



THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies

# *State Society and* Governance *in* Melanesia

ANNUAL REPORT 2003

## INTRODUCTION

Crises of governance and state-society relations, in varying degrees and locations, continue to beset the Pacific Islands region. The attention of policy-makers in Australia and throughout the region has focussed more urgently on strategies and policies to assist in addressing these crises. In 2003 Australian policy (and policy-making modus operandi) towards the Pacific Islands states shifted significantly to include direct interventions of various kinds. Initiatives were also set in motion to encourage a comprehensive regional response to the expanding governance, development and security agendas.

That the region is facing considerable challenge and stress is uncontested. Economic growth has not kept pace with population growth; job creation for younger populations has been minimal; and poverty is now a significant issue in many Pacific Island Countries (ADB 2004). Variable quality of governance has impacted adversely on Islanders' living standards and, in some cases, contributed to instability, conflict, corruption and a weakening of democratic processes (EPG Review 2004). An Australian Senate committee report found it likely that Pacific countries (particularly in Melanesia) would continue to suffer political, ethnic and social tension brought about by continuing economic decline and poor governance (Australian Senate 2003).

Yet such characterisations mask considerable variations in performance and stability across the region. There are strong examples of success in social and economic policy in some Pacific Island countries as there are of relative political and social stability (AusAID 2003, Davis 2004). Many of the more dramatic claims about the region, for example, that aid has failed the Pacific, are readily contestable (Ellis 2003). Equally contestable are the growing tendencies to describe Island states as constituting an 'arc of instability' and to apply the more recent 'state failure' discourse universally to the region (Dinnen 2004, May 2004, Fry 2004).

## SSGM PROJECT 2003: OVERVIEW

The SSGM Project continues to develop policy-relevant scholarship and publications relating to the contemporary Pacific Islands region and to Melanesia in particular. Through conferences, workshops and briefings, SSGM draws in key players, decision-makers, analysts and commentators enabling a broader comprehension of the complex dynamics of the region.

In collaborating with its network of scholars and institutions within Australia and the region, SSGM generates dialogue on governance-related issues more widely. Such collaboration also plays a part in building the capacity of regional institutions and professional associations. By distributing its publications to all secondary and tertiary institutions in the Pacific Islands it also contributes educational resources for the teaching of civics, political economy and related disciplines.

The Project also conducts special-issue consultations and briefings. During 2003, for example, SSGM conducted roundtables on anti-corruption issues in PNG and on aid to the region for AusAID, a paper on policy options for the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI), briefings for representatives of the World Bank's Evaluation Unit and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade's Economic Analytical Unit, a roundtable on regionalism for the Eminent Persons' Group of the Forum, and pre-departure briefings for Australian Heads of Mission and other personnel on posting to various missions in the Pacific. In addition the Fellows and Convenor are in regular demand for media commentary; they are invited periodically to participate in pre-policy panel discussions on various issues of governance at AusAID and elsewhere; and their expertise is frequently sought by NGOs, international agencies, foreign embassies and private corporations.

## **CONFERENCES**

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The year 2003 was a highly productive one for the Project. SSGM conducted thirteen international conferences and workshops – five under its own banner and eight in collaboration with partners. Partnering institutions included the Forum Secretariat, University of the South Pacific (USP), Solomon Islands College of Higher Education (SICHE), ACFID, the Foundation for Development Cooperation, and various ANU Centres.

Topics covered included Governance Updates for PNG and Solomon Islands; Civil Society and Local-level Governance in the Pacific; Democracy, Conflict and the New Political Leadership in PNG; National Security and Peace-building in Solomons; 'L'etat des etats – Pacific States Today'; and Australia's Changing Policy Towards the Pacific Islands Region.

(see **Annex I: SSGM Conferences 2003**)

## **PUBLICATIONS**

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The Project's publications program resulted in four books — *Restorative Justice in the Pacific* (ed. Dinnen et al); *Building a Nation in PNG* (ed. Yala et al); *Elections & Constitution-making in East Timor* (Regan et al); '*Arc of Instability?*' – *Melanesia in the early 2000s* (May et al) — and a special issue of the *Journal Oceania* on 'Women's Groups and Everyday Modernity in Melanesia', Vol. 74, Nos. 1 & 2, Sept-Dec 2003 (Douglas, guest editor). Eight Discussion Papers were produced, all of which made important contributions to the analysis of key regional themes and issues (including post-conflict situations, land security issues, local and national-level institutions and governance, and attempted political settlements in New Caledonia and Irian Jaya). Publications in the pipeline include books on 'Conflict and Politics in the Southern Highlands of PNG', 'The Ombudsman in the Pacific', and 'Civil Society in the Pacific'.

(see **Annex II: SSGM Publications 2003**)

## **RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS**

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Highlights from the research undertaken by the Project Fellows include Dr Sinclair Dinnen's continuing articulation of appropriate law and justice strategies in Melanesia as well as his developing critique of Australian policy in the Pacific; Dr Abby McLeod's doctoral thesis on gender and conflict in the PNG Highlands; Anthony Regan's contribution to the international debate on greed and grievance as causes of conflict; Dr Steven Ratuva's participatory survey research on democratic governance and civic education in Fiji; Dr Vicki Luker's examination of the HIV/Aids challenge in PNG and the region; and Dr Bronwen Douglas's continuing interest in women and modernity in Melanesia. Dr Ron May (a Senior Associate Fellow and former Chairman of the SSGM Steering Committee) continued his research on democracy in PNG and regional security in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

(see **Annex III: SSGM Fellows' Reports**)

## **CONSULTANCY HIGHLIGHTS**

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The consultancy work undertaken by the Fellows throughout 2003 is particularly noteworthy. Such work informs scholarship, adds value to the governance reform and conflict prevention effort in the region, assists with the evaluation function of donors, and adds substantially to the 'applied' nature of SSGM. Abby McLeod spent four months as gender advisor to AusAID's PNG Police Project and undertook an analysis for UNIFEM on 'Women, Peace and Security in Vanuatu'. Sinclair Dinnen is a senior advisor to AusAID's law and justice sector program in PNG and spent 3½ months with a team developing a sectoral strategy, and one month in Fiji surveying non-state justice practices. Anthony Regan is engaged by AusAID as principal constitutional and administrative advisor to the rebuilding of the Bougainville government. He also undertook advisory work developing a negotiating framework for the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka.

