NEGOTIATING WITH THE PNG MINING INDUSTRY FOR WOMEN’S ACCESS TO RESOURCES AND VOICE:

The Ok Tedi Mine Life Extension Negotiations for Mine Benefit Packages

Yasap Popoitai and Waafas Ofosu-Amaah
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Abbreviations and Acronyms

BNPP Bank-Netherlands Partnership Program
CEO Chief Executive Officer
CMCA Community Mine Continuation Agreement
FRPG Fly River Provincial Government
MLE Mine Life Extension
MoA Memorandum of Agreement
OTDF Ok Tedi Development Foundation
OTFRDP Ok Tedi Fly River Development Program
OTMIAA Ok Tedi Mine Impacted Area Association
OTML Ok Tedi Mining Limited
PGK PNG Kina
PNG Papua New Guinea
PNGSDP Papua New Guinea Sustainable Development Program
PNGSDPL Papua New Guinea Sustainable Development Program Limited
State Independent State of Papua New Guinea
US$ United States Dollar
VDF Village Development Fund
VPC Village Planning Committee
WIM Women in Mining
WPPDTF Western Province People’s Dividend Trust Fund
Foreword

Natural resources should spur local- and country-level development but instead often lead to conflict, environmental degradation, and human rights abuses. In mining communities, women in particular often bear the negative consequences associated with mismanagement of extractive industries. Women need to be part of the processes and strategies aimed at transforming the negative aspects of the extractive industries into visible social and economic benefits in affected communities. For this to happen, women need access to rights and resources and to be given a voice through legislation, capacity development, and cultural transformation.

The objective of the World Bank-Netherlands Partnership Program (BNPP) Trust Fund is to develop knowledge products and learning tools drawing on practical examples and lessons like the ones documented in this report to assist policy-makers and practitioners with addressing gender and women’s empowerment issues. In Papua New Guinea (PNG), the BNPP aims to tell the stories of women’s roles in the mining sector; their mobilizing and coalition-building strategies and approaches; their interactions with mining sector institutions; and their overall strategies for accessing resources, knowledge, finance, and capacity-building opportunities. The work builds on lessons from the Women in Mining (WIM) initiative and the analytical work on the special provisions of the Community Mine Continuation Agreement (CMCA) supporting women in the CMCA regions of Western Province.

The WIM initiative, CMCA Women and Children’s Action Plans, and the CMCA negotiations provide examples of women-driven engagement with government and private sector actors aimed at improving the living conditions of their communities. With the permission of senior management of the Ok Tedi Mining company, a World Bank consultant was included in the final 5-week long Mine Life Extension (MLE) negotiations as an observer. The purpose was to observe women’s roles in the negotiations and, through interviews with the participants, document the women negotiators’ aspirations and expectations from the process. The ultimate goal is to provide a forward-looking assessment of the outcomes and draw lessons for analysis and program design not only in the CMCA regions but elsewhere in PNG resource areas.

This report documents the experiences of the negotiations and draws conclusions about women’s inclusion in the negotiations, making comparisons between the first negotiations in 2006/07 and this second set in 2012. Bearing in mind the challenges that women face in bringing about development in their communities and the lessons from their participation in the negotiation process, the report proposes recommendations aimed at better positioning of women to take advantage of the proposed mine benefit streams that resulted from the negotiations.

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Most importantly, the team acknowledges the individual women negotiators, and especially the women leaders who are profiled in this report, for their willingness to share their experiences. These women leaders are Ume Wainetti, National Program Coordinator, Family and Sexual Violence Action Committee; Bala Tedumo, Lower Ok Tedi and Women’s Representative on the Board of the Ok Tedi Development Foundation (OTDF); Noni Dukumun, Trustee of the Nupmo Trust and President of the Nupmo Women’s Association; Katherine Puse, President of the Tutuwe Women’s Association; Rebecca Marke, Women and Children’s Representative on the Dudi Trust; Alice Hmen, Women’s Representative on the Tutuwe Trust; and Kori Maraga, Facilitator.

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The report was made possible by the generous support of the Government of the Netherlands, under the Bank-Netherlands Partnership Program (BNPP) Trust Fund.
This report documents the unique and pioneering experience in Papua New Guinea (PNG) of women and their roles in negotiating mining operations’ benefit streams for local communities. The lessons it draws for development policy-making, planning, and program implementation are relevant both for PNG and for other countries in their attempts to make policy decisions about translating mineral wealth into inclusive and sustainable development for local communities.

In 2006/07 women in the nine Community Mine Continuation Agreement (CMCA) regions of the Western Province of PNG achieved unprecedented success. During the negotiations for mine benefit streams for communities affected by the operations of Ok Tedi Mining Limited (OTML), women were represented at the negotiations table by one woman, who was appointed to play this role. The women were able to negotiate for 10 percent of funds from the mine operations to be dedicated to women and children’s programs. The essence of this agreement went beyond women’s access to resources from the mining operations; it also reinforced women’s access to rights of representation at the highest levels of decision-making on mine benefits for local communities. The Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) from this review specifically provided for recognition of women representatives on Village Planning Committees (VPC), the CMCA Association, and the Board of the Ok Tedi Development Foundation (OTDF). The 2006/7 agreement stipulated that the Memorandum of Agreement would be reviewed every five years.

Five years later, in 2012, when the agreement came up for review, up to 30 women leaders participated in the negotiations process, yet another pioneering milestone. This time, they were able to negotiate set-asides for women and children ranging from 10 percent to 18.24 percent. (Table ES1)

**TABLE ES1. CMCA WOMEN REPRESENTATION AND THE 2012 NEGOTIATED OUTCOMES FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN’S FUND BY REGION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Regional Trust Funds in Western Province</th>
<th>Six Mine Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower Ok Tedi</td>
<td>Middle Fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Negotiators</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Women Negotiators</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Female Representation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader of Women’s Delegation</td>
<td>Bala Tedumo</td>
<td>Kurina Aioge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Women and Children’s Fund</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MLE Regional Meeting No.4, Tabubil, December 2012.
Women representatives’ roles: What was different in 2012 and why were men convinced?

Even though women were outnumbered by men at the 2006/07 negotiations, there is no evidence to indicate that women encountered the same level of initial resistance in 2012 or that women’s needs were jeopardized because of being outnumbered. CMCA men were more convinced of women’s representation in 2012 than they were five years earlier because, with the 10 percent negotiated in 2006/7, women had mobilized, planned, and worked hard to demonstrate some benefits (that had accrued to the community at large) from the training that they had received through the use of the allocated funds. The women were also explicit in their argument that they were not acting only on their own behalf but on behalf of their communities.

Negotiating strategies

It is clear that the women leaders used a strategy similar to that deployed by the sole women’s representative appointed to assist the women in 2006/7. In both instances, the women used examples and enthusiasm to persuade the male leadership that the funds set-aside for women was in the interest of the entire community. This strategy centered on demonstrating community-wide benefits of the Women and Children’s Funds and included:

- **Collaboration within and among all the negotiators.** The entire team of men and women discussed their community needs and worked together.
- **Evidence.** Women leaders had already done their negotiation through demonstrating the outputs of programs and projects at village and community levels.
- **Preparation.** Through the evidence, men leaders’ support for the minimum of 10 percent had already been secured prior to the teams coming to the negotiations table.
- **Using male advocates.** Men leaders were able to convince their fellow male negotiators to support the women’s call for an increase in the 10 percent, relying on the evidence that the women provided.

Implementation challenges

The 10 percent fund translated into PNG Kina (PGK) 101 million (about US$38 million). As to be expected, programming and disbursing such large sums of monetary flows present unique implementation challenges. To help translate this fund into development gains, the CMCA women’s leadership mobilized and planned, with technical assistance from a range of stakeholders, including the PNG Department of National Planning, OTML, the PNG Sustainable Development Program (PNGSDP), and the OTDF. The ordinary village women leaders — who had no prior exposure to planning — articulated and prioritized their needs and translated them into goals and objectives in 9 respective CMCA Women and Children Action Plans 2009–2019. However, as noted by the Lead Independent Local Facilitator, Kori Maraga, who played this role in 2006 as well as 2012:

> During the 2006/07 CMCA Review, the women were excited when the 10 percent women and children deal was secured; but even to this day as I have gone onto facilitating the Mine Life Extension consultation, women are still confused on how they would access their 10 percent or what it all means. Life goes on the same as 7 years ago since the securing of the deal. Impacts of the 10 percent funding is yet to be felt by women in general in the mine-impacted communities. I would be happy for women in the villages to be organized and empowered through information dissemination and increased decision-making powers.

Kori Maraga’s statement summarizes the main challenges that women face in using such large amounts of funds for social and economic benefit. The challenges focus primarily on capacity deficits and gaps in knowledge, especially limited understanding about important issues such as the content of the Memorandum of Agreement; the sources of funding; the roles and responsibilities of the different entities charged with implementation (CMCA Trusts, PNGSDP, OTDF); and the rules and procedures for accessing the funds. As a result, there has been limited drawdown of the funds. Two additional challenges stand out:

- **There is limited evidence of tangible high-impact benefits.** During the 2006/07 negotiations, the women pointed to examples such as training activities in cooking and sewing, computer skills such as
how to use PowerPoint presentations, and the purchase of the multi-purpose MV Fly Hope (a multi-purpose boat for river transport). Despite these examples, what is missing on a large-scale are some of the most critical enablers to effective service delivery (such as roads, jetties, and bridges; health centers and outposts; classrooms, libraries, and accommodations for teachers, nurses, and doctors) and the elements of sustainable livelihoods (such as agriculture and food production) that the women enumerated in their action plans. These benefits are yet to be fully realized.

- **Women’s representation on the OTDF Board has fallen short of expectations.** Currently, there is only one woman on the OTDF Board. Aside from the fact that this is an unfulfilled legal requirement, the real issue is about improving OTDF’s performance and promoting equal opportunity for CMCA women. The business case for CMCA women on the OTDF Board is not just about women’s quotas. It is about promoting women’s voice and agency and ensuring that different perspectives are brought to the negotiating table and debated or considered in a holistic way. The women leaders represent the voices of the marginalized and underprivileged people back in the villages. The 7 women leaders interviewed for this report (Part II) spoke loudly and clearly about this need to increase women’s representation on the OTDF Board.

**What CMCA women leaders consider important to fully utilize the 10 percent funds and implement the Women and Children’s Action Plans**

The women leaders proposed the following suggestions:

- **Capacity development.** Institutional capacity and human resource development as the primary means of ensuring that women are able to manage their Associations, take control of the Women and Children’s Funds, and manage them separately from the current Trust arrangement.

- **Stakeholder collaboration.** Closer collaboration and partnership between all stakeholders (including OTDF and PNGSDP) in order to complement each other’s efforts in delivering credible projects.

- **Empowering Village Planning Committees with project management skills.** Empowering Village Planning Committees to manage small village projects would ensure project ownership. Women leaders want OTML to start working first with those Village Planning Committees that have a proven track record of decision-making for village projects and are accountable and transparent in participation processes.

- **Ownership and sustainability.** The negotiators would like women leadership to be consulted to ensure ownership and sustainability.

**Conclusions**

The overall conclusion is that significant strides have been made in securing women’s access to voice, representation, and rights of participation. This is attributable, in large part, to:

- **Higher levels of education attainment enhances women’s leadership role.** Through the interviews, it became clear that those who spoke out were women leaders who have attained Grade 10 and above and had some technical training.

- **Level of preparedness and relationship building are conducive to effective negotiations.** Most of the women leaders had continuously attended all regional MLE meetings over three years. They were familiar with the issues in addition to knowing the OTML Community Relations Officers through the prolonged periods of engagement.

- **Community interests (regional) often take precedence over local (village-level) positions.** In general, women tend to identify specific needs more at their locality than at the regional level. However, during the negotiations, the community interests at the regional level took precedence over village-level interests. The challenge is how to translate the regional agreements into tangible benefits for everyone in the community.

- **Changes in attitudes and mindsets are happening, but the pace is not fast enough.** Although there is some evidence that mindsets and attitudes are changing, such change is not happening fast enough in the communities that are impacted most by the OTML operations. Social and economic development is lagging and indicators of women’s overall empowerment on such issues as maternal mortality continue to be low, especially in the Middle and South Fly regions.
• **Implementation of the 2006/07 CMCA remains a challenge.** As the CMCA-negotiated funds have grown bigger, emphasis should now be placed on how and on what to wisely spend the negotiated funds. The CMCA Women’s and Children’s Action Plans 2009–2019 offer an opportunity to dictate and drive the Budget for Priority Expenditures identified by the CMCA women.

