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LAAR IMPACT EVALUATION REPORT

IMPLICATIONS OF THE SECOND CITIZEN SATISFACTION SURVEY FOR THE LAAR PROGRAM



PACT CAMBODIA - JUNE 2010

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Front Cover: Ms. Phat Lvor, Commune Councilor, Takream Commune:

“Before, I had a difficult time speaking up...Now, when I speak, people listen. I have a face. I have a voice. I have respect from the people.”

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CAEP	Commune Action and Effectiveness Process
CAS	Centre for Advanced Study
CBO	Community Based Organization
CC	Commune Council
CIP	Commune Investment Plan
CMC	Commune Mobilizing Committee
CSO	Civil Society Organization
D&D	Decentralization & De-concentration
DAT	Decentralization Advisory Team
DOLA	Directorate of Local Administration
EIC	Economic Institute of Cambodia
ExCom	Executive Committee
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
LAAR	Local Administration and Reform Program
MAE	Mainstreaming Anti-Corruption for Equity Program
MOEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance
MOI	Ministry of the Interior
NCDD	National Committee for the Management of Decentralization and De-concentration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NLCS	National League of Communes and Sangkats
NLO	NGO Liaison Office
PNGO	Partner Non-Government Organization
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
SDP	Social Development Project
SGA	Strengthening Governance and Accountability Program
TOR	Terms of Reference
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WEG	Women Empowerment Group
WGPD	Working Group for Partnership in Decentralization

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Local Administration and Reform (LAAR) program is a five year program working across 356 communes, supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by Pact Cambodia with 13 local partner NGOs. The LAAR program aims to enhance engagement between citizens and their local representatives, thus enhancing democracy at the local level and furthering social development.

The second Citizen Satisfaction Survey was undertaken primarily to measure changes in perceptions of local government by citizens and commune councilors and to measure the impact of LAAR activities.

The general trends of the survey bode well for local government and democracy in Cambodia and clearly demonstrate that some LAAR activities are having impact. The survey reveals that LAAR has made small but important gains in achieving its goal of *effective, robust and sustainable engagement between citizens and their elected commune representatives*.

Key findings include:

- The Community Mobilizing Committee (CMC) model (that being concentrated educational training and technical support) is an effective way of promoting greater citizen involvement in commune activities and, thus promoting participation, accountability and transparency at a local level;
- There is still a need to engage under-represented groups more effectively, especially youth, women and the disabled;
- There is room for improvements in the delivery of technical sector-specific services to commune councils;
- Commune councilors could build stronger partnerships with the private sector and other commune councils in addition to line departments and civil society groups to tackle community issues more effectively, especially issues that cross commune borders (such as environmental issues) or are common to many communes (such as land disputes);
- While infrastructure remains important, there is room for councilors to undertake socially focused projects especially where there are gaps in service delivery, such in the areas of domestic violence and land conflict;
- Notice boards have limited success in improving transparency but are more effective at the village level;
- Commune councils can be more effective if they engage in community outreach and/or through public forums, but they need to make greater efforts to involve citizens at the village level and ensure meetings are held at times convenient for citizens. For example, they need to have clear schedules that are publicly advertized, host meetings at the village level and set aside time for citizens to speak; and,
- It is important to invest in both the supply-side (CCs) and demand-side (citizens) of local democracies to improve good governance at the local level.

BACKGROUND

In December 2009, the Local Administration and Reform program (LAAR) commissioned the second Citizen Satisfaction Survey to the Economic Institute of Cambodia (EIC). The Second Citizen Satisfaction Survey follows a baseline survey commissioned by Pact Inc. and carried out in 2008 by the Centre for Advanced Studies (CAS).

The objectives of the second survey were (1) to measure changes since the baseline in citizen perceptions of commune councils; (2) to measure changes since the baseline in commune councilor perceptions of their roles and function; (3) to measure how citizen and councilor perceptions of good governance and the role and function of commune councils differs between LAAR target and non-target communes and (4) to measure differences in these perceptions between social groups.

As part of their scope of work, EIC were required to produce a report detailing their interpretation of the data and the broad implications of the survey findings for local government in Cambodia and the LAAR program. In order to triangulate this analysis and to draw stronger conclusions about specific LAAR activities and the impact that they have had since the baseline survey, Pact staff (Mr. Erin Blake and Ms. Clare Howell) conducted an independent analysis of the survey data. The findings of this analysis are presented in this report.

Due to the large amounts of data involved, this report will primarily highlight where significant differences were found. It should also be noted that the term 'impact' is taken to mean that there is counter-factual evidence for what has been found, as per USAID definition for impact evaluations.

This report is designed to be read in conjunction with the EIC report produced by Mr. Julian Abrams.

SECTION 1: THE LAAR PROGRAM

The Local Administration and Reform (LAAR) program forms the first component of the “Strengthening Governance and Accountability” (SGA) program implemented by Pact Cambodia from October 2005 until September 2010.

On September 27, 2005, USAID awarded \$14,379,199 to Pact Inc., under Cooperative Agreement no. 442-A-00-05-00007-00, for the implementation of the LAAR Program in Cambodia. The LAAR program primarily focuses on commune councils (CCs) and commune-level civil society groups to enhance local democracies (and by implication local development). The LAAR program achieves this by building linkages between citizens, local governments and other levels of government; increasing public participation in commune planning and the ‘decentralization and de-concentration’ process; and institutionalizing democratic and good governance principles and practices in local administrations.

LAAR works (through sub-contracted provincially based partner NGOs) with commune councils, local civil society groups, district authorities and provincial authorities in target areas to achieve program outcomes. At a national level, LAAR is actively involved in stimulating national reform and partners with the Ministry of the Interior (MOI), the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MOEF), the National Committee for sub-national Democratic Development (NCDD), the Working Group for Partnership in Decentralization (WGPD), the Commune Council Support Program (CCSP) and the National League of Communes and Sangkats (NLCS).

