almost always men) provide the principal form of grievance redress at this level. Formal legal recourse is unusual. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In general, judicial appointment procedures and relevant structures are all centralized, and limit judicial independence.
Municipal governance		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) sit under Township Development Affairs Committees (TDAC), which is answerable to the Minister of Development Affairs. DAOs are the focal point of municipal governance. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> DAOs at the township level are composed of two distinct but linked bodies: a semi-elected TDAC (oversight), and a Township DAO Office run by civil servants (service delivery + economic governance) They were established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery, and operate as the most autonomous government body, whilst also being self-funded. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They are responsible for urban water, sewage, garbage collection, roads and bridges, street lighting and drainage, licensing for local businesses, tax collection, and holding auctions to operate local ferries and toll roads. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> DAOs are unique in their fiscal autonomy, range of responsibilities, and accountability to the citizenry. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They present a real opportunity for the government to provide efficient and accountable services – thus potentially re-shaping citizen-state relations.
Thematic area	State-level	Context	Challenges & Opportunities
Health		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Health. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Health. Health services are limited and under-resourced in Chin, and 70% pay out of pocket for services and medicine. Food security - more than 30% of children are malnourished, while 58% suffer severe to moderate stunting. The infant mortality rate for Chin State is 76 per 1000 live births, much higher than the national rate of 62, while the 0-5-mortality rate is over 90. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Health Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Greater bottom-up planning and budgeting for services required. Further deconcentration of responsibilities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Union level ministries remain involved in hiring/firing staff, procurement, budgeting (including operating expenditures) – all tasks that can and should be further

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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Mostly, this is due to a lack of access: in rural villages often-ambulant midwives provide the only natal care. This leads to major deficiencies in child health; for example, neo-natal tetanus injections are received by only 76.4% of the population. ▪ Malnutrition is a major area of concern ▪ Limited availability of reproductive health services is also a major concern. ▪ There is a particular need for resources to fight Malaria and Enteric Fever. Chin has the second highest incident of Malaria in Myanmar, while the high incidence of Enteric Fever is due to poor access to potable water. ▪ Chin State has just two hospitals, one in Hakah and Falam. ▪ There are 66 Rural Health Centres in Chin state, with a population ration of 1: 5705. This works out to approximately 7 per township, meaning access to health centres is limited—albeit better than the national average. ▪ However, there are an additional 256 sub-stations, generally staffed by a nurse. 	<p>deconcentrated.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Access to public health services more generally is low, and what services are available are of a poor quality at underfunded hospitals and clinics. ▪ The difficult terrain of the State means that sick people must often travel long distances for care, as public and preventative health services are absent in most villages. ▪ A lack of infrastructure (both medical and transportation) ▪ A lack of medicines and medical equipment in rural areas. ▪ Limited electricity penetration. ▪ Language barriers between medical providers and patients. ▪ Staffing concerns are also a problem; almost half of Rural Health Clinic positions are vacant. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Coping strategies used by the population tend towards behaviour such as using customary or traditional practices that are often based on false medical information. Care during childbirth is a particular challenge, as a “traditional attendant” is the only healthcare provider at 25.1% of births, while 10.4% of births occur with no healthcare assistance.
Education		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Education. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Education. ▪ At a primary school level in Chin State, there are a relatively large number of schools and relatively high levels of attendance compared to the rest of Myanmar. ▪ Structural constraints limit the accessibility of education, especially for rural communities. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ While primary schools are often located in each village, middle schools are generally in village tract or even township centers. These are often many hours travel away (sometimes days during the monsoon), and generally lack provision for boarding students. <p>The State's population suffers from a significant lack of education services at all levels above primary. There is also a significant need for vocational education, which is almost entirely lacking.</p> <p>The government provided education system includes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Primary Schools 1092, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Education Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. ▪ Language differences between government-funded teachers and the local student body are a major barrier. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The response to the lack of services has been the introduction of independent education opportunities and private institutions. These are paid for out-of-pocket, thus exacerbating existing economic disparities. ▪ These education services are generally either monastery schools or education provided by various faith groups and NGOs. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ When these other service providers are unable to provide education, the general coping method is for a student to leave school and begin working in

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> b. Primary school teachers: 3311 c. Primary School students 75437 d. Middle Schools: 156 e. Middle School teachers: 1019 f. Middle school students: 35337 g. High Schools: 81 h. High school teaches: 540 i. High school students: 10584 <p>Teachers are primarily located at the primary levels and there is a lack of secondary-post secondary teachers.</p> <p>Chin is also the only State or Region without a university, though there plans to build one in Hakha.</p>	<p>agriculture to help support the family.</p>
Livelihoods & land		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The mainstay of the Chin economy is agriculture but its farming methods are the least developed in Myanmar. ▪ 80% of farmers in Chin are subsistence farmers, and food security lasts for as little as eight months across the State. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Most Chin farmers traditionally practiced shifting cultivation, though there have been some recent shifts toward permanent cultivation and a resulting interest in land registration. ▪ The shift toward permanent cultivation is perhaps the most positive economic development in recent years, but it is expensive. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Building terraced fields requires access to labor and finance unavailable to many households. ▪ In line with the Development Affairs (Municipal Affairs) Law passed by the State <i>Hluttaw</i>, the Township Municipal Affairs Committees (TMAC) were established, along with Township Development Support Committees (TDSC), and co-ordinate with the Township Management Committee (TMC) to establish local development priorities. ▪ These bodies also have authority over how the four available development funds in this State are spent: the Poverty Reduction Fund, the Rural Development Fund, the Area Development Fund, and the Constituency Development Fund. ▪ Responsibilities for all of these committees include: 1) Planning & budgeting of community-level activities with development funds; 2) Sector planning and budgeting; 3) Municipal planning and budgeting; 4) Township development planning. <p>Uniquely, in Chin State, all three committee chairmen are required</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The structural constraints for livelihoods in Chin stem from one defining factor: the terrain. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This terrain makes building processes, whether for terraced fields, roads, processing plants, or even an airport (Chin is the only State in the country without one), major challenges. ▪ Low yields: the state registers some of the lowest yield rates nationally for paddy and corn. ▪ While investment has begun to arrive, major needs remain for credit and micro-finance, technology and extension services, information services to provide market knowledge, and better value chains for crops. ▪ The natural resources sector is also extremely under-developed. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The State has a massive timber reserve that, sustainably managed, could provide a major source of income and investment. ▪ Notably, Chin is the only State without a Department of Small Scale Industries, nor a Department of Fisheries. ▪ As with all other States, a key opportunity is to devise a system whereby the allocation of the four development funds reflects population size, and need.

		to sign off on township projects.	
Conflict		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Since the ceasefire with the Chin National Front was signed in 2012 there has been little risk from organized armed conflict in Chin State. However, non-organised violence and significant safety issues resulting from isolation and poverty remain. Violence is rooted from a lack of traditional public safety mechanisms such as street lighting: very few towns or villages in the State have 24-hour electricity, increasing risk of violence. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> These issues particularly affect women. For example, in Chin State women bear over 89% of the burden of collecting water (the highest in Myanmar) and, given the distances they must often travel, are vulnerable to harassment and gender-based violence (GBV). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> These challenges are worsened by the strong patriarchal social structure where gender based violence “is not regarded as a public safety issue” and therefore rarely reported. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A UNICEF study quotes women describing their position as “second-class citizens” and saying “women (are) like slaves for men”. In this way societal structural constraints hamper efforts to increase the population’s safety, particularly where GBV is concerned. These include lack of knowledge on women’s issues, compounded by a lack of capacity to change society’s attitudes. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is also a significant lack of recourse for victims of violence, with no legal safety net and few information services. In order for “positive peace” to be established or for peace to be in any way sustainable, adequate ceasefire monitoring mechanisms will have to be in place, and regular multi-stakeholder forums will have to be held.
Disaster risk & environment		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In comparison to other States, Chin has a relatively low risk profile when it comes to major natural disasters. Vulnerability to cyclones is low for the region and while it does have significant risk of flooding during monsoon, the region’s elevation means these are generally localized flash flooding events. The region has some risk of forest fire during dry seasons. Given the hilly terrain and torrential monsoon rain, Chin’s most significant disaster risk is landslides. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> This risk could get worse if expanded timber production leads to deforestation in some areas. Climate change poses long term risks for Chin, particularly an increased chance of irregular rainfall or drought, which could have catastrophic, effects on food security. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disaster response capacity across Chin State is limited at best. Many areas have no access for 4-wheel vehicles and some villages are cut off entirely during monsoon season. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any aid supply would likely be dependent on helicopter transport. Even during the dry season, providing significant amounts of aid over the State’s limited paved road network would be a significant challenge. Chin State’s resilience to natural disaster is limited. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> While at lower risk of disaster than other parts of Myanmar, it’s remoteness and poverty mean that any disaster would have potentially catastrophic effects on health and livelihoods.

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Infrastructure & Communications		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Many Chin villages are extremely remote and difficult to access, with some completely cut off from motorized transport during the monsoon season and much of the State has little to no telecommunications connectivity. ▪ Telecommunications remains poor. Recent contracts with Telenor and Ooredoo have had some impact in increased mobile penetration in the largest urban areas, though benefits are yet to reach the more remote rural poor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Infrastructure underdevelopment is the biggest challenge for Chin State in the coming years and should be at the core of development planning. ▪ Transportation, especially transportation infrastructure to facilitate trade with India, has been the focus of government funding.
Crime/Rule of Law		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Chin State is relatively safe when compared to other States and Regions. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In 2014, there were 25 cases of theft, 6 cases of rape, 0 cases of robbery, and 15 convicted murder cases. ○ These figures have largely been consistent over the last three years. ▪ According to Myanmar government statistics, there are 1720 police officers stationed in Chin, generally located in township centres. Chin has no female police officers. ▪ Government data also indicates there are a total of 140 “legal officers”, which includes prosecutors and administrative staff among other positions, in Chin State. ▪ Crime is the largest safety concern in Chin State as there is no organized insurgency or armed rebellion. Dacoity remains a concern with petty crime common. ▪ Gender-based violence also an issue in Chin State, where women self-describe as ‘second-class citizens’ due to the strong patriarchal society. ▪ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation. This usually involves village/ward heads, elders, and those involved in incidents. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Greater judicial independence and capacity are key if trust in the courts system is to be restored. ▪ Education and training on legal rights and processes is a potential entry point, particularly for improving gender equality.

Local Governance Mapping: Kachin State

Governance branch	Level of analysis	Context			Challenges & Opportunities	
Executive	State	1.	La John Ngan Hsai	Chief Minister	USDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Chief Minister is selected by the President, and is always a member of the <i>state hluttaw</i>. He/she is only accountable to the President, and not the State assembly.He is a member of the USDP.The rest of the cabinet is appointed by the Chief Minister and designated portfolios by the President.Military appointees in the cabinet remain, and the ethnic composition of the cabinet does not reflect the political ambitions, or ethnic breakdown of the citizenry.Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women's participation in politics.State ministers have very little supporting administrative apparatus.Defined in the Constitution under Schedule 2, the relationship between State departments and their corresponding union line ministry is ambiguous and requires further clarification.The dependence on the GAD, which sits under the military-led Ministry of Home Affairs, undermines the extent to which decentralisation can occur.Other key union ministries have yet to be decentralised, meaning that issues of social service delivery, ethnic identity, and natural resource
		2.	Col Than Aung	Ministry of Security and Border Affairs	Military-appointed	
		3.	Nyunt Aung	Ministry of Finance	USDP	
		4.	B Htaw Zaung	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding	USDP	
		5.	Aung Naing	Ministry of Forestry and Mines	USDP	
		6.	Khin Maung Tun	Ministry of Planning and Economics	USDP	
		7.	Kaman Du Naw	Ministry of Transport	NUP	
		8.	Maung Shwe	Ministry of Electric Power and Industry	SNDP	
		9.	Alay Par	Ministry of Development Affairs	UDPKS	
		10.	Baukgyar	Ministry of Social Affairs	USDP	
		11.	Pa aka Khin Maung Swe	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Burman)	NUP	
		12.	Khin Pyone Yi	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Shan)	SNDP	
		13.	Ah Hsi	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Lisu)	USDP	
		14.	Gwam Ring Dee	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Rawang)	USDP	
				<ul style="list-style-type: none">The State-level government, led by the Chief Minister, is the highest executive body in each State/Region.<ul style="list-style-type: none">District level committees are directly accountable to this body, as well as the Township Development Affairs CommitteeThe state government is supported, and administratively dependent upon, the General Administration Department (GAD). Its responsibilities are wide-ranging from tax collection, land management, assorted registration and certification, but primarily acts as the civil service.		

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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ At State-level, the GAD Deputy Director General is the most senior civil servant. ▪ The GAD runs through all levels of government, down to the village-tract level: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under the Ministry of Home Affairs, with Union Ministries and the President's Office; • State government, and State <i>hluttaws</i>; • District Administration Office and local committees; • Township Administration Office and local committees; • Village-Tract Administrator and local committees. 	<p>management, all remain centralised.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Consider formation of state civil service organizations ▪ Greater autonomy for Ministers and Departments from GAD structure. ▪ Greater responsibilities for state government – eg. Formulation of education policies ▪ Modest and gradual budget deconcentration
	District & Township	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sitting underneath the various state-level ministries are their respective Departments, as depicted in Figure 1. in the Executive Summary. ▪ District level bodies are important in connecting township-level bodies to State/Region governments but most key government actions are taken at the Township-level (such as tax collection, birth & land registration) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The District Development Support Committees (DDSC), and the District Management Committees (DMC) are the two bodies accountable to the State government at this level. ○ The District Farmland Management Committee is not accountable to State/Region governments, only to union level ministries. ▪ Most Union ministries have offices at the township level, though some, such as Border Affairs, only have offices at district level. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ All Heads of Departments in townships are accountable to their supervisor at District or State level, and, barring the Development Affairs Organization, receive budget and plans. ○ Therefore, Departments generally only implement union ministry policy, and rarely go beyond strictly 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Co-ordination between different Departments remains extremely poor. ▪ Whilst these new bodies are a step in the direction of decentralisation, almost all decisions on budgeting and planning remain centralised at either union or state-level. ▪ Township Administrators often see representatives of VTA's as "their staff". ▪ Female representation at this level remains extremely low.