Steven Ratuva completed a survey for UNDP on attitudes to governance and democracy in Fiji, and an assignment for the ADB advising the government of Nepal on conflict reduction strategies. SSGM Associates Quinton Clements and Henry Okole surveyed the prospects for reform of the PNG legislature for UNDP, while Michael Morgan (also an SSGM Associate) conducted a review for UNDP on the prospects of Parliamentary Strengthening in the Pacific. Jaap Timmer was engaged by the EU to advise on the implementation of special autonomy in Irian Jaya (a project that unfortunately had to be abandoned) and later by the UNDP to research causes of conflict in Eastern Indonesia. David Hegarty was a senior advisory consultant to UNDP on the Fiji Governance and Pacific Parliament projects. In early 2003 Hegarty, Michael Bourke and Ron May undertook a survey of PNG's universities to explore the possibilities of Australian (and specifically ANU) support for them.

## **SSGM SEMINARS**

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The SSGM Seminar Series at the ANU produced eleven seminars on governance, state and society topics ranging from peace keeping and peace processes in the region, sustainable development (PNG, Solomons), changing political cultures (PNG, Tonga), and constitutional change in Papua/Irian Jaya, to a critical view of Australia's changing policy in the region. While these seminars consistently draw audiences of 30 or more, the Project's intention is to arrange more of these seminars 'in-house' for appropriate departments and agencies.

(see **Annex IV: SSGM Seminars 2003**)

## **COLLABORATION AND NETWORKING**

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We believe that collaboration with Australian and regional institutions is central to the Project's mandate and function. To that end the Project has made considerable effort to engage with universities and scholars in the Pacific and Australia to broaden and deepen the constituency for the study and analysis of the contemporary region. In addition to co-hosting conferences, the Project works jointly with academic and NGO organisations in panel discussions, workshops, publications and generally in promoting 'second-track' efforts in such areas as conflict resolution, peace-building, strengthening of civil society and governance reform. The Project has linkages to all Pacific Islands tertiary institutions and to those universities and colleges specialising in Melanesian and Pacific issues within Australia and the Pacific Rim.

SSGM has an active visitors scheme aimed at providing scholars, political figures, policy-makers and others with the opportunity to write, develop and test their ideas in a congenial Canberra environment.

(see **Annex V: SSGM Project Visitors**)

In conjunction with the Centre for the Contemporary Pacific, the Project has applied for ARC funding to build and formalise a multi-disciplinary network — Pacific Futures Network — of regional and international scholars designed to enhance scholarship in and on the region.

(see **Annex VI: Indicative List of partner institutions and organisations**)

## SSGM FELLOWS, ASSOCIATES AND PROJECT STAFF

The SSGM Project is a small entity consisting of three Fellows (Dinnen, Regan and Douglas), one Post-Doctoral Fellow (McLeod), two short term Fellows whose terms have almost been completed (Ratuva and Timmer), a Visiting Fellow (Luker), an Executive Officer (Sue Rider) and a Convenor (Hegarty). Fellows are regularly in the field, engaged in individual research or undertaking consultancies which means on frequent occasion the Project is short of its critical mass. To enable us to continue to meet the demands for policy-relevant (and refreshed) research and analysis – and to allow the Fellows the opportunity to build academic careers – the Project plans to invite a number of prominent academics to become Associate Fellows and work with SSGM on issues of special interest. The Project will approach AusAID seeking its support for a new Fellowship position from mid-2004.

The Project has been fortunate in being able to draw upon the talents – on an honorary basis – of a range of scholars from related disciplines in the Research School. Emeritus Professor Hank Nelson of the Pacific and Asian History Division splendidly chairs the SSGM Steering Committee and contributes substantially to the intellectual life of the Project as well as to its management. Dr Ron May, Senior Fellow in the Department of Political & Social Change, RSPAS, is an invaluable associate and regular contributor to the Project's conferences and publications. Doctoral and Post-Doctoral students from RSPAS (including Michael Morgan, Nicole Haley, Ian Scales, Quinton Clements, Adrian Muckle and Vanessa Ward) are also regular contributors to the work of the Project. Ms Sue Rider has undertaken the task of Executive Officer from mid-2003 with a high degree of panache and professionalism. David Hegarty continues his secondment from DFAT until end 2005 as the Project's Convenor.

The project also benefits from collegial relationships with members of the Pacific Policy Project in APSEG, and with the Land Management Group, RMAP and the Papua Web project in RSPAS. Private consulting firms and individual consultants regularly approach the Project seeking expertise and/or opportunities to work with the Project.

## MANAGEMENT AND FUNDING ARRANGEMENTS

SSGM is an RSPAS project governed by a Steering Committee consisting of the Fellows, the Convenor and 14 ANU senior academics. The Steering Committee is chaired by Emeritus Professor Hank Nelson who was appointed by, and is responsible to, the Director of the School.