**Recommendations**

Based on the above findings, it is recommended that the government and industry stakeholders involved in the negotiations and decisions relating to communities affected by mining operations take the following actions:

- Provide independent legal advice to the communities to enable the women leaders to weigh options and make informed decisions.
- Provide development advice and build the capacity of women leaders to enable their associations to work effectively together to ensure that the development outcomes specified in their action plans are met.
- Identify and implement strategies to make men better development partners, in concert with women, so that the men are able to play supportive roles in their villages or within their families and can engage in community development policy dialogues and programs.
- Develop a CMCA expenditure strategy to guide OTDF about where and on what to spend the Women and Children’s and other funds.
- Build further capacity to improve women’s ability in negotiations, focusing not only on the monetary aspects, but more importantly, how to make those monetary aspects impactful through proper planning and implementation.
- Develop a communication and awareness-raising strategy to promote and inform the CMCA communities of the outcomes of the 2006/07 Review and the 2012 negotiations, and to communicate, educate and raise awareness about all the dimensions of these agreements. Access to the right type of information at the right time will empower the CMCA leadership to make informed decisions.
I. The Ok Tedi Mine Life Extension Negotiations

A. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

The mining and petroleum industry in Papua New Guinea (PNG) is experiencing an unprecedented period of activity and growth.¹ This growth is a result of efforts of industry and government in promoting and nurturing the sector over the past 12 years. During this period, the mining and petroleum sector, comprising crude oil, gold, and copper, contributed more than 55 percent to growth of the economy, far ahead of the agriculture and forestry sectors.² The benefits provided by mining and petroleum projects are diverse and substantial. According to the PNG Chamber of Mines and Petroleum, the mining and petroleum industry contributes over one-third of government tax revenue.³ Between 2005 and 2010, the industry’s tax contribution totaled PGK 12.7 billion, an average of over PGK 2.1 billion per year. Landowners and the four provincial governments hosting the larger, mature projects (Ok Tedi, Porgera, Lihir, and the oil fields) are the main beneficiaries. Currently there are four large-scale mines — Ok Tedi, Porgera, Ramu, and Lihir — with Ok Tedi being the largest (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. MINING PROJECTS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA


¹ This rapid growth is now being impacted by a downturn in metal prices.
From commencement of the Ok Tedi mine in 1982 until the end of 2011, the Fly River Provincial Government received PGK1.65 billion in benefits and the Ok Tedi mine area landowners received PGK 1.22 billion (Figure 2). 4 Although the mining projects bring huge revenues into the PNG economy, translating the revenues into tangible outcomes for the mine-impacted, rural communities remains elusive. This report demonstrates how the communities under the Community Mine Continuation Agreement (CMCA), especially the women in those communities, moved from positions of “no voice” to “having a voice”, and how informed decisions were made through broad stakeholder engagement.

**FIGURE 2. TOTAL BENEFIT STREAMS FROM OK TEDI (PGK BILLION)**


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**1. Objective of the Report**

The main focus of this report is on the unique and pioneering experience of including up to 30 women leaders in the negotiation processes of the mine benefits package under the current Community Mine Continuation Agreement. The objective of the report is to document this experience and to draw lessons for development policymaking, planning, and program implementation, both for PNG and for other countries with extractives industries. It does so, first, by telling the experiences of women’s leadership roles in their communities; their interactions with mining sector institutions; and their overall strategies for accessing resources, knowledge, finance, and capacity to enable their communities to grow. Secondly, it compares the 2006/07 Review process with the 2012 process by documenting ways in which women participated and found a voice (or not) at the negotiating table on those two occasions.

- **Women’s roles in the 2006/07 CMCA Review** involved two prominent Western Province women leaders who represented the mine-impacted women and children from the CMCA regions and villages, sitting around the negotiating table with CMCA male leaders. Two major milestones were achieved: (a) recognition of women’s participation in the decision-making process and governance structures pertaining to the use of development funds and investments; and (b) successful negotiation of 10 percent for projects and investments specifically for women and children.

- **Women’s roles in the 2012 Mine Life Extension (MLE) Negotiations** involved 3 women representatives for each of the 8 Trust Regions and 6 from the Six Mine Villages. During the final 5 weeks of meetings, the 30 women leaders who took their places at the negotiating table

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are solid evidence of positive change and women’s increasing representation at one of the highest decision-making forums for negotiating mining benefits. The CMCA male leaders recognized women’s important roles in communities. Observing the negotiations provided an opportunity to document this unique, home-grown process and the complementary roles of women and men leaders.

2. Report Methodology

A combined methodology of descriptive, explanatory, and analytic research on the history and practice of CMCA processes and Women in Mining (WIM) activities was used. The methodology involved analysis of multiple data sources, including interviews, observation of the 2012 MLE negotiations over a 5-week period, and review of the relevant literature on gender issues in the PNG mining sector. Upon receiving authorization from Ok Tedi Mining Limited (OTML) officials, the report consultant observed the 2012 negotiations in Tabubil and conducted interviews with the women leaders (Part II). The case studies were developed from these interviews. The interview with Ume Wainetti took place in Port Moresby.

3. 2001-2012 CMCA Negotiations: Key Stakeholders and Chronology

Following are descriptions of the 7 key stakeholders that represent the institutions with which the women in the communities engage. Table 1 presents a chronology of events and the key stakeholders involved in the negotiations and decisions relating to communities affected by the mine’s operations from 2001 to 2012.

(1) Ok Tedi Mining Limited (OTML). The Ok Tedi copper and gold mine is situated in one of the world’s most challenging locations, Mt. Fubilan in the Star Mountains of PNG Western Province (Figure 3). In 2001 the mine could have been closed on environmental grounds; however, the PNG Government made an executive decision to keep the mine open so long as there was informed consent by the affected communities near the mine and along the Ok Tedi and Fly River. The consent is embodied in the CMCA 2001, which provides for compensation to be paid by OTML to communities affected by the operations. In January 2011, OTML became 100 percent owned for the benefit of PNG.

(2) CMCA communities. These affected communities in the Western Province provide their consent to OTML in order to continue its CMCA-based operation. They consist of 9 regions and cover over 98,048 square kilometers, with a combined population of over 100,000 people. As shown in Figure 4, the 9 regions spread across the head of the Ok Tedi River in the Star Mountains to the Fly River Delta in the South Fly. The CMCA communities differ by culture and level of development from the coast to the hinterland where the Ok Tedi mine is located. The further the communities are from the center of activities, the lesser the development in terms of access to basic services such as health, education, social protection, and courts. The geographical terrain, topography, and climatic conditions across the main CMCA
regions in the North Fly, Middle Fly, and South Fly Districts of Western Province, coupled with lack of infrastructure and implementation capacity, cultural attitudes, land ownership issues, and lack of government capacity, pose implementation challenges in service delivery despite the ever-flowing resources from CMCA funds and others, such as a Tax Credit Schemes and a Special Support Grant from National Government for Western Province.

(3) Village Planning Committees (VPC) and CMCA Trustees. The CMCA provides for OTML commitment to (a) seek consent prior to making material changes to its operations and (b) make investment and development payments through 8 Trust Regions and the Six Mine Villages. The operation of CMCA Trusts and the powers and authorities of the CMCA Trustees are governed by relevant Trust Deeds for each of the 8 Trust Regions. To mobilize the Trusts, OTML established Village Planning Committees in each CMCA village and empowered them to identify and prioritize sustainable development projects that most benefit their communities. The Board of Trusts is made up of representatives from the CMCA communities, OTML, FRPG, National Government, and the PNG Council of Churches. The Trusts meet every quarter to review progress of approved projects and to approve new projects submitted by the Village Planning Committees.

FIGURE 4. OTML FOOTPRINT - THE NINE CMCA TRUST REGIONS, WESTERN PROVINCE


(4) Ok Tedi Development Foundation (OTDF). The Ok Tedi Development Foundation was established under Clause 6 of the Ok Tedi Mine Continuation (Ninth Supplemental) Agreement in 2001, and its tax-free status is also enshrined in legislation. In 2001, OTML registered OTDF as a non-profit organization.

(4.1) Ok Tedi Fly River Development Program (OTFRDP). A major outcome of the 2006/07 CMCA Review was the creation of the OTFRDP. The 2006/07 CMCA Review outcomes recommended a new entity to give communities a higher level of decision-making power over resources, programs, and projects. OTFRDP is mandated to mobilize and manage the 8 CMCA Trust Funds and the Six Mine Village Funds in a highly transparent governance structure and improve the livelihood of the mine-impacted com-
munities. This includes the Western Province People’s Dividend Trust Fund (WPPDTF) – CMCA Region and the Women and Children’s Funds. This decision was effected in 2008 when stakeholders agreed to continue with OTDF, given its mandate for CMCA development and surety of OTML funding support, existing capacity, and experience. As OTDF was already incorporated, its re-establishment as a new entity involved a number of changes, including (a) transfer of shares to reputable new owners, notably PNG Sustainable Development Program (PNGSDP) and the newly formed CMCA Association, known as the Ok Tedi Mine Impacted Area Association (OTMIAA) prior to or at mine closure; (b) enhanced community ownership and participation in planning and implementation; and (c) securing the trading name OTFRDP to enhance the change image and ownership arrangements.

(5) Papua New Guinea Sustainable Development Program (PNGSDP). The Papua New Guinea Sustainable Development Program was established in 2002 as an independent, not-for-profit, trustee company when Broken Hill Properties (BHP) Billiton divested its 52 percent shareholding in OTML, following concerns about the long-term environmental impact of the mine and the social and economic repercussions of this impact. The PNGSDP mandate is to apply the OTML dividends, which are assigned for PNG development with particular focus on the people of the Western Province. In 2007 PNGSDP became a party to the CMCA Memorandum of Agreement. Key features of the 2007 Memorandum of Agreement are that PNGSDP’s commitment runs to June 2013 (original date for completion of the current mine plan) and the money be used for development projects chosen by the communities and implemented by OTFRDP consistent with the outcome of the 2007 Memorandum of Agreement. In July 2012, PNGSDP signed a Memorandum of Understanding between OTDF for greater co-operation as a joint vehicle for delivery of village-level projects. With OTDF being the implementer, both CMCA Trusts and PNGSDP co-fund CMCA projects. PNGSDP will continue its commitment to improving livelihood of the CMCA communities. Until September 2013, PNGSDP was the biggest development agency in PNG overseeing a 63.4 percent shareholding in OTML. PNGSDP manages and invests about US$1.4 billion of funds held in trust to be used in Western Province at such time when the Ok Tedi mine closes.

(6) Independent State of Papua New Guinea (State). The State is not a party to the CMCA Extension Agreement since the MLE Agreement is between the mine-impacted communities and OTML. However, the State is an important stakeholder by virtue of its 100 percent holding in the OTML mine since September 2013. Of this holding, 6.1 percent (or PGK 325 million) is dedicated to CMCA. Thus, this holding makes the State the major contributor to CMCA compensation through the WPPDTF. The State has always been part of all negotiations.5

5 During the 2012 MLE, the State was represented by: The Attorney General; Mineral Resources Authority; Environment and Conservation; Treasury; National Planning; Prime Minister and National Executive Council; Western Provincial Administration.
### Table 1. Summary Chronology of Events, 2001-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Events and Key Stakeholders</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| 2001 | **Ok Tedi Mining Limited, OTML (1)** entered into CMCA under the Mining Ok Tedi Mine Continuation (Ninth Supplemental Agreement) Act with 156 villages affected by its operations, known as the CMCA Communities (2). The Agreement commits OTML to (a) seek informed consent prior to making material changes to its operations and (b) make cash, investment and development payments through 8 Trusts and Six Mine Villages.  
To mobilize the Trust, OTML established Village Planning Committees, VPC (3) in each CMCA village and empowered them to identify and prioritize sustainable development projects that they felt would be of most benefit to their communities. |
| 2002 | OTML registered the **Ok Tedi Development Foundation Limited, OTDF (4)** as a not-for-profit organization. OTDF was established under the Mining Ok Tedi Mine Continuation (Ninth Supplemental Agreement) Act. A transition team comprising OTML, PNGSDP, CMCA leaders, and FRPG was established after the signing of the 2007 MOA and tasked with creating the CMCA entity that would serve as the development vehicle. The team agreed that OTDF was the best vehicle since it was already established under the Ninth Supplemental Agreement Act and had tax advantages. The team also agreed that OTDF should trade as “Ok Tedi Fly River Development Program” (OTFRDP). For governance purposes the board is referred to as the OTDF Board.  
**PNG Sustainable Development Program, PNGSDP (5)** was established as an independent, not-for-profit, trustee company when Broken Hill Properties (BHP) Billiton divested its 52 percent shareholding in OTML following concerns over the long-term, environmental impact of the mine, and the social and economic repercussions of this impact. PNGSDP is responsible for applying the funds coming from OTML, which are assigned for PNG development, in particular for the people of the Western Province. |
| 2006-2007 | The CMCA was reviewed over a period of 18 months, which involved extensive and widely dispersed consultations by an independent facilitator, independent observers, and civil society.  
Inclusion of the **State of Papua New Guinea (6)** as a party to the 2007 MoA, committing 6.1 percent WPPDTF to the CMCA.  
Inclusion of PNGSDP as a party to the 2007 MoA, committing PGK 21.5 million or 2.5 percent of PNGSDP dividends from OTML per year (whichever is greater in a given year) were to be used for development projects chosen by the communities and implemented by Ok Tedi Fly River Development Program (OTFRDP) consistent with outcome of 2007 CMCA Memorandum of Agreement. This agreement ran to June 2013 (original date for completion of current mine plan).  
A revised Memorandum of Agreement between OTML, PNGSDP, the PNG State, and CMCA communities was reached requiring the creation of an independent entity to manage the Trusts Funds.  
The CMCA male leadership agreed to allow women to join them at the mine benefits package negotiation table. This led to the successful negotiating of the 10 percent fund for women and children.  
Women held side meetings to strategize and approach the negotiations tactfully and with culturally sensitive awareness that in “a man’s world” to sit at the negotiation table was “breaking new ground.” |
| 2008 | **Ok Tedi Fly River Development Program, OTFRDP (4.1)** established and registered as a trade name to operate independently from OTML, while OTFRDP is mandated to mobilize the 8 CMCA Trusts and Six Mine Villages and improve the livelihood of the mine-impacted communities. |
| 2009 | The OTML Board approved the transfer of one share in OTDF to PNGSDP. OTML is legally obliged to transfer the remaining 3 shares to other reputable development organizations prior to or at the time of mine closure. |
| 2012 | The final round of MLE negotiations coincided with the review of the 2007 MoA. All 9 CMCA regions consented to CMCA Extension Agreement under the MLE.  
Memorandum of Understanding between PNGSDP and OTDF is signed (July 9, 2012) for greater co-operation as a joint vehicle for delivery of village-level projects. OTDF and PNGSDP will co-fund CMCA projects; PNGSDP will continue its commitment to improving livelihood of the CMCA communities as part of its overall mandate; 10 percent of the money is reserved for Women and Children’s Fund. |

Source: OTML Annual Review, 2011 and authors’ personal notes.
B. HOW AND WHAT THE OK TEDI WOMEN NEGOTIATED

This section examines how women came to sit at the table for one of the highest decision-making forums in negotiating mining benefits and what impact this higher level of representation had on the overall outcomes for women.