		<p>mandated areas.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Co-ordination between departments remains extremely poor. Township Management Committees (TMC) have been introduced to address this issue. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In real terms, the decision-making powers lie with the GAD's District Administrator, and the Township Administrator (who is always a GAD officer). 	
	Village-Tract & Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2012 Ward or Village Tract Administration Law has been implemented with varying success across the State. ▪ Village-Tract Administrators (VTA) lead a Village-Tract Committee (VTC) that discuss and select a range of development projects. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Public participation is varied between community to community. ○ The VTA also acts as a grievance channel up to the Township level. 	
Legislature	Pyithu (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ USDP: 11 seats ▪ National Unity Party (NUP): 2 seats ▪ Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State (UDPKS): 1 seat ▪ Shan Nationalities Development Party (SNDP): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	Pyithu (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ National League for Democracy (NLD): 12 seats ▪ Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 3 seats ▪ Lisu National Development Party (LNDP): 2 seats ▪ Kachin State Democracy Party (KSDP): 1 seat 	
	Amyotha (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ USDP: 6 seats ▪ National Unity Party (NUP): 3 seats ▪ Shan Nationalities Development Party (SNDP): 1 seat ▪ Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State (UDPKS): 1 seat ▪ Independent: 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. ▪ 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	Amyotha (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ National League for Democracy (NLD): 10 seats ▪ National Unity Party (NUP): 1 seat ▪ Independent: 1 seat 	

	State (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 51 members Speaker: Ra Wam Jon (USDP) USDP: 20 seats National Unity Party (NUP): 11 seats Shan Nationalities Development Party (SNDP): 4 seats Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State (UDPKS): 2 seats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State-level budgets are small (probably under 5% of public expenditure) and the budget composition process lacks transparency. Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women's participation in politics. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	State (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National League for Democracy (NLD): 22 seats Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 7 seats Kachin State Democracy Party (KSDP): 3 seats Lisu National Development Party (LNDP): 2 seats Unity and Democracy Party of Kachin State (UDP): 1 seat Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD): 1 seat 	
	State Committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bill Committee Chairman: An Fraung Gam (USDP) National Races Affairs Chairman: Kyaw Myint (USDP) Representatives Vetting Committee: Soe New (USDP) 	
Judiciary	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sitting under the Supreme Court at union-level, each State & Region has its own High Court. The Kachin State High Court is headed by its Chief Justice who sits with 3-7 judges. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Judges serve until mandatory retirement age of 70. The High Court supervises a subsidiary district, township and self-administered area courts. State/Regions also have an Advocate General, nominated by the Chief Minister to provide legal council. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The AG is accountable to the President and the union-level Attorney General, through the Chief Minister. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no independent judicial service. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a process by which the High Court judges can be impeached, but this can only be initiated by the President, or the Chief Minister. States do not have any authority on constitutional disputes, as power rests with the Constitutional Tribunal of the Union. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The President and the House speakers select the members of this body, and there is no appeal process. All positions are appointed directly by the President, usually in consultation with the Chief Justice of the Union and the regional Chief Ministers. The system, therefore, remains centralised and to a great extent, not meritocratic.

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation.
	Township, Village-Tract, Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informal mechanisms that are reliant upon networks of influential individuals (almost always men) provide the principal form of grievance redress at this level. Formal legal recourse is unusual. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In general, judicial appointment procedures and relevant structures are all centralized, and limit judicial independence.
Municipal governance		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) sit under Township Development Affairs Committees (TDAC), which is answerable to the Minister of Development Affairs. DAOs are the focal point of municipal governance. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> DAOs at the township level are composed of two distinct but linked bodies: a semi-elected TDAC (oversight), and a Township DAO Office run by civil servants (service delivery + economic governance) They were established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery, and operate as the most autonomous government body, whilst also being self-funded.. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They are responsible for urban water, sewage, garbage collection, roads and bridges, street lighting and drainage, licensing for local businesses, tax collection, and holding auctions to operate local ferries and toll roads. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> DAOs are unique in their fiscal autonomy, range of responsibilities, and accountability to the citizenry. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They present a real opportunity for the government to provide efficient and accountable services – thus potentially re-shaping citizen-state relations.
Thematic area	State-level	Context	Challenges & Opportunities
Health		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Health. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Health. Overall the health scenario in Kachin State is poor when compared to other States/Regions in the country. This is especially true of conflict-affected areas, mostly in the southern half of the State. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The UNDP survey on local governance reports that 50% of Kachin respondents was satisfied with the health services available (though this figure notably excludes respondents living in IDP camps). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Health Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. The communities most at risk, therefore, are those from contested areas who have either fled to IDP camps or remain inaccessible to service providers. Local health providers reported access to supplies and facilities had improved in the last three years, according to

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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Areas that have been consistently under government control have better access to government services while long running EAG-controlled townships receive care from ethnic groups directly and also from aid providers. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The KIO health department runs 12 hospitals and 61 rural health clinic totalling over 1000 staff. ▪ Despite this, just 25% of children are born in a medical facility, illustrating the shortcomings of natal healthcare. ▪ the Ministry of Health. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ There are 28 health centres in Kachin State, with a total capacity of 48 beds. Unlike most States Kachin also has 2 specialist hospitals, alongside the 2 regular hospitals. . ○ At the township level, the Township Medical Officer (TMO) plays both a medical and an administrative role, whilst the Township Health Officer (THO) handles all hospital affairs (facilities, supplies, etc). ▪ Village Health Committees (VHC) are responsible for clinic maintenance though do not have a say in clinic management ▪ Government run education system includes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Primary Schools 1155, ○ Primary school teachers: 6222 ○ Primary School students 174982 ○ Middle Schools: 173 ○ Middle School teachers: 2661 ○ Middle school students: 111795 ○ High Schools: 134 ○ High school teaches: 1254 ○ High school students: 34160 	<p>a recent survey.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ There is also a gender difference that must be accounted for. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Women are more likely to use or want to use public health services while men, and particularly rural men, tend to use, and prefer, traditional medicine.
Education		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Education. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Education. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ On most education-related indicators, Kachin fares better than other States mostly due to the existence of many faith-based early childhood development centres. ▪ Increases in the education budget over the past several years has resulted in some modest improvements, though only in non-conflicted affected areas. ▪ A budget for temporary teachers is used in each township to boost teacher student ratios and is an example of decentralised decision-making. ▪ EAGs have their own educational networks. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Education Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. ▪ Education services across the region face significant shortcomings in: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Funding, particularly pertaining to low teacher salaries. ▪ Access to qualified teachers ▪ For middle schools, transportation challenges that prevent students getting to schools.

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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ For instance, the KIO opened an education department in 1978 and, as of 2013, it ran 4 four high schools, 32 middle schools, and 243 primary schools in KIO-administered areas, serving over 20,000 students. ▪ Several of these schools have been forced to close due to the renewed conflict, but most remain open. 	
Livelihoods & land		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Kachin as a whole had a poverty rate of 29% and is much less intensively developed than most other arable parts of the country due to a legacy of armed conflict. ▪ Kachin's major crop is rice and much is exported out of the State either to the rest of the country, or through its strong economic links across the border into Yunnan Province, China. ▪ In line with the Development Affairs (Municipal Affairs) Law passed by the State <i>Hluttaw</i>, the Township Municipal Affairs Committees (TMAC) were established, along with Township Development Support Committees (TDSC), and co-ordinate with the Township Management Committee (TMC) to establish local development priorities. ▪ These bodies also have authority over how the four available development funds in this State are spent: the Poverty Reduction Fund, the Rural Development Fund, the Area Development Fund, and the Constituency Development Fund. ▪ Responsibilities for all of these committees include: 1) Planning & budgeting of community-level activities with development funds; 2) Sector planning and budgeting; 3) Municipal planning and budgeting; 4) Township development planning. ▪ Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) were also established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Kachin is home to the world's largest jade mines, large gold deposits, and major timber reserves. Both sectors employ large numbers of people, however, jade mining is known for its exploitation of workers. ▪ Better access to non-agricultural jobs, vocational training, credit and markets are all key. ▪ As with all other States, a key opportunity is to devise a system whereby the allocation of the four development funds reflects population size, and need.

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<p>Conflict</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In Kachin State, the 17-year ceasefire between the <i>Tatmadaw</i> and the Kachin Independence Organization and its armed wing, the Kachin Independence Army (KIA), collapsed in 2011 and regular battles have been fought since. ▪ Hundreds have been killed and an estimated 90,000 IDPs driven from their homes. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Approximately 70,000 are believed to be sheltering in KIA-controlled areas. ▪ As of September 2015, fighting continues particularly in Mansi Township. ▪ The conflict will most likely continue in the short- to medium-term, even if a nationwide ceasefire agreement is signed in the coming months. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Networks within the community are key, and in Christian areas in Kachin, the church is often the 'safe place' where civilians take shelter. ▪ Safety for women in Kachin is particularly concerning as sexual violence, committed by both sides but especially the <i>Tatmadaw</i>, has been widespread and women face an environment of constant threat. ▪ In order for "positive peace" to be established or for peace to be in any way sustainable, adequate ceasefire monitoring mechanisms will have to be in place, and regular multi-stakeholder forums will have to be held.
<p>Disaster risk & environment</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Facing damaging landslides and floods, particularly during the monsoon period. ▪ Parts of both States also face risk of forest fires during the dry season. ▪ Some areas of Kachin are vulnerable to earthquakes, with over 50% of its land area in a high-risk zone, though it is mostly northern Kachin that is at risk. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Any assessment of disaster response in these regions must account for the ongoing conflict. ▪ Humanitarian response to a major disaster would still have to negotiate a challenging and complex environment. ▪ Kachin cannot be described as disaster resilient. Communities are extremely vulnerable to economic shocks and communities face food insecurity even without a disaster. ▪ Efforts to improve resilience would require significant investment in market access and livelihood development, but these require a stable security environment and major changes to the transportation network.

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<p>Infrastructure & Communications</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ There is a major lack of transportation infrastructure, which limits the ability of farmers to access either inputs or markets for their crops. ▪ Communication infrastructure is also extremely limited and in response the UNDP local governance survey, over 50% of respondents in rural Momauk Township. ▪ Telecommunications remains poor. Recent contracts with Telenor and Ooredoo have had some impact in increased mobile penetration in the largest urban areas, though benefits are yet to reach the more remote rural poor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Southern Kachin listed electricity provision as the most important problem facing their village tract. ▪ Roads, and other modes of transport must also be addressed in order for market connectivity to improved. This is unlikely to occur in the current state of conflict.
<p>Crime/Rule of Law</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Crime is a significant problem in Kachin State, particularly drug use (heroin and amphetamines) in the areas surrounding Hpkant's jade mines. 1482 people were convicted for drug offenses in 2013. There were 69 convicted murders. ▪ Rule of law in government controlled areas is often weak, particularly in areas where security is dependent on locally-stationed <i>Tatmadaw</i> units. ▪ There are over 3900 police officers stationed in Kachin state according to GoM data, at least 10 of whom are women. ▪ Government data also indicates there are a total of 450 "legal officers", which includes prosecutors and administrative staff among other positions, in Kachin. State. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation. This usually involves village/ward heads, elders, and those involved in incidents. ▪ Greater judicial independence and capacity are key if trust in the courts system is to be restored. ▪ Education and training on legal rights and processes is a potential entry point, particularly for improving gender equality.

Local Governance Mapping: Karen State

Governance branch	Level of analysis	Context	Challenges & Opportunities																																																				
Executive	State	<table><tr><td>1.</td><td>Brig Gen Zaw Min</td><td>Chief Minister</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>2.</td><td>Col Aung Lwin</td><td>Ministry of Security and Border Affairs</td><td>Military-appointed</td></tr><tr><td>3.</td><td>Win Htein</td><td>Ministry of Finance</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>4.</td><td>Christopher</td><td>Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding</td><td>KPP</td></tr><tr><td>5.</td><td>Hsa Law La</td><td>Ministry of Forestry and Mines</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>6.</td><td>Min Soe Thein aka Naing Min Soe Thein</td><td>Ministry of Planning and Economics</td><td>AMRDP</td></tr><tr><td>7.</td><td>Khin Maung Myint</td><td>Ministry of Transport</td><td>PSDP</td></tr><tr><td>8.</td><td>Kyi Lin</td><td>Ministry of Electric Power and Industry</td><td>PSDP</td></tr><tr><td>9.</td><td>Than Daing</td><td>Ministry of Development Affairs</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>10.</td><td>Chit Hlaing</td><td>Ministry of Social Affairs</td><td>KSDDP</td></tr><tr><td>11.</td><td>Khun Than Myint</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (PaO)</td><td>Independent</td></tr><tr><td>12.</td><td>Khin Kyuu</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Burman)</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>13.</td><td>Naing Chit Oo</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Mon)</td><td>AMRDP</td></tr></table>	1.	Brig Gen Zaw Min	Chief Minister	USDP	2.	Col Aung Lwin	Ministry of Security and Border Affairs	Military-appointed	3.	Win Htein	Ministry of Finance	USDP	4.	Christopher	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding	KPP	5.	Hsa Law La	Ministry of Forestry and Mines	USDP	6.	Min Soe Thein aka Naing Min Soe Thein	Ministry of Planning and Economics	AMRDP	7.	Khin Maung Myint	Ministry of Transport	PSDP	8.	Kyi Lin	Ministry of Electric Power and Industry	PSDP	9.	Than Daing	Ministry of Development Affairs	USDP	10.	Chit Hlaing	Ministry of Social Affairs	KSDDP	11.	Khun Than Myint	Ministry of National Races Affairs (PaO)	Independent	12.	Khin Kyuu	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Burman)	USDP	13.	Naing Chit Oo	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Mon)	AMRDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Chief Minister is selected by the President, and is always a member of the <i>state hluttaw</i>. He/she is only accountable to the President, and not the State assembly.Currently, he is ethnically Bamar, and a member of the USDP.The rest of the cabinet is appointed by the Chief Minister and designated portfolios by the President.Military appointees in the cabinet remain, and the ethnic composition of the cabinet does not reflect the political ambitions, nor ethnic breakdown of the citizenry.Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women's participation in politics.The role of women in politics remains very low on all sides, though participation is better in Karen than in almost all other States.State ministers have very little supporting administrative apparatus.Defined in the Constitution under Schedule 2, the relationship between State departments and their corresponding union line ministry is ambiguous and requires further clarification.The dependence on the GAD, which sits under the military-led Ministry of Home Affairs, undermines the extent to which decentralisation can occur.Other key union ministries have yet to be decentralised, meaning that issues of social service delivery, ethnic identity, and natural resource management, all remain centralised.
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		State ie. The Bamar, Mon and Pa-O communities in Karen State are automatically members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formulation of education policies Modest and gradual budget deconcentration
	District & Township	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sitting underneath the various state-level ministries are their respective Departments, as depicted in Figure 1. in the Executive Summary. District level bodies are important in connecting township-level bodies to State/Region governments but most key government actions are taken at the Township-level (such as tax collection, birth & land registration) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The District Development Support Committees (DDSC), and the District Management Committees (DMC) are the two bodies accountable to the State government at this level. The District Farmland Management Committee is not accountable to State/Region governments, only to union level ministries. Most Union ministries have offices at the township level, though some, such as Border Affairs, only have offices at district level. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> All Heads of Departments in townships are accountable to their supervisor at District or State level, and, barring the Development Affairs Organization, receive budget and plans. In Karen State in particular, horizontal co-ordination between Heads of Departments is very weak. In real terms, the decision-making powers lie with the GAD's District Administrator, and the Township Administrator (who is always a GAD officer). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Co-ordination between different Departments remains extremely poor. Whilst these new bodies are a step in the direction of decentralisation, almost all decisions on budgeting and planning remain centralised at either union or state-level. In Karen State in particular, the township level is associated strongly with corruption, leading to a resistance in terms of joint decision-making between the township, village-tract, and village levels. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Thus, in Karen, most township level committees are focused on maintaining law and order, and peaceful relations, considering Karen's complex conflict scenario. An expansion in the role and responsibilities of the TDSC is an area of potential improvement. Although women are almost completely excluded from politics at this level, relative to other States and Regions, Karen State has better representation. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There are no female village-tract administrators in Karen nor Mon, though 11 in Karen State. The KNU has a policy of having 30% of leadership positions to be filled by women but this is not enforced. Township Administrators often see representatives of VTA's as "their staff". <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Departments generally only implement union ministry policy, and rarely go beyond strictly mandated areas. Co-ordination between departments remains extremely poor. Township Management Committees (TMC) have been introduced to address this issue.