The ANU funds the SSGM Project's academic positions: three Fellows on a permanent basis and three on a short-term basis. The ANU and AusAID share the costs of administrative support to the Project, including the position of Executive Officer. The Convenor is a seconded officer from the Australian government – currently from DFAT – and costs are borne by DFAT and AusAID. Through an ANU-AusAID contract, the latter provides funding support to the Project for a number of mutually agreed outreach activities (conferences, workshops, publications, etc) each year over a period of three years. Funding for SSGM's activities for the Pacific and Papua New Guinea Branches of AusAID in 2003 amounted to \$279,000. The current contract expires in September 2004.

David Hegarty  
Convenor  
April 2004.

### References:

- Asian Development Bank (ADB), 'ADB Pacific Strategy 2005-09: Responding to the Priorities of the Poor', Discussion Paper, 2004.
- AusAID, 'Papua New Guinea and the Pacific – A Development Perspective', September 2003.
- Australian Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, *A Pacific Engaged: Australia's Relations with Papua New Guinea and the Island states of the South-west Pacific*, Canberra, Commonwealth of Australia, August 2003.
- Davis, Bruce, 'The Pacific and Papua New Guinea: Sustaining Reform', speech to the Australian Institute of International Affairs, 25 March 2004.
- Dinnen, Sinclair, 'The Trouble with Melanesia' in Ivan Molloy (ed.), *In the Eye of the Cyclone – Issues in Pacific Security*, University of the Sunshine Coast, 2004.
- Ellis, Peter, 'Views of the impact of Australian aid to the Pacific', draft paper, AusAID Website, September 2003.
- EPG Review, Eminent Persons' Review of the Pacific Islands Forum, Pacific Islands Forum, April 2004.
- Fry, Greg, 'The "War Against Terror" and Australia's New Interventionism in the Pacific', conference paper to be published by ANU in a volume of essays on contemporary Pacific issues, 2004.
- May, R J, 'A Brief Overview of Pacific Security Issues', paper for National Security in Vanuatu Workshop, Pt Vila, March–April 2004.

## ANNEX I: SSGM CONFERENCES & WORKSHOPS IN 2003

\* Partner organisation

- 9/10 April *Post Conflict Peacebuilding in Solomon Islands Workshop*  
\*Forum Secretariat in collaboration with SSGM, Honiara.
- 16 April *Papua New Guinea: Dysfunctional State or Disorderly Democracy?*  
Mills Room, 4th Floor, Chancelry Building, ANU.  
[PNG Branch, AusAID] SSGM Discussion Paper 2003/3.
- 1/2 May *Local-Level Governance in the Pacific Workshop*  
Mills Room, 4th Floor, Chancelry Building, ANU.  
[Pacific Branch, AusAID] SSGM Discussion Paper 2003/7, Website papers.
- 26/27 May *Conflict in the Southern Highlands Province of PNG Workshop*  
Old Canberra House, ANU. (\*in collaboration with Centre for  
Conflict & Post Conflict Studies – Asia Pacific).  
[Humanitarian and Emergency Section, AusAID] SSGM Website report,  
SSGM Discussion paper 2003/8, Book in editing phase.
- 20 June *Southern Highlands Province Follow up Workshop, Canberra*
- 4 July *Corruption Issues in Papua New Guinea Roundtable*  
Scarth Room, University House, ANU. [PNG Branch, AusAID]
- 25 August *Solomon Islands Update – Crisis and Intervention*  
Coombs Lecture Theatre, ANU,  
(\*in collaboration with APSEG, ANU). SSGM Website papers.
- 18 September *Shifting Tides in Pacific Policy*  
Rydges Capital, Canberra (\*in collaboration with ACFOA).  
*Pacific Voices*, edited by Neva Wendt and Frank Thomson,  
ACFID, forthcoming.
- 30 Sept-2 Oct *Governance in Pacific States: reassessing roles and remedies*  
Symposium, University of the South Pacific, (\*in collaboration with  
the Foundation for Development Cooperation, Brisbane, and University  
of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.) [Pacific Branch, AusAID].  
SSGM Book on Civil Society in the Pacific in editing phase.
- 14-19 October *Papua New Guinea–Australia Younger Generation Dialogue*  
Roundtable, ANU (associated meetings with AusAID, AFP,  
Queensland officials and University of Queensland staff and students).  
[PNG Branch, AusAID]. SSGM Website report.
- 5 December *Papua New Guinea Update 2003*  
Hayden Allen Lecture Theatre, ANU (\*in collaboration with APSEG).
- 8-9 December *'L'etat des Etats': Pacific Island States Today*  
\*Centre for the Contemporary Pacific, ANU, (in collaboration with  
SSGM). Papers to be published in *The New Pacific Review/La Nouvelle  
Revue du Pacifique*, Vol 2, 2004.
- 16 December *Sustaining Reform Processes — Solomon Islands Workshop*  
(\*in collaboration with Solomon Islands College of Higher Education,  
Honiara) [Pacific Branch]. SSGM Website report.

## **ANNEX II: SSGM PUBLICATIONS IN 2003**

### **Books**

- A Kind of Mending: Restorative Justice in the Pacific Islands*, Edited by Sinclair Dinnen with Anita Jowett and Tess Newton (eds.), Pandanus Books, Canberra, 2003, 308pp.
- Building a Nation in Papua New Guinea: Views of the Post-Independence Generation*, David Kavanamur, Charles Yala and Quinton Clements (eds.), Pandanus Books, Canberra, 2003, 373pp.
- Elections and Constitution Making in East Timor*, Dionisio da Costa Babo Soares, Michael Maley, James J Fox and Anthony J Regan, Pandanus Books, Canberra, 2003, 43pp.
- 'Arc of Instability?' – *Melanesia in the Early 2000s*, R J May et al., Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury and the State, Society & Governance in Melanesia Project, ANU, 2003, 72pp.