Since 2005 LAAR has implemented activities:

- Assisting citizens to engage in effecting change;
- Assisting commune councils to broker services from sub-national government agencies;
- Working with the Royal Government of Cambodia to adopt relevant reforms to facilitate the decentralization and de-concentration process;
- Working with national civil society groups to better coordinate decentralization and de-concentration reform activities;
- Assisting commune councils to embed democratic process in commune council activities; and
- Promoting good governance values of participation, accountability, transparency, partnership and equity, and the responsible stewardship of natural resources.

Underpinning these activities is a basic model for change and a specific understanding of ‘good governance’ which can be found in the annex along with a map detailing the coverage of LAAR and a summary of the programs details.

SECTION 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1 Survey Design, Sampling and Field Work

Background to the design of the survey instruments, sampling strategy, the field work and the EIC analysis of the data are explored in detail in the EIC report and will not be explored here.

2.2 Analysis

The analysis used to produce this report began by drawing out questions from the survey and attributes in the data that aligned either directly or indirectly with LAAR activities, objectives and goal. For example, people who reported being a CMC member were drawn out of the data and compared to people who reported not to be CMC members on questions related to respondents understanding and knowledge of commune councils.

An analysis of the data was conducted using SPSS. A chi-squared test was applied to all relevant questions to see if there were any measurable differences at significance level of 95%. Where differences were found, frequency charts and tables were used to better understand those differences.

It should be noted that the methods used in this analysis is different to methods used by EIC and lead to some small inconsistencies in the findings¹. This is to be expected. Comparing two analyses of the same dataset allows for the triangulation of findings. Where results are consistent stronger conclusions can be drawn about the findings.

2.3 Reporting

This report is structured to reflect the LAAR programs objectives and activities, to allow for easier assessment of whether LAAR has made progress in achieving these objectives. As with the EIC study it should be noted that:

“In interpreting the responses received from citizens it should be taken into account that respondents might feel wary of expressing controversial or critical opinions despite the assurance of confidentiality offered by the enumerator. Rural Cambodians would very probably perceive a survey of this type as an “official” process and would not necessarily have a clear understanding of the relationship between the survey team and the local authorities. Cambodian rural people tend to avoid confrontation in general and with authority in particular and for these reasons might moderate some responses or express opinions more favorable to the local authorities than those they actually hold.”

Additionally it should be noted that all differences highlighted in this report are statistically significant, unless stated otherwise.

¹ EIC looked at each individual question in the survey looking for differences between the disaggregated groups (women/men, poor/non poor, treatment/control) where as we applied a statistical test only to the specific questions that were relevant for our analysis and then more deeply explored where differences were identified.

SECTION 3: INCREASING DEMAND FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE

3.1 Community Mobilizing Committees

LAAR has tried to increase the capacity of civil society at the commune level through community mobilizing committees (CMCs) comprised of groups of local citizens, who volunteer their time to be involved in commune affairs. CMCs are often described as ‘bridge builders’. Their role is to create a bridge between the villagers and the commune council by taking issues from the community to the commune council for action, and by disseminating information back to the community on commune council activities and decisions. Additionally CMCs are encouraged to monitor commune council and sub-contractor activities and report any issues to the appropriate authority.

Without a financial incentive, such volunteerism in Cambodia is rare, but many CMC members are active in their commune’s affairs and regularly attend commune council meetings. An active and aware citizenry is an essential component of a healthy and robust local democracy, but is challenging in the Cambodian context as a consequence of strong cultural factors, including fear of change and a long legacy of top-down power relationships. To overcome this, LAAR focuses on educating CMC members in relevant laws, policies and procedures, and developing basic communication, facilitation and advocacy skills. By doing this LAAR aims to empower citizens with the knowledge, skills and confidence to engage commune councilors, other officials and citizens.

To understand the impact that LAAR is having on CMC members, the citizen dataset was disaggregated into people reporting to be CMC members and those not reporting to be CMC members. Of the citizens surveyed, 137 of the reported being a CMC member.