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	Village-Tract & Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Village-Tract Administrators (VTA) lead a Village-Tract Committee (VTC) that discuss and select a range of development projects. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public participation is varied between community to community. The VTA also acts as a grievance channel up to the Township level. Village-Tract Administrators (VTA) play a central role in the budgeting and selection of development projects in Karen State. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Due to the perceived corruption at the township level, the VTAs in Karen State play the most important role in the identification and determination of development projects. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> One interviewed TDSC member said “we have no knowledge about budgets for development projects so we can’t prioritise.” Further research on the relationship between the VTAs and VTCs and bodies at the township level is needed.
Legislature	Pyithu (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> USDP: 4 seats; Plone-Sgaw Democratic Party (PSDP): 2 seats; Karen People’s Party (KPP): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	Pyithu (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National League for Democracy (NLD): 6 seats Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 1 seat 	
	Amyotha (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> USDP: 6 seats; Plone-Sgaw Democratic Party (PSDP): 3 seats All Mon Region Democracy Party (AMRDP): 1 seat Karen People’s Party (KPP): 1 seat Karen State Democracy and Development Party (KSDDP): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	Amyotha (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National League for Democracy (NLD): 10 seats Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 2 seats 	
	State (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 23 members (17 elected, 6 military) Speaker: Aung Kyaw Min (USDP); USDP: 7 seats; Plone-Sgaw Democratic Party (PSDP): 4 seats; All Mon Region Democracy Party (AMRDP): 2 seats; Karen People’s Party (KPP): 2 seats Karen State Democracy and Development Party (KSDDP): 1 seat; Independent: 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State parliaments, or ‘<i>hluttaws</i>’, are partially elected unicameral bodies. State-level budgets are small (probably under 5% of public expenditure) and the budget composition process lacks transparency. Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women’s participation in politics. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials. In Karen State, activity in the state hluttaw has thus far been fairly minimal, and only the minimum required State laws for budgetary and planning processes were adopted.

	State (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ National League for Democracy (NLD): 10 seats ▪ Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 3 seats ▪ Kayin People's Party (KPP): 1 seat 	
	State Committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bill Committee Chairman: Aung Pwint (citizen) ▪ National Races Affairs Committee Chairman: Aung Hsan (USDP) ▪ Representatives Vetting Committee: Aung Hsan (USDP) 	
Judiciary	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sitting under the Supreme Court at union-level, each State & Region has its own High Court. ▪ The Karen State High Court is headed by its Chief Justice who sits with 3-7 judges. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Judges serve until mandatory retirement age of 70. ▪ The High Court supervises a subsidiary district, township and self-administered area courts. ▪ State/Regions also have an Advocate General, nominated by the Chief Minister to provide legal council. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The AG is accountable to the President and the union-level Attorney General, through the Chief Minister. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ There is no independent judicial service. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ There is a process by which the High Court judges can be impeached, but this can only be initiated by the President, or the Chief Minister. ▪ States do not have any authority on constitutional disputes, as power rests with the Constitutional Tribunal of the Union. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The President and the House speakers select the members of this body, and there is no appeal process. ▪ All positions are appointed directly by the President, usually in consultation with the Chief Justice of the Union and the regional Chief Ministers. ▪ The system, therefore, remains centralised and to a great extent, not meritocratic. ▪ Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation.
	Township, Village-Tract, Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Informal mechanisms that are reliant upon networks of influential individuals (almost always men) provide the principal form of grievance redress at this level. ▪ Formal legal recourse is unusual. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In general, judicial appointment procedures and relevant structures are all centralized, and limit judicial independence.

Working Document

Municipal governance		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) sit under Township Development Affairs Committees (TDAC), which is answerable to the Minister of Development Affairs. DAOs are the focal point of municipal governance. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ DAOs at the township level are composed of two distinct but linked bodies: a semi-elected TDAC (oversight), and a Township DAO Office run by civil servants (service delivery + economic governance) ▪ They were established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery, and operate as the most autonomous government body, whilst also being self-funded.. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ They are responsible for urban water, sewage, garbage collection, roads and bridges, street lighting and drainage, licensing for local businesses, tax collection, and holding auctions to operate local ferries and toll roads. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ DAOs are unique in their fiscal autonomy, range of responsibilities, and accountability to the citizenry. ▪ They present a real opportunity for the government to provide efficient and accountable services – thus potentially re-shaping citizen-state relations.
Thematic area	State-level	Context	Challenges & Opportunities
Health		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Health. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Health. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Total government hospitals – 30; Scheduled Bed – 986; Dispensaries - 7 ○ At the township level, the Township Medical Officer (TMO) plays both a medical and an administrative role, whilst the Township Health Officer (THO) handles all hospital affairs (facilities, supplies, etc). ○ Village Health Committees (VHC) are responsible for clinic maintenance though do not have a say in clinic management. ▪ For the Karen, the major healthcare provider is the Karen Department of Health and Welfare (KDHW). ▪ The interaction and co-ordination of services between government line ministries and the KDHW is a politically sensitive area. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 70% of respondents reported they had used their services in the last 12 months, compared to 8% who had used government health services. ▪ In the state capital, Hpa-an, there are 2 private hospitals, 5 special clinics for treatment of malaria, and HIV/AIDS. ▪ Alternatively, Mae Sot clinic is a regional hub for further treatment, including Cardiovascular Magnetic Resonance (CMR) though 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Health Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. ▪ Service gaps left by Government and EHO's have necessitated local CBOs and other non-governmental healthcare services (eg. traditional medicine practitioners), who are often not trained for more complex medical procedures, to fill the gaps. ▪ There is a shortage of Rural Health Centres (RHC) – there are currently 6,000-9,000 inhabitants per acre, whilst the national average is 2,000 ▪ CBOs and religiously affiliated organizations are the main source of healthcare delivery in the Southeast. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Their combined reach totals around 500,000 beneficiaries. The Health Convergence Core Group (HCCG) coordinates numerous organizations under this umbrella, including the Back Pack Health Worker Team (BPHWT), who provide mobile primary healthcare services; the Karenni Mobile Health Committee (KnMHC); the Mon National Health

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		<p>services are overstretched and it is difficult to obtain multi-day passes for major hospitals.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overall, the healthcare situation is poor, though 2/3rds of respondents in a UNDP survey stated that services have improved in the past 3 years. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Healthcare is also expensive – 85% of those living in urban areas, and 53% in rural areas, pay out of pocket for services. 	<p>Committee (MNHC); the Shan State Development Foundation (SSDF) and many others.</p>
Education		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Education. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Education. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Service provision of government schools has historically been extremely poor, but budgetary increases and infrastructural upgrades in the recent past has led to some improvements, especially at primary school level – around 70%. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of schools: Primary – 1,350; Secondary – 145; High – 109 Number of teachers: Primary – 5,078; Secondary – 1,972; High – 733 Number of students: Primary – 181,078; Secondary – 68,189; High – 16,140 Township Education Officers (TEO) have one of the biggest workloads in Karen State, managing around 60-70% of all civil servants. At township and village levels, there are also School Construction Committees, usually staffed with a village-tract/township development support committee chair, PTA representative and the headmaster, responsible for the construction and maintenance of education infrastructure. The Karen have also developed one of the more extensive education systems with the Karen Education and Cultural Department (KED) operating more than 1,200 schools. Again, the government's education system exists in parallel to these ethnic systems, though co-ordination between the two institutions is lacking. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The basic curriculum in Math and Science are comparable to the Burmese system though the KED also educates on ethnic identity, language, and the history of armed struggle against central Bamar authority. A network of community-based organisations (CBO) and CSOs also 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Education Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. TEOs require greater support, or require a clearer (and possibly reduced) definition of their responsibilities. Some co-ordination amongst ethnic organizations and CBOs working in the area is evident with the Karen State Education Assistance Group (KSEAG), for instance, which also includes INGO partners. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overall, this group provides support for 141,623 students in Karen-populated areas, in comparison to the 317,380 students attending Ministry of Education institutions in these areas. Finding ways to collaborate and, possibly, integrate these systems so that education on ethnic rights and identity are protected will be a major challenge in the reform process.

		<p>provide education services, sometimes affiliated to the Karen Development Network. The Karen Baptist Convention also plays an important role.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both Buddhist monasteries and Christian churches are also active in the area in education service provision. In Karen State 29 monastic schools at primary level. 	
Livelihoods & land		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In line with the Development Affairs (Municipal Affairs) Law passed by the State <i>Hluttaw</i>, the Township Municipal Affairs Committees (TMAC) were established, along with Township Development Support Committees (TDSC), and co-ordinate with the Township Management Committee (TMC) to establish local development priorities. The Township Planning Officer (TPO) prepares a consolidated budget based upon decisions made at a union level. The TPO is thus fairly powerless in this process. These bodies also have authority over how the four available development funds in this State are spent: the Poverty Reduction Fund, the Rural Development Fund, the Area Development Fund, and the Constituency Development Fund. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Responsibilities for all of these committees include: 1) Planning & budgeting of community-level activities with development funds; 2) Sector planning and budgeting; 3) Municipal planning and budgeting; 4) Township development planning. Township Management Committees (TMC) in Karen State spend more time focused more on maintaining law and order, and peaceful relations instead of their mandated area of development coordination. Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) were also established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery. Agriculture and animal husbandry are the driving forces of the economy. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The dominant crops in the state are rice, groundnut, beans, coffee and tea. Agricultural development has been hampered state-wide by insecurity and conflict, in particular through extractive and predatory practices by armed groups from all sides. The growth of a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in Mae Sot (Thailand) and Myawaddy (Myanmar) on the Thailand-Myanmar border has slowly begun to create jobs. Hpa-An, the State's capital, was named an industrial zone in 2012 and has seen moderate growth, especially in its garment industry. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A significant north/south divide in terms of prosperity exists, with poorer communities located in the more northern three townships of Myawaddy, Hpapun and Thandaung, that have for a long time been under the partial control of the KNU. Coffee and cardamom are the cash crops available in these areas. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In these areas particularly, but also across the State as a whole, land rights abuses committed in large part by the <i>tatmadaw</i> have destroyed opportunities in agriculture and animal husbandry that citizens depend upon. Abuses such as land confiscation and arbitrary taxation continue though the monitoring of these actions by local groups has improved significantly. As with all other States, a key opportunity is to devise a system whereby the allocation of the four development funds reflects population size, and need.

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<p>Conflict</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The signing of a bilateral ceasefire between the armed wing of the Karen National Union (KNU) and the government in January 2012 has led to a significant improvement in the overall security and safety scenario in Karen State. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This is evidenced by the fact that more than half of respondents in a recent UNDP survey saying that they feel safer than they did 3 years ago. ▪ A multitude of other armed actors are present in Karen State, namely the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA), and the Democratic Karen Benevolent Army (DKBA) which was formed as a result of the KNU splintering into factions. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ There have been several high profile clashes between the DKBA and the KNU themselves, namely in 2005, and 2009. Since, tensions between the DKBA and Brigade 5 of the <i>tatmadaw</i> have been reported. ▪ Other groups include the Karen Peace Force (KPF), and the KNU/KNLA Peace Council (KPC) ▪ Despite the ceasefires, clashes continue to occur. Even as their regularity has reduced, the spectre of violence looms as a distinct threat: UNHCR conducted a perceptions survey which resulted in identifying that troop strength of both <i>Tatmadaw</i> and ethnic armed groups was stable, if not increasing, in 70% of village tracts. ▪ In July 2015, Karen Peace Support Network reported a number of clashes along the Asia Highway, a large-scale infrastructure project running the State. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The level of perceived security varies and without a long-term political solution in place, communities remain vulnerable to the threat of violence and human rights abuses (even though there has been a significant decrease in human rights violations). ▪ Karen Human Rights Group (KHRG) have led efforts to document the fortifying of <i>Tatmadaw</i> military camps in ceasefire and, in some cases, contested areas. ▪ In addition, Karen State is one of the most densely mined areas in the world, and as IDPs begin to return to their homes, mines will pose a significant threat. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Mine clearance on a state-wide co-ordinated scale has yet to occur. In the interim, mine risk education should be prioritised. ▪ In order for “positive peace” to be established or for peace to be in any way sustainable, adequate ceasefire monitoring mechanisms will have to be in place, and regular multi-stakeholder forums will have to be held.
<p>Disaster risk & environment</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Disaster risk management and environmental concerns are the responsibility of the GAD and the TA. ▪ Karen State is exposed to a number of natural disaster threats including earthquakes, fire and flooding though the overall risk assessment is low when compared relatively to other States. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In terms of earthquakes, there are two fault lines that pass through the Southeast region: the Papun Fault line and the Three Pagodas Fault line, though major earthquakes are very unlikely. ▪ Flooding can occur in the monsoon season and did so most recently in Kyainseikgyi which created new displaced populations.
<p>Infrastructure & communications</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Infrastructure here is currently underdeveloped with only 1,167 miles of road, only 579 miles of which is laid with a bituminous top layer. ▪ Township Municipal Affairs Committees (TMAC) and the Departments for Municipal Affairs (DMA) in Karen State generally focus on the maintenance of internal road networks instead of focusing on water supply: UNDP have identified this as a key unmet need. ▪ The current state of infrastructure is very poor. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This is most notable in the Hpa-an to Myawaddy route which is a single-lane road on which the direction of the traffic alternates from day to day. ○ The alternative is that many use Karen’s extensive river 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Infrastructure remains underdeveloped though Karen State's key strategic positioning as a corridor between Myanmar's commercial capital, Yangon, and the markets in the Mekong delta has sparked foreign and domestic interest in developing transport networks in the area. ▪ There is significant donor interest in the area, especially from Japan International Cooperation Agency's (JICA) infrastructure and development plan, which aims to develop the region primarily through increased connectivity and infrastructure upgrades. ADB's Greater Mekong Sub-Region Initiative has the

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		<p>network for travel and commerce.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Telecommunications remains poor. Recent contracts with Telenor and Ooredoo have had some impact in increased mobile penetration in the largest urban areas, though benefits are yet to reach the more remote rural poor. 	<p>potential to tackle the infrastructure challenges that face Karen, and the Southeast more generally, by providing vital connectivity to markets.</p>
Crime/Rule of Law		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Karen State is a relatively safe place in terms of the level of crime. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In 2014, there were 111 cases of theft, 17 cases of rape, 4 cases of robbery, and 27 convicted murder cases. ○ These figures have largely been consistent over the last three years. ▪ There are 1680 police officers stationed in Karen State, 40 of which are women, according to GoM data. ▪ Government data also indicates there are a total of 230 “legal officers”, which includes prosecutors and administrative staff among other positions, in Karen State. ▪ There are multiple and often overlapping security forces in Karen State (eg. Karen police force, and Myanmar Police Force), that will require careful consideration in terms of integrating, or at least clearly delineating responsibilities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation. This usually involves village/ward heads, elders, and those involved in incidents. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Greater judicial independence and capacity are key if trust in the courts system is to be restored. ▪ Education and training on legal rights and processes is a potential entry point, particularly for improving gender equality.