### **Associated Books**

- Passage of Change: Law, Society and Governance in the Pacific*, Anita Jowitt and Tess Newton-Cain (eds.), Pandanus Books, Canberra, 2003, 378pp.
- Maintaining Democracy: The 1997 Elections in Papua New Guinea*, R J May and R Anere (eds). The Department of Political Science, School of Humanities & Social Sciences, University of Papua New Guinea and the State, Society & Governance in Melanesia Project, ANU, 2002, 239pp.

### **Discussion Papers**

- 2003/1 Tim Curtin, Hartmut Holzknecht and Peter Larmour: *Land registration in Papua New Guinea: Competing Perspectives*
- 2003/2 Alan Tidwell and Andy Carl: *Perspectives on Conflict and Post Conflict*
- 2003/3 R J May: *Disorderly democracy: Political turbulence and institutional reform in Papua New Guinea*
- 2003/4 Frederic Angleviel: "The Bet on Intelligence": *Politics in New Caledonia, 1988-2002*
- 2003/5 Jaap Timmer: *Narratives of Government and Church among the Imyan of Papua/Irian Jaya, Indonesia*
- 2003/6 Laurence Sullivan: *Challenges to Special Autonomy in the Province of Papua, Republic of Indonesia*
- 2003/7 Penelope Schoeffel & Mark Turner: *Local-Level Governance in the Pacific*
- 2003/8 Laurence Goldman: "Hoo-ha in Huli": *Considerations on commotion and community in the southern highlands of Papua New Guinea*

### **Working Papers**

- 2003/1 Ruth Saovana-Spriggs and Maev O'Collins: *Australian Aid in the South West Pacific: Insider/Outsider Perspectives*
- 2003/2 Hank Nelson: *Papua New Guinea: When the extravagant exception is no longer the exception*

## **ANNEX III – SHORT REPORTS - SSGM FELLOWS**

### **DR SINCLAIR DINNEN – SSGM FELLOW**

#### **Publications**

##### **Book**

*A Kind of Mending: Restorative Justice in the Pacific Islands*. Sinclair Dinnen with Anita Jowitt and Tess Newton Cain (eds.), Pandanus Books, Canberra, 2003, 308pp.

##### **Chapters**

'Restorative Justice in the Pacific Islands: An Introduction', in Sinclair Dinnen with Anita Jowitt and Tess Newton Cain (eds.), *A Kind of Mending: Restorative Justice in the Pacific Islands*. Pandanus Books, Canberra, 2003, pp. 1–34.

'Au-Dela de la Violence L'Etat Face au Crime en Papouasie Nouvelle-Guinee', in Isabelle Merle and Michel Naepels (eds.), *Les Rivage du Temps. Anthropologie et Histoire du Pacifique*, LHarmattan, Paris, pp. 199–227.

'Building Bridges Law and Justice Reform in Papua New Guinea', in Anita Jowitt and Tess Newton Cain (eds.), *Passage of Change: Law, Society and Governance in the Pacific*, Pandanus Books, Canberra, 2003, pp. 277–303.

'Guns, Money and Politics: Disorder in the Solomon Islands', in R J May (ed.), *'Arc of Instability'? Melanesia in the early 2000s*, MacMillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, New Zealand, 2003, pp. 27–40.

##### **National/International conferences/workshops**

'Violence in Melanesia – Overview and Interpretation', Violence in the Pacific – Causes, Consequences and Possibilities to Overcome Violence, Annual Conference of the German Pacific Network, Remagen, Germany, 14–16 February 2003.

'Peacebuilding in Solomon Islands', Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat Workshop, Honiara, Solomon Islands, 7–10 April 2003.

'Restorative Justice and Law and Order in Papua New Guinea', Island State Security 2003: Oceania at the Crossroads, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 15-17 July 2003.

'The Australian-led intervention in the Solomon Islands' Solomon Islands Update: Crisis and Intervention, ANU, Canberra, 25 August 2003.

'Australian policy and the Solomon Islands', Shifting Tides in Pacific Policy, Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Canberra, 18 September 2003.

'Civil Society and the Maintenance of Peace and Good Order in Papua New Guinea', Governance in Pacific States: Reassessing Roles and Remedies, Development Research Symposium, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji, 29 September – 2 October 2003.

'Crisis and Response in Solomon Islands', Pacific Connections: Australia and the Solomon Islands, Pacific Islands Political Science Association, University of the Sunshine Coast, Queensland, 11 October 2003.

'Interfaces between Formal and Informal Justice systems', Asia-Pacific Regional Workshop on Access to Justice by Disadvantaged People, Organised by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Colombo, Sri Lanka, 19–21 November 2003.

##### **Teaching/Supervision**

Guest lecture on Gender and Development course, National Centre for Development Studies, ANU. 17 September 2003.

Guest lecture, Pacific Politics, Australian Defence Force Academy, 10 September 2003.

Adviser to 4 doctoral candidates in the Division of Politics and International Relations.

Co-designer (with Abby McLeod) of new course (to commence in 2004) on 'Law, Order and Conflict in the Pacific' for MA in Applied Anthropology, Anthropology Department, Faculty of Arts, ANU.

##### **Invited media commentaries**

Contacted regularly by the regional (ABC, SBS, Radio New Zealand) and international (BBC) media to comment on developments in the Pacific Islands. Interviewed on the National Interest program (Radio National) and the ABC Asia-Pacific TV program.

**Consultancy/Advisory Work**

Background paper on Solomon Islands conflict for Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI).

Spent 4 weeks in Fiji in January/February 2003 working in partnership with a local NGO (ECREA) to assess the role of non-formal (community) justice initiatives in strengthening the rule of law. Study commissioned by AusAID

Spent 3½ months in PNG between April–August 2003 as Law and Justice Policy Adviser on an AusAID-funded Law and Justice Sector Program Design Mission. Responsible for preparing the core problem analysis, a concept paper on ways of supporting community justice initiatives, and a concept paper on the relationship between crime and poverty.