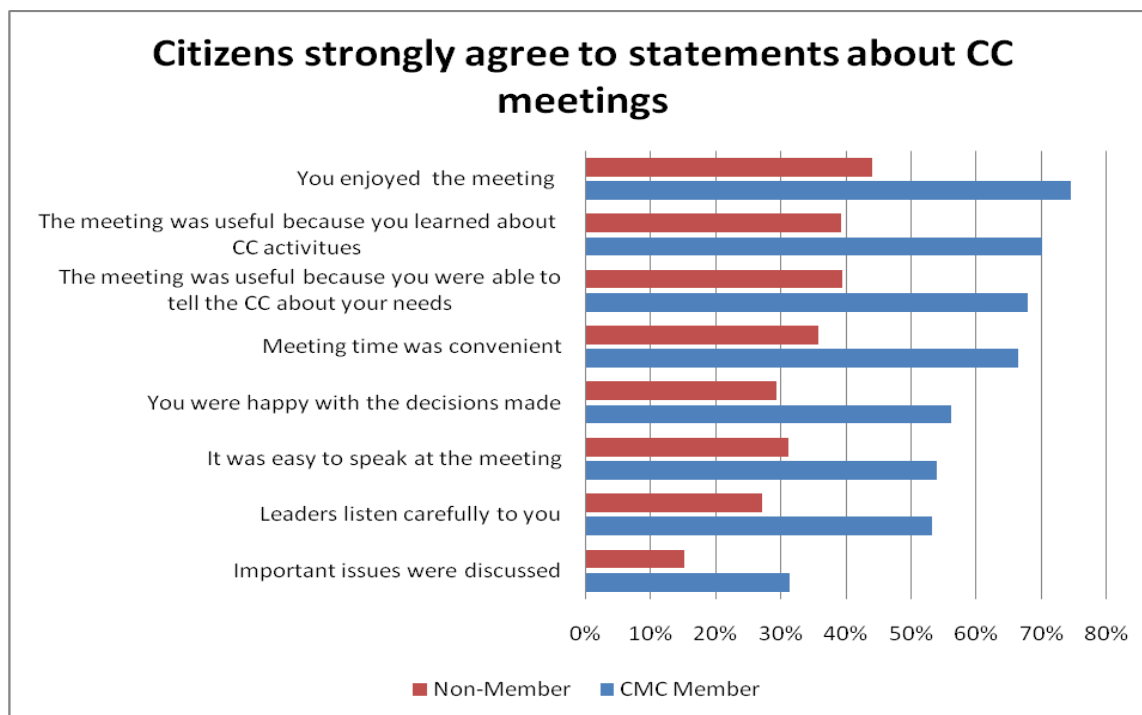
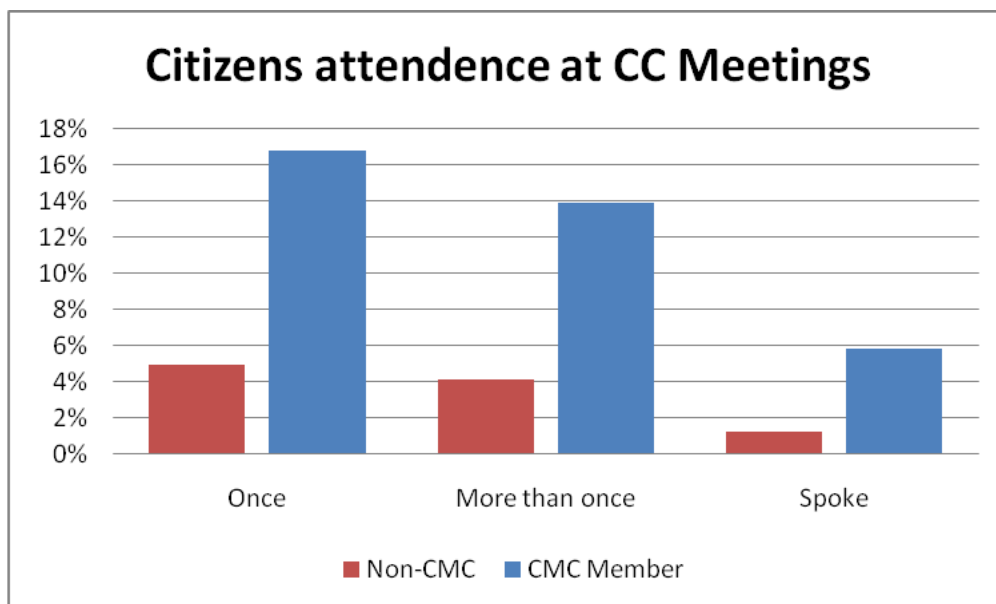
Compared to other citizens, CMC members are almost twice as likely as average citizens to be satisfied with the commune council performance and know clearly about CC activities. More specifically, CMC members report:

- More frequently attending and speaking at commune council meetings;
- Higher levels of satisfaction with council meetings;
- More frequently contacting local officials with issues;
- Better knowledge of the commune council and council activities;
- Greater ability to access information;
- Better knowledge of citizen rights and the prices of council services;
- That women and the disabled have special needs; and,
- More productive relationships between the council and community organizations.

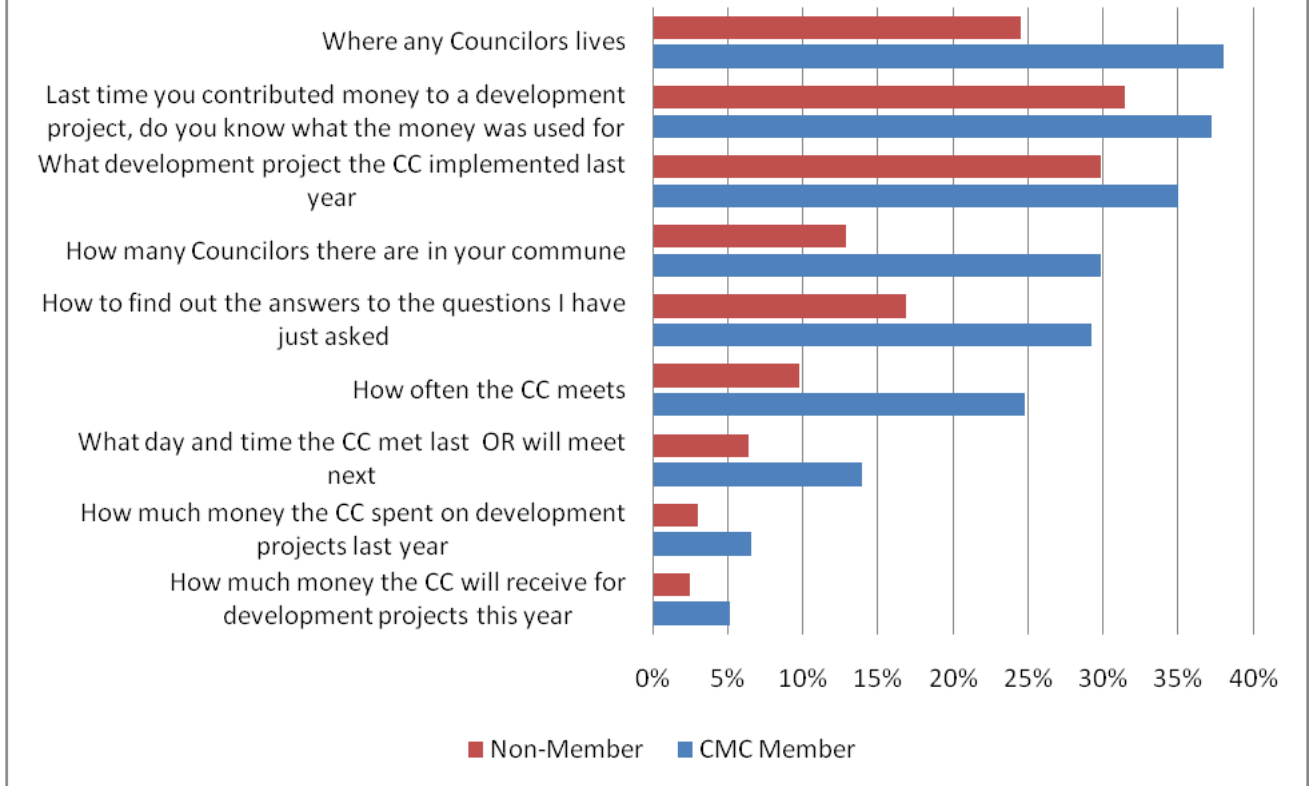
Taken together, these findings seem to imply greater trust by CMCs of the commune council, indicating stronger level of social capital in the communes where they are established.