Local Governance Mapping: Karenni State

Governance branch	Level of analysis	Context	Challenges & Opportunities																																												
Executive	State	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1.</td><td>Khin Maung Oo aka Bu Yei</td><td>Chief Minister</td><td>USDP</td></tr> <tr> <td>2.</td><td>Col Zaw Myo Tin</td><td>Ministry of Security and Border Affairs</td><td>Military-appointed</td></tr> <tr> <td>3.</td><td>Than Kyaw Soe</td><td>Ministry of Finance</td><td>USDP</td></tr> <tr> <td>4.</td><td>Poe Ya aka Po Ye Yan Aung</td><td>Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding</td><td>USDP</td></tr> <tr> <td>5.</td><td>Ye Win</td><td>Ministry of Forestry and Mines</td><td>USDP</td></tr> <tr> <td>6.</td><td>Tot Ye</td><td>Ministry of Planning and Economics</td><td>USDP</td></tr> <tr> <td>7.</td><td>Chit Hla</td><td>Ministry of Transport</td><td>USDP</td></tr> <tr> <td>8.</td><td>Hoo Hoo</td><td>Ministry of Electric Power and Industry</td><td>USDP</td></tr> <tr> <td>9.</td><td>Aung Naing Oo</td><td>Ministry of Development Affairs</td><td>USDP</td></tr> <tr> <td>10.</td><td>Koe Ye</td><td>Ministry of Social Affairs</td><td>USDP</td></tr> <tr> <td>11.</td><td>Sein Oo</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Burman)</td><td>USDP</td></tr> </table> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The State-level government, led by the Chief Minister, is the highest executive body in each State/Region. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> District level committees are directly accountable to this body, as well as the Township Development Affairs Committee The state government is supported, and administratively dependent upon, the General Administration Department (GAD). Its responsibilities are wide-ranging from tax collection, land management, assorted registration and certification, but primarily acts as the civil service. At State-level, the GAD Deputy Director General is the most senior civil servant. The GAD runs through all levels of government, down to the village-tract level: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Under the Ministry of Home Affairs, with Union Ministries and the President's Office; State government, and State <i>hluttaws</i>; 	1.	Khin Maung Oo aka Bu Yei	Chief Minister	USDP	2.	Col Zaw Myo Tin	Ministry of Security and Border Affairs	Military-appointed	3.	Than Kyaw Soe	Ministry of Finance	USDP	4.	Poe Ya aka Po Ye Yan Aung	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding	USDP	5.	Ye Win	Ministry of Forestry and Mines	USDP	6.	Tot Ye	Ministry of Planning and Economics	USDP	7.	Chit Hla	Ministry of Transport	USDP	8.	Hoo Hoo	Ministry of Electric Power and Industry	USDP	9.	Aung Naing Oo	Ministry of Development Affairs	USDP	10.	Koe Ye	Ministry of Social Affairs	USDP	11.	Sein Oo	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Burman)	USDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chief Minister is selected by the President, and is always a member of the <i>state hluttaw</i>. He/she is only accountable to the President, and not the State assembly. Currently, he is a member of the USDP. The rest of the cabinet is appointed by the Chief Minister and designated portfolios by the President. Military appointees in the cabinet remain, and the ethnic composition of the cabinet does not reflect the political ambitions, nor ethnic breakdown of the citizenry. Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women's participation in politics. State ministers have very little supporting administrative apparatus. Defined in the Constitution under Schedule 2, the relationship between State departments and their corresponding union line ministry is ambiguous and requires further clarification. The dependence on the GAD, which sits under the military-led Ministry of Home Affairs, undermines the extent to which decentralisation can occur. Other key union ministries have yet to be decentralised, meaning that issues of social service delivery, ethnic identity, and natural resource management, all remain centralised. Consider formation of state civil service organizations Greater autonomy for Ministers and Departments from GAD structure. Greater responsibilities for state government – eg. Formulation of education policies Modest and gradual budget deconcentration
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	District & Township	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sitting underneath the various state-level ministries are their respective Departments, as depicted in Figure 1. in the Executive Summary. ▪ District level bodies are important in connecting township-level bodies to State/Region governments but most key government actions are taken at the Township-level (such as tax collection, birth & land registration) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The District Development Support Committees (DDSC), and the District Management Committees (DMC) are the two bodies accountable to the State government at this level. ○ The District Farmland Management Committee is not accountable to State/Region governments, only to union level ministries. ▪ Most Union ministries have offices at the township level, though some, such as Border Affairs, only have offices at district level. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ All Heads of Departments in townships are accountable to their supervisor at District or State level, and, barring the Development Affairs Organization, receive budget and plans. ▪ In real terms, the decision-making powers lie with the GAD's District Administrator, and the Township Administrator (who is always a GAD officer). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Co-ordination between different Departments remains extremely poor. ▪ Whilst these new bodies are a step in the direction of decentralisation, almost all decisions on budgeting and planning remain centralised at either union or state-level. ▪ There are no female township administrators. ▪ Township Administrators often see representatives of VTA's as "their staff". ▪ Departments generally only implement union ministry policy, and rarely go beyond strictly mandated areas. ▪ Co-ordination between departments remains extremely poor. Township Management Committees (TMC) have been introduced to address this issue.
	Village-Tract & Villge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Village-Tract Administrators (VTA) lead a Village-Tract Committee (VTC) that discuss and select a range of development projects. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Public participation is varied between community to community. ○ The VTA also acts as a grievance channel up to the Township level. ▪ In Karenni State, Township Development Support Committees (TDSC) and Village-Tract Administrators (VTAs) were highly active in terms of the allocation of the development funds. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Access to information and limited government capacity in areas it controls are the most significant constraints on communities' ability to affect change. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ For instance, in Karenni State, 97% of respondents in the UNDP mapping reported that they did not know of a township level committee where citizens could voice their opinions. ▪ There are no female village-tract administrators in Karenni State, reflecting the wider political marginalisation of women.
Legislature	Pyithu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ USDP: 6 seats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. ▪ 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.

	(2010/12)		
	Pyithu (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National League for Democracy (NLD): 6 seats Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 1 seat 	
	Amyotha (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> USDP: 12 seats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	Amyotha (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National League for Democracy (NLD): 9 seats Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 2 seats Independent: 1 seat 	
	State (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State parliaments, or 'hluttaws', are partially elected unicameral bodies. 20 members (15 elected, 5 military) Speaker: Kyaw Swe (USDP) USDP: 15 seats State-level budgets are small (probably under 5% of public expenditure) and the budget composition process lacks transparency. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State-level budgets are small (probably under 5% of public expenditure) and the budget composition process lacks transparency. Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women's participation in politics. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	State (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National League for Democracy (NLD): 11 seats Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 3 seats 	
	State Committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bill Committee Chairman: "Richard" (USDP); National Races Affairs Committee: Sein Oo (USDP); Representatives Vetting Committee Chairman: Ko Di (USDP) 	
Judiciary	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sitting under the Supreme Court at union-level, each State & Region has its own High Court. The Karenni State High Court is headed by its Chief Justice who sits with 3-7 judges. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Judges serve until mandatory retirement age of 70. The High Court supervises a subsidiary district, township and self-administered area courts. State/Regions also have an Advocate General, nominated by the Chief Minister to provide legal council. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The AG is accountable to the President and the union-level Attorney General, through the Chief Minister. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no independent judicial service. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a process by which the High Court judges can be impeached, but this can only be initiated by the President, or the Chief Minister. States do not have any authority on constitutional disputes, as power rests with the Constitutional Tribunal of the Union. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The President and the House speakers select the members of this body, and there is no appeal process. All positions are appointed directly by the President, usually in consultation with the Chief Justice of the

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Union and the regional Chief Ministers. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The system, therefore, remains centralised and to a great extent, not meritocratic. Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation.
	Township, Village-Tract, Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informal mechanisms that are reliant upon networks of influential individuals (almost always men) provide the principal form of grievance redress at this level. Formal legal recourse is unusual. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In general, judicial appointment procedures and relevant structures are all centralized, and limit judicial independence.
Municipal governance		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) sit under Township Development Affairs Committees (TDAC), which is answerable to the Minister of Development Affairs. DAOs are the focal point of municipal governance. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> DAOs at the township level are composed of two distinct but linked bodies: a semi-elected TDAC (oversight), and a Township DAO Office run by civil servants (service delivery + economic governance) They were established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery, and operate as the most autonomous government body, whilst also being self-funded.. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They are responsible for urban water, sewage, garbage collection, roads and bridges, street lighting and drainage, licensing for local businesses, tax collection, and holding auctions to operate local ferries and toll roads. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> DAOs are unique in their fiscal autonomy, range of responsibilities, and accountability to the citizenry. They present a real opportunity for the government to provide efficient and accountable services – thus potentially re-shaping citizen-state relations.
Thematic area	State-level	Context	Challenges & Opportunities
Health		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Health. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Health. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The signing of recent bilateral ceasefires has allowed some space for improved access to social services, though the overall health picture is poor. There are more government hospitals here per capita than other States. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Total government hospitals – 17; Scheduled Bed – 544; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Health Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. In the Southeast region more generally (Karen, Karenni, Mon), reproductive healthcare access, a key indicator for healthcare standards for women, is very low with only 16.9% of women reporting four or more antenatal care visits during their last pregnancy.

		<p>Dispensaries - 5</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In Karenni State 66% of respondents in a UNDP survey said that they had experienced improvements in healthcare in the last five years. ▪ Significant disparities existing between urban and rural, and conflict and non-conflict affected areas. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This is evidenced by the fact that children in Karenni State are less likely (only 23%) to be born into a health facility. ▪ More positively, immunization rates (95%) are much higher than the national average, though are very skewed according to geography and socio-economic status. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Furthermore, among women surveyed, 73% women delivered their last child with the participation of a trained traditional birth attendant (TTBA). In total, 11.3% of women of reproductive age were determined to be moderately/severely malnourished. This is an improvement compared to 2008, when 16.7% of women of reproductive age were found to be moderately/severely malnourished."
Education		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Education. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Education. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Number of schools: Primary – 360; Secondary – 29; High – 36 ○ Number of teachers: Primary – 1,382; Secondary – 511; High – 350 ○ Number of students: Primary – 35,083; Secondary – 19,041; High – 6,011 ▪ The broader picture of access to education services in Karenni State is similar to other State/Regions in that significant disparities exist in terms of the geography, income and ethnicity of the recipient community. ▪ A mixture of government, EAG-affiliated, and religious institutions provide services that are highly dependent on geography. ▪ Town Education Officer (TEO) manages 60-70 civil servants in the township, accounting for salaries, monitoring quality of service, and addresses any labour gaps. ▪ UNHCR reports that there are the fewest number of public schools in Karenni State of any State. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Therefore, out of pocket private services are prevalent – UNHCR recorded some returning IDP families paying over MMK200,000 for tutoring. ○ This problem is compounded by a shortage of qualified teachers. ▪ Monastic education plays a smaller role in education than in other States; there are only 5 monastic schools at primary level in the entirety of the State. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Education Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. ▪ Particular barriers to access include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A lack of teachers and poor facilities, especially in rural areas ▪ High dropout rates due to labor shortages for economic activities ▪ Most importantly, poor infrastructure networks especially in rural areas. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This issue is most pressing in Karenni State due to its infrastructural underdevelopment. ▪ There is evidence of links between community-level safety and drop-out rates across the region whereby the distance needed to travel to schools correlates with attendance. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This is particularly true for girls. For example, girls are more likely to drop out of school than boys citing safety as well as travel costs as reasons.

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<p>Livelihoods & land</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In line with the Development Affairs (Municipal Affairs) Law passed by the State <i>Hluttaw</i>, the Township Municipal Affairs Committees (TMAC) were established, along with Township Development Support Committees (TDSC), and co-ordinate with the Township Management Committee (TMC) to establish local development priorities. ▪ These bodies also have authority over how the four available development funds in this State are spent: the Poverty Reduction Fund, the Rural Development Fund, the Area Development Fund, and the Constituency Development Fund. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Responsibilities for all of these committees include: 1) Planning & budgeting of community-level activities with development funds; 2) Sector planning and budgeting; 3) Municipal planning and budgeting; 4) Township development planning. ▪ Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) were also established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery. ▪ Farming is the mainstay of the economy in Karenni State, though mining and timber production play a significant role in the regional economy as well. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Taking after neighbouring Shan State, due to isolation and unstable commodity prices, many have turned to farming illicit crops including drugs (opium, amphetamines, mostly) ▪ Although reliable income poverty data is difficult to come by, poverty rates (11%) are considerably below the national average (26%). ▪ The Township Land Management Committee (TLMC) addresses land-related grievances. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ At the village level, and unique to Karenni State, Grievance Scrutinizing Committees have been established. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ For 2013-14, three sampled townships in a UNDP local governance report received 3.5 times the per capita amount of Poverty Reduction Fund (PRF) and Constituency Development (CDF) funds (US\$5.5 vs average of US\$1.6 for all States/Regions). ▪ This represents a clear opportunity for Karenni State to maximise utility of the development funds available. ▪ Despite increases in investment, developments have also been strongly linked with economic abuses including intimidation, extortion, land grabbing, mine pollution and sexual violence. ▪ Threats that have decreased include forced labour and restrictions on movement. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ According to a report by the Health Information System Working Group, 3.5% of respondents experienced forced labor in a twelve month period and nearly 8% experienced destruction or seizure of food, livestock, or crops, underlining that economic rights in the region remain insecure. ▪ Notably, Karenni State is the only State without a Department of Industrial Corps Development. ▪ As with all other States, a key opportunity is to devise a system whereby the allocation of the four development funds reflects population size, and need.
<p>Conflict</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A protracted armed conflict between the Karenni Nationality Progressive Party (KNPP) and the <i>tatmadaw</i> has only recently come to a close with a bilateral ceasefire that was signed in March 2012 and confirmed in October 2013. ▪ The overall security and safety scenario has thus improved with decreased clashes between the two forces. ▪ Other EAGs and non-state actors (NSA) include Kayan National Guard (KNG), the Karenni Nationalities People's Liberation Front (KNPLF), and the Kayan New Land Party (KNLP): all of whom signed ceasefires with the government in the 1990's. ▪ Karenni State also faces the challenge of land mines that may be compounded if large numbers of returnees from displacement camps come back to communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The level of perceived security varies and without a long-term political solution in place, communities remain vulnerable to the threat of violence and human rights abuses (even though there has been a significant decrease in human rights violations). ▪ The threat of community-level conflict may well rise in the mid-term as large numbers of previously displaced populations return to their homes. ▪ Education and surveillance of land mines during the medium-term will be an important facet of enhancing security in the State. ▪ In order for "positive peace" to be established or for peace to be in any way sustainable, adequate