Regular meetings with DFAT, Treasury, and AusAID officials on policy issues relating to Pacific Island states.

Co-author (along with other SSGM colleagues) of a Report on Post-Stabilisation Policy Options for the Solomon Islands commissioned by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

**Key Research Directions**

Analysis of the Solomon Islands Crisis, the Australian response and implications for other Pacific Island countries; internal security issues in PICs; law and justice reform in PICs, particularly the issue of relations between formal and informal justice systems; Restorative Justice in PICs.

**ARC proposals**

Preparing 2 ARC Discovery proposals: one on Solomon Islands Crisis and Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI), and one on International security and National Development in the Indian-Pacific Region (with Dr Ed Aspinall et al, University of Sydney).

**DR ABBY MCLEOD – SSGM POST-DOCTORAL FELLOW****Publications**

Contesting Violence: State and Simbu Approaches to Law and Order in Papua New Guinea. Unpublished doctoral thesis. The University of Queensland, St Lucia, Queensland, 2003.

'Law and Justice Sector Gender Analysis', Report to the AusAID/GoPNG Law and Justice Sector Programme, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, 2003.

Abby McLeod et al. 'Conflict, development and politics in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea', report on Southern Highlands Province Workshop, ANU, 26–27 May 2003. SSGM Website: <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/melanesia>.

'Competing Perspectives: External and Internal Perceptions of Current Issues in Papua New Guinea', in Ivan Molloy (ed.), *Eye of the Cyclone: Issues in Pacific Security*, Sippy Downs, QLD, PIPSA & The University of the Sunshine Coast, pp. 55-60, 2004.

**Conferences**

Paper on 'Women and the Law in Papua New Guinea' presented at the joint USP, SSGM and FDC Symposium on Civil Society and Governance, Suva, Fiji, 1 October, 2003.

**Research and Consultancy**

In addition to working as the Executive Officer of SSGM, during 2003 I undertook a number of consultancies in Papua New Guinea as Gender Advisor to the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary (RPNGC) and as a Gender Specialist to the Law and Justice Sector Program. Each of these consultancies has been highly relevant to my Postdoctoral Fellowship, which commenced in late August. While working as a consultant I have collected valuable data for use in my proposed book and recently completed an article on the 2002 Simbu Elections.

In early 2004 I will reside in Vanuatu while undertaking a UNIFEM consultancy on women and conflict. This work will broaden my understanding of women and the law in the Pacific by allowing me to extend my knowledge beyond the PNG context. Upon my return I will commence work on my proposed book, *Women and the Law in Papua New Guinea*, and produce two articles from my thesis. In addition, during 2004 I will undertake two further six-week consultancies as gender adviser to the RPNGC in Papua New Guinea.

## ANTHONY REGAN – SSGM FELLOW

### Publications

- 'The Bougainville Conflict: Political and Economic Agendas', in Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman (eds), *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed & Grievance*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, CO, 2003, pp. 133–66.
- 'Constitution-making in East Timor: Missed Opportunities?', in Soares, Maley, Fox and Regan, *Elections and Constitution Making in East Timor*, State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project, ANU, Canberra, 2003, pp. 35–42.
- 'The Bougainville Peace Agreement, 2001–2002: Towards Order and Stability for Bougainville?', in R J May et al, 'Arc of Instability'? *Melanesia in the Early 2000s*, Occasional Paper No.4., Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, and SSGM, pp 9–26.
- 'Constitutions as Limits on the State in Melanesia: Comparative Perspectives on Constitutionalism, Participation and Civil Society', in Anita Jowitt and Tess Newton Cain (eds.), *Passage of Change: Law, Society and Governance in the Pacific*, Pandanus Books, Canberra, 2003, pp.305–28.

### Conferences, Seminars

- Post Conflict Peacebuilding, Forum Secretariat Workshop, Solomon Islands 9–10 April 2003.
- Local-Level Governance in the Pacific SSGM Workshop, Mills Room, 4th Floor, Chancelry Bldg, ANU, 1–2 May.
- Governance and Civil Society Seminar, in Governance in Pacific States: reassessing roles and remedies Symposium, University of the South Pacific, 30 September–2 October 2003 (SSGM in collaboration with Foundation for Development Cooperation and USP).

### Research and Consultancies

- Anthony Regan has been working on a consultancy with AusAID on the implementation of the constitutional arrangements under the Bougainville Peace Agreement of August 2001. He was on LWOP from August 2002 to November 2003, and has been granted an extension until June 2004.

## DR STEVEN RATUVA – SSGM FELLOW (2002-2004)

### Publications

- Ethnic Politics, Economic Nationalism and Affirmative Action: A Comparative Study of Fiji, Malaysia and South Africa*. Book accepted for publication by the University of Hawaii Press.
- Civil Society in the Pacific* – book from SSGM/FDC/USP conference in Fiji on Governance (October 2003), forthcoming.
- Attitudes and Perception Towards Democratic Governance and Civic Education: The Case of Fiji*, UNDP, Suva, 2003.
- With Gedare and de Dorke, *Human Rights Violations in Bougainville, 1989–1997*, Research Report, Part 2, Life and Peace Institute, Sweden, 2003.
- Storm in Paradise: The 1987 Military Coup in Fiji*, Research Report, Part 1, Life and Peace Institute, Sweden, 2003.
- 'Homo Journaliticus and the Politics of the Media: A Cynical Synopsis'. *Journalism Review*, Vol. 9, 2003.
- 'Political and Ethnic Identity in a Communal Democracy: The Case of Fiji', *Identity: International Journal of Identity*. Forthcoming.
- 'Reinventing the Cultural Wheel: Restorative Justice in Multi-ethnic Fiji', in S. Dinnen (ed.), *A Kind of Mending: Conflict and Restorative Justice in the Pacific*, Pandanus Books, Canberra, 2003.
- 'Le Paradoxe du Multiculturalisme: Gestion des Differences dans L'etat Syncretique de Fidji', in A Faberon (ed.), *L'Etat pluricultural et les dorits aux difference*, Brylant, Brussels, 2003.