1. Getting Women to the Negotiations Table

Prior to the 2006/07 CMCA negotiations, decisions were purely made by male leaders without any input from the female population or their representatives.

The 2006/07 negotiations involved just two female leaders, Ms. Ume Wainetti and Reverend Anna Bisai, who represented women and children. Although challenging, the 2006/07 CMCA negotiations achieved two significant “firsts” as far as women’s representation is concerned: 1) women’s participation in decision-making process pertaining to the use of development funds and investments; and 2) CMCA women’s right to be represented on Village Planning Committees (VPC), the CMCA Association, and the OTDF Board. The 2006/07 CMCA negotiations was a small initial step that ultimately took the people of the CMCA communities to the wider level of representation in 2012 (Box 1).

Box 1. “We Want What the Ok Tedi Women Have!”: Women’s Engagement in the 2006/07 Negotiations

The 2006/07 negotiations involved an 18-month process that cost PGK 7 million (US$3.4 million) and utilized independent facilitators and advisers to establish trust and address power asymmetries among stakeholders. Women were only invited to participate midway through the negotiation process when it became apparent that their views and concerns were not being raised. Ok Tedi and independent facilitators were critical in persuading the State and male beneficiaries to include women.

Mrs. Ume Wainetti was the sole representative for women and children at the 2006/07 negotiations. A caucus of 20 women helped develop negotiating positions. Independent facilitators worked with the mine’s gender desk to consult women in affected villages, and brought in experience from the Women in Mining project. The rights secured for women included:

- **Women and Children’s Fund.** An allocation of 10 percent of all compensation.
- **Scholarships.** 50 percent of educational scholarships for women and girls.
- **Family bank accounts.** Payments to be made into family bank accounts, not clan accounts.
- **Representation in governing bodies.** This included village planning committees, the 8 regional trusts, and the Board of OTDF.

Source: “We Want What the Ok Tedi Women Have!” Guidance from Papua New Guinea on Women’s Engagement in Mining Deals, by Nicholas Menzies and Georgia Harley (J4P Briefing Note, September 2012).

How did up to 30 women get to the negotiation table? One of the outcomes of the 2006/07 Review is that the Memorandum of Agreement provided for 3 women representatives from each region: one from the Trust, one from the Village Planning Committee, and one regional representative. Clause 5.7 Section 5.7.3 (b) of the 2006/07 CMCA Memorandum of Agreement (page 11) stipulates that:

Partnerships between men and women in decision-making about the future of the Mine Affected Area, particularly regarding the future development. For example: Women leaders will be represented at all regions at the Board, Trust, and Village Planning Committee levels.

Between November and December 2012, the final regional meetings of the Mine Life Extension were conducted over five weeks. It involved community leaders who negotiated on behalf of their communities and external observers who were responsible for reporting on the conduct of the consultation process. The community leaders included 3 women representatives per each of the 8 Trust Regions and
one each for the Six Mine Villages. In essence, the final consultation allowed for 9 smaller negotiation teams. This enabled up to 30 CMCA women leaders to sit at the negotiations table alongside the male leaders and, most importantly, to fully participate – a sharp contrast from the 2006/07 Review. These 30 women negotiators secured between 10 to 18.24 percent set-asides for the Women and Children’s Fund for their respective region (Table 2). They were supported by independent facilitators and carefully watched by independent observers.

### TABLE 2. CMCA WOMEN REPRESENTATION AND NEGOTIATED OUTCOMES FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN’S FUND BY REGION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Lower Ok Tedi</th>
<th>Middle Fly</th>
<th>Nupmo</th>
<th>Tutuwe</th>
<th>Dudi</th>
<th>Manawete</th>
<th>Suki Fly</th>
<th>Gogo</th>
<th>Six Mine Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Negotiators</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Women Negotiators</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Female Representation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader of Women’s Delegation</td>
<td>Bala Tedumo</td>
<td>Kurina Aioge</td>
<td>Noni Dukumun</td>
<td>Katherine Puse</td>
<td>Rebecca Marke</td>
<td>Narei Namaro</td>
<td>Linda Mulake</td>
<td>Alice Kwause</td>
<td>Clara Fred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Women and Children’s Fund</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>18.24</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MLE Regional Meeting No.4, Tabubil, December 2012.

**How were the women chosen and how representative were they?** The selection of women leaders to the Mine Life Extension negotiation is based on outcome of the 2006/7 CMCA negotiations described earlier. Current women leaders who were part of Trusts, Village Planning Committees, and the OTDF Board automatically qualified to participate in the MLE negotiations. Women leaders who represented their regions were presidents and vice presidents of regional women’s associations, and women’s regional representatives to the Regional Trusts. The only difference between the 8 Trust Regions and the Six Mine Villages is that the Six Mine Villages do not have a “Trust.” As such, one woman represented each of the Six Mine Villages bringing the total figure of women negotiators to 30. The Six Mine Villages operate under the Star Mountain Women’s Association led by Clara Fred who herself was not present during the final MLE meeting. While all the women negotiators were leaders in their own right and some were married to influential male leaders, there was no evidence of elitism.

### 2. Articulating and Prioritizing Women’s Needs

The needs of CMCA women have always equated with community needs identified by the women themselves. These wide-ranging needs, documented in 9 regional action plans, include general education and literacy; improved education and health facilities; increased knowledge and awareness on gender issues; existence of a resource center in each region; connection by roads, jetties, water transport, and communication; access to market facilities; access to micro-finance, management, and business skills; awareness of HIV/AIDS; safe and secure homes and communities; self-sufficiency; safe drinking and cooking water; and food security.
What types of capacity building helped to prepare women to be able to participate? Since the 2006/07 CMCA negotiations, women have been participating and benefitting from capacity-building initiatives. To ensure sustainable and effective utilization of the Women and Children’s Fund (10 percent or PGK 101 million), CMCA women leadership mobilized and began the planning process and documentation with technical assistance from the Department of National Planning supported by PNGSDP, OTML, and OTDF. Ordinary village women leaders who had had no prior exposure to planning and program- ming were empowered through their direct participation in the Women in Mining (WIM) initiative and CMCA Action Plans’ formulation process (Box 2). The CMCA women leaders sacrificed time with families to actively participate in this process. They brought a wealth of local knowledge to the forefront of critical discussions, and the needs of their respective communities, which are translated into goals and objectives and are in the 9 respective regional plans a fulfillment of the 2006/07 CMCA Memorandum of Agreement.

Box 2. The Women in Mining (WIM) Initiative and CMCA Action Plans

A parallel and complementary process or preparation was the WIM and CMCA Women and Children’s Action Plans. The strategy employed to address the impacts of mining on communities was developed through the Women in Mining (WIM) Initiative. Prior to the 2003 and 2005 WIM Conferences, most communities impacted by terrestrial mining activities had no voice. Immediately after the 2005 WIM Conference, an inter-agency committee was formed and, with funding support from the World Bank, developed the WIM National Action Plan 2007–2012. This was followed by the development of 9 CMCA Women and Children’s Action Plans 2009–2019.

With no prior experience in planning and programming, women leaders from the CMCA regions were active in development of the action plans. Because of their direct participation in the plan formulation process, the women became empowered. The knowledge gained became the building blocks for their effective participation in the decision-making process in their communities. The scheduled periodic reviews of the CMCA (in 2006/07 and the final MLE negotiations in 2012) involved extensive and wide consultations that provided additional opportunities for women to negotiate for resource allocations, which could enable them to fund their development action plans.

Source: Authors’ review of documents.

The broad yet competing needs identified by the women required prioritizing and sequencing to deliver optimal outcomes. Taking into account the needs of future generations through wise use of resources, the women identified five high-impact priority expenditure areas for project design and implementation:

1) Capacity building and institutional strengthening;
2) Infrastructure (feeder roads, water transport, electricity, and communication);
3) Sustainable livelihoods and food security;
4) Education and adult literacy; and
5) Health (water and sanitation).

These needs remain valid to date. They were repeatedly echoed throughout the five weeks of negotiations and captured in the record of the 2012 negotiations.

In addition to the planning and programming experiences, gaining basic life skills such as computer literacy, typing, and public speaking also empowered the women to be more effective negotiators. They demonstrated impressive presentation and leadership skills in the group discussions. The Dudi women, for example, documented their position in a PowerPoint presentation and were in control of the discussion as they captured the attention of male leaders. Similarly, women from the Six Mine Villages demonstrated impressive background preparation (such as a thorough review of women’s programs.)
and a great sense of passion in their presentation. They contributed positively to the group discussion and delivered a very convincing presentation on behalf of the Six Mine Villages. Male leaders were very attentive to their presentation. The women leaders demonstrated the following traits of good negotiators:

- **Confidence**, in preparing and making their case,
- **Respect**, which the male leadership reciprocated,
- **Articulation**, resulting from strategizing and practicing what they were going to say, and
- **Boldness**, as the CMCA women were not afraid of taking risks. They weighed their options and they knew that the payoff was worth taking a chance.

### 3. The 2012 Negotiations Proper

It is clear that the women used well-crafted strategies during the 2012 negotiations.

**Collaboration.** The Lower Ok Tedi group, for example, needed to agree initially on three positions as the basis for their group discussions. One of the male leaders was the lead discussant, and everyone was encouraged to contribute their views. Although male leaders dominated the discussions, all were very attentive when the women leaders spoke. Every male leader respected the women leaders and noted the views of the three women leaders. The women’s leader, Ms. Bala Tedumo, led the negotiation, using PowerPoint slides and presented all justifications for seeking an increase from the OTML offer to an increased 20 percent. The women leaders were firm on what they wanted and presented their case in such a way that the men leaders supported and endorsed their request for an increase. Negotiations for the Women and Children’s Fund for the Lower Ok Tedi Region went into round two. The parties eventually agreed to maintain the amount at 15 percent.

**Evidence.** The women leaders demonstrated that the outputs of their programs and projects were their strongest evidence. In this sense, they saw no need to be overly aggressive at the negotiations table in seeking an increase of the 10 percent because the programs and projects currently funded and implemented have had a positive impact at the village and community levels. The Dudi women’s representative, for example, using a PowerPoint presentation, demonstrated the achievements of the projects targeted toward the benefit of the Dudi community at large.

The bid for the Women and Children’s Fund for the Dudi region was made at 20 percent, although it was eventually settled at 15.5 percent.

**Preparation.** The results of successful projects at the village and community level spoke for themselves. The women leaders used these examples to secure the men leaders’ support prior to coming to the negotiations table.

**Using male advocates.** The decision to support an increase from 10 percent for women’s and children’s issues at the negotiations table depended on the support of the men who filled the majority of seats around the table. The negotiations did require some men leaders to convince their male colleagues to support the women’s call for an increase. Male advocacy is a key role in seeking and soliciting support for the advancement of women and children at the community or village level; this role can be secured by the men becoming sensitized through personal experiences with regard to tangible project outcomes and impacts (Box 3).

**What barriers did women face while negotiating?** Even though in 2012 the men still outnumbered the women at the negotiations table, there is no evidence to indicate that the women encountered the same level of initial resistance in 2006/07 as Ms. Wainetti described in Box 4. The barriers women leaders faced while negotiating were more about personalities or character than anything else. This in turn affected the decision on the increase the women would receive. However, it is important to
Katherine Puse, President for Kiunga Rural Local-Level Government Women’s Association and President for Tutuwe Women’s Association, came to the MLE Meeting No. 4 in December 2012 being well prepared to negotiate a better package for the women and children of her region. She was convinced that her women had done their homework in the past years through the various women’s and children’s programs that were implemented with technical assistance from OTDF.

Her strategy applied was effective engagement of the village men, especially through displaying the products of the new ways of cooking, baking, or sewing. Such skills are new in the communities, and for many men it is a joy to experience change. Katherine felt confident and comfortable that she would negotiate for an increase from 10 to 20 percent. However, rather than doing the talking she and her two women colleagues agreed to allow the male leaders to do the negotiating on their behalf. In other words, Katherine and her colleague women leaders formed an alliance with strategic male leaders who did the negotiation on their behalf.

Source: Authors’ elaboration based on case studies.

Box 3. Katherine Puse’s Strategy of Effective Engagement with Village Men

Katherine Puse, President for Kiunga Rural Local-Level Government Women’s Association and President for Tutuwe Women’s Association, came to the MLE Meeting No. 4 in December 2012 being well prepared to negotiate a better package for the women and children of her region. She was convinced that her women had done their homework in the past years through the various women’s and children’s programs that were implemented with technical assistance from OTDF.

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Source: Authors’ elaboration based on case studies.

point out that the leaders used a strategy similar to Ms. Wainetti’s (i.e., trying to persuade the male leadership that the set-aside for women was in the interest of all concerned). Therefore, while the male leaders dominated all the negotiations, that did not necessarily mean that women’s wishes were jeopardized or negated.

During the 2012 negotiations by the Tutuwe delegation, for example, only two women leaders were able to contribute at the negotiations table. The entire discussion was conducted in the local language. Apart from verbal communication, there were also a lot of hand gestures, heads nodding or shaking, and facial expressions and hissing sounds of disagreement. The first round of negotiations began with a PowerPoint presentation by a male leader who provided their counter offer with all the justifications. Women leaders aligned with male leaders who were
vocal about women’s and children’s issues and drew support from them. The Tutuwe leaders negotiated long and hard and actually went through five rounds of negotiation to finally agree on the total package, which included 18 percent for women and children. Male leaders from other regions also expressed support for women’s positions, for example:

Men leaders decided that women and children were important and therefore increased the women and children’s proportion from 10 percent to 15 percent (James Assan, Lower Ok Tedi Trust Chairman).