Although it was not statistically significant, CMC members were also better able to identify the most important feature of democracy, with more CMCs than average citizens identifying it as *the opportunity to change government officials via elections*. Other citizens more frequently associated democracy with access to human rights.

The differences between CMC members and average citizens are most likely a result of the training programs delivered by LAAR and the ongoing technical support that CMC groups received to ensure that they were able and confident to participate more frequently in commune council activities.



Citizens perception that the 'know for sure' about CC activities



It can be concluded from the above listed findings that the CMC model is effective in increasing participation in commune council meetings and in ensuring an aware and engaged citizenry, or to put it more concisely; the CMC model is having impact.

Additionally, when commune councilors were asked if the council *always invite community organizations to council meetings*, 91% of LAAR commune councilors *strongly agreed* compared to 74.1% of non-LAAR commune councilors. Interestingly, 52% of LAAR councilors state they were members of a CMC. This finding is of particular interest to the LAAR program as CMCs were intended to be civil society groups that worked with and monitored the commune council. However such a finding, coupled with the generally positive view of civil society groups expressed by commune councils, seems to indicate a close relationship between CMCs and commune councilors. This is a positive finding for CMCs as many commune councilors expressed distrust of the CMCs when they were initially established, likening them to an ‘opposition’ group. No doubt, this change in attitude is related to the renaming of the groups from ‘Community Monitoring Committees’ to the less confrontational ‘Community Mobilizing Committees’ part way through the project.²

² It should be noted that the Khmer word for ‘monitor’ has strong negative connotations and is often associated with the term used during the Khmer Rouge regime, thus the decision to change the wording.

3.2 Women Empowerment Groups

Since the start of 2009 LAAR has supported 32 Women's Empowerment Groups (WEG) comprised of 630 members in three communes in Takeo. This activity came about in response to evaluation findings that suggested LAAR could do more to specifically encourage women, especially poorer women, to engage in commune affairs. Given the vast experience that Pact has with women's empowerment groups worldwide and in Cambodia with the WORTH program, connecting women empowerment groups to local government was a natural progression for Pact Cambodia.

During regular WEG meetings, CMC and WEG members reviewed savings, developed literacy skills, organized loans for members and discussed community issues. The meetings also served to promote networking among women's groups and CMCs so that CMCs could better articulate the needs of poorer women at commune council meetings. The savings groups give an economic incentive for poorer women to become more active in their communities and develop the skills and confidence to become more engaged in civic affairs. As the groups are motivated by savings and the development of business skills, LAAR believes that this activity has a strong chance of sustainability and will ensure the mainstreaming of poorer women's issues into civic affairs.

In addition to supporting regular WEG meetings, LAAR also supported 'mobile workshops' between WEG members, CMC representatives and local officials (including commune councilors). At these meetings the WEG members and CMC representatives are afforded the opportunity to discuss community issues with women from different villages and local authorities. These mobile workshops ensure that poorer women's issues are put on the agenda at commune council meetings. As these meetings occur on a monthly basis and the location is rotated to different villages, they also assist in the development of networks of poorer women within a commune.

Given the small scale of activity and the design of the survey, it was not possible to draw any conclusions from the data to indicate whether this pilot project was having any impact. However, the data showed that there are large numbers of both councilors and citizens who believe that women do not have special needs or that the council could do more to address the special needs of women. Given that women do have special needs, this indicates that ideas such as WEGs could be further explored and tested.

Over the last six months the WEGs members have saved over US\$4,000 and feedback suggests that the WEGs are helping poorer women to engage in civic affairs. This will be further explored by focus group studies in the piloted communes.