			ceasefire monitoring mechanisms will have to be in place, and regular multi-stakeholder forums will have to be held.
Disaster risk & environment		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Karenni State is characterised by its relative small size and geographical remoteness. ▪ The terrain is mostly highly mountainous and pockets of the State have been difficult to access for government administration and local CSO/CBOs alike. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ These geographical challenges have been compounded by poor infrastructural development, which has led to highly skewed economic and social development from township to township. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Due to the terrain, there is a risk of landslides, especially during the wet season. Moreover, a number of large-scale hydropower projects are being planned which may reduce the threat flooding though a balance between the development of infrastructure and the maintenance of natural wetlands needs to be struck. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Although there are not major disaster risk disparities between genders, women usually bear the responsibility to collect water from sources that have the potential for flooding, especially during the monsoon season.
Infrastructure & communications		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Some improvements in infrastructure have taken place since a bilateral ceasefire was signed though Karenni State remains difficult to navigate due to its mountainous topography. ▪ Infrastructure here is underdeveloped with only 593 miles of road, only 341 miles of which is laid with a bituminous top layer. ▪ The Thanlwin River flows directly through the State, and is currently a controversial topic amongst stakeholders due to the proposal of a number of large-scale investment projects along the river. ▪ Water infrastructure is also underdeveloped in Karenni. From 2009-10, the prevalence of diarrhoea increased from 8-10% (above national average of 7%), underlining the need for water treatment infrastructure to be improved. ▪ Telecommunications remains poor. Recent contracts with Telenor and Ooredoo have had some impact in increased mobile penetration in the largest urban areas, though benefits are yet to reach the more remote rural poor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Several hydroelectric dams have been established in Karenni State, most notably in the Lawpita plants in Loikaw Township, amongst others. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In 2014, these plants generated about 1/5th of Myanmar's energy though the benefits to Karenni State citizens appear to be very limited. ▪ Considering that there is seldom access to the national grid outside the State capital, Loikaw, it will be essential for revenue-sharing mechanisms to be reformed in order to achieve greater parity in terms of electricity coverage.
Rule of Law/ Crime		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Karenni State is relatively safe when compared to other States, especially in its low rates of violent crime. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In 2014, there were 35 cases of theft, 3 of rape, and 3 convicted murders. ▪ These numbers have been fairly consistent over the last three years. ▪ There are 1550 police officers stationed in Karenni State, according to GoM data, a relatively high number per capita compared to other states. This reflects the generally high GoM security forces presence in the State. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation. This usually involves village/ward heads, elders, and those involved in incidents. ▪ Greater judicial independence and capacity are key if trust in the courts system is to be restored. ▪ Education and training on legal rights and processes is a potential entry point, particularly for improving

- Government data also indicates there are a total of 130 “legal officers”, which includes prosecutors and administrative staff among other positions, in Karenni State.

gender equality.

Local Governance Mapping: Mon State

Governance branch	Level of analysis	Context	Challenges & Opportunities																																																				
Executive	State	<table><tr><td>1.</td><td>Ohn Myint</td><td>Chief Minister</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>2.</td><td>Col Htay Myint Aung</td><td>Ministry of Security and Border Affairs</td><td>Military-appointed</td></tr><tr><td>3.</td><td>Khin Maung Thwin</td><td>Ministry of Finance</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>4.</td><td>Myo Nyunt</td><td>Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>5.</td><td>Win Maw Oo</td><td>Ministry of Forestry and Mines</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>6.</td><td>Tun Yi aka Min Nwe Soe</td><td>Ministry of Planning and Economics</td><td>AMRDP</td></tr><tr><td>7.</td><td>Thet Win</td><td>Ministry of Transport</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>8.</td><td>Naing Lawi Aung</td><td>Ministry of Electric Power and Industry</td><td>AMRDP</td></tr><tr><td>9.</td><td>Toe Toe Aung</td><td>Ministry of Development Affairs</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>10.</td><td>Hla Oo</td><td>Ministry of Social Affairs</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>11.</td><td>Aung Kyaw Thein</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Karen)</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>12.</td><td>Pe Mya aka Khun Pe Mya</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (PaO)</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>13.</td><td>Thet Win</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Burman)</td><td>USDP</td></tr></table>	1.	Ohn Myint	Chief Minister	USDP	2.	Col Htay Myint Aung	Ministry of Security and Border Affairs	Military-appointed	3.	Khin Maung Thwin	Ministry of Finance	USDP	4.	Myo Nyunt	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding	USDP	5.	Win Maw Oo	Ministry of Forestry and Mines	USDP	6.	Tun Yi aka Min Nwe Soe	Ministry of Planning and Economics	AMRDP	7.	Thet Win	Ministry of Transport	USDP	8.	Naing Lawi Aung	Ministry of Electric Power and Industry	AMRDP	9.	Toe Toe Aung	Ministry of Development Affairs	USDP	10.	Hla Oo	Ministry of Social Affairs	USDP	11.	Aung Kyaw Thein	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Karen)	USDP	12.	Pe Mya aka Khun Pe Mya	Ministry of National Races Affairs (PaO)	USDP	13.	Thet Win	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Burman)	USDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Chief Minister is selected by the President, and is always a member of the <i>state hluttaw</i>. He/she is only accountable to the President, and not the State assembly.Currently he is a member of the USDP and a Mon national.The rest of the cabinet is appointed by the Chief Minister and designated portfolios by the President.Military appointees in the cabinet remain, and the ethnic composition of the cabinet does not reflect the political ambitions, nor ethnic breakdown of the citizenry.Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women’s participation in politics.State ministers have very little supporting administrative apparatus.Defined in the Constitution under Schedule 2, the relationship between State departments and their corresponding union line ministry is ambiguous and requires further clarification.The dependence on the GAD, which sits under the military-led Ministry of Home Affairs, undermines the extent to which decentralisation can occur. Other key union ministries have yet to be decentralised, meaning that issues of social service delivery, ethnic identity, and natural resource management, all remain centralised.
		1.	Ohn Myint	Chief Minister	USDP																																																		
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		<ul style="list-style-type: none">The State-level government, led by the Chief Minister, is the highest executive body in each State/Region.<ul style="list-style-type: none">District level committees are directly accountable to this body, as well as the Township Development Affairs CommitteeThe state government is supported, and administratively dependent upon, the General Administration Department (GAD). Its responsibilities are wide-ranging from tax collection, land management, assorted registration and certification, but primarily acts as the civil service.At State-level, the GAD Deputy Director General is the most senior civil servant.The GAD runs through all levels of government, down to the village-tract level:<ul style="list-style-type: none">Under the Ministry of Home Affairs, with Union Ministries and the President’s Office;State government, and State <i>hluttaws</i>;District Administration Office and local committees;	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Consider formation of state civil service organizationsGreater autonomy for Ministers and Departments from GAD structure.Greater responsibilities for state government – eg.																																																				

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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Township Administration Office and local committees; • Village-Tract Administrator and local committees. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Formulation of education policies ▪ Modest and gradual budget deconcentration
	District & Township	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sitting underneath the various state-level ministries are their respective Departments, as depicted in Figure 1. in the Executive Summary. ▪ District level bodies are important in connecting township-level bodies to State/Region governments but most key government actions are taken at the Township-level (such as tax collection, birth & land registration) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The District Development Support Committees (DDSC), and the District Management Committees (DMC) are the two bodies accountable to the State government at this level. ○ The District Farmland Management Committee is not accountable to State/Region governments, only to union level ministries. ▪ Most Union ministries have offices at the township level, though some, such as Border Affairs, only have offices at district level. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ All Heads of Departments in townships are accountable to their supervisor at District or State level, and, barring the Development Affairs Organization, receive budget and plans. ▪ In real terms, the decision-making powers lie with the GAD's District Administrator, and the Township Administrator (who is always a GAD officer). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Along with the Mon State government, the New Mon State Party (NMSP) plays a significant role in social service delivery. ▪ Co-ordination between different Departments remains extremely poor. ▪ Whilst these new bodies are a step in the direction of decentralisation, almost all decisions on budgeting and planning remain centralised at either union or state-level. ▪ In Mon State, the Township Management Committee (TMC) led by the Township Administrator (TA) is the key driver for development planning though co-ordination between the majority of line departments is poor. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ However there is a lack of clarity between the mandates of the TDSC, and the TMAC ▪ Township Administrators often see representatives of VTA's as "their staff". ▪ Female representation at this level remains extremely low. ▪ Departments generally only implement union ministry policy, and rarely go beyond strictly mandated areas. ▪ Co-ordination between departments remains extremely poor. Township Management Committees (TMC) have been introduced to address this issue.
	Village-Tract & Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2012 Ward or Village Tract Administration Law has been implemented with varying success across the State. ▪ Village-Tract Administrators (VTA) lead a Village-Tract Committee (VTC) that discuss and select a range of development projects. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Public participation is varies community to community. ○ The VTA also acts as a grievance channel up to the Township level. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Village-Tract Administrator (VTA) plays a key role in local governance in a State where there is strong local ethnic interest and little knowledge of central government. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 36% of respondents could not name the President. ▪ There are no female village-tract administrators in Mon State, reflecting their wider political marginalisation.
Legislature	Pyithu (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ USDP: 5 seats; ▪ All Mon Region Democratic Party (AMRDP): 3 seats; ▪ National Unity Party (NUP): 1 seat; ▪ National League for Democracy (NLD): 1 seat; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. ▪ 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.

	Pyithu (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National League for Democracy (NLD): 10 seats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
	Amyotha (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> USDP: 8 seats; All Mon Region Democracy Party (AMRDP): 3 seats; National Unity Party (NUP): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	Amyotha (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National League for Democracy (NLD): 11 seats Mon National Party (MNP): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
	State (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 31 members Speaker: Kyin Pe (USDP); USDP: 14 seats; All Mon Region Democracy Party (AMRDP): 7 seats; National Unity Party (NUP): 2 seats State-level budgets are small (probably under 5% of public expenditure) and the budget composition process lacks transparency. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State parliaments, or '<i>hluttaws</i>', are partially elected unicameral bodies. State-level budgets are small (probably under 5% of public expenditure) and the budget composition process lacks transparency. Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women's participation in politics. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	State (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National League for Democracy (NLD): 16 seats Mon National Party (MNP): 2 seats All Mon Democracy Party (AMDP): 1 seat Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
Judiciary	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sitting under the Supreme Court at union-level, each State & Region has its own High Court. The Mon State High Court is headed by its Chief Justice who sits with 3-7 judges. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Judges serve until mandatory retirement age of 70. The High Court supervises a subsidiary district, township and self-administered area courts. State/Regions also have an Advocate General, nominated by the Chief Minister to provide legal council. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The AG is accountable to the President and the union-level Attorney General, through the Chief Minister. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no independent judicial service. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a process by which the High Court judges can be impeached, but this can only be initiated by the President, or the Chief Minister. States do not have any authority on constitutional disputes, as power rests with the Constitutional Tribunal of the Union. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The President and the House speakers select the members of this body, and there is no appeal process. All positions are appointed directly by the President, usually in consultation with the Chief Justice of the Union and the regional Chief Ministers.

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The system, therefore, remains centralised and to a great extent, not meritocratic. ▪ Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation.
	Township, Village-Tract, Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Informal mechanisms that are reliant upon networks of influential individuals (almost always men) provide the principal form of grievance redress at this level. Formal legal recourse is unusual. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In general, judicial appointment procedures and relevant structures are all centralized, and limit judicial independence.
Municipal governance		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) sit under Township Development Affairs Committees (TDAC), which is answerable to the Minister of Development Affairs. DAOs are the focal point of municipal governance. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ DAOs at the township level are composed of two distinct but linked bodies: a semi-elected TDAC (oversight), and a Township DAO Office run by civil servants (service delivery + economic governance) ▪ They were established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery, and operate as the most autonomous government body, whilst also being self-funded.. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ They are responsible for urban water, sewage, garbage collection, roads and bridges, street lighting and drainage, licensing for local businesses, tax collection, and holding auctions to operate local ferries and toll roads. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ DAOs are unique in their fiscal autonomy, range of responsibilities, and accountability to the citizenry. ▪ They present a real opportunity for the government to provide efficient and accountable services – thus potentially re-shaping citizen-state relations.
Thematic area	State-level	Context	Challenges & Opportunities
Health		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Health. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Health. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Government services: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Total government hospitals – 33; Scheduled Bed – 1,077; Dispensaries – 20 ▪ Here the Department of Health has a limited profile and is a weak governance body at the township level.; the Township Medical Officer (TMO) does not participate in any of the new committees that have been established. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In some townships, TMOs were not even aware of the Poverty Reduction Fund that can be accessed for healthcare service delivery. ▪ Although access to healthcare is highly variegated according to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Health Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. ▪ A number of parallel health systems exist, and ethnic bodies are organised predominantly through the Mon National Health Committee (MNHC), affiliated to the New Mon State Party (NMSP). ▪ A strong network of civil society organisations are involved in healthcare service-delivery in Mon State, and these bodies are often affiliated with local religious institutions. ▪ Women feature more prominently among clerical support staff, as well as management positions in the

Working Document

		<p>geography and socio-economic status, basic services have largely improved according to survey respondents in 2014.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This is largely due to improvements in addressing treatable diseases such as diarrhoea, malaria and acute respiratory infections. ▪ There are no government healthcare services in NMSP territory, but across the State, there's 1 general hospital, 21 station hospitals, 62 rural health centres, and 295 sub-health centres that are government-run. ▪ Children in Mon State are more likely to be born in a health facility, be vaccinated against common childhood diseases, and receive oral rehydration treatment (ORT), than the average child in Myanmar. 	<p>Department of Health (DoH), and the Department of Planning (DoP).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A critical first step to be taken is for TMOs to start sitting on the established township-level development committees, such as the TDSC
Education		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Education. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Education. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government schools in Mon State are relatively well-functioning when compared to other States. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Number of schools: Primary – 1,205; Secondary – 106; High – 153 ○ Number of teachers: Primary – 8,103; Secondary – 3,282; High – 1,351 ○ Number of students: Primary – 227,275; Secondary – 104,737; High – 28,323 ○ In Mon, the Township Education Officer (TEO) sits on the TMC, unlike the TMO. ▪ The Mon National Schools are run by the New Mon State Party (NMSP): their curriculum includes educating children on Mon identity and language, administered under the Mon National Education Committee and Department (MNEC/MNED) ▪ According to a 2014 survey by UNDP, 75% of teachers interviewed noted that the education system in the State has improved in the past three years. ▪ At primary school level, there are 33 monastic schools in Mon State, a relatively low number considering the State's population size. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Education Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. ▪ In April 2014, the Mon State government passed a bill to formalise the teaching of the Mon language across Ministry of Education schools, which may provide a future opportunity for collaboration with the MNEC. ▪ Co-ordination of this sort is referred to as “convergence”, though offers just as many challenges and difficulties in terms of integrating systems, as it does opportunities.