Women in our community play a vital role in development. The funds that will come through the Women and Children’s Fund under the MLE will benefit the whole community; men, women, boys, and girls will benefit. This is the reason why men leaders are supporting Women and Children’s Fund increase in their original 10 percent to 20 percent (Kime Sumai Dudi Trust Chairman).
For the groundbreaking 2006/07 negotiations, Mrs. Ume Wainetti credits her effectiveness to a number of factors: education (she had been to school with several of the chief negotiators), national stature (as Chairperson of the National Council of Women) through which she demonstrated substantial leadership and negotiation skills, and local status. In the excerpts below, Mrs. Wainetti’s own words describe how her local status got a seat at the table, how she reached her negotiating position, how women leaders were perceived, and the role that men played.

Securing trust. “There was a lot of mistrust at the beginning about my motives and role because I live in Port Moresby. The independent negotiators insisted on having a woman not just from Western Province to participate in the negotiations but a woman from the impacted area. I was able to establish that I am a woman from Dudi Trust area because my mother was from that region.”

Advocacy for both men and women in Western Province. “I demonstrated during discussions that I had extensively traveled in Western Province and really wanted to not just advocate for women and children but for the people in general. I also know from experience that if you just push for women’s rights in PNG you will not get support. I also knew that I needed the men’s help to assist the women’s cause. I did not always advocate only on behalf of women. Most times, the arguments I made were for the community as a whole, and the men recognized that.”

How women leaders were prepared. “Thanks to Keystone, Tanorama, and Ok-Tedi, a workshop was organized for consultation with the women leaders, which happened just before the next CMCA meeting. This was the only time women leaders were brought into Tabubil [the township at the base of the mine] for consultation. The women leaders came from all the trust areas plus the Western Provincial Women’s Officer. The workshop went well and we developed a way forward and put together the proposal for me to present to the CMCA team. While we were together, we committed a lot of time praying for the Higher Intervention on our behalf. The women leaders from the various trust areas stayed on to witness the presentation requesting the 10 percent.”

How the 10 percent came about. “I do not know why 10 percent in particular was chosen. I knew from the beginning of the workshop that I had to ask for an allocation for women and children to control. I thought of asking for 20 percent but I felt that if I asked for more than 10 percent, the men may not agree. I knew that I had to ask for a portion of the CMCA agreement that the men would find acceptable.”

How cultural attitudes helped to convince men. “I used our culture to also influence the decisions. For instance, we have a culture where as woman I can go back to my family to be cared for if my marriage has not worked or – if something goes wrong or someone does something bad to me, I would go back to my brother and appeal for protection and care. When I presented the women’s proposal, I appealed to the men asking on behalf of their mother, wives, sisters, daughters, granddaughters to help us. It was shifting the decision to them, making them responsible to protect our interest and to care for us their women and children. That 10% agreement would not have happened if those men around the table did not agree to it.”

Source: Authors’ interview with Ume Wainetti, 2012.

Why were the men leaders more convinced in 2012 than in 2006/07? CMCA men were more convinced in 2012 than 2006/07 because women had mobilized, planned, and prioritized how the money should be utilized in the communities. The best evidence lies in the 9 Regional Action Plans. Furthermore, while the vast majority of the money (80 percent) is set aside for investment, 20 percent of the funds are earmarked for development programs aimed at building the capacity and skills of women through various capacity-building activities, which are targeted at the community level and mostly conducted onsite within the communities. Women demonstrated to the men at the negotiations table the positive impact of such training, which was made possible through the funds allocated to them.
The women leaders, who were interviewed for the case studies (Part II), exemplify a multiplicity of leadership roles and represent the bold efforts taken during the negotiations to speak directly to the male leaders about the benefits of having women representatives at these negotiations, such as Rebecca Marke from Dudi Trust (Box 5). These women endeavored to show that they were not acting only on their own behalf but on behalf of their communities. And beyond that, they argued that this was important for the men as well – it was in the male leadership’s self-interest to support the women’s participation and increases in the 10 percent set-asides.

**Box 5. Rebecca Marke – Dudi Trust Representative**

In 2011, Rebecca Marke, the Women and Children’s representative on Dudi Trust, participated as a Women and Children’s representative on MLE. She collaborated with women leaders in Dudi to work in partnership with OTDF to ensure that women from her region participated and benefited from the first phase livelihood skill training in sewing. During this training, communities and institutions benefited in terms of payment made for accommodation and training venue. In Rebecca’s view what matters most is that women took back to their respective communities the skills and knowledge to sustain their living; some are now sewing and selling regularly for an income.

In 2012 Rebecca, in close partnership with other women leaders from her region, worked in collaboration with OTDF to establish the Dudi Women’s Association and most recently had the Association registered as a non-profit organization. Apart from this, Rebecca was also responsible for mobilizing the people from her region to build a Community Learning Centre in each village. So far, three villages took the initiative to build their Learning Centres out of traditional materials. During the same year, Rebecca played the lead role by working closely with OTDF in organizing the first-ever leadership training conducted for selected leaders throughout the Dudi region.

During the MLE negotiations, Rebecca demonstrated the inherent characteristics of a good negotiator through well-presented arguments on behalf of the women and children. For example, she stated:

> Cash comes and goes. Development and investment continues. The Women and Children’s Plan is for our communities. Women planned for all of you, your wives, your children, your sisters, and your mothers. The total cost of implementing the Plan is far greater than the 10 percent so please come and help us to implement this Plan.

When the negotiations became difficult, Rebecca took a bolder stance and tried to get just a little bit more in the increase by presenting a new logic: “You have removed 0.5 percent from development fund and gave to cash payout, so please we would like you to consider removing the 0.5 percent from investment fund and give to us.” The male leadership had no problem in granting her request. As such, the Women and Children’s Fund is 15.5 percent for Dudi region during the MLE-planned period.

**Source:** Authors’ elaboration based on information in the case studies.

What is the impact of having up to 30 women participate in the negotiations? It can be argued that the differences in the numbers (24 women negotiators from the 8 Trust Regions and one each from the Six Mine Villages) and the preparatory work that had been done in anticipation of these negotiations would have had some impact. There is no clear linkage between numbers and outcomes (Table 2). All across the mine-impacted areas equal numbers of women represented women and children, except for the Six Mine Villages that had one woman leader representing each village. While the number of women remains constant, the negotiations outcome varies across the regions in which only 2 regions did not get an increase from the 10 percent. In general, the increase in the number of women participating in the
2012 negotiations led to far better outcomes than 2006/07. However, it is important to note that securing the regional increase in the women and children’s share meant that negotiating women sometimes had to trade their personal and community interest for regional positions.

What additional measures were taken to enhance women’s effective participation? The 2012 negotiations were enhanced by the addition of independent national facilitators and nationally recognized independent external observers.

**Independent national facilitators.** Tanorama, a nationally owned consulting company, was engaged to facilitate the MLE negotiations process. The four-person team was led by Ms. Kori Maraga, who visited all 9 CMCA regions over three years, culminating in the final meeting in 2012. Among the 4 facilitators, Ms. Maraga was the most experienced. She was very conversant with the 2007 CMCA Memorandum of Agreement since she was the counterpart to the international female consultant in the 2006/07 CMCA Review. During the final 2012 MLE meeting, there were instances when, based on what the facilitators observed, they would diplomatically urge the women to speak up; for example, Ms. Maraga made the following statement during the negotiations:

> MLE process started in 2009. Everyone sitting around the table is of equal status (referring to the men and women leaders). You are here as a leader representing your village or community. Speak out and seek understanding on substantive matters. Seek clarifications if you are not sure so that you fully understand the information that is being disseminated.

Ms. Maraga moved around the negotiations table and got every individual leader to say “yes” or “no” to whatever proposal was being put on the table for discussion or decision. In this way, women were able to speak their minds. It was also observed that the CMCA women easily identified with the two women facilitators. The facilitators mingled with the leaders during the breaks. This helped to share ideas and issues so as to provide meaningful solutions or alternatives. Being mindful that these facilitators had been on a three-year journey with the leaders at the regional levels, it became obvious that they had earned considerable respect from all the stakeholders: the community leaders, OTML, PNGSDP, and the State. By the time the final negotiations came around, the issues had been viewed from all directions and exposed often enough due to the thorough consultative work done by the national facilitators.

**Nationally recognized external observers.** As independent and nationally recognized professionals, Dr. Beno Boeha and Sir Paul Songo⁶ added value and credibility to the negotiations. They attended all the meetings over the preparatory period. They also served as witnesses at the signing of the 2012 CMCA Memorandum of Agreement. Their task was to ensure that the entire MLE process was conducted according to nine established guiding principles.⁷ They encouraged every leader, including the women leaders, to speak freely as everyone in that meeting room was a leader representing their people. Sir Paul always reminded the leaders of an important directive: “You must know where you want to go before you can decide how to get there.” (PNG Vision 2050)

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⁶ Sir Paul Songo had replaced a previous independent observer, Grand Chief Ila Geno in early 2012.
⁷ Integrity, Respect, Transparency, Responsiveness, Equity, Adequacy of Information, Fairness, Participation, Timeliness.
C. IMPLEMENTING WHAT THE OK TEDI WOMEN NEGOTIATED

During the 2006/07 CMCA Review the women were excited when the 10 percent Women and Children’s deal was secured; but even to this day as I have gone onto facilitating the Mine Life Extension consultation, women are still confused on how they would access their 10 percent or what it all means. Life goes on the same as seven years ago since the securing of the deal. Impacts of the 10 percent funding is yet to be felt by women in general in the mine-impacted communities. I would be happy for women in the villages to be organized and empowered through information dissemination and increased decision-making powers.

Kori Maraga, lead facilitator, MLE negotiations, December 2012.

1. Accessing the funds for women and children

Kori Maraga’s statement summarizes the main challenges that women face in using the MLE set-aside for social and economic benefit. It also summarizes the challenges that women anticipate in accessing the different income streams, which are substantial (Table 3). It also echoes the findings on significant implementation gaps that were documented in the research conducted by Menzies and Harley (Box 6). During the 2012 negotiations, women leaders were interviewed with a view to assessing and understanding the sources and causes of this implementation gap (interviews and case studies can be found in Part II).

### TABLE 3. OUTCOME OF MLE NEGOTIATION ON BENEFITS PACKAGE FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN’S FUND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Regional Trust Funds</th>
<th>Six Mine Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower Ok Tedi</td>
<td>Middle Fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Regional Package (PGK millions)</td>
<td>108.859</td>
<td>119.427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Cash</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>84%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women &amp; Children’s Fund</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment Fund</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Fund</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MLE Regional Meeting No.4 Facilitator Report; Signed MLE Regional Agreements, Tabubil, December 2012.

Content of the 2006/07 CMCA Memorandum of Agreement. The CMCA women leaders are very conversant with the contents of the 2006/07 Memorandum of Agreement pertaining to the 10 percent for the Women and Children’s Fund, which stipulates that (a) funds will come from three different sources (CMCA Trust, PNGSDP, and the State); (b) from each of these sources, a minimum of 10 percent will be dedicated to projects and investment for women and children; (c) funds from each of these three sources will be spent for the purposes of creating a better life for women and children of the impact area; (d) in the first 5 years, the vast majority of the funds will be used to invest and grow; and (e) there will be total transparency in how the funds are programmed.
What was the impact of these gains on CMCA Implementation?

There are few visible impacts of CMCA implementation. Village women report minor changes to their own material circumstances. There are no indications of increased entrepreneurship, enhanced participation, or greater bargaining power for women. Research was also unable to identify a cadre of women demonstrating leadership in CMCA implementation, in the same manner as during the negotiation process.

While the deal was impressive, implementation has been mixed:

- **Women and Children’s Fund.** From 2007 to 2010, PGK 69.8 million (US$34 million) was set aside, but there is lack of understanding about this fund, what projects have been approved, or the application process. As a result, little has been spent. However, male residents did not express resentment about this fund other than to say that women are not using it.
- **Scholarships.** Fewer than 50 percent of women and girls apply. This is likely due to general factors impeding girls’ education such as cultural norms, long distances, safety concerns, and others.
- **Family bank accounts.** Most men and women reported that women are co-signatories. Women were able to access these accounts better than clan accounts. However, because of high transaction costs to access and manage these accounts, it does not appear to increase family savings.
- **Representation in governing bodies.** Village planning committees only included one woman, rather than two or three as mandated. No women were appointed to the board of OTDF.

Source: “We Want What the Ok Tedi Women Have!” Guidance from Papua New Guinea on Women’s Engagement in Mining Deals, by Nicholas Menzies and Georgia Harley (J4P Briefing Note, September 2012).

**Box 6. “We Want What the Ok Tedi Women Have!”: Women’s Engagement in the 2007 CMCA**

**Monetary impact of the MLE.** The CMCA women leaders are happy that the MLE provides great opportunities for continuing flow of funds into their respective regions. All CMCA women leaders are fully aware that their regions will benefit from the State and PNGSDP MLE benefit packages through development projects that will be delivered with funding through the State and PNGSDP.

**Sources of funding:** Similarly, with regard to the State funds, CMCA women would use the same process that OTDF uses to access the WPPDTF. Money from the PNGSDP contribution is held by PNGSDP and spent in consultation with the communities through OTFRDP. The women leaders are aware that accessing these funds requires OTFRDP to work in close collaboration with PNGSDP to draw down on the funds for project implementation on behalf of the CMCA women.

**Rules and procedures for accessing funds.** The women leaders interviewed understand that access to money from each of the funding sources is guided by specific rules applying to those funds. To be able to access funds from the CMCA Trust, women and children submit project plans through the Village Planning Committee. If VPC grants approval, the project goes to the Trust for funding decision. In general, most of the women and children programs are conducted using money paid into the Trust by OTML. The CMCA women leaders also understand that to be able to access funds from the State, OTDF is the primary organization in charge of setting development project priorities to draw down funds from the State on behalf of the CMCA people.