### (Chapters written — publication forthcoming)

- 'Kool koala or walloping wallaby: Australian Images from Oceania', in Neva Wendt and F Thomson (eds.), *Pacific Voices*, AFID.
- 'Ethno-nationalism, political entrepreneurship and class dynamics in post-colonial states', in A Allahar (ed.), *Redefining Ethnic Identity and Ethno-nationalism in Post-Colonial Societies*.
- 'State Security and Political "Reliability": The Dynamics of State Security Mapping and Ethnic Stratification', in Molloy, I (ed.), *The Eye of the Cyclone: Issues in Pacific Security*, University of the Sunshine Coast.

'Regime Change and Regime Maintenance in Fiji', in May, R. (ed.), *Regime Change and Regime Maintenance in the Asia-Pacific Region*.

'Border Disputes in the Pacific', John Harper Publishers.

'Political Movements and Political Conflict in Fiji', in *Revolutionary and Dissent Movements: A Global Comparative Study*, John Harper Publishers, London, in press. Chapters in the same volume on Vanuatu, Palau, Nauru, Samoa, Kiribati, Federated States of Micronesia.

### Conference Papers

'Dichotomous Imageries: Pacific Perceptions of Australia', presented at the Australian Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies, October 2003.

'From "Homo Civicus" (Passive citizenry) to "Homo Politicus" (Informed and active citizenry): Civil Society, Civic Education and Democratisation in Fiji', conference on Governance and Development organized by ANU, University of the South Pacific and Foundation for Development Co-operation, Suva, October 2003.

'Australian Aid and Intervention in the Pacific: Consequences and Implications'. Conference on Australian aid organized by Australian Council for Overseas Aid and ANU, Canberra, September 2003.

'Draft Report on National Baseline Study on Perception, Attitudes and Knowledge of Good Governance Issues in Fiji: Towards a Civic Education Framework', presented to National Seminar on Civic Education, Suva, Fiji, 19–20 May 2003.

'The Politics and Practice of Local Governance in Fiji', presentation to Conference on Local-Level Governance in the Pacific, SSGM Workshop, 1 May 2003.

'Challenges to Conflict Resolution and Political Governance in Melanesian States: The Cases of Fiji and Lessons for Solomon Islands', presentation to workshop on Conflict Resolution in the Solomon Islands, Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat & SSGM, Honiara, April 2003.

'Ethnic and Political Conflict Appraisal: Lessons for the Solomon Islands', workshop on Conflict Resolution in the Solomon Islands, Forum Secretariat & SSGM, Honiara, April 2003.

'Proposal for National Survey on Good Governance and Nation-wide Civic Education in Fiji', organized by UNDP and Fiji Parliament, presented to Representatives from Fiji Government Departments, NGOs and UNDP, Suva, Fiji, 12 February 2003.

### Related activities

Political columnist for *Daily Post and Review* (Fiji); resource person for Radio Australia on Pacific affairs; contributor to *Australian Financial Review*; Reviewer for *Pacific Affairs*, *Journalism Review* and *Journal for Contemporary Pacific*; Convenor, Pacific Issues Group Sessions (PIGS), a virtual discussion network. Visiting Fellow, Centre for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales. Visiting lecturer, Australian Defence College.

### Research and Consultancies

The rise of the "new" Fijian middle class: Its economic and political power. Commissioned by East West-Center, Hawai'i.

The Fijian Diaspora in Australia: The dynamics of the "virtual vanua".

Ethnic identity and the paradox of communal democracy in Fiji. Commissioned by Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario.

Ongoing research on the syncretic model of Pacific states.

Baseline study on democratic governance and civic education in Fiji, UNDP.

Social protection, risk management and conflict resolution in Nepal, ADB.

Development and affirmative action monitoring mechanism for Ministry of National Planning, Fiji.

Fiji Citizens Security Partnership (FCSP) framework for joint military, police, government, USP program. Drafting national framework for long-term security sustainability.

## **DR BRONWEN DOUGLAS – SSGM FELLOW**

### **Publications**

'Les "États" Faibles et Les Affirmations Nationalités Locales: des paradigms mélanésiens en émergence?', in *Ethnologies Comparées, Océanie, Début de Siècle*, No 6, 2003.

'Seaborne Ethnography and the Natural History of Man', *Journal of Pacific History* 38:1, 2003, pp. 3–27.

Bronwen Douglas (ed.), *Women's Groups and Everyday Modernity in Melanesia, Oceania* (special issue), in press.

'Christianity, Tradition, and Everyday Modernity: Towards an Anatomy of Women's Groupings in Melanesia' in *Women's Groups and Everyday Modernity in Melanesia, Oceania*, (special issue), in press.

### **Conferences/ Briefings**

Participated in an SSGM Project round table briefing of Michael Potts, the incoming Australian High Commissioner to Papua New Guinea, 29 January 2003.

29 January 2003. Participated in an SSGM Project briefing of Asita De Silva from the World Bank's Operations Evaluation Department, 29 January 2003.

'"Cureous Figures": French and British Voyagers and Tatau/Tattoo in Polynesia, 1766–1840'. Paper given to 'Tatau/Tattoo: Embodied Art and Cultural Exchange' conference, Victoria University of Wellington, Aotearoa–New Zealand, 22 August 2003.