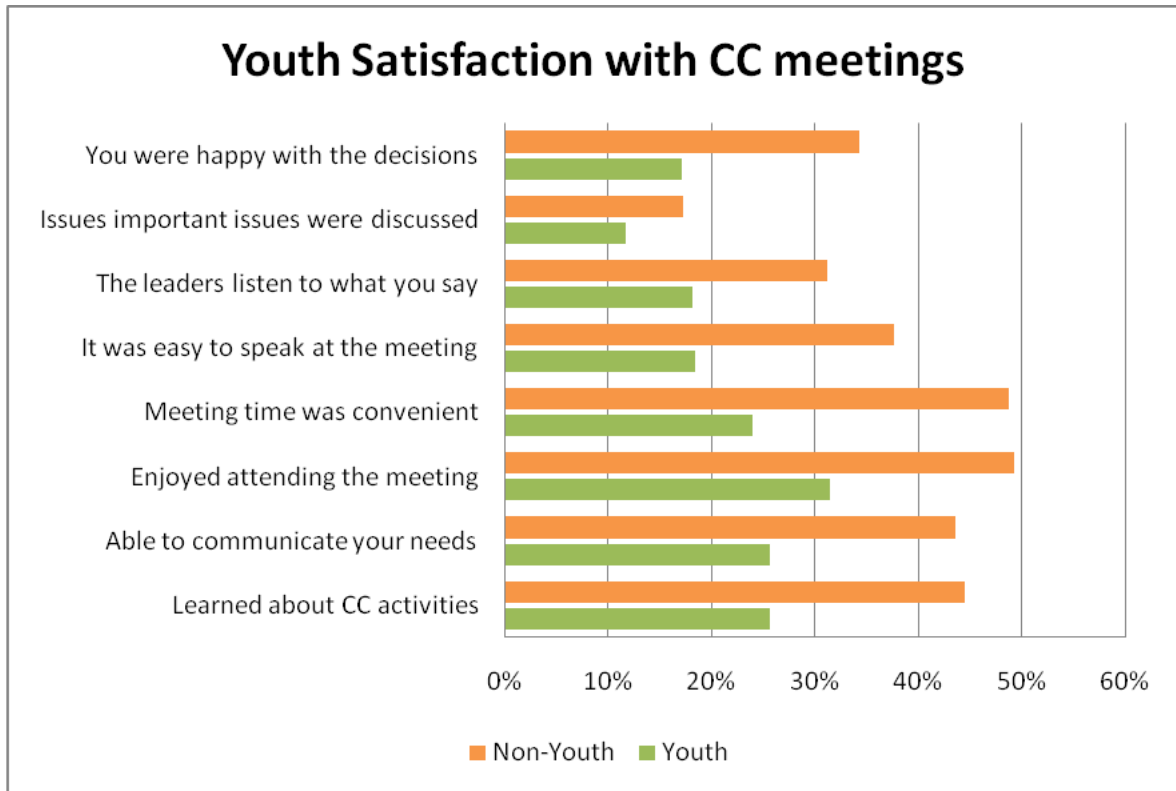
3.3 Youth

In response to the midterm evaluation of LAAR, the program sought to experiment with some ideas for engaging youth more effectively, such as mock commune council meetings and youth forums. However, due to the small size of these activities it was not expected that there would be any measurable impact. Regardless, the citizen dataset was divided up into youth (defined as 18 to 25 year olds) and non-youth, and then compared for differences. In total 445 of the respondents were defined as youth and the results revealed some note-worthy trends:

- Youth are less likely to participate in commune council meetings and activities;
- Youth are less satisfied with commune councils decisions and processes;

- Youth are less likely to contact commune officials;
- Youth believe less in the value of community organizations and;
- Youth demonstrated less knowledge of the council’s role and activities.

This indicates that more work should be done to engage youth in civic affairs.



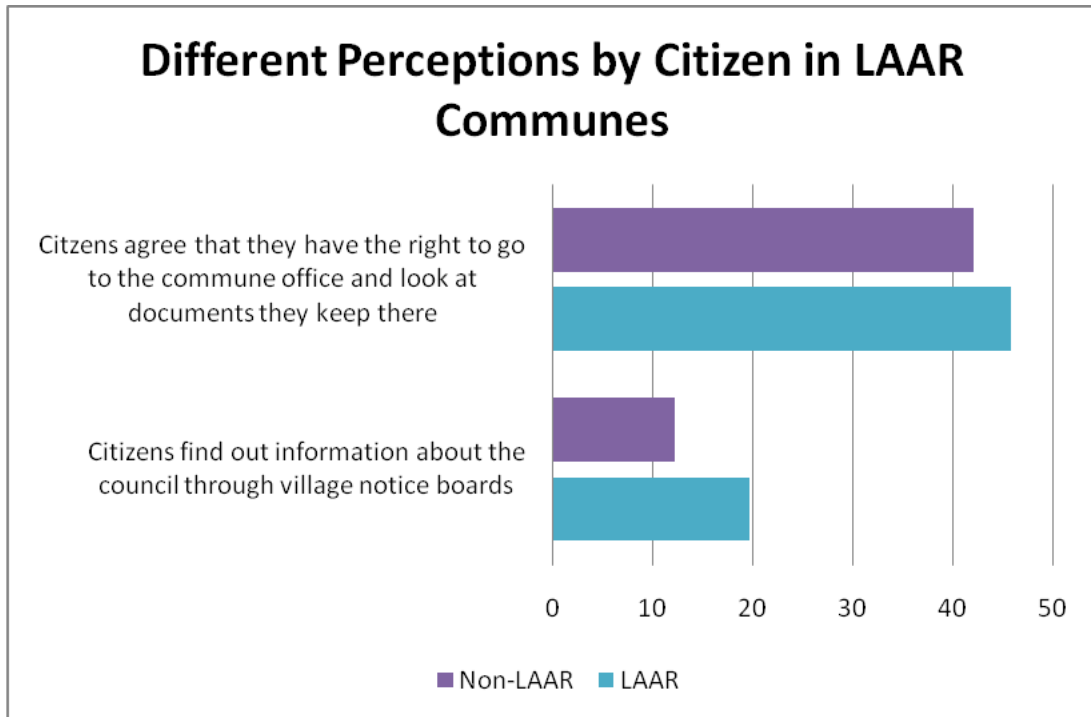
3.4 Social Development Project Procurement and Transparency

A signature feature of the LAAR program is the implementation of social development projects (SDPs) by commune councils. Through SDPs, commune councilors are able to put their training and learning into practice. Given that transparency and accountability are key elements of good governance, LAAR has encouraged commune councils to procure services through a fair and transparent process. Another important aspect of the SDP model is that it offers commune councils the opportunity to build partnerships with local technical experts and/or government line departments who can assist commune councils to better tackle pressing social issues in their communes, as well as to deliver quality and responsive services. To ensure local ownership of the SDP, target councils were required to contribute 40% of the funds for SDP, with the corresponding 60% being supplied by LAAR after the submission and approval of a detailed work plan and budget.

When the data was reviewed relating to the effectiveness of these processes, it was found:

- Citizens in LAAR communes are significantly more likely to know what development projects their contributions were used for, to use village notice boards and know they have the right to personally inspect documents kept at the commune office;

- Although not significant, 4.1% of citizens in LAAR communes (compare to 1.5% for non-LAAR communes) know for sure *how much money the commune council spent on development projects last year*; and,
- LAAR councilors do not show significant difference on questions of partnership; however show an improved perception of partnership with civil society since the baseline.