**Experience with accessing funds.** So far there has not been a specific submission for CMCA women. The only general submission for seven high-impact projects was made by OTDF to WPPDTF on behalf of the communities that CMCA women are part of. The seven projects were extracted from Women and Children’s Action Plans 2009-2019 and were endorsed by the OTDF Advisory Committee and funds were released for feasibility studies. These projects are Nupmo Foot Bridge at Ningerum, Pam-
penai Access Road, Aiambak to Lake Murray Road, Kassa Feeder Road, Middle Fly and South Fly Health, South Fly Relocation, and M.V. Fly Hope (a passenger vessel). The CMCA women leaders stated that the process involved in drawing down funds from the CMCA Trust is user friendly, but they state that accounting for the funds is very challenging. They feel that the 10 percent dedicated to women and children is insufficient to date because it does not cater for all programs and projects identified in the Action Plans 2009-2019. They maintained that “The Women and Children’s Action Plan will benefit the whole region and the children of tomorrow.” Despite examples like the MV Fly Hope (Box 7), many women say that up until now they have not seen tangible benefits from the use of their funds because women and children are still living in the same condition as before.

**Remaining challenges.** The CMCA women leaders identify the main challenge as that of ensuring the compensation funds secured under the MLE negotiations are properly used to put in place the social and economic infrastructures such as roads, jetties, bridges, health centers, health outpost, classrooms, libraries, teacher’s houses, nurse’s houses, and doctor’s houses. Their view is that these are critical enablers to effective service delivery. Other community needs for support are the growing of cash crops such as rubber and eagle wood; and food production such as vegetables, fish, and poultry, which are essential elements to sustaining livelihoods. The CMCA women would like to see that all these are implemented in an integrated approach to ensure ownership, continuity, and sustainability. They believe that it is important for the money to be used wisely to improve the lives of the CMCA people and to help these people to achieve health and happiness and to sustain their living eventually without OTML. The CMCA women leaders echoed similar sentiments to those shared during the MLE negotiations by a Tutuwe male leader:

> I want change in my village. I can sign the MLE. I would like to see development in my village and Western Province. Please, Ok Tedi, you hear my cry, so that you win and I also win. But you must do the job first and do it properly. We will sign the Agreement.

The challenges persist. In her women’s leadership role, Bala Tedumo recognizes the further steps needed to fully reach the potential of women and children’s projects (Box 8). The women leaders proposed the following suggestions for a more successful implementation:

- **Capacity development.** Institutional capacity and human resource development are the primary means to ensuring that women are able to manage their associations, take control of the Women and Children’s Fund, and manage them separately from the current Trust arrangement.

- **Stakeholder collaboration.** Closer collaboration and partnership between all stakeholders (including OTDF and PNGSDP) would complement each other’s efforts in delivering credible projects.
• **Empowering Village Planning Committees with project management skills.** Empowering Village Planning Committees to manage small village projects would ensure project ownership. Women leaders want OTML to start working first with the Village Planning Committees that have a proven track record with decision-making for village projects and are accountable and transparent in participation processes.

• **Ownership and sustainability.** The negotiators would like women’s leadership to be consulted to ensure ownership and sustainability.

**Box 8. What Bala Tedumo considers important to fully implement the women’s fund**

Bala Tedumo, the current CMCA women’s representative on OTDF Board, echoed some of the sentiments that were shared during the MLE negotiations by leaders who desire to work in order to see development in their villages and Western Province. They signed the MLE Agreement so that there is a win-win situation. However, Bala thinks that there is an un-met need in the area of project identification, project documentation, and how to access funding from the three different sources of funds. Coupled with these, she realized that many of the male leaders do not know about the Women and Children’s Action Plans. She says that there is a need to mobilize all the male CMCA leadership and conduct awareness on the Plans and how to translate or extract projects ideas from the Plans and document them as project submissions for funding. She believes that this is critical to ensure that the women and children’s portion of the funds are fully used to implement the Action Plans.

*Source: Authors’ elaboration based on information in the case studies.*

2. **Women’s Representation on the OTDF Board**

The legal infrastructure for women’s representation on the OTDF Board was set in place in the 2006/07 CMCA Memorandum of Agreement. In addition to representation on governing bodies, a major outcome from the 2006/07 Review was that: “OTML, with the support of the State and PNGSDP and the Transition Group, will help the communities to set up a new entity to give communities within the CMCA regions a high level of ownership and decision-making power over resources, projects.” The new entity referred to above is OTDF trading as the OTFRDP. The OTDF, incorporated in April 2002, has four Directors, reflecting current shareholdings. Two Directors representing OTML’s shareholding are employees of OTML, including the Chairman; a third representing OTML’s shareholding is from Department of Mineral Policy & Geo-hazard Management; and the fourth is from PNGSDP. Four Associate Directors nominated by the Advisory Committee sit on the Board as non-voting observers.

While the OTDF Board is the ultimate body to approve and endorse project submissions for the benefit of the communities, the project submissions that come up to the OTDF Board would have already been approved by the OTDF Advisory Committee which has representatives from the 9 CMCA regions, including four women representing the Six Mine Villages, North Fly, Middle Fly, and South Fly. The OTDF Board will not approve any projects that have not been endorsed by the OTDF Advisory Committee; hence the Advisory Committee plays a significant role and the main forum for the women leaders to ensure that their concerns are being addressed. The four Associate Directors are supposed to make sure that projects endorsed by the Advisory Committee are tabled at the Board meeting for approval.

The Advisory Committee is a second tier of governance for OTDF that allows for broad community participation. It comprises representation drawn from all the geographical areas: 16 members represent the 8 Trust Regions (2 from each region), the PNG Council of Churches, and the Fly River Provincial Government. The Advisory Committee

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8 Section 3.1, Sub-section 3.1.1 of the 2007 CMCA Memorandum of Agreement, p.6.
nominated 4 of its members (associate directors) to shadow the 4 formally appointed Board Directors to ensure that the decisions taken or voted on are in accordance with the wishes of the Advisory Committee. The 16-member Trust representation is drawn from the OTMIAA. The Trusts have agreed that OTMIAA, when incorporated and having demonstrated the capability as a “reputable development organization,” should take up a shareholding in OTDF. To date, OTMIAA has yet to take up shareholding in OTDF. The ongoing challenge is that this provision has not been implemented as evidenced by the current representation on the OTDF Board. Secondly, the non-implementation brings into question the original intent of establishing OTDF, since the ownership and decision-making power is still in the hands of OTML, PNGSDP, and the State.

The real issue is about improving OTDF performance and promoting equal opportunity for CMCA women. The strong business case for CMCA women on the OTDF Board goes beyond gender quotas. More importantly, it is about the richness of the OTDF Board as a whole, where the combined contribution of a group of people — men and women with different skills sets and perspectives, different experiences and backgrounds, and even different lifestyles — when brought together can produce a conducive environment where important issues can be debated or considered in a holistic way:

Women should be more explicit in making the business case for their involvement.9

The addition of more women on the OTDF Board can offer a different approach than a male-only Board. Over the five weeks of the MLE negotiations, several CMCA women (including the 30 women leaders) were interviewed and asked the question, “Are you content with having just one woman representative on the OTDF Board?” All 30 women leaders answered, “No.” They want to increase the number to 2 or 3 women representatives. The 30 women leaders represent the voices of the majority, the marginalized and underprivileged back in the villages. They spoke loudly and clearly about this need to increase women’s representation on the OTDF Board.

9 “We Want What the Ok Tedi Women Have!” Guidance from Papua New Guinea on Women’s Engagement in Mining Deals, by Nicholas Menzies and Georgia Harley (JAP Briefing Note, September 2012).
D. FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The entire 2012 MLE negotiations process provided insights into the role women played and the determinant factors for success (or lack thereof). The overall conclusion is that significant strides have been made in securing women’s access to voice, representation, and rights of participation, attributable in large part to the following intervening changes.

1. Findings and Conclusions

*Higher level of education attainment enhances women’s leadership role.* Throughout the entire negotiations period, many women leaders spoke eloquently on development issues affecting women, children, or the region as a whole. There were also many women who knew the issues but remained silent or spoke through their regional women’s representatives. Through the interviews, it became clear that those who spoke out were women leaders who have attained Grade 10 and above and had some technical training.

*Level of preparedness and relationship building are conducive to effective negotiations.* Quality time was not invested in planning and preparing the women at large for the negotiations. However, most of the women leaders had continuously attended all the regional MLE meetings over the three years, and therefore were familiar with the issues in addition to knowing the OTML community relations officers through these prolonged periods of engagement. This made the environment conducive for the women leaders to participate actively.

*Community interests (regional) often take precedence over local (village-level) position.* In general, women tend to identify specific needs more at their locality than at the regional level. However, the community interests at the regional level take precedence over village-level interests because the benefits offered by OTML are for the region as a whole, not just the community. The regional benefits become much smaller at the community level. The challenge is translating the rewards into tangible benefits for everyone in the community. The women worked hard to make these connections.

*Changes in attitudes and mindsets are happening, but the pace is not fast enough.* Although there is some evidence that mindsets and attitudes are changing, such change is happening more in the communities that are impacted most by the OTML operations. Other regions such as the South Fly are still challenged in terms of achieving acceptable basic minimum standards of living such as proper housing, fresh and safe water, food, education, and health. The true desire for change will surface only when CMCA leadership acknowledge that in 2013 and into the future it is not acceptable for a woman to die from pregnancy-related complications or for a 10–15 year old child not to be in school.

*Implementation of the 2007 CMCA provisions remains a challenge.* The implementation of the 2007 CMCA provisions remains a major challenge for several reasons, including lack of awareness about the contents of the plans, lack of institutional and human resource capacity, lack of political will and support, and the difficulties of physical and geographical access to some of the communities. A major finding from the interviews conducted during the 2012 negotiations was that a majority of the women leaders were not fully aware of the total contents of the 2007 CMCA, except for the section that speaks of the Women and Children’s Fund. Furthermore, an ongoing challenge that has grown bigger is how and on what to wisely spend the money. The CMCA Women and Children’s Plan 2009-19 offers a window of opportunity to allow the Plan to dictate and drive the budget for the priority expenditure areas as identified by the CMCA women.

2. Recommendations

Based on the above findings, it is recommended that the government and industry stakeholders involved in the negotiations and decisions relating to communities affected by mining operations take the following actions:

*Provide independent legal advice to the communities.* Although OTML provided CMCA community leaders with what they considered the best environment-related advice, independent legal advice was absent. The lawyers represented the State
OTML interests. At one point, there was an appeal from male leadership from the Middle Fly Region: “Could one of the two Independent Observers consider removing the ‘hat’ of Independent Observer and put on the ‘hat’ of Advisor to us?” The response from Dr. Beno Boeha: “It is not in our Terms of Reference” — implying that they could not switch “hats.” The exchange raises the issue of responsibility for providing independent legal advice. Was it OTML’s corporate responsibility to advise the CMCA community leaders to engage an independent legal advisor? Did the State fail the leaders? Or was it the responsibility of the CMCA leadership to work it out independently? In general, while there is no evidence that the absence of independent legal advice affected the leaders’ determination to secure a good bargain for their communities, it is an oversight that needs to be addressed in the future.

Provide development advice and build the capacity of women leaders to enable their associations to work effectively together to ensure that the development outcomes specified in their action plans are met. Efforts should focus on education, including adult literacy and continued education for girls and women. In the future, special attention should be given to continuity in attending lead-up meetings and knowledge sharing prior to the official negotiations.

Identify and implement strategies to make men better development partners. There is evidence of some positive change taking place at the regional level, but little appears to be happening in villages or within families, as echoed by CMCA women leaders during the meetings and the interviews. There is no evidence that women’s empowerment at the regional level is translating into supportive roles for them in their home villages or within their families. More needs to be done to help with this transition so that men can become better development partners. A necessary long-term agenda should focus on equality, autonomy, and respect, addressing the perceptions of ‘mothers as caregivers’ and ‘fathers as income earners,’ and the shared roles and responsibilities of men and women in family life. Such efforts should be mindful that such an approach may also pose challenges to traditional notions of “fatherhood.” Another strategy to help men become better development partners is to engage them in policy dialogues and programs that particularly affect women. This recommendation is not as far-fetched as it seems. Such an engagement took place during a special feature of the CMCA Women Leaders Workshop on designing their Capacity-Building Project conducted in Kiunga in June 2011. There were 6 chairmen and 2 vice chairmen, positions held by men, from 8 Trusts in attendance. The men fully participated in the discussions. Their presence boosted the morale of the women leaders. Involving men leaders should be encouraged to promote a sense of community-wide ownership and shared goals among men and women.

Develop a CMCA expenditure strategy. A CMCA expenditure strategy should be developed to guide OTDF on where to spend CMCA, Women and Children’s, and other funds. An expenditure strategy could pinpoint the size of the overall resource envelope; the share allocated to different priorities; and the allocations within each sector (health, education, infrastructure, re-settlement, food security, agriculture, etc.) and across CMCA regions.

Build further capacity for future negotiations. In preparation for meaningful participation in future reviews of the 2006/07 CMCA negotiations, the community leadership should be trained on the fundamentals of effective negotiating. Building negotiating skills takes time, effort, and energy. After the experiences of the 2006/07 CMCA and the 2012 MLE Memorandum of Agreement negotiations, it is critical to help CMCA leadership, particularly women leadership, to improve their ability to be more effective in negotiations, focusing not only on the monetary aspects but more importantly on how to make those monetary aspects impactful through proper planning and implementation.