'In the Event: Indigenous Countersigns and the Ethnohistory of Voyaging'. Paper given to CREDO–RSPAS PICS conference, ANU, Canberra, 10–12 December 2003.

2 September 2003. Gave a two-hour taped interview on representations of Pacific Islands women in Western art and cinema to Trevor Graham of Yarra Bank Films, director of the documentary *Hula Girls*, produced by Andrew Ogilvie of Electric Pictures for SBS-TV, Dutch television, and Arte.

**Dr Douglas has been on sick leave since 23 September 2003.**

## **DR VICKI LUKER, SSGM VISITING FELLOW**

### **Publications**

Co-edited volume (including two chapters by me, one on transformations in Pacific health, the other on HIV/AIDS) submitted and under consideration by Hawaii University Press chapter on HIV/AIDS in preparation for Steve's volume on civil society SSGM discussion paper on HIV/AIDS in Melanesia in preparation.

### **Conference/Workshops**

Presentations on the topic of HIV/AIDS in the PNG/Pacific Region:

Suva, Development Forum (Sept/Oct)

Cairns, Australasian Society of HIV Medicine (Oct)

Port Moresby, Mt Hagen, PNG Updates (Nov).

### **SSGM activities for 2004**

Major conference on HIV/AIDS in the Pacific in planning with Lawrence Hammar (PNG IMR), Nii-k Plange (UNAIDS Port Moresby) and Richard Eves (GRC, ANU).

### **Other**

Tutored in Sociology, semester 1, University of Canberra; joined editorial board of *Journal of Pacific History* and became Book Review Editor; currently research assistant for Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard's volume on race; seminar presentation on race to cross-campus history seminar series; several book reviews in press; thesis partly revised for publication.

## DR JAAP TIMMER – SSGM FELLOW (2002–2004)

### Publications

'Narratives of Government and Church Among the Imyan of Papua/Irian Jaya, Indonesia', SSGM Discussion Paper 2003/5.

### Conferences / Workshops

I gave two presentations on terror, consultancy under fire, and the wars in the Malukus at the RSPAS (16 May and 26 June). I further developed the theme of doing consultancy work in conflict areas for a presentation at the 5<sup>th</sup> meeting of the European Society for Oceanists in Vienna, 4–6 July. On Papua, I have presented a paper on resource management and elite politics in the light of the implementation of the Special Autonomy for the province during a workshop in Biak, 22–25 April.

### Research and Consultancies

USAID: Mission to Biak, Papua, providing recommendations to a mixed government, NGO, academic and business team that is working on the legislation of the Special Autonomy for the province; for USAID.

EC: Leader of a team of Papuan experts that aims to provide technical assistance to the government of Papua on the implementation of the Special Autonomy for the province; for the European Commission's delegation to Indonesia — consultancy postponed.

During a visit to the Netherlands in July, I discussed future collaboration between the SSGM Project (and the RSPAS) and the Centre for Pacific and Asian Studies (CPAS) at the University of Nijmegen.

### Research highlights

I have developed a personal approach to presenting intimate and hard to understand experiences of being involved in and working amidst outbreaks of violence in Eastern Indonesia. I further developed the theme of terror and the dynamics of the conflicts in Eastern Indonesia by working on a groundbreaking view that revolves around the intricate impetus and inertia to kill and destroy and also acknowledges marionette-like behaviour of provocateurs and speculation about the vague role of rumours. With respect to Papua, I have researched issues of resource management and elite politics in the light of the implementation of Special Autonomy for the province.

## DR RON MAY – SENIOR ASSOCIATE FELLOW

### Publications

'Turbulence and reform in Papua New Guinea', *Journal of Democracy* 14(1), Jan 2003, pp. 154–65.

'Ethnicity in the Philippines', in Colin Mackerras (ed.) *Ethnicity in Asia*, Routledge Curzon, London, 2003, pp.136–56.

'Harmonizing linguistic diversity in Papua New Guinea', in Michael E Brown and Sumit Ganguly (eds), *Fighting Words, Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 2003, pp.291–317.

Editor, with Ray Anere, *Maintaining Democracy: The 1997 Elections in Papua New Guinea*, The Department of Political Science, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, and State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project, ANU, 2003.

'Election 1997: an overview', in Charles E Morrison (ed.), *Asia Pacific Security Outlook 2003*, Japan Center for International Exchange, Tokyo, 2003, pp. 1–15.

'The East Sepik electorates: The demise of Pangu', in Charles E Morrison (ed.), *Asia Pacific Security Outlook 2003*, Japan Center for International Exchange, Tokyo, 2003, pp.149–60.

R J May, Anthony Regan, Sinclair Dinnen, Michael Morgan, Brij Lal and Benjamin Reilly, '*Arc of Instability?*' *Melanesia in the Early 2000s*, State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University and Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 2003, 71 pp.

'The military in Papua New Guinea: a culture of instability?', in R J May, Anthony Regan, Sinclair Dinnen, Michael Morgan, Brij Lal and Benjamin Reilly, '*Arc of Instability?*' *Melanesia in the Early 2000s*, State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University and Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 2003, pp. 1–7.

'PNG's election chaos', *The Diplomat* 2(1), April-May 2003, p. 19.

'Disorderly democracy: political turbulence and institutional reform in Papua New Guinea', State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Discussion Paper 2003/3, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU, Canberra, 12 pp.

'Foreword', in Binayak Ray, *South Pacific Least Developing Countries: Towards Positive Independence*, Progressive Publishers, Kolkata 2003, pp. vii–viii.

'Philippines: the contest for president in 2004 begins to hot up', *Asian Analysis* July 2003 (asian-analysis@aseanfocus.com).