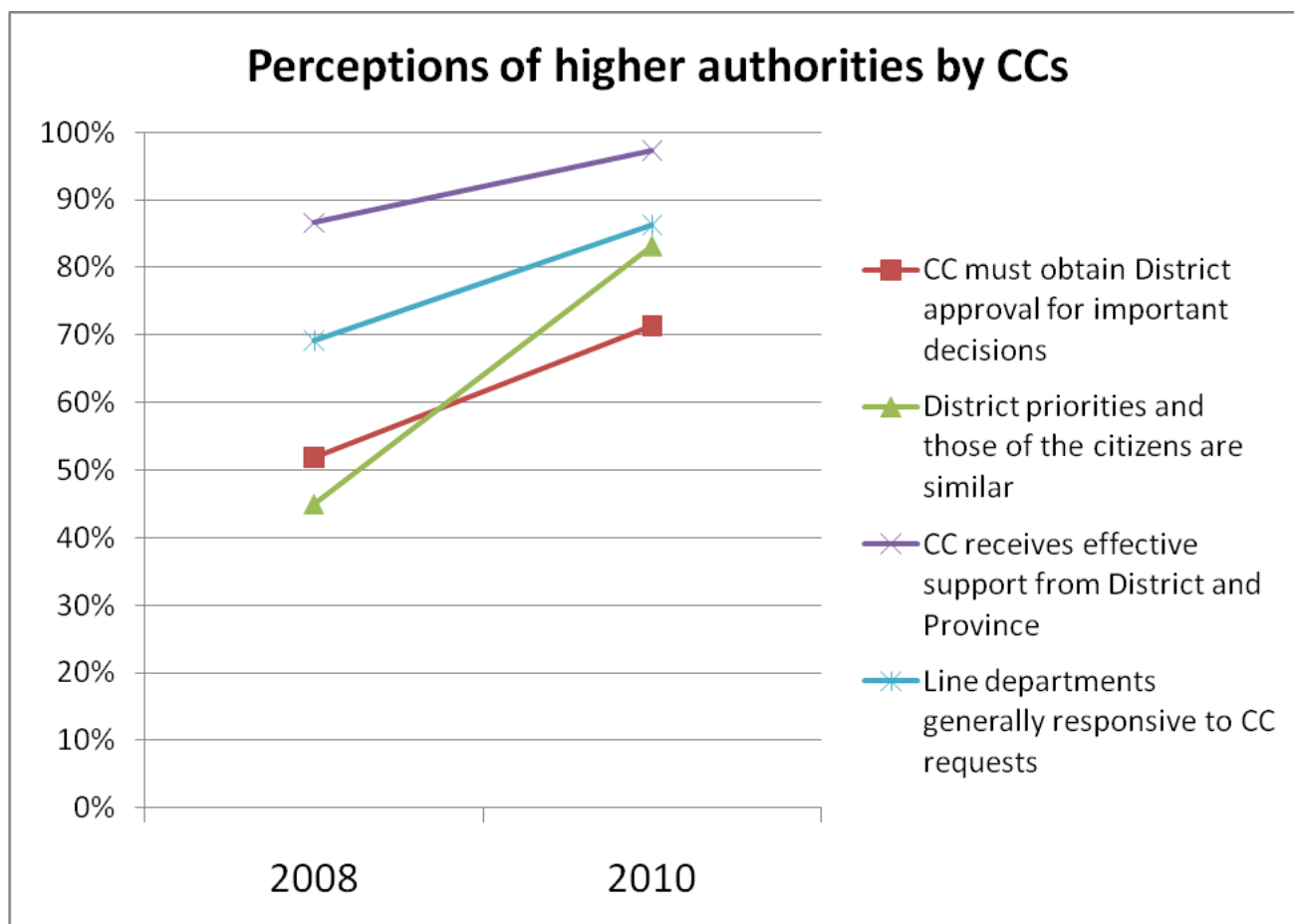


SECTION 4: ENHANCING THE ENABLING ENVIRONMENT AND POLICY

4.1 Creating an enabling environment

Throughout the program LAAR has worked with the Ministry of Interior (MOI) under a memorandum of understanding to ensure ongoing support and cooperation from the Ministry and NCDD Secretariat to achieve programmatic goals and to assist MOI and NCDD Secretariat to learn from LAAR's practical experiences in the field. Additionally, LAAR has worked with the Ministry of Economy and Finance (National Treasury), Provincial Authorities and District Authorities to assist in the reform of policies, practices and guidelines that create a more enabling environment for commune councilors to effectively manage their own funds for non-infrastructure and service projects.

Although these relationships have been important in facilitating changes, these changes are generally applied across the country and are not specific to LAAR provinces. Additionally, there are other organizations working on issues of good governance at the national and provincial levels which make it difficult to gauge the specific effects of LAAR activities from the survey. The survey does however indicate improved relationships between councilors and higher level authorities which can be interpreted as a positive finding for the relationship between commune councilors and higher authorities which, in part, can be attributed to LAARs assistance.



SECTION 5: IMPROVING THE SUPPLY OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

5.1 Community Outreach and Community Forums

LAAR has worked with commune councils to conduct community forums and outreach activities to more effectively engage with the community. LAAR provided outreach grants to all 356 commune councils and made community outreach a pre-requirement for SDP co-funding. From the survey data we can conclude:

- Councilors in LAAR communes were significantly more likely to value speaking one-on-one with citizens as a means of obtaining information about the situation in their communes (33% compared to 18% in non-LAAR communes); and,
- All commune councilors (LAAR and non-LAAR) had a generally favorable view of community level meetings.

Within LAAR communes, although CMC members demonstrate greater participation in commune council meetings and satisfaction with decision making processes, citizens were no more likely to attend a meeting organized by the commune council than citizens in non-LAAR communes. However, it should be noted that there is a high rate of participation in local government related meetings across the board and this may limit the impact of LAAR activities.

5.2 Social Development Projects and Capacity Building of Commune Councils

As mentioned above social development projects (SDPs) are a signature feature of the LAAR program, offering commune councils an opportunity to 'learn by doing'. Along with co-funding SDPs, LAAR also worked to develop the capacity of commune councilors to implement SDPs through the provision of training in financial management, use of the commercial bank system, transparent bidding and contracting process with local service providers, and project monitoring. LAAR also provided training to commune councils in areas that complement SDP processes and assist in the development of democratic practices. This training focused on developing leadership skills, conducting effective meetings, good governance practices, civic engagement, document management, self development and empowerment.

The survey sought to explore councilors' perceptions of their performance on a range of social issues through a four point scale (very good, good, OK, not good). However, due to the large number of positive responses to commune council performance across both LAAR and non-LAAR communes, it is difficult to assess the impact of SDPs and capacity building efforts in promoting the delivery of more effective services.