Develop a communication and awareness-raising strategy. A communication strategy should be developed as a component of the future 2006/07 CMCA Review process so that it promotes and informs the CMCA communities. The strategy should enhance the opportunity to identify the outcomes of the 2006/07 CMCA that have not been implemented and what can be done to ensure they are implemented. Access to pertinent information at the appropriate time would empower CMCA leadership to make informed decisions. The contents of the 2007 CMCA are not fully understood by the CMCA women leadership. The same is likely to be the case with the 2012 outcomes unless a concerted effort is made to communicate, educate, and raise awareness about all the dimensions of these agreements.
II. Profiles of Selected Women Negotiators and Independent Facilitator

After the first day’s meeting discussions, I was approached by my Dudi Trust representatives and other trust members expressing their appreciation of my presence and my contributions to the discussions. I believe they did not mind me taking the lead in discussions for several reasons, because I had proven myself to them because of my work with women on the national and provincial scene. I had been to school with some of them and they had respect for me as being competent. And I demonstrated during discussions that I had had extensively traveled in Western Province and really wanted to not just advocate for women and children but for the people in general.

Ume Wainetti, 2007 Negotiator.

A. GETTING WOMEN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE – 2006/07 AND 2012

Two milestones were achieved in the 2006/07 CMCA Review. First, women participation was recognized in the decision-making process pertaining to the use of development funds and investments. Second, a minimum of 10 percent was dedicated to projects and investment for women and children. During the 2012 negotiations, the set-asides for women ranged from 10 to 18.24 percent. This section features profiles and interviews 7 women who played key roles in these achievements during the 2007 and 2012 negotiations.

Prior to the 2007 CMCA negotiations, decisions were purely made by male leaders without any input from the female population or their representatives. At the outset of the negotiations, apart from the Reverend Anna Bisai, there were no women among the negotiation team. Reverend Anna was involved in her capacity as a representative for the Dudi Trust. There was no representative for women or children. The independent consultants (Tanorama) wanted to make sure that women and children’s views were represented, which resulted in one additional woman being added – Ume Wainetti.

Ume Wainetti was suggested with other women from Western Province to be approached to come in as advisors on the issues of women and children. Ume was a staff member of the Institute of National Affairs/Consultative and Implementation Monitoring Council (INA/CIMC) and the National Program Coordinator for the Family and Sexual Violence Action Committee. She also came from the impacted area. Once her experience and education were recognized as assets, she was no longer just an advisor but a participant and negotiator, charged with helping to bring women’s voices to the table. Ume Wainetti discusses her role, in her own words, in an interview that follows in this section.

As discussed, by the time of the 2012 CMCA negotiations, there were up to 30 women leaders sitting at the negotiation table alongside men. Following the 2006/07 negotiation, more women became involved. In particular, 5 women, who served as representatives of different trusts and were among the 24 negotiators from the 8 Trust Regions, are profiled in individual case studies in this section; they are Bala Tedumo, Noni Dukumun, Katherine Puse, Rebecca Marke, and Alice Hmen.

In addition to the women negotiators, two women served as facilitators during the negotiations. Kori Maraga was engaged by Tanorama Consultancy in February 2006 to be an independent facilitator in the CMCA Review. She joined a team of 6 independent facilitators (5 males and 1 female), who worked in partnership with an independent international organization, The Keystone Centre, USA. [The other female facilitator was Ms. Janice Brewer from Keystone Centre.] Since then, Kori has been involved in project work while working as a lecturer with the PNG Education Institute with the Asian Development Bank’s Employment-Oriented Skills Development Project (EOSDP) from 2000 to 2004. An interview with Kori Maraga also follows in this section.
B. INTERVIEW WITH UME WAINETTI: NEGOTIATOR IN THE 2006/07 NEGOTIATIONS

Ume Wainetti was the General Secretary to the PNG National Council of Women for 6 years, during which time she developed negotiation and lobbying skills. She was instrumental in the inclusion of women as nominated members in the Organic Law on Provincial Governments – which included a provision for women representatives to be appointed to provincial assemblies, local-level governments, ward committees, and district budget priorities committees. It was through this negotiation experience that she negotiated the groundbreaking 10 percent set aside for women. In her own words, this is her story.

1. Garnering trust – as a woman from Western Province

“There was a lot of mistrust at the beginning about my motives and role because I live in Port Moresby. The independent negotiators insisted on having a woman not just from Western Province to participate in the negotiations but a woman from the impacted area. I was able to establish that I am a woman from Dudi Trust area because my mother was from that region. The chairman of the Dudi Trust at that time was my uncle (my mother’s cousin). Now I do not hold a PhD or a Master’s degree, just a simple BA in Social Work from University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG). Even then comparing my experiences and exposure in comparison to those men seated at the negotiation table was more than they had. After the first day’s meeting discussions, I was approached by my Dudi Trust representatives and other trust members expressing their appreciation of my presence and my contributions to the discussions. I believe they did not mind me taking the lead in discussions for several reasons, because I had proven myself to them because of my work with women on the national and provincial scene. I had been to school with some of them and they had respect for me as being competent. And I demonstrated during discussions that I had had extensively traveled in Western province and really wanted to not just advocate for women and children but for the people in general. I also know from experience that if you just push for women’s rights in PNG you will not get support. I also knew that I needed the men’s help to assist the women cause. Even when Tanorama went out to inform the communities on the progress of the negotiations and gauge their views, the women asked that I should come out to the trust areas and meet with them. Unfortunately, I had a job also so I could not give my full attention to this.”

2. Laying the groundwork – consultation with women

“The theme of the negotiations was Ok Tedi - Our Problem Our Solution. The nation needed Ok Tedi at that time because it was then the largest contributor to the economy and the government needed it because it was the peak of the Bougainville crisis. So the government did not apply its negotiations stance as it did for Bougainville. This agreement was crucial for the nation’s economic survival, and we were conscious of that while we were doing the negotiation. The theme was structured in a way that helps me to not blame as it was too late but to look for solutions for women and children. The first two days of the meeting I realized from talking to the men that they would use violence to get what they wanted if PNGSDP, Ok Tedi, and national government did not comply. Threats were issued to the company during the discussions. I did not feel comfortable, but four things I realized though: (a) Ok Tedi and PNGSDP knew who were the individuals that they needed to treat with care to control the outcome of the negotiations; (b) PNG Government, PNGSDP, and Ok Tedi were very transparent with information to help us reach a decision; (c) there was genuine concern about plight of women and children; and (d) the men present were ignorant of the gender issues. I took advantage of these observations to lobby the same landowners that the PNGSDP and Ok Tedi used and the sympathetic independent advisors to help me push women and children’s agenda. Women from Tabubil in the upper Ok Tedi Trust area working for OTDF fed me with information about their needs and aspirations and warned me about men in the
negotiations who may oppose me. The Ok Tedi staff (both men and women I went to college with and had worked with) provided information. Local women I met in markets, streets and shops provided me information when they realized that I was very concerned for the welfare of the women and children. Upon a request from women, I went up the river, accompanying the independent scientist visiting villages and talking to women’s groups."

3. Drawing on professional and language skills

“I was not an unknown entity. My previous work with the Office of the Village Development in the mid-1970s took me to the remotest areas of the Western Province and later with the PNG National Council of Women (NCW), I had travelled extensively to meet with women leaders, all this helped me to compare impacts of Ok Tedi tailings on the environment, which directly impacted the lives of the people, especially the women who use the environment to feed their families. My current job as the National Program Coordinator for the Family and Sexual Violence Programs made me realize too how women and girl children are abused because they need to put food on the table for their families because of influx of men and cash readily available. Being an advocate for women in my role at the NCW helped me to interact with the women. Then my educational background and facility with the English language also helped in two ways. First, I understood the basics of what was being negotiated, because all the negotiations and discussions were in English. Second, because I was

Box 9. Ume Wainetti shares a lesson from her mother: "Education is the best gift"

Why was I convinced about the need to fight for those rights for women and children and why including the children with women? We were informed then that the Fly River is dead for 500 years, which is a lifetime for many of us and will not be able to see the majestic beauty of the Fly River for hundreds of years. Mothers and children go together, if you want to help the children you have to help the mothers first. We acknowledge that life is not the same for us in the Fly River and that we needed to look for solutions that will enable us to survive. We had discussions about lack of health and education services, why aid posts have been closed when women and children are dying, why our children are not making it to colleges and tertiary institutions. Why, with so much money, women are still dying at childbirth without a trained health worker present.

I saw education as the solution for our survival in the Fly River. We needed to not just educate our children but they need to make grades to get them to colleges and higher institutions. There is need to have an attitude change [with more] focus on human development... My mother once explained to me and my brothers and sisters that we did not have land to inherit like other children and therefore education was her gift to us. I come from a family where my father comes from matrilineal society and my mother is from patrilineal. From my father’s side, I could only inherit from my mother, and from my mother’s side I could only inherit from my father. So, I was left with nothing. Therefore, my mother was very clear to all of us, that education was the best gift she could give us. We could not survive without education that would enable us to be employed or go into businesses. I shared this at the negotiations, encouraging leaders to invest in their children’s education, both boys and girls. But the desire for education, although strong, is not often realized because the educational system is not supportive in the CMCA region.

on the intellectual par with the males (the Ok Tedi officials as well as the male representatives). This enabled me to interpret what was being said, the nuances and inconsistencies. For example, there was one time when a very senior official mentioned that Ok Tedi was not in control of what was being said by government, but then he went on to say that he had edited letters from the Minister.”

4. Advocacy for both men and women in Western Province

“And I did not always advocate only on behalf of women. Most times, the arguments I made were for the community as a whole, and the men recognized that. Here are three examples.
people, because they could not live in the Fly River anymore, especially in the South Fly impacted areas. And that PNGSDP buy land and relocate these people with economic activities. This matter was brought to the attention of the PNGSDP Board and the decision was made that PNGSDP would engage someone to conduct a survey to establish if the flooding in the South Fly was a direct result of the Ok Tedi tailings or because of the rising sea level.”

“Two, the Minister for Mines came to speak at the negotiations and presented the package proposed for the CMCA. The package included a portion of land that Ok Tedi was using to stockpile tailings, they wanted the CMCA team to agree for Ok Tedi to continue to use this land and recommend that the CMCA endorse that agreement. I spoke up against it, suggesting that Ok Tedi negotiated that with the specific landowners, because the current mandate for negotiations did not include that land. Instead of the men arguing with me for interfering on something that was not a woman’s issue, they realized that I was working with them.”

“Three, I tried to gender sensitize the men, using human rights approach and drawing on examples of the lives of women evident in prostitution, poor health, uneducated; we did not have to look far to see examples. In doing this advocacy, I was drawing on my skills from past experiences where I had worked for women; I was deeply convinced that we had to protect the rights of women and children.”

5. Initial hostility toward women leaders

“Thanks to Keystone, Tanorama, and Ok Tedi, a workshop was organized for consultation with the women leaders which happened just before the next CMCA meeting.” This was the only time women leaders were brought into Tabubil for consultation. The women leaders came from all the Trust areas including the Western Provincial Women’s Officer. The workshop went well and we developed a way forward and put together the proposal for me to present to the CMCA team. While we were together we committed a lot of time praying for the Higher Intervention on our behalf. The women leaders from the various trust areas stayed on to witness the presentation requesting the 10 percent. I was shocked to see the reaction of some men against some of the women who were present. They said the women present were not recognized women leaders in their Trust areas. I believe this was because of the limited time, not all women present were recognized women leaders who came. Those rejected, I invited the women to sit with me and insisted that the meeting recognize them as women invited to sit in by the women and children’s representative. Men did not see them as women leaders because it all goes back to who is a ‘good woman’. We ignored them. I made it clear to the men that they were not intimidating me.”

6. How the 10 percent came about

“I do not know why 10 percent in particular was chosen. I knew from the beginning of the workshop that I had to ask for an allocation for women and children to control. I thought of asking for 20 percent but I felt that if I asked for more, the men may not agree. I knew that I had to ask for a portion of the CMCA that the men would find acceptable. Ten percent was to be given from all trusts and PNGSDP from the monies held in trust for Western Province by the PNG Government. But the details made sure this was very inclusive:

- Include villages (women and children) that did not participate in the CMCA.
- Bank accounts to be opened for women, where their funds would be deposited so men do not misuse them.
- Include the displaced women and children on Daru Island.
- That PNGSDP conducted a survey on silting in the South Fly if Ok Tedi is responsible for the flooding, etc. PNGSDP would secure land and resettle the people with economic activities.
- Three women to sit on boards of the trusts. Other women can also be appointed beside these three reserve positions. But that is not happening on a widespread basis.
- Women to be included in any future CMCA negotiations and in the Board of Trustees.”

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11 Keystone, Tanorama and the international and local independent facilitators.
7. How cultural attitudes helped (but also hindered)

“I used our culture to also influence the decisions. For instance, we have a culture where as woman I can go back to my family to be cared for if my marriage has not worked; or if something goes wrong or someone does something bad to me, I would go back to my brother and appeal for protection and care. When I presented the women’s proposal, I appealed to the men asking on behalf of their mother, wives, sisters, daughters, and granddaughters to help us. It was shifting the decision to them, making them responsible to protect our interest and to care for us, their women and children. That 10 percent agreement would not have happened if those men around the table did not agree to it. Drawing on this culture, I appeal to them and engage their support – saying, this is what I need for women and children, and I need your support.”

8. Implementation has fallen short of expectations

“PNGSDP agreed to resettle these displaced people with economic activity, following a study that had been done to show that the cause of regular flooding in the area was from the mine. Unfortunately, this has not happened yet. No one holds PNGSDP accountable. Everyone is concentrating on the financial side of the agreement, the money, but others are not being implemented. The Women and Children’s proposal requested that a strategy be developed to guide development for women and children and that the first phase would be to mobilize the women – this included developing their literacy capacity, organizing them into groups, etc. and providing trainings that would enable women to make informed decisions. We requested that while this was happening the 10 percent should be invested to multiply so that we have continuous cash support. The government officer from National Planning and Monitoring was engaged to develop individual trust plans – 9 individual trusts, instead of one comprehensive development strategy. The individual agreement was what Ok Tedi was doing before, and I suppose that was the easiest thing to do. Instead of meetings with women in the province, the women representatives are often required to come to Port Moresby for meetings. These meetings are organized by OTDF and PNGSDP. Women still ask what is happening since many have not seen the benefits.”