Working Document

<p>Livelihoods & land</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In line with the Development Affairs (Municipal Affairs) Law passed by the State <i>Hluttaw</i>, the Township Municipal Affairs Committees (TMAC) were established, along with Township Development Support Committees (TDSC), and co-ordinate with the Township Management Committee (TMC) to establish local development priorities. ▪ These bodies also have authority over how the four available development funds in this State are spent: the Poverty Reduction Fund, the Rural Development Fund, the Area Development Fund, and the Constituency Development Fund. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Responsibilities for all of these committees include: 1) Planning & budgeting of community-level activities with development funds; 2) Sector planning and budgeting; 3) Municipal planning and budgeting; 4) Township development planning. ▪ A notable change has been in the mechanisms established to handle complaints in Mon State. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The General Administrative Department (GAD) and Township Municipal Committee (TMC) together receive 10-15 complaints a month, pushing the Township Administrator (TA) to respond accordingly. ▪ Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) were also established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Economic activity in Mon State is driven by agriculture, forestry, and mining, and is major producer of rice and rubber crop. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Crop farming accounts for 40% of all livelihoods in the State. ▪ Although more prosperous than its neighbours, 34% of rural respondents to a UNDP perceptions survey explained that they had problems feeding their own families, illustrating the need for supporting livelihoods in the wider region. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In Mon, in particular, TMCs have emerged as the driving force of township planning, and are functioning relatively well in conjunction with TDSCs, TMACs, and TFMCs. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The Township Planning and Implementation Committees, by contrast, are as yet performing well in terms of providing participatory planning. ▪ Low female participation in local governance bodies, including the development committees, is an issue in Mon. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Only 30% of women participate in village-tract meetings, in contrast to 47% of men. ▪ Mon State in particular has an extensive and well-networked group of CSOs (Mon Women's Organisation, for example) who are active in both service delivery and in holding government services accountable. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A number of CSOs are active in documenting and advocating land rights abuses including the Magadu Development Foundation and the Mon-Region Social Development Network (MSDN). ▪ As with all other States, a key opportunity is to devise a system whereby the allocation of the four development funds reflects population size, and need.
<p>Conflict</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The 2011 ceasefire between the Government and the Mon National Liberation Army (MNLA) has led to greater stability though a fuller political solution remains illusive. ▪ The New Mon State Party (NMSP) signed a ceasefire agreement with the government in 1995, and again in 2012, and have since had a relatively stable relationship with central government, with the exception of communications breaking down in 2010 after they refused to join the Border Guard Force (BGF), though outright conflict has been avoided. ▪ Perceptions of safety have increased overall. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Human rights abuses, especially around the issues of land grabbing and forced displacement continue to feature in the experience of the Mon people. ▪ Armed conflict is relatively unlikely to reoccur though only if sustainable solutions and durable ceasefire monitoring mechanisms are established.

Disaster risk & environment		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Considering its positioning along the coast of the Andaman Sea, the most serious natural disaster risk that Mon State constituents face are from storms and tidal surges during the monsoon period. ▪ In the dry season, the risk of fires is also present. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Much like other States, Mon is not particularly well equipped to respond to natural disasters. Disaster preparedness is low, though as the risk of catastrophe is also low, pressure for change in this area is unlikely to gain momentum in the mid-term.
Infrastructure & Communications		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Infrastructure here is relatively well developed for a small state with 591 miles of road, 501 miles of which is laid with a bituminous top layer. ▪ Mon State is one of the economically dynamic and well-connected States in Myanmar. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Having said this, electricity supply, water infrastructure, and road connectivity were all identified as top concerns across towns in Mon State. ▪ Telecommunications remains poor. Recent contracts with Telenor and Ooredoo have had some impact in increased mobile penetration in the largest urban areas, though benefits are yet to reach the more remote rural poor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Despite being relatively well connected, in a recent survey, poor road conditions and connectivity was identified as the most important problem by citizens (26% of respondents).
Crime/Rule of Law		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mon State is relatively safe when compared to other States, though petty crimes, such as theft, do occur. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In 2014, there were 160 cases of theft, 24 cases of rape, 47 cases of murder, 2 robberies, and 1 kidnapping. ○ These figures have been very consistent over the last three years. ▪ There are 2590 registered government police officers in Mon according to GoM data, a relatively low number when considering the large population size here. ▪ Government data also indicates there are a total of 290 “legal officers”, which includes prosecutors and administrative staff among other positions, in Mon State. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation. This usually involves village/ward heads, elders, and those involved in incidents. ▪ Greater judicial independence and capacity are key if trust in the courts system is to be restored. ▪ Education and training on legal rights and processes is a potential entry point, particularly for improving gender equality.

Local Governance Mapping: Rakhine State

Governance branch	Level of analysis	Context	Challenges & Opportunities																																												
Executive	State	<table><tr><td>1.</td><td>Maung Maung Ohn</td><td>Chief Minister</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>2.</td><td>Col Htein Lin</td><td>Ministry of Security and Border Affairs</td><td>Military-appointed</td></tr><tr><td>3.</td><td>Kyaw Thein</td><td>Ministry of Finance</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>4.</td><td>Tha Lu Che</td><td>Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding</td><td>RNPP</td></tr><tr><td>5.</td><td>Kyaw Khin</td><td>Ministry of Forestry and Mines</td><td>RNPP</td></tr><tr><td>6.</td><td>Mya Aung</td><td>Ministry of Planning and Economics</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>7.</td><td>Hla Han</td><td>Ministry of Transport</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>8.</td><td>Aung Than Tin</td><td>Ministry of Electric Power and Industry</td><td>RNPP</td></tr><tr><td>9.</td><td>Maung San Shwe</td><td>Ministry of Development Affairs</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>10.</td><td>Aung Kyaw Min</td><td>Ministry of Social Affairs</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>11.</td><td>Ko Ko Naing</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Chin)</td><td>USDP</td></tr></table>	1.	Maung Maung Ohn	Chief Minister	USDP	2.	Col Htein Lin	Ministry of Security and Border Affairs	Military-appointed	3.	Kyaw Thein	Ministry of Finance	USDP	4.	Tha Lu Che	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding	RNPP	5.	Kyaw Khin	Ministry of Forestry and Mines	RNPP	6.	Mya Aung	Ministry of Planning and Economics	USDP	7.	Hla Han	Ministry of Transport	USDP	8.	Aung Than Tin	Ministry of Electric Power and Industry	RNPP	9.	Maung San Shwe	Ministry of Development Affairs	USDP	10.	Aung Kyaw Min	Ministry of Social Affairs	USDP	11.	Ko Ko Naing	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Chin)	USDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Chief Minister is selected by the President, and is always a member of the <i>state hluttaw</i>. He/she is only accountable to the President, and not the State assembly.▪ He is ethnically Bamar, and a member of the USDP.▪ The rest of the cabinet is appointed by the Chief Minister and designated portfolios by the President.▪ Military appointees in the cabinet remain, and the ethnic composition of the cabinet does not reflect the political ambitions, nor ethnic breakdown of the citizenry.▪ Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women’s participation in politics.▪ State ministers have very little supporting administrative apparatus.▪ Defined in the Constitution under Schedule 2, the relationship between State departments and their corresponding union line ministry is ambiguous and requires further clarification.▪ The dependence on the GAD, which sits under the military-led Ministry of Home Affairs, undermines the extent to which decentralisation can occur.▪ Other key union ministries have yet to be decentralised, meaning that issues of social service delivery, ethnic identity, and natural resource management, all remain centralised.▪ State-level budgets are small (probably under 5% of public expenditure) and the budget composition process lacks transparency.
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		<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ The State-level government, led by the Chief Minister, is the highest executive body in each State/Region.<ul style="list-style-type: none">• District level committees are directly accountable to this body, as well as the Township Development Affairs Committee▪ The state government is supported, and administratively dependent upon, the General Administration Department (GAD). Its responsibilities are wide-ranging from tax collection, land management, assorted registration and certification, but primarily acts as the civil service.▪ At State-level, the GAD Deputy Director General is the most senior civil servant.▪ The GAD runs through all levels of government, down to the village-tract level:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Under the Ministry of Home Affairs, with Union Ministries and the President’s Office;• State government, and State <i>hluttaws</i>;• District Administration Office and local committees;• Township Administration Office and local committees;• Village-Tract Administrator and local committees.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Consider formation of state civil service organizations▪ Greater autonomy for Ministers and Departments from GAD structure.▪ Greater responsibilities for state government – eg. Formulation of education policies▪ Modest and gradual budget deconcentration																																												

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	District & Township	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sitting underneath the various state-level ministries are their respective Departments, as depicted in Figure 1. in the Executive Summary. ▪ District level bodies are important in connecting township-level bodies to State/Region governments but most key government actions are taken at the Township-level (such as tax collection, birth & land registration) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The District Development Support Committees (DDSC), and the District Management Committees (DMC) are the two bodies accountable to the State government at this level. ○ The District Farmland Management Committee is not accountable to State/Region governments, only to union level ministries. ▪ Most Union ministries have offices at the township level, though some, such as Border Affairs, only have offices at district level. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ All Heads of Departments in townships are accountable to their supervisor at District or State level, and, barring the Development Affairs Organization, receive budget and plans. ▪ In real terms, the decision-making powers lie with the GAD's District Administrator, and the Township Administrator (who is always a GAD officer). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Co-ordination between different Departments remains extremely poor. ▪ Whilst these new bodies are a step in the direction of decentralisation, almost all decisions on budgeting and planning remain centralised at either union or state-level. ▪ Women in leadership roles in Rakhine State are generally not accepted, most evidently demonstrated by the fact that there are no female Village-Tract Administrators, nor Township Administrators and only one female MP. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Having said this, there are some active women's CSOs working at this level, including the Rakhine Women's Union and the Rakhine Women's Network. ▪ Township Administrators often see representatives of VTA's as "their staff". ▪ Departments generally only implement union ministry policy, and rarely go beyond strictly mandated areas. ▪ Co-ordination between departments remains extremely poor. Township Management Committees (TMC) have been introduced to address this issue.
	Village-Tract & Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2012 Ward or Village Tract Administration Law has been implemented with varying success across the State. ▪ Village-Tract Administrators (VTA) lead a Village-Tract Committee (VTC) that discuss and select a range of development projects. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Public participation is varies from community to community. ○ The VTA also acts as a grievance channel up to the Township level. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Co-ordination between different Departments remains extremely poor. ▪ Whilst these new bodies are a step in the direction of decentralisation, almost all decisions on budgeting and planning remain centralised at either union or state-level.
Legislature	Pyithu (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ USDP: 9 seats; ▪ Arakan National Party (ANP): 7 seats; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. ▪ 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.

	Pyithu (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arakan National Party (ANP): 12 seats National League for Democracy (NLD): 4 seats Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
	Amyotha (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arakan National Party (ANP): 7 seats; USDP: 5 seats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	Amyotha (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arakan National Party (ANP): 10 seats National League for Democracy (NLD): 1 seat Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
	State (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State parliaments, or 'hluttaws', are partially elected unicameral bodies. 47 members (35 elected, 12 military) Speaker: Htein Lin (USDP) RNDP: 18 seats; USDP: 14 seats; NDPD: 2 seats; NUP: 1 seat State-level budgets are small (probably under 5% of public expenditure) and the budget composition process lacks transparency. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State-level budgets are small (probably under 5% of public expenditure) and the budget composition process lacks transparency. Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women's participation in politics. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	State (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arakan National Party (ANP): 22 seats National League for Democracy (NLD): 8 seats Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 3 seats Independent: 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
	State Committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bill Committee Chairman: Aung Naing Oo (USDP); National Races Affairs Committee Chairman: Tin Aung (USDP); Representatives Vetting Committee Chariman: Maung Lone (RNPP) 	
Judiciary	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sitting under the Supreme Court at union-level, each State & Region has its own High Court. The Rakhine State High Court is headed by its Chief Justice, U Kyauk, who sits with 3-7 judges. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Judges serve until mandatory retirement age of 70. The High Court supervises a subsidiary district, township and self- 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no independent judicial service. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a process by which the High Court judges can be impeached, but this can only be initiated by the President, or the Chief Minister. States do not have any authority on constitutional

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		<p>administered area courts.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> State/Regions also have an Advocate General, nominated by the Chief Minister to provide legal council. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The AG is accountable to the President and the union-level Attorney General, through the Chief Minister. 	<p>disputes, as power rests with the Constitutional Tribunal of the Union.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The President and the House speakers select the members of this body, and there is no appeal process. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> All positions are appointed directly by the President, usually in consultation with the Chief Justice of the Union and the regional Chief Ministers. The system, therefore, remains centralised and to a great extent, not meritocratic. Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation.
	Township	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> District and Township Courts have the jurisdiction to hear both criminal and civil cases, and are supervised by the Rakhine State High Court. The District Courts are granted the right to cases not exceeding 500 million kyats, while cases at the township-level are limited to 10 million kyats. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In general, judicial appointment procedures and relevant structures are all centralized, and limit judicial independence.
	Courts-Martial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Established to adjudicate cases brought forward by the Defense Services 	
	Local	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The roots of the violence and the accompanying power dynamics have left clients unable to return to their homes, nor expect legal recourse to violence. Informal arrangements based upon community leaders are called upon to resolve disputes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Especially in northern Rakhine State where local orders from the border police subject majority Muslim communities to intense intimidation, also rampant corruption within the judiciary deters clients from accessing formal channels of legal representation. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Village elders in these informal positions of power are almost invariably men often with unfavourable biases against women in IPV situations.

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Municipal governance		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) sit under Township Development Affairs Committees (TDAC), which is answerable to the Minister of Development Affairs. DAOs are the focal point of municipal governance. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ DAOs at the township level are composed of two distinct but linked bodies: a semi-elected TDAC (oversight), and a Township DAO Office run by civil servants (service delivery + economic governance) ▪ They were established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery, and operate as the most autonomous government body, whilst also being self-funded.. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ They are responsible for urban water, sewage, garbage collection, roads and bridges, street lighting and drainage, licensing for local businesses, tax collection, and holding auctions to operate local ferries and toll roads. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ DAOs are unique in their fiscal autonomy, range of responsibilities, and accountability to the citizenry. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ They present a real opportunity for the government to provide efficient and accountable services – thus potentially re-shaping citizen-state relations.
Thematic area	State	Context	Challenges & Opportunities
Health	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Health. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Health. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Government services: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Total government hospitals – 49; Scheduled Bed – 1,387; Dispensaries - 12 ▪ Township Medical Officers (TMO), as part of the Department of Health, in Rakhine have several responsibilities including the hiring of staff, establishing codes of conduct, and addressing complaints. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ However, TMOs here do not have the resources to carry them out ▪ In Rakhine villages usually have Village Health Committees (VHC) and members are usually directly appointed by the VA or the VTA. ▪ Overall, poor access to healthcare services throughout the State, particularly in areas affected by inter-communal violence. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In northern Rakhine State, for instance, life-threatening levels of malnutrition are well above the 15% emergency threshold (nationally, 7.9%). ▪ The General Health Clinics at township level are the most accessible providers of healthcare with major hospitals in Sittwe, Gwa, Thandwe, Kyauktaw, and Rathedaung. ▪ Township Medical Officers (TMO) control the “First Incident Reporting” channels for violent crimes, seldom exercising this authority in response to rape or other gender-based crimes including 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Health Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. ▪ UN estimates that over 300,000 need urgent humanitarian assistance. ▪ Networks of CBOs are in operation and clients have learnt that international aid agencies including IRC, World Health Organization (WHO), UNHCR and INGOs such as <i>Medecines Sans Frontiers</i> are generally more responsive to needs on the ground than government authorities. ▪ However, when factoring in the control the State Health Department has over the coordination and service delivery for displaced Muslims, NGOs have an obligation to work closely with these officials and adapt to the context on the ground. ▪ Difficult working conditions due to identity politics and perceived bias towards Muslim communities continues to limit the potential for greater health service provision, moving away from NGO mobile clinic facilities and into more sustainable service provision alternatives.