Interestingly, however, LAAR commune councilors rated themselves significantly worse on their performance on women's issues. Rather than being a direct reflection of their perceived performance on women's issues, this could possibly demonstrate a greater awareness of women's issues and that they are not receiving enough attention, this may be as a result of the training that they have received from LAAR on such issues.

The survey also shows that commune councils are regularly being called on to mediate domestic and land-related conflicts in their communes. This could be taken to mean that there is a need for commune councils to be more responsive to pressing social issues through mechanisms such as SDPs.

5.3 Commune Council Networks

Over the last year LAAR has increased efforts for commune councilors to learn from peers and develop stronger networks. Through such activities participants not only learn from their peers, but also establish working relationships that can benefit them in the future. From the survey, it can be said that there is clearly room for more work in this area as only 31% of councilors see partnerships with other commune councils as important (additionally only 19% see partnerships with the private sector as important). That said, from LAAR experiences, this is an improvement as many commune councils had not even thought to network with their peers previously.

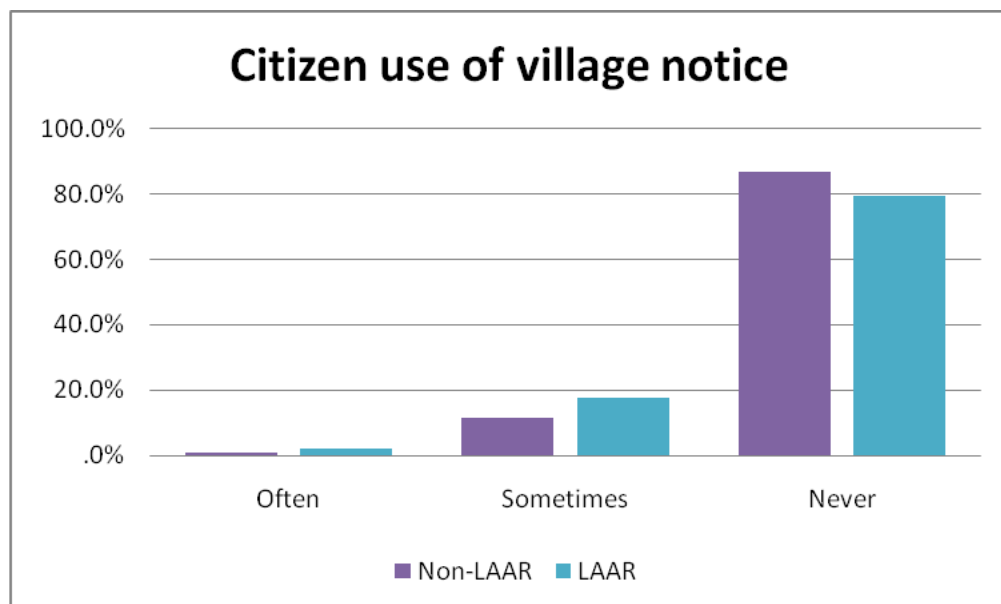
5.4 Notice Boards

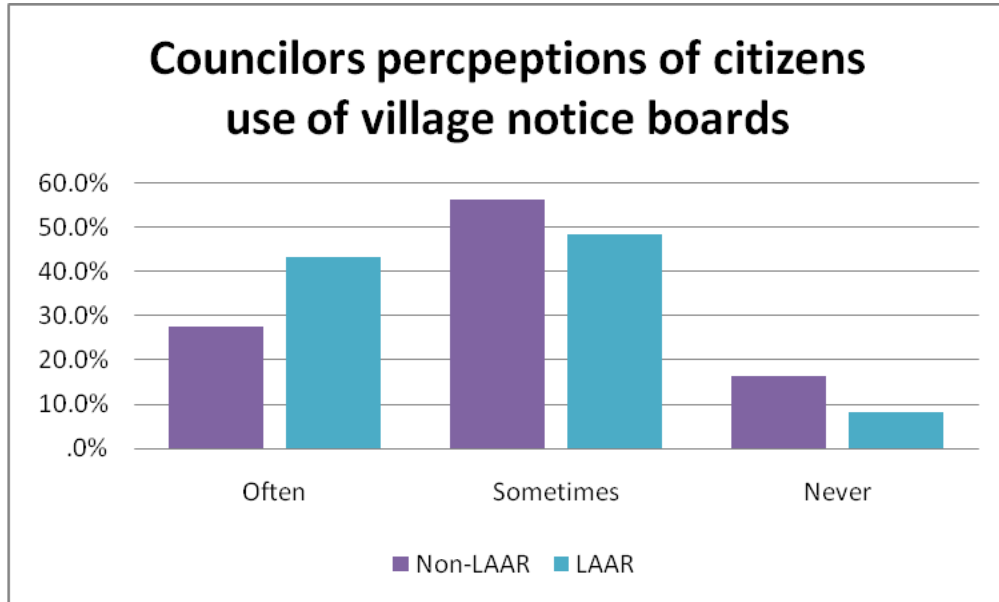
LAAR implemented 2,260 village notice boards at the start of the program and encouraged their upkeep as a means of disseminating information and improving commune council transparency.

From the survey it was found that:

- Citizens in LAAR communes were significantly more likely to use village-level notice boards;
- Councilors in LAAR communes were also more likely to perceive village-level notice boards as an effective means of disseminating information;
- Citizens in LAAR communes were not more likely to use commune-level notice boards (notice boards erected in front of the commune office) than non-LAAR communes; and,
- Councilors in LAAR communes were not more likely than non-LAAR commune councilors to believe that commune-level notice boards were effective to disseminate information.

However, these figures should be taken cautiously, as large numbers of citizens do not use notice boards and the number of notice boards at the village-level in non-LAAR communes is likely to be very low. That said, it is clear that and commune councilors greatly over-estimate the effectiveness of notice boards.





5.5 Other Activities

LAAR also conducted several activities that were important to the program, but could not be measured through the survey including:

- Working with national level civil society groups (especially the WGPD) to facilitate richer debate on D&D at the national level.
- Piloting a Commune Action and Effectiveness Process (CAEP) – a commune self evaluation process on good governance that can be administered by commune councils and citizens and then coupled with an action planning process.
- Conducting monitoring and evaluation activities with commune councils.
- Developing the capacity local staff and partner NGOs to implement the project.