9. Lessons from the experience

- **Resources.** “I am not sure that the lessons from Ok Tedi are being applied. Every road in this country is being built to bring in the LNG resources. But no feeder roads are being built to help the people. Every ship along the Fly River is bringing in resources for Ok Tedi and brings out copper. But no ships on the river for people. At least the women bought a boat with some of the proceeds of their 10 percent. The large amounts of money which our men are earning they seem to use to traffic in women and acquire more wives and diseases.”

- **Lack of focus on youth.** “We have a very big young adult population in the province. Adolescent girls are the most vulnerable. A very large percentage of young people, ages 0 to 21; and girls now tend to start having babies as early as 13 or 14 which is now adding to the problem. Programs for youth are important. But I believe that our approach should be to start controlling our population growth before it gets out of hand. Community Development, the responsible PNG government department for youth, and we have a PNG Youth Commission, but there are no programs developed apart from sports for the young people. Generally speaking, there is no funding for youth programs.”

- **Environmental protection.** “Studies showed that the Fly River is dead for the next 500 years. I asked why a tailings dam cannot be built so dumping into the Fly River would stop. I was given an excuse of shifting soil, unstable underground soil that makes it impossible to build such a dam, yet I did wonder with all the latest engineering knowledge why a solution cannot be found. The population of the Island was originally 500, and has now mushroomed to between 12,000 and 15,000. TB and HIV and other diseases are rampant. Fishing is the only economic activity, but fish stocks have declined sharply. Barramundy needs to go up the Fly River to breed. Efforts at fish farming failed miserably. Sago, the stable crop is not safe to eat in some areas anymore and in some areas the production has been reduced. All other tributaries are connected to the Fly River and once a month a tidal wave (ibuwo) goes up the Fly River to breed.”
River, which takes fish, etc. for breeding in the Fly River; so the impacts from the Ok Tedi tailings do affect the whole province. I understand that studies were done before the mine was open but many of us have not seen the studies and I do not understand why these studies have not been utilized to help the people.”

• **Government policies.** “The biggest problem is that the government is not making decisions in support of the people. Everything is just being taken out. Everything is being extracted. Nothing concrete is put back in. The question that needs to be asked is, with the latest technology and the latest engineering, why is government not asking SDP, who owns the mine, not to put the tailings elsewhere? What is the excuse for still dumping the tailings into the river? I worked for the village development committee after graduating and I travelled a lot to the region. I saw huge lakes which do not exist anymore. People wake up with nothing to eat. We are getting to a point where even the money that is being given to help women and children will not help, because of the severe environmental degradation.”

• **Leadership.** “This was the origin of the problem. When local leaders were pushing for the mine to be closed, government officers went from village to village and collected signatures in support of continuation. It did not matter who signed – women, children – as long as they could prove they were members of the village. That is what brought about the need to renegotiate. We need strong women leaders as well in the province who can advocate.”

• **Human rights.** “When government does these negotiations, human rights are not taken into consideration. Right from the negotiation stage, before any major projects are carried out, women must be involved and consulted.”

• **NGOs.** “In Western Province, there is a lack of NGOs who could be activists on these issues.”

10. **Looking ahead – good agreement – need to avoid bad implementation**

“The 10 percent is a good thing because it gives us the opportunity to see how women can develop themselves. It is a way to legally put them in charge. It puts them in a situation where no government authority can say or tell them, ‘Sorry, there is no money for your project’. It gives them a positive feeling. And they have done some good things to help the community – they have bought a boat, providing much needed transportation, trade stores, etc. Women have their own accounts. They have control of their own resources. For the first time in the Manawete area, women have their own resource centre.”

“But now we need to go back to the basics, of how women can organize themselves. How can they think and plan for the possibility of girls’ high schools in the province? Higher education for girls? How can we use these settlements to bring about a change in attitude? A move away from the village attitude and grab the opportunity to use royalties for community development? To ensure that this does not happen again, we need to: (a) deliver capacity for women; (b) listen to what the women say; (c) design programs with/for them. We have to move away from the ‘know what women want – for their families and children’ – but really listen and understand and, with their cooperation, develop programs and projects. The 10 percent was initially negotiated for women to use as their contribution to improve the lives and well-being of women and children. The approach should remain, but it should be looked at in a more holistic way. There should be one comprehensive strategy for all the Trusts for scholarships for girls, hospitals and clinics, research on women’s and community issues, and services for the community and food security. Having separate plans for each Trust complicates implementation.”

“In other words, it should be used, not as an end itself or as a cap, but as funding that can leverage additional funding and resources and in-kind contributions to address the needs of women and children in a way that benefits the entire community. And men should be heavily involved in this process.”
C. PROFILES: FIVE WOMEN NEGOTIATORS FROM THE 2012 NEGOTIATIONS

Bala Tedumo, representing Lower Ok Tedi

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<tr>
<td>Highest Education Level</td>
<td>10th Grade; Diploma in Human Resource Management</td>
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<td>Work Experience</td>
<td>OTML 7 years; currently Community Relations Officer OTDF</td>
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<tr>
<td>Current Leadership Role</td>
<td>CMCA Women’s representative on OTDF Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Training Received</td>
<td>OTDF leadership training and basic computer skills</td>
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Bala’s role and how she became recognized as a leader. Bala was instrumental in establishing the Lower Ok Tedi Nima Ara Women’s Association, which was registered in 2007. In 2008, she was elected President of the Association, a position she held for 3 years. During her term as President, her submission for a Resource Centre for Lower Ok Tedi Women was approved by the Trust and she ensured that a proper office was set up with an Association logo, letterhead, and common seal. Bala continues to work with the current Association leadership as a mentor and advisor. When asked what her views are regarding the 2007 CMCA, particularly women’s representation on the OTDF Board, she said that she is not content with having just one representative. She believes there is a need for women to be better represented where their voices are heard at the highest level.

Bala’s expectations from the Agreement. Bala opposes Ok Tedi MLE because the environmental impact will be additional to what her people are currently experiencing. She says that the biggest challenge facing her community in the next 5 to 10 years is mitigating the environmental impact and translating the compensation funds into meaningful impact projects for the benefit of the entire community. Bala came to the MLE Meeting No. 4 well prepared and confident, having been a member of the women’s caucus in the 2006/07 CMCA, apart from being in the OTDF and CMCA Leadership. Bala considered that the biggest challenge facing CMCA women in the MLE negotiation was the fact that there are less or no tangible benefits accruing to the CMCA communities at the village level. Hence, it was a difficult task to convince male leadership to agree to increase the 10 percent funding.

What Bala considers important to fully implement the women’s fund. Bala echoed some of the shared sentiments regarding development in other villages and the Western Province. Bala thinks that there is an unmet need in the area of project identification and documentation and how to access funding from the three different sources of funds. Coupled with these, she realizes that many of the male leaders do not know about the Women and Children’s Action Plans. She says that there is a need to mobilize the CMCA male leadership and conduct awareness on the Plans and how to translate or extract project ideas from the Plans as project submissions for funding. She believes that this is critical to ensure that the Women and Children’s Funds are fully used to implement the Action Plans.
Noni Dukumun, representing Nupmo

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highest Education Level</td>
<td>6th Grade</td>
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<td>Work Experience</td>
<td>Nursing at Catholic Mission Health Center</td>
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<tr>
<td>Current Leadership Role</td>
<td>Trustee, Nupmo Trust; President, Nupmo Women’s Association; Women’s Representative, Star Mountains Local Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Training Received</td>
<td>OTDF leadership training and basic computer skills</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Noni’s role and how she became recognized as a leader. Noni was part of the group of women leaders who developed the CMCA Women and Children’s Action Plans. She was instrumental in establishing the Nupmo Women’s Association in 2008, and served as interim president for almost 4 years until 2012, when new elections were called and she was elected president. She worked closely with OTDF in facilitating skills training in sewing and cooking for women of her region. The Nupmo Women’s Association is now a registered non-profit organization. Although Noni played a critical role during the 2012 negotiations, the women and children of her region did not get an increase in the mine benefit package. Noni’s view is that the minimum of 10 percent is insufficient to implement the Women and Children’s Action Plans. However, they have seen some tangible benefits, such as basic sewing, cooking, registration of the Women’s Association, and purchase of a computer for their office and a bus for transportation. During the MLE Meeting No.4, Noni spoke directly to the chief executive officer (CEO) for OTDF:

“Under the 2007 MoA Clause 5.7, Women and Children’s 10 percent also comes from the State. That means from the K 325 million, K 32.5 million is for women and children. Now, show us or tell us where this money is or how have you (OTDF) used this money.” The response from OTDF CEO was, “Your money is safe.” When asked about her views regarding women’s representation on the OTDF Board she said: “We must have two representatives. I am not comfortable with having just one women representative. We need to increase the number so that our voices are heard by people who make decisions.”

Noni’s expectations from the Agreement. Noni is in favor of the Ok Tedi MLE because of the monetary opportunities. She says: “I favor MLE because I will receive more benefits in future like school fees, and kisim gutpla sindaun (improve well-being).” However, in addressing the real challenge of translating compensation funds into meaningful impact projects for the benefit of the entire community, Noni says: “The biggest challenge for my community in the next five to ten years is mother and children well-being, good education, good health care, and good business opportunity.” When asked about her aspirations in 10 to 20 years from now, Noni replied: “My children to excel in education and go into doing business.”

What Noni considers important to fully implement the women’s fund. Noni came to the MLE Meeting No. 4 not very well prepared to negotiate. She says there was no training on how to negotiate and she wished she was better prepared. She says that she was selected to attend the MLE meeting because she is currently a recognized women’s leader. Noni considered that the biggest challenge facing CMCA women in the MLE negotiation was the uncertainty of male leadership support.
Katherine Puse, representing Tutuwe

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<th>Marital Status</th>
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<tr>
<td>Highest Education Level</td>
<td>6th Grade; Technical training as a nurse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Work Experience</td>
<td>Department of Health (10 yrs.); Australian Aid Program – Basic Education Development Program – North Fly District (5 yrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Leadership Role</td>
<td>President, Kiunga Rural Local Level Government Women’s Association (25 yrs.); President, Tutuwe Women’s Association since 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Training Received</td>
<td>OTDF leadership training and basic computer skills</td>
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Katherine’s role and how she became recognized as a leader. Katherine was instrumental in establishing the Tutuwe Women’s Association, registered in 2012 as a non-profit organization. During her first term as president, she worked closely with OTDF in facilitating skills training in sewing, cooking, and basic computer training. The evidence of her leadership role was manifested in the outcome for Tutuwe – the male leadership agreed to increase the women’s fund from 10 to 15 percent because they had seen the output of the women’s programs.

Katherine’s knowledge about the 2007 CMCA. Katherine understands the five main points of the 2007 CMCA. She has very strong views about the minimum of 10 percent for women and children; that proportion is insufficient to cater for all programs/projects stated in the Women and Children’s Action Plans, which she sees as “the life for everyone.” She has not seen many tangible benefits from the funds because women and children are still living as before. Katherine’s views regarding women’s representation are that, “We need at least two women representatives on the OTDF Board to support each other and ensure that our voices are heard. They can also influence decisions that impact our lives for the better.”

Katherine’s expectations from the Agreement. Katherine is in favor of Ok Tedi MLE because she is convinced that it presents an opportunity to improve women’s status in terms of strengthening their capacities to sustain themselves beyond mine closure. She says: “We women want to be development partners in our own communities.” She acknowledges that the biggest challenge facing her community in the next five to ten years is mitigating environmental impacts and translating compensation funds into meaningful impact projects for the community. Katherine came to the MLE Meeting No. 4 well prepared to negotiate a better package for women and children. She was convinced that women had done their homework through the various programs that were implemented with technical assistance from OTDF. Their strategy was effective engagement of village men, especially through displaying the products of the new ways of cooking, baking, or sewing. Such skills are new in the communities and, for many men, represent a positive experience toward change. Katherine felt confident and comfortable that she would negotiate for an increase from 10 to 20 percent. However, rather than doing the talking, she and the two other women leaders agreed to allow the male leaders to negotiate on their behalf. In other words, they formed a strategic alliance with male leaders.

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12 Funds will come from three different sources: CMCA Trust, PNGSDP, and the State. From each of these sources, a minimum of 10 percent will be dedicated to projects and investment for women and children. All funds from each of these three sources will be spent for the purpose of creating a better life for women and children in the impact area. In the first 5 years, the vast majority of the funds will be used to invest and grow. There will be total transparency in how the funds are used and invested.
Rebecca Marke, representing Dudi

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<tr>
<td>Highest Education Level</td>
<td>10th Grade; Certificate in Office Management and Procedures</td>
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<tr>
<td>Work Experience</td>
<td>Fly River Provincial Gov’t as Executive Secretary; Project Assistant, OTDF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Leadership Role</td>
<td>Chairwoman ECPNG 6 Years; Women &amp; Children’s Representative on Dudi Trust; Women &amp; Children’s Representative on MLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Training Received</td>
<td>OTDF leadership training and basic computer skills</td>
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Rebecca’s role and how she became recognized as a leader. In 2011, Rebecca collaborated with women leaders in Dudi to work with OTDF to ensure that women from her region participated and benefited from the first-phase livelihood skills training in sewing. During this training, communities and institutions benefited in terms of payment made for accommodation and training venue. In Rebecca’s view, what matters most is that women returned to their communities with the skills and knowledge to sustain their living; some are now sewing and selling regularly for income. In 2012, Rebecca and other women leaders from her region worked in collaboration with OTDF to establish the Dudi Women’s Association, now registered as a non-profit organization. Rebecca was also responsible for mobilizing the people from her region to build a Community Learning Centre in each village. So far, three villages took the initiative to build their Learning Centres out of traditional materials. During the same year, Rebecca played the lead role by working closely with OTDF in organizing the first-ever leadership training conducted for selected leaders throughout the Dudi region. Dudi region is accessible by water transport. To ensure that women leaders have the means to move around the region for outreach programs and also to assist those in need for medical services, Rebecca again mobilized support for the women to purchase water and sea transport. These boats are currently being used for development and outreach work within the Dudi region.