		<p>intimate partner violence (IPV).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Village-tract level healthcare services in rural areas are more difficult to access though public healthcare institutions remain the primary providers. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In urban areas, the opposite is true as higher income families can afford private services. Service provision outside of the IDP camps is slowly improving, whilst access to basic provisions in camps remain “wholly inadequate”. 	
Education	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Education. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Education. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Number of schools: Primary – 2,530; Secondary – 236; High – 190 ○ Number of teachers: Primary – 10,652; Secondary – 3,566; High – 1,501 ○ Number of students: Primary – 432,536; Secondary – 121,186; High – 31,573 ▪ Access to education in Rakhine State is poor and is especially so in rural and conflict-affected areas. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Overall satisfaction compares negatively with other States, with 26% of the population expressing that they are not satisfied with service delivery. ▪ The Township Education Officers (TEO) manage roughly 60-70% of civil servants in Rakhine townships. ▪ Monastic education for Rakhine Buddhists has also been a major coping strategy as government institutions are comparatively untrustworthy or provide inadequate services. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Moreover, many have taken to leaving Rakhine State for other parts of the country, or, for higher income families, abroad. ▪ Outside of the camps, accessibility to schools and to non-formal education is marginally better though restrictions on movement, especially in central Rakhine in and around Sittwe, are the most significant obstacle for access to education. ▪ Religious education also plays an important here are 54 monastic schools at primary level in Rakhine. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Education Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. ▪ The primary challenges that limit service delivery are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Limited freedom of movement across the State; ○ Staffing shortages, especially of teachers; ○ Underfunded school infrastructure; ○ Low salaries in the primary education sector. ▪ TEOs have numerous and demanding responsibilities, and are not given adequate resources by the government to carry out tasks. They also lack autonomy, often constricted by line ministries. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ An key opportunity is for the government to offer greater support to TEOs, especially in managing the recurrent budgets. ▪ The need for temporary and mobile teachers on daily wages underlines the need for a greater number of and better skilled teachers, especially at primary level. ▪ Considering the systematic marginalization of the Rakhine Muslim community, their ability to access education services differs drastically from Rakhine Buddhist communities. Restrictions on movement within IDP camps have resulted in far lower levels of accessibility to both formal and informal education services.

Livelihoods & land	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In line with the Development Affairs (Municipal Affairs) Law passed by the State <i>Hluttaw</i>, the Township Municipal Affairs Committees (TMAC) were established, along with Township Development Support Committees (TDSC), and co-ordinate with the Township Management Committee (TMC) to establish local development priorities. ▪ These bodies also have authority over how the four available development funds in this State are spent: the Poverty Reduction Fund, the Rural Development Fund, the Area Development Fund, and the Constituency Development Fund. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Responsibilities for all of these committees include: 1) Planning & budgeting of community-level activities with development funds; 2) Sector planning and budgeting; 3) Municipal planning and budgeting; 4) Township development planning. ▪ Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) were also established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery. ▪ Under the current political and humanitarian situation, the population of Rakhine State has very limited economic opportunities – only 31% of respondents in a recent survey reported that their income situation had improved in the last three years. ▪ As with many other States, agriculture remains the mainstay of the economy with rice occupying approximately 85% of the arable land. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Fisheries are also an important source of income for both Muslims and Buddhists, but have been heavily regulated by the latter in the recent past. ▪ Extension services are currently unavailable for much of the Rakhine State population as they are highly centralized in bigger towns. ▪ Banking services only exist in Kyauk Phyu and Sittwe. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The principal barrier to economic development in the recent past has been the restrictions on movement that have affected both the Rakhine Buddhist and the Muslim communities. ▪ Despite being rich in natural resources, many live on the poverty line and are highly susceptible to shocks such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Inter-communal violence ○ Climate instability and other natural disasters. ▪ CSOs have become increasingly vocal in their goals to influence economic policy and have had some successes. ▪ Other coping mechanisms include emigrating to other States or even further abroad in order to seek better opportunities to send back remittances. ▪ As with all other States, a key opportunity is to devise a system whereby the allocation of the four development funds reflects population size, and need.
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Conflict	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Fractious and hostile relations between the Rakhine Buddhist and Muslim communities are at the centre of the political agenda in Rakhine State. ▪ Where efforts to affect change either through legislation or protest have failed, both sides have been implicated in bouts of violence that have further entrenched fears and deepened the humanitarian crisis. ▪ Primarily due to the violence that erupted in 2012 and left 140,000 displaced, safety perceptions in Rakhine State are notably lower than in other State. ▪ The roots of the violence and the accompanying power dynamics have left communities unable to return to their homes, nor expect legal recourse to violence. ▪ The volume of those leaving Rakhine State is a useful indicator as to perception of current and future safety according to the local communities. ▪ The Arakan Army (AA) have recently been involved with skirmishes with the <i>tatmadaw</i>, believed to be linked to the ongoing peace negotiations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Without robust accountability mechanisms in place, the fear of further violence is perpetuated. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ It is particularly notable that perceptions of safety in the southern, more commercialized part of the State are significantly better than in the State capital Sittwe and even better still than in Rathedaung and Maungdaw in the north where the fear of further violence is high. ▪ Fundamentally, for Rakhine Buddhists, their sense of insecurity is driven by a perceived fear of an imminent threat of demographic take over by the Muslim population. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The perception is that Muslim communities are illegal immigrants that have taken advantage of a porous border between Myanmar and Bangladesh. Rakhine Buddhists harbor a palpable fear of a Muslim take over which would quash their culture; a way of life which they feel is already being undermined by central Bamar authority. ▪ There is increasing evidence of widespread gender-based violence that is affecting girls and women to a greater extent than men and boys in the State. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ It is also notable that the safety of women on either side of the conflict is being increasingly used to further political agendas.
Disaster risk & environment	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Rakhine State faces a number of potential threats from natural disasters including earthquakes and flooding, though the primary threat comes from storm surges and cyclones. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Sittwe is by far the most vulnerable major town to cyclones in Myanmar. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The formation of IDP camps following inter-communal violence has left communities even more vulnerable to shocks from cyclones and storms. ▪ The population density, mistrust of government, hostility towards international aid agencies and inadequate preparedness of government authorities (as evidenced by the response to Cyclone Mahasen in June 2013 and Cyclone Komen in August 2015), underscore the vulnerability of communities in this coastal region. ▪ The omission of “build back better” is critical in the IDP camps; where a cyclone would cause catastrophic damage to shelters that are already of poor build quality. ▪ Underdeveloped government contingency planning, a lack of structural adjustments to facilities, and public unawareness of immediate safety measures, are all crucial

			gaps in reducing the risk of damage from natural disasters.
Infrastructure & Communications	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ For a geographically large State, infrastructure here is underdeveloped with 1,183 miles of road, only 615 miles of which is laid with a bituminous top layer. ▪ Rakhine State has particularly by poor road infrastructure. ▪ Lack of electricity, and poor communications facilities are also major issues. ▪ Low grade physical infrastructure for social services (schools and hospitals) are also a particular weakness. ▪ Telecommunications remains poor. Recent contracts with Telenor and Ooredoo have had some impact in increased mobile penetration in the largest urban areas, though benefits are yet to reach the more remote rural poor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Plans to upgrade the network of roads and to reach full electrifications in 2015 have stalled. ▪ It is envisaged that a number of high profile investments, and the development of the Kyauk Phyu Special Economic Zone (SEZ), will reinvigorate the economy and provide for improvements in infrastructure and communications
Crime/Rule of Law		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In terms of crime, Rakhine State is relatively more dangerous than many of the other States, with a much higher recorded murder rate in particular. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In 2014, there were 132 cases of theft, 104 cases of murder, 16 cases of animal theft, 44 cases of rape, 4 of robbery, and 2 cases of banditry. ○ Although the murder rate has decreased sharply in recent years, worryingly, rape cases have doubled from 2013-2014. ○ Cases of theft are also on the rise, going from 88 to 132 from 2012-2014. ▪ There are 3760 registered government police officers in Rakhine State, a relatively large number per capita when compared to other States – this is reflective of the overarching security scenario here. ▪ Government data also indicates there are a total of 440 “legal officers”, which includes prosecutors and administrative staff among other positions, in Rakhine State. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation. This usually involves village/ward heads, elders, and those involved in incidents. ▪ Greater judicial independence and capacity are key if trust in the courts system is to be restored. ▪ Education and training on legal rights and processes is a potential entry point, particularly for improving gender equality.

Local Governance Mapping: Shan State

Governance branch	Level of analysis	Context	Challenges & Opportunities																																																																				
Executive	State	<table><tr><td>1.</td><td>Aung Myat</td><td>Chief Minister</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>2.</td><td>Col Aung Thu</td><td>Ministry of Security and Border Affairs</td><td>Military-appointed</td></tr><tr><td>3.</td><td>Khun Thein Maung</td><td>Ministry of Finance</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>4.</td><td>Hsa Lu</td><td>Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>5.</td><td>Ai Pao</td><td>Ministry of Forestry and Mines</td><td>SNDP</td></tr><tr><td>6.</td><td>Aung Kyaw Nyunt</td><td>Ministry of Planning and Economics</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>7.</td><td>Naw Kham aka Tin Tun Aung</td><td>Ministry of Transport</td><td>SNDP</td></tr><tr><td>8.</td><td>Tun Yin</td><td>Ministry of Electric Power and Industry</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>9.</td><td>Hla Win</td><td>Ministry of Development Affairs</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>10.</td><td>Myo Tun</td><td>Ministry of Social Affairs</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>11.</td><td>Zok Doung</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Kachin)</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>12.</td><td>Law Rin</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Kayan aka Padaung)</td><td>KNP</td></tr><tr><td>13.</td><td>Naing Win</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Burman)</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>14.</td><td>Shar Mwe La Shang</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Lahu)</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>15.</td><td>Whan Hsan aka Yaw Wi</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Lisu)</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>16.</td><td>Peter Thaug Sein</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Akha)</td><td>USDP</td></tr><tr><td>17.</td><td>Win Myint</td><td>Ministry of National Races Affairs (Inn)</td><td>INDP</td></tr></table>	1.	Aung Myat	Chief Minister	USDP	2.	Col Aung Thu	Ministry of Security and Border Affairs	Military-appointed	3.	Khun Thein Maung	Ministry of Finance	USDP	4.	Hsa Lu	Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding	USDP	5.	Ai Pao	Ministry of Forestry and Mines	SNDP	6.	Aung Kyaw Nyunt	Ministry of Planning and Economics	USDP	7.	Naw Kham aka Tin Tun Aung	Ministry of Transport	SNDP	8.	Tun Yin	Ministry of Electric Power and Industry	USDP	9.	Hla Win	Ministry of Development Affairs	USDP	10.	Myo Tun	Ministry of Social Affairs	USDP	11.	Zok Doung	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Kachin)	USDP	12.	Law Rin	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Kayan aka Padaung)	KNP	13.	Naing Win	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Burman)	USDP	14.	Shar Mwe La Shang	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Lahu)	USDP	15.	Whan Hsan aka Yaw Wi	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Lisu)	USDP	16.	Peter Thaug Sein	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Akha)	USDP	17.	Win Myint	Ministry of National Races Affairs (Inn)	INDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Chief Minister is selected by the President, and is always a member of the <i>state hluttaw</i>. He/she is only accountable to the President, and not the State assembly.▪ Currently, he is a member of the USDP, and an ethnic Danu.▪ The rest of the cabinet is appointed by the Chief Minister and designated portfolios by the President.▪ Military appointees in the cabinet remain, and the ethnic composition of the cabinet does not reflect the political ambitions, nor ethnic breakdown of the citizenry.▪ Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women’s participation in politics.▪ State ministers have very little supporting administrative apparatus.<ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Defined in the Constitution under Schedule 2, the relationship between State departments and their corresponding union line ministry is ambiguous and requires further clarification.▪ The dependence on the GAD, which sits under the military-led Ministry of Home Affairs, undermines the extent to which decentralisation can occur. Other key union ministries have yet to be decentralised, meaning that issues of social service delivery, ethnic identity, and natural resource management, all remain centralised.▪ Consider formation of state civil service organizations▪ Greater autonomy for Ministers and Departments from GAD structure.▪ Greater responsibilities for state government – eg. Formulation of education policies▪ Modest and gradual budget deconcentration
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				<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ The State-level government, led by the Chief Minister, is the highest executive body in each State/Region.<ul style="list-style-type: none">• District level committees are directly accountable to this body, as well as the Township Development Affairs Committee▪ The state government is supported, and administratively dependent upon, the General Administration Department (GAD). Its responsibilities are wide-ranging from tax collection, land management, assorted registration and certification, but primarily acts as the civil service.▪ At State-level, the GAD Deputy Director General is the most senior civil servant.▪ The GAD runs through all levels of government, down to the village-tract level:																																																																			

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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under the Ministry of Home Affairs, with Union Ministries and the President's Office; • State government, and State <i>hluttaws</i>; • District Administration Office and local committees; • Township Administration Office and local committees; • Village-Tract Administrator and local committees. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Shan State is also characterised by numerous self-administered zones that are located in and around the State itself. 	
	District & District & Township	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sitting underneath the various state-level ministries are their respective Departments, as depicted in Figure 1. in the Executive Summary. District level bodies are important in connecting township-level bodies to State/Region governments but most key government actions are taken at the Township-level (such as tax collection, birth & land registration) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The District Development Support Committees (DDSC), and the District Management Committees (DMC) are the two bodies accountable to the State government at this level. ○ The District Farmland Management Committee is not accountable to State/Region governments, only to union level ministries. ▪ Most Union ministries have offices at the township level, though some, such as Border Affairs, only have offices at district level. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ All Heads of Departments in townships are accountable to their supervisor at District or State level, and, barring the Development Affairs Organization, receive budget and plans. ○ Therefore, Departments generally only implement union ministry policy, and rarely go beyond strictly mandated areas. ○ Co-ordination between departments remains extremely poor. Township Management Committees (TMC) have been introduced to address this issue. ▪ In real terms, the decision-making powers lie with the GAD's District Administrator, and the Township Administrator (who is always a GAD officer). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Co-ordination between different Departments remains extremely poor. ▪ Whilst these new bodies are a step in the direction of decentralisation, almost all decisions on budgeting and planning remain centralised at either union or state-level. ▪ Township Administrators often see representatives of VTA's as "their staff". ▪ Female representation at this level remains extremely low.
	Village-Tract & Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2012 Ward or Village Tract Administration Law has been implemented with varying success across the State. ▪ Village-Tract Administrators (VTA) lead a Village-Tract Committee (VTC) that discuss and select a range of development projects. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Public participation varies from community to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ There are just three female VTAs in the State, reflecting the marginalisation of women in politics.