Each of these activities will be assessed separately to this survey using different methodologies.

SECTION 6: CONCLUSIONS

The general trends of the survey bode well for local government and democracy in Cambodia and clearly demonstrate that the LAAR model works and is having impact in a number of key areas. The survey reveals that LAAR has made small but important gains in achieving its goal of *effective, robust and sustainable engagement between citizens and their elected commune representatives*. However, good governance is an ongoing process, it is not static, and continued attention and support are required to maintain good practices and build upon them. Continued assistance for local civil society groups and commune councils is necessary.

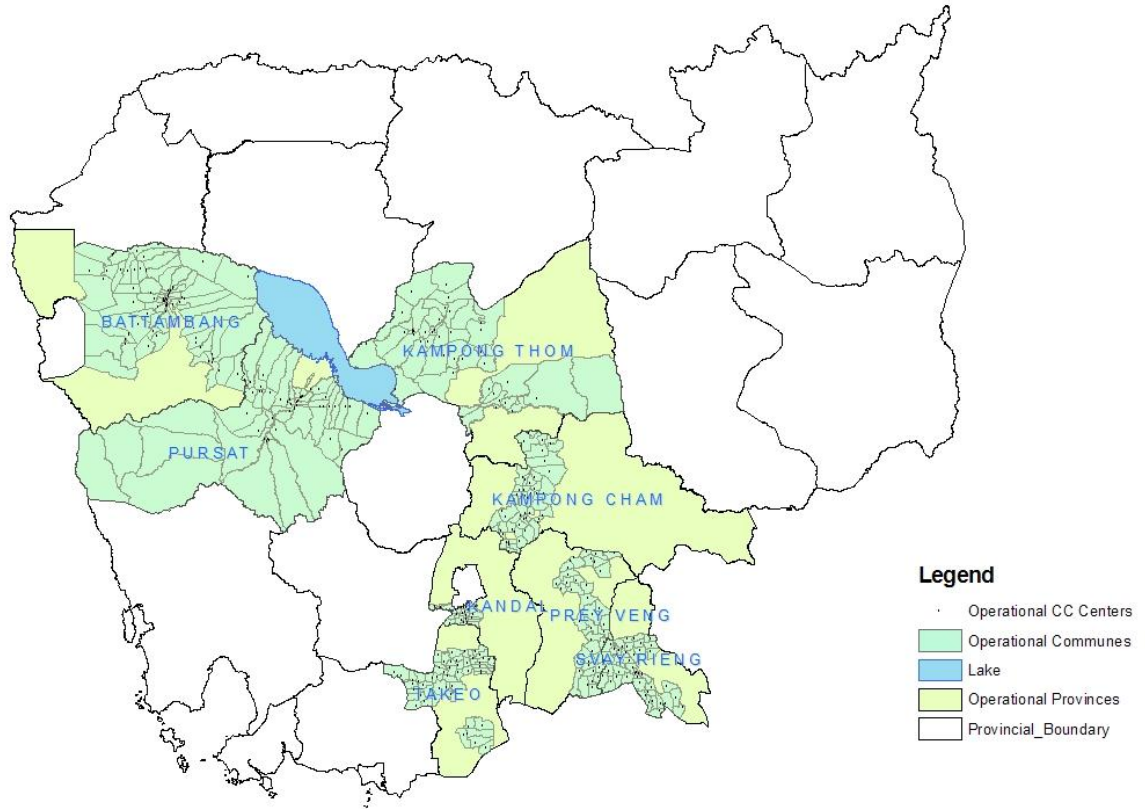
It is important for others to learn from LAARs experiences and the findings of the survey:

- The CMC model (that being concentrated educational training and technical support) is an effective way of promoting greater citizen involvement in commune activities and, thus promoting participation, accountability and transparency at a local level;
- There is still a need to engage under-represented groups more effectively, especially youth, women and the disabled;
- There is room for improvements in the delivery of technical sector-specific services to commune councils;
- Commune councilors could build stronger partnerships with the private sector and other commune councils in addition to line departments and civil society groups to tackle community issues more effectively, especially issues that cross commune borders (such as environmental issues) or are common to many communes (such as land disputes);
- While infrastructure remains important, there is room for councilors to undertake socially focused projects especially where there are gaps in service delivery, such in the areas of domestic violence, youth issues, and land conflict;
- There is a need to strengthen the capacity of local service providers (local businesses and NGOs) to partner with commune councils to deliver more effective services;
- Notice boards have limited success in improving transparency but are more effective at the village level;
- Commune councils can be more effective if they engage in community outreach and/or through public forums, but they need to make greater efforts to involve citizens at the village level and ensure meetings are held at times convenient for citizens. For example, they need to have clear schedules that are publicly advertized, host meetings at the village level and set aside time for citizens to speak; and,
- It is important to invest in both the supply-side (CCs) and demand-side (citizens) of local democracies to improve good governance at the local level.

Annex 1: Summary Information on the LAAR Program

Agreement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooperative Agreement no.: 442-A-00-05-00007-00 • Period: 2005-2010 (5 years) • Start Date: 1st October 2005 • Amount: \$14.4 Million
Reach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13 Provincial NGOs • 8 provinces, 356 communes with a population of 3,167,357 people (1,544,279 male & 1, 623,253 female) across 3,389 villagers (643,626 families) • 3,164 commune council (CC) members (2,742 male & 422 female) from 356 commune councils • 3,955 community monitoring committee (CMC) members (2,207 male & 1,752 female) from 356 communes
Goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effective, robust, and sustainable engagement between citizens and their elected commune representatives
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase democracy and participation at the sub-national level • Build horizontal and vertical links between citizens, local government and national government • Increase public participation in the Commune Investment Planning and Decentralization & De-concentration process
Cross Cutting Themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good governance – emphasis on transparency, accountability, participation and partnership • Under-represented groups – ensuring equitable participation by women, youth and other under-represented groups • Natural resource management

Annex 2: LAAR Coverage Map



Annex 3: LAAR Model of Change



Annex 4: LAAR Model of Good Governance