During the MLE negotiations, Rebecca demonstrated characteristics of a good negotiator through well-presented arguments. For example, she stated:

Cash comes and goes. Development and investment continues. The Women and Children’s Plan is for our communities. Women planned for all of you, your wives, your children, your sisters, and your mothers.

The total cost of implementing the Plan is far greater than the 10 percent, so please come and help us to implement this Plan.

When the negotiation became difficult, Rebecca was not afraid to venture outside of the box and ask for an increase. She said: “You have removed 0.5 percent from Development Fund and gave to Cash Payout, so please we would like you to consider removing the 0.5 percent from Investment Fund and give to us.” Her request was granted. The male leadership had no problem with this request. The Women and Children’s Fund is 15.5 percent for Dudi region. Rebecca’s views regarding women’s representation under the 2007 CMCA Agreement are that: “We have 3 regions: North Fly, Middle Fly, and South Fly; we should have 3 women representatives on the OTFRDP Board to support each other and ensure that our voices are heard.”
Rebecca’s expectations from the Agreement.
Rebecca is in favor of Ok Tedi MLE for the same reasons as several other women leaders – the opportunity to improve women’s status in terms of building and strengthening their capacities to sustain themselves beyond mine closure. Since 2008, Rebecca has been part of the Women Leadership that developed the Dudi Women and Children’s Action Plans 2009-2019 and also the CMCA Women’s Capacity Building Project in 2011. Rebecca expects to see the following development taking place:

- Human resource development. Training, trade traineeship skills, computer literacy, and management capacity by OTML while other stakeholders support.
- Economic development for Dudi communities in terms of agriculture (high breed rubber, eaglewood) and livestock (fish farming, crocodile farming, deer farming, and poultry).
- Improved standard housing, rural water, and electricity supply for Dudi communities.
- Long-term business spinoff. Investment opportunities in housing estates (i.e., office complex and housing units for lease in Daru and Kiunga).
- Establishment of Dudi Association (Dudi Holding Ltd).
- OTRDPMedium-Term Development Plan needs to reflect Dudi region’s priorities.
- Long-term development strategy for the future that reaches beyond MLE.

Looking forward 10 to 20 years’ time, Rebecca says: “My aspiration is to fully implement all that is contained in the Women and Children’s Action Plans 2009-2019. I believe that we are progressing slowly but surely towards realizing our Vision of ‘Harmonious and Prosperous Living in Communities’.”

Rural water supply and housing. Photograph: Courtesy of OTDF, December 2012.
Alice Hmen, representing Tutuwe

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<tr>
<td>Work Experience</td>
<td>Nursing at Catholic Mission Health Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Leadership Role</td>
<td>Women’s Representative on Tutuwe Trust; Vice President Tutuwe Women’s Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Training Received</td>
<td>OTDF leadership training and basic computer skills</td>
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Alice’s role and how she became recognized as a leader. Alice has participated in major Planning Workshops for the development of the CMCA Women and Children’s Action Plans, in addition to attending two major Women in Mining Conferences in PNG. The experiences and exposure gained through these workshops, meetings, and conferences have enriched her role as a women’s leader. Alice lives in her community and is engaged in subsistence farming to sustain her family. For the past eleven years, she has been self-employed in income-generating activities — growing and tapping rubber and sewing clothes to sell — earning between PGK 400–500 on a fortnightly basis. With such income, Alice is able to purchase some brown and white goods to improve her life in the village. She owns her house, which is a combination of traditional and permanent material and is built on her husband’s land. Her major asset is a sewing machine. Alice has been actively involved in serving her people since 2008 and has been part of the team that developed the CMCA Women and Children’s Action Plans 2009-2019.

Alice’s expectations from the Agreement. Alice worked very closely with women leaders from her region to ensure that Tutuwe women received training and awareness programs. Types of training programs, which OTDF facilitated, include skills training in sewing and cooking and basic computer literacy. Like the other women leaders who participated in the negotiations, Alice believes there is a need to increase women’s representation on the OTDF Board. Under the MLE, Alice expects to see women progressing with help from Village Planning Committees and Trusts by approving more tangible and viable projects for her region. She also expects to see change in terms of increase in the number of women representation on the OTDF Board from the current one woman representative on the Advisory Committee. Alice has been a successful women leader because her husband Kerry Krori was very supportive and a community leader. Alice says: “My husband supports me in the work I do for our women and children, because he believes that the outcomes of our initiatives brings change to the lives of our ordinary people. We both support one another in serving our people and community.”
In Kori Maraga’s current positions as woman leader, consultant, and technical officer, she is very knowledgeable on the 2007 CMCA. She considers that the CMCA women have achieved three major milestones since the signing of the Agreement in 2007: (a) participating in discussions and decision-making; (b) participating in planning and implementation of community projects; and (c) exposing women to the corporate world outside of their communities:

I have been fortunate to have worked with men who have accepted me and valued my contributions and respected me for who I am – a woman and a partner in making decisions and implementing those decisions. More importantly, God plays a big part in my life and my biggest challenge has been trying to get people to see that life is not about getting what you want but giving in return for what you expect from others.

In the following interview, she describes her experiences, assesses the outcomes of the two negotiations, and offers her views on the challenges facing women in the communities. In her own words, she shares some of the pertinent issues affecting the CMCA communities and workable strategies.

1. Learning on the job

“When I joined Tanorama for the CMCA Review in 2006, I had no idea what it was all about. The CMCA Review and all that I was involved in became a mission for me. I knew God played a big part in directing me to Tanorama. To hear and see the lives of people being impacted by the OTML and to try to imagine myself in their shoes, to see women and children who had to struggle to live each day in the environment they once enjoyed, changed my whole outlook on life. I thanked God for all that. When I joined the CMCA Review in 2006, I saw it as another opportunity to be involved in another project. I had no idea I was getting into a very unique and heart-changing experience. I had no idea of what I would find or see in the mine-impacted regions. I never thought I would be traveling the length of the Fly River, but the project provided me that opportunity to do that. It’s an experience I will always treasure in my heart. It changed my life, it blessed me, and it enriched me and empowered me as a woman. I was a woman going into a society where I had no knowledge of their culture and customs. I was initially assigned to facilitate the review meetings in the Middle Fly Region, Suki Fly Gogo, and the Six Mine Villages. I saw that at the Regional Meetings, it was an all-male dominated gathering. In respect of male status in the communities, we carefully reminded the male representatives to ensure they represented the views of everyone, including women and children.”

2. What motivates and drives Kori

“God. I see my job as God’s mission for me. My mission is to give, to bless others from how God blesses me. At the end of the day, I feel that in whatever way I have given of myself will one day bring about a positive change in the lives of people for the better. It is not about material wealth but the quality of life.”

3. First impressions

“My first impression, in the very first village meeting I conducted in Pukaduka in the Suki Fly Gogo Region, was that women were almost too frightened to venture close to the meeting area. They sat under the houses and were happy to be observers from a distance. This shocked me and saddened me. Here I was, a woman facilitating a village meeting where
only men were going to discuss very important issues affecting women and children. In that first meeting I asked if the women could come close to me as I felt nervous standing in front of all the men. That for me was a break through. The men (I think out of respect for a woman from another place) started urging the women to come forward and join the meeting. I have never forgotten that moment. In the successive meetings, I would ask women to come sit near me before starting the meetings. Later on we were able to convince the men to allow women to sit in the regional meetings as observers and later asked questions. Midway into negotiations, women’s delegation was established. This was a victory for women.”

4. Impacts of the 10 percent funds are yet to be felt

“My heart ached to see the hardships the women and children faced. The long hours women fished in the rivers, the lengthy paddling to their gardens to find sago in the scorching sun and wind and rain. Everywhere we went I always saw their daily struggles and I could never accept that these people were living in an environment where the giant Ok Tedi mine was. As an Independent Facilitator I had to remain neutral and tough outside; but as a woman, as a mother, and grandmother, I would cry inside. I tried to put myself in their shoes (bare feet). I wrote poems as a way of expressing what I thought the people felt about their environment and their lives. To them their environment is gone and what they will get will never fairly and justly compensate them for the impacts.”

Kori considers that the biggest challenge facing the CMCA communities in the next five to ten years, assuming that Ok Tedi is granted Mine Life Extension, would be that the CMCA communities are able to live independently of OTML:

“During the 2006/2007 CMCA Review, the women were excited when the 10 percent Women and Children’s Fund was secured; but even to this day, as I have gone onto facilitating the Mine Life Extension consultation, women are still confused how they would access their 10 percent or what it all means. Life goes on the same as seven years ago since the securing of the 10 percent Fund. Impacts of the 10 percent funding is yet to be felt by women in general in the mine-impacted communities. I would be happy for women in the villages to be organized and empowered through information dissemination and increased decision-making powers. As one woman delegate in the very recent negotiations for MLE expressed: ‘What is there for me (women and children) if the mine should close? I did not come to this meeting to be a loser. Ok Tedi is a winner and I too must be a winner’.”

5. It is not how much is set aside for women, it is how effectively it is managed

“Women in CMCA communities and the mine villages in general, are confused about what and how their funds are being used. Women leaders and representatives would need to communicate more...”

Kori Maraga facilitating a male leader responding to issues raised. Photograph: Courtesy of OTML, December 2012.
about how the funds are being used and how it is benefitting them. At the moment, an information gap exists. Women can still negotiate a better package because it is needed as per their Action Plans; hopefully they would have learnt a lot of lessons from what has been. Communities have appreciated and acknowledged CMCA women’s achievement in securing the 10 percent Women and Children’s Fund in 2007. However, the biggest challenge for the women is how changes in the family life can be made from the programs that the Women and Children’s Fund brings about. If the changes in basic life skills become evident in the lives of families in the communities – that would be seen by men as a change coming from the Women and Children’s Fund.”

7. Expectations as Lead Facilitator during the 2012 Review

“It has been 5 to 6 years since the 2006/07 CMCA Review and my expectation is that people from the CMCA communities will have the wisdom now from the experiences and the challenges to assess whether they have benefited through sustainable, tangible projects or not and go into negotiations wiser and being more assertive and be more positive.”

8. Need to engage women and youth

“While the CMCA women leadership is continuously involved in the development process within the CMCA region, youth are left out. Section 5.8, Sub-section 5.8.8 of the 2007 CMCA MoA states: ‘The consultation arrangements for the Ok Tedi Fly River Foundation will specifically recognize the need to engage women and youth in planning, decision-making, and implementation of projects.’ Youth in some communities have expressed their need to be represented at the Regional and Delegates meetings. Youth need to be engaged at these meetings just like the women, so that their needs are addressed specifically. Youth can be involved in integral community development, food security, and spiritual development inside their individual communities.”

9. What is needed to make the Women and Children’s Funds work for women and children in the communities?

“Two things must happen: (a) fresh election of women leaders for each Regional Women’s Association; and (b) community relations positions with OTDF need to be filled. While the CMCA Women and Children’s Action Plans display many major impact projects, what would benefit the woman with simple needs in the community are basic life skills programs, such as health and hygiene, cooking and sewing, food security and food preservation, and animal husbandry. To the best of my knowledge, there are commitments in the current 2007 MoA which have not been implemented, such as food security projects and housing, which are components of the compensation package. The most ideal strategy, that could be applied to ensure these unmet needs commitments are factored into the new 2012/13 MoA, would be to implement these projects since funds have already been committed for these projects under the Village Development Funds.”

10. Decision-making roles that CMCA women play, especially on Trust Boards

“These vary from region to region. Some regions are ahead of others as far as project implementation is concerned. Secondly, the support women receive from their male counterparts also varies. For example, the northern regions accept women’s roles and see them as equal partners with men in making decisions. This is not the same in the southern region and is a major challenge for women leadership.”

11. Unrecognized vision of the CMCA women and children for a Harmonious and Prosperous Living in the Communities

“Unfortunately there is not yet any. It is still a long way to go. Maybe in another decade I would answer ‘Yes’. People at the project management level must see the important and crucial role women can play in community development as a powerful decision-making force. Women must be involved from the planning to the implementation of their projects. Though they may be illiterate, not highly educated, or may not have had the outside exposure, women have through the ages made decisions; they are a powerful force in community development.”

12. Looking Ahead

Kori elaborated on the opportunities for the future:

• CMCA women still have a significant role in making household decisions. CMCA women make many of the decisions that determine a
household’s participation in the community, including healthcare, educational, and cultural decisions.

- As a powerful decision-making force, CMCA women are often well acquainted with the pros and cons of their community, and may be in a good position to analyze how best to improve society.

- As members of community development organizations, such as outreach programs, church ministries, or cultural societies, CMCA women can use the knowledge they acquire from household decisions to make a contribution to the future of their regions.

- The way CMCA women process information, prioritize, and plan may be highly beneficial to community development. CMCA women work better as collaborators and teammates, making them ideal candidates for community organizations in which decisions must be made together. CMCA women have a holistic view of community development and can be the key to reducing gender inequality, providing for the needs of women and families. Their CMCA Women and Children’s Action Plans affirm this view.

“OTDF in partnership with PNGSDP and the FRPG [Fly River Provincial Government] talk about innovative and inspiring plans for development for the impacted communities. I am excited and expectant. I hope that if I should have the opportunity to visit the CMCA communities in 10 years’ time I will see the fruits of all these plans. Only time will tell and only God knows. I feel so blessed that God gave me the opportunity to have been a part of a very unique and life-changing mission.”