		community. ○ The VTA also acts as a grievance channel up to the Township level.	
Legislature	Pyithu (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ USDP: 22 seats; ▪ Shan Nationalities Development Party (SNDP): 17 seats; ▪ National Unity Party (NUP): 2 seats; ▪ Wa Democratic Party (WDP): 2 seats; ▪ Pa-O National Organisation (PNO): 3 seats; ▪ Inn National Development Party (INDP): 1 seat; ▪ Independent: 1 seat; ▪ Ta'ang National Party (TNP): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. ▪ 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	Pyithu (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 15 seats ▪ National League for Democracy (NLD): 12 seats ▪ Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD): 12 seats ▪ Ta'ang National Party (TNP): 3 seats ▪ Pa O National Organisation (PNO): 3 seats ▪ Wa Democratic Party (WDP): 1 seat ▪ Kokang Democracy and Unity Party (KDUP): 1 seat ▪ Cancelled: 7 seats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
	Amyotha (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ USDP: 6 seats; ▪ Shan Nationalities Development Party (SNDP): 3 seats; ▪ Pa-O National Organisation (PNO): 1 seat; ▪ Ta'ang National Party (TNP): 1 seat; ▪ Wa Democratic Party (WDP): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethnic, and other parties likely under-represented due to flawed 2010 elections. 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.
	Amyotha (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 3 seats ▪ National League for Democracy (NLD): 3 seats ▪ Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD): 3 seats ▪ Ta'ang National Party (TNP): 2 seats ▪ Pa O National Organisation (PNO): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
	State (2010/12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ State parliaments, or 'hluttaws', are partially elected unicameral bodies. ▪ 143 members ▪ Speaker: Lone Saing (USDP); ▪ USDP: 54 seats; ▪ Shan Nationalities Development Party: 31 seats; ▪ Pa-O National Organisation (PNO): 6 seats; ▪ Ta'ang National Party (TNP): 4 seats; ▪ Inn National Development Party (INDP): 3 seats; ▪ Kayan National Party (KNP): 2 seats; ▪ Independents: 2 seats; ▪ National Unity Party (NUP): 1 seat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Power is consolidated almost exclusively in the hands of men with extremely low women's participation in politics. ▪ 25% of seats occupied by unelected military officials.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State-level budgets are small (probably under 5% of public expenditure) and the budget composition process lacks transparency. 	
	State (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP): 33 seats Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD): 24 seats National League for Democracy (NLD): 22 seats Ta'ang National Party (TNP): 7 seats Pa O National Organisation (PNO): 6 seats Wa Democratic Party (WDP): 3 seat Kokang Democracy and Unity Party (KDUP): 1 seat Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (SNDP): 1 seat Lahu National Development Party (LNDP): 1 seat Cancelled: 14 seats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
	State Committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bill Committee Chairman: Nu (USDP); National Races Affairs Committee Chairman: Hla Win (USDP); Representatives Vetting Committee Chairman: Nyunt Win (USDP) 	
Judiciary	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sitting under the Supreme Court at union-level, each State & Region has its own High Court. The Shan State High Court is headed by its Chief Justice, who sits with 3-7 judges. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Judges serve until mandatory retirement age of 70. The High Court supervises a subsidiary district, township and self-administered area courts. State/Regions also have an Advocate General, nominated by the Chief Minister to provide legal council. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The AG is accountable to the President and the union-level Attorney General, through the Chief Minister. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no independent judicial service. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a process by which the High Court judges can be impeached, but this can only be initiated by the President, or the Chief Minister. States do not have any authority on constitutional disputes, as power rests with the Constitutional Tribunal of the Union. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The President and the House speakers select the members of this body, and there is no appeal process. All positions are appointed directly by the President, usually in consultation with the Chief Justice of the Union and the regional Chief Ministers. The system, therefore, remains centralised and to a great extent, not meritocratic.
	Township, Village-Tract,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informal mechanisms that are reliant upon networks of influential individuals (almost always men) provide the principal form of grievance redress at this level. Formal legal recourse is unusual. In Shan State, the majority of legal cases address drug-related 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In general, judicial appointment procedures and relevant structures are all centralized, and limit judicial independence.

	Village	crimes.	
Municipal governance		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) sit under Township Development Affairs Committees (TDAC), which is answerable to the Minister of Development Affairs. DAOs are the focal point of municipal governance. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> DAOs at the township level are composed of two distinct but linked bodies: a semi-elected TDAC (oversight), and a Township DAO Office run by civil servants (service delivery + economic governance) They were established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery, and operate as the most autonomous government body, whilst also being self-funded.. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They are responsible for urban water, sewage, garbage collection, roads and bridges, street lighting and drainage, licensing for local businesses, tax collection, and holding auctions to operate local ferries and toll roads. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> DAOs are unique in their fiscal autonomy, range of responsibilities, and accountability to the citizenry. They present a real opportunity for the government to provide efficient and accountable services – thus potentially re-shaping citizen-state relations.
Thematic area	State-level	Context	Challenges & Opportunities
Health		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Health. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Health. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Areas that have been consistently under government control have better access to government services while long-running EAG-controlled townships receive care from ethnic groups directly and also from aid providers, and CBOs. Government's healthcare services exist under the Health Planning Department of the Ministry of Health. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shan State has 1334 health stations and four general hospitals. The state has one specialist hospital At the township level, the Township Medical Officer (TMO) plays both a medical and an administrative role, whilst the Township Health Officer (THO) handles all hospital affairs (facilities, supplies, etc). Village Health Committees (VHC) are responsible for clinic maintenance though do not have a say in clinic management Northern Shan has high rates of child malnutrition compared to the rest of the country, with under-five moderate malnutrition affect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Health Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. Constraints on expanding services include access to conflict zones and a lack of high quality staff. Government health personnel are often unwilling to visit conflict-affected or mined areas, reducing the level of services available to those communities.

		<p>24.1% of children and severe malnutrition affecting 8%.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Results of a recent survey suggest that service-delivery has stayed the same over the past three years. As in other States, the vast majority (in Shan, 90%) of those living in urban wards will see a private doctor. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In rural areas and in the SAA, people are more likely to use public services. 	
Education		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As in all States, the Minister of Social Affairs in the State cabinet informally co-ordinates with the Department of Education. The department, though, is directly accountable to the union level Ministry of Education. In Shan State the government is the main provider of education from middle school onwards, though religious organizations, particularly monasteries, operate a large number of primary schools. Government education system provides: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary Schools 4920, Primary school teachers: 17004 Primary School students 509568 Middle Schools: 381 Middle School teachers: 5193 Middle school students: 206625 High Schools: 312 High school teaches: 2395 Enrolment rates at primary have increased in recent years, and a 2014 Education for All study found that 92% of primary school students were enrolled. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> However, the same study found that Northern Shan has some of the worst literacy rates in the country, with just 75.51% of the adult population able to read. Some service delivery improvements have been recorded though, particularly in the Eastern provinces of the State (in Kengtung and Mongping), services have deteriorated in recent years. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Education Department needs to be accountable to the State government to increase responsiveness to community needs. Education services across the region face significant shortcomings in funding, access to qualified teachers, and, for middle schools, transportation challenges that prevent students getting to schools. Co-ordinating the number of parallel education systems that exist in order to respect the multiplicity of ethnicities in the area will be a key challenge. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> If addressed incrementally and inclusively, efforts to enhance co-ordination present an opportunity in enhancing dialogue and building trust between varied stakeholders. Initial steps have been taken, such as the introduction of mother tongue teaching in 2012, though co-ordination is at a very early stage.
Livelihoods & land		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In Shan the poverty rate was 37%, compared to a national rate of 26%, according to the UNDP's 2010 study. Shan produces a significant amount of corn for export to China. Both Shan and Kachin have strong economic links across the border into Yunnan Province, but Shan State in particular has international trade ties—both with China (the Myanmar-China pipeline passes through Northern Shan) and with Thailand to the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The natural resource economy has had damaging effects on women's safety, with cross-border trade fuelling brothels and commercial sex work industries in border towns. These women are often trafficked and/or underage. Land grabbing and disputes over land rights more generally are of immense importance in Shan State. A

south and east.

- Shan State has major reserves of gold, silver, iron ore and gems, including the world's largest ruby deposit.
 - It is also the site of significant copper reserves and a large silver mine at Namtu. Efforts to implement sustainable or inclusive mining practices have had little success.
- Illicit crops, especially poppy, are very common though have been somewhat reduced though still account for a significant proportion of the area's illicit economic activity.
- In line with the Development Affairs (Municipal Affairs) Law passed by the State *Hluttaw*, the Township Municipal Affairs Committees (TMAC) were established, along with Township Development Support Committees (TDSC), and co-ordinate with the Township Management Committee (TMC) to establish local development priorities.
- These bodies also have authority over how the four available development funds in this State are spent: the Poverty Reduction Fund, the Rural Development Fund, the Area Development Fund, and the Constituency Development Fund.
- Responsibilities for all of these committees include: 1) Planning & budgeting of community-level activities with development funds; 2) Sector planning and budgeting; 3) Municipal planning and budgeting; 4) Township development planning.
- Development Affairs Organizations (DAOs) were also established to oversee local economic governance and aid social service delivery.

strong network of CSOs work on lobbying parliament on this issue, and will require support if reforms are to materialise.

- As with all other States, a key opportunity is to devise a system whereby the allocation of the four development funds reflects population size, and need.

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<p>Conflict</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Shan State has historically been the location of insurgency and counter-insurgency with a huge array of different ethnic armed actors scattered across the region. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ It is estimated that just in northern Shan State, there are over 20 armed groups, with other peoples' armies and government-affiliated militias comprising a complex and variegated conflict scenario. ▪ Formed from four smaller armed actors, the Shan State Army is the largest armed actor in the State. However, driven in part by a booming illicit drug trade, internal disagreements led to numerous splinters groups forming including the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) and the Shanland United Army (SUA). ▪ In 2011 a bilateral ceasefire was signed between the SSA-South and the government, though since, over a hundred small skirmishes have been recorded in the State. ▪ At the time of writing, ethnic armed groups, including the MDNAA and the Ta'ang National Liberation Front in Shan have indicated a desire for a ceasefire (the MNDAA unilaterally declared a ceasefire on June 11, 2015 but the <i>Tatmadaw</i> has not thus far accepted the prospect of a settlement). Moreover, fighting continues in Shan State between the KIA, the Ta'ang National Liberation Army (TNLA), and government forces. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In order for “positive peace” to be established or for peace to be in any way sustainable, adequate ceasefire monitoring mechanisms will have to be in place, and regular multi-stakeholder forums will have to be held. ▪ A particular problem in Shan State is the plethora of non-state armed groups with varied affiliations that do not neatly fit into the existing peace process. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Dialogue with peoples' militias and other smaller armed groups will have to be regular and with a long-term settlement in mind.
<p>Disaster risk & environment</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Shan State faces the risk of damaging landslides and floods, particularly during the monsoon period. ▪ Parts of the State also face risk of forest fires during the dry season. ▪ In addition, limited road access to parts of Northern Shan exacerbate the challenges of post-disaster relief. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ However, due to its geographical positioning (mountainous and distanced from coastal regions), the risk of severe damage from monsoon is lower than in most other State/Regions in the country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Disaster resilience is low, especially in conflict-affected areas.

Working Document

<p>Infrastructure & Communications</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ There is a significant lack of transportation infrastructure in Shan, which limits the ability of farmers to access either inputs or markets for their crops. ▪ Electricity and water provision is poor, though the situation differs immensely in western Shan state, which is notably better connected and benefits to some extent from a fledgling tourism industry. ▪ Many families depend on subsistence farming due to the fact that the state of the roads is so poor that a trip to markets is prohibitively time-consuming and expensive. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In addition, many of the roads are built without adequate drainage systems. ▪ Telecommunications remains poor. Recent contracts with Telenor and Ooredoo have had some impact in increased mobile penetration in the largest urban areas, though benefits are yet to reach the more remote rural poor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Communications infrastructure remains highly underdeveloped, though, as in many other State/Regions, telephone penetration is slowly increasing and providing some of the structural steps required for economic development. ▪ Developing the road network, especially in the Eastern parts of the State and improving connectivity to markets in the Mekong delta should be infrastructure priorities for Shan State decision-makers.
<p>Crime/Rule of Law</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Shan State is relatively unsafe when compared to other States and Regions. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In 2014, there were 252 cases of theft, 45 cases of rape, 4 cases of robbery, and 155 convicted murder cases. ○ These figures have largely been consistent over the last three years. ▪ There are over 11,000 police officers registered in Shan State according to GoM data. This includes 430 female police officers, the highest number of female officers of any of Myanmar's states. ▪ Government data also indicates there are a total of 910 "legal officers", which includes prosecutors and administrative staff among other positions, in Shan State 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Access to adequate judicial recourse remains very low; community mechanisms depend largely on mediation, compensation and rehabilitation. This usually involves village/ward heads, elders, and those involved in incidents. ▪ Greater judicial independence and capacity are key if trust in the courts system is to be restored. ▪ Education and training on legal rights and processes is a potential entry point, particularly for improving gender equality.

Self-Administered Zones & Divisions¹³

The five Self-Administered Zones are that of the Naga in Sagaing Region, and the Danu, Pa-O, Palaung, Kokang in Shan State. The Wa Self-Administered Division is also located in Shan State. As per the 2008 Constitution, these zones/divisions have been designated a different administrative status to that of State/Regions, and have been granted greater devolution. Callahan describes their status as “near-devolution”.¹⁴

Key governance features:

- Administered by a Leading Body that is partially-elected, and is led by a chairperson. The body sits below the state/region government.
- The highest-ranking GAD official in the zone/division serves as the Secretary of the Leading Body. Moreover, the GAD of the zone/division is also the Office of the Leading Bodies of the zone/division.
- The body has executive authority and legislative powers over ten areas including development affairs, public health, water and electricity.
- The body consists of at least ten members from the State/Region *hluttaw* elected from the Zone or Division itself. As per election results in 2010 and 2012, most members of Leading Bodies are from the USDP. The exception to this is the Pa-O Self-Administered Zone, which is comprised of the Pa-O National Organisation (PNO) as the USDP did not field candidates there in 2010.
- Members of the *Tatmadaw* are also appointed to sit on this body.
- The relationship between the District Office (GAD) and the self-administered bodies is unclear and greater clarification to delineate responsibilities is needed.

Danu Self-Administered Zone

- Consists of Ywangan and Pindaya townships, Shan State.

Kokang Self-Administered Zone

- Consists of Konkyan and Laukkai townships, Shan State.

Naga Self-Administered Zone

- Consists of Leshi, Lahe, and Namyun townships, Sagaing Region.

Pa’O Self-Administered Zone

- Consists of Hopong, Hsihseng, and Pinlaung townships, Shan State.

Pa’laung Self-Administered Zone

- Consists of Namhsan and Mantong townships, Shan State.

¹³ 2010 Self-Administered Zone/Division Law

¹⁴ Callahan, Mary. (2007). Political Authority in Burma’s Ethnic Minority State: Devolution, Occupation, and Coexistence. Policy Studies, 31, xvi-94.

Wa Self-Administered Division

- Consists of Hopang, Mongmao, Pangwaun, Namphan, Matman, Pangsang townships, and Namtit and Panlong sub-townships.

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