### Conferences and Workshops

During 2003 I was involved in the organisation of several workshops sponsored by SSGM with AusAID funding. These included a workshop on democracy in Papua New Guinea (at which I presented), a workshop with ACFOA on aid to the Pacific (ditto), and a workshop (which I organized) on the situation in the Southern Highlands Province of PNG, which sought to examine the dynamics of recent fighting there and what measures might be considered to address the problems underlying the conflicts. The latter involved a number of participants from PNG and was followed by a meeting with AusAID and a further follow-up small workshop. (I am currently editing a volume of papers from the workshop.) Early in the year I attended a Pacific Islands Forum workshop on national security, in Honiara, and presented an overview of regional security issues. Later in the year I participated in an SSGM workshop with the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education to explore the issues facing Solomon Islands post-RAMSI. With David Hegarty I also visited several of the universities in Papua New Guinea (UPNG, UniTech, University of Goroka and DWU) to explore the possibilities of Australian (and specifically ANU) support for them. I participated in Papua New Guinea Updates in Port Moresby and Kimbe organised by APSEG. With Peter Warr (Econ. RSPAS) I helped organize another Myanmar Update in Canberra (having spent much of the early part of the year editing the proceedings of the 2002 Update). I was an invited speaker (with support from UNESCO) to a UNESCO-LIPI conference in Jakarta on regional conflict, and again contributed the Papua New Guinea review to the Asia Pacific Security Outlook forum (East-West Center and Japan Center for International Exchange).

## EMERITUS PROFESSOR HANK NELSON – CHAIRMAN SSGM STEERING COMMITTEE

### Publications

'Kokoda: the track from history to politics', *Journal of Pacific History*, 38(1), 109–127.

'Our Great Task', *Meanjin*, 62(3), 123–134.

'A Picture: From the Past and Without a Past', *Conversations*, 4(1), 18–29.

### Research, Writing, Teaching

Currently writing three entries for the Australian Dictionary of Biography. Writing a book on Rabaul concentrating on 1941–1945. Monitoring political developments in Papua New Guinea and relations between Australia and Papua New Guinea leading to an article on Australia and changing defence perceptions of PNG. Main supervisor of one PhD student, advisor to a couple, and giving single lectures for Faculty of Arts and RSPAS masters courses.

## DAVID HEGARTY – SSGM CONVENOR

### Publications and Conferences

The Convenor, in addition to organizing and facilitating SSGM conferences and workshops, presented papers on 'Peace Interventions in the Pacific' at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies Conference on 'Island State Security 2003: Oceania at the Crossroads' in Honolulu in July; on 'The importance of process in peacemaking' in APSEG's Conflict and Peace MA program in April; on the 'Arc of Crisis in the Pacific and its critique' to the SDSC Graduate program; on the 'Solomons' Crisis' at the Australian Defence College's Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies in June; and on the 'RAMSI Intervention in Solomon Islands' at a PIPSA seminar at the University of the Sunshine Coast in October. He was the co-author with SSGM colleagues of a report in September for DFAT on Policy Options for the RAMSI Intervention. He also published SSGM website reports on the PNG-Australia Young Generation Dialogue in October; and on the Dialogue on Sustaining Reform in Solomon Islands held in Honiara in December.

Hegarty was senior consultant to UNDP through 2003 on projects concerning the strengthening of Pacific Parliaments and on attitudes to governance and democracy in Fiji; an advisor to AusAID on NGO cooperation agreements with Solomon Islands; and supervisor for an ANU-AusAID intern project on the role of churches in PNG. He briefed a number of NGOs on governance issues in the Pacific including Australian Volunteers International.

## ANNEX IV: SSGM SEMINAR SERIES — 2003

- 11 Feb Paul Tiensten, MP, Chairman of Special Parliamentary Committee on Gas and Energy Development, National Parliament of Papua New Guinea.  
*A Roundtable Briefing: Current Issues on Land and Resource Development*
- 20 Feb Graeme Dobell  
Foreign Affairs and Defence Correspondent  
Radio Australia and ABC Radio  
*Australia's South Pacific Policy – a Critical View*
- 25 March Hon Steven Kalsakau  
MP Vanuatu Parliament  
*Sustainable Development in Vanuatu*  
(\*jointly with CCP)
- 14 May Anthony Regan  
Fellow, State Society and Governance in Melanesia Project, ANU  
*Solomon Islands Peace Process: Comparative and Cultural Perspectives – Future Prospects*
- 5 June Dr Colin Filer  
Convenor, Resource Management in Asia-Pacific Program, RSPAS, ANU  
*'Hos Bilong Kos': Special purposes authorities and local-level governance in Papua New Guinea*
- 2 July His Excellency Major-General George Konrote  
Fiji High Commissioner to Australia  
*The United Nations peacekeeping experience in Lebanon: Lessons for the Pacific and elsewhere*
- 24 July Lloyd Powell  
Former Permanent Secretary, Solomon Islands Finance Ministry  
*Solomon Islands: Crisis, Intervention, Ways Forward*
- 4 Sept Dr Philip Gibbs  
Melanesian Institute, Goroka, PNG  
*Papua New Guinea Highlands Political Culture: Bigman Tyranny or Grassroots Democracy?*
- 10 Sept Dr Laurence Sullivan  
Lawyer, Scottish Government in Edinburgh (seconded to British Council project at Cenderawasih University in Papua)  
*Papua's Special Autonomy Law and the Issues of Division*
- 22 Oct Mr Lopeti Senituli, Director, Human Rights & Democracy Movement in Tonga  
*The Freedom of the Media and the Future of the Rule of Law in Tonga*  
(\*jointly with CCP)
- 6 Nov Dr John Roughan, Solomon Islands Development Trust  
*RAMSI Report Card*

## ANNEX V: SSGM PROJECT VISITORS

- Ms Marcelline Tunim (Bougainville, PNG)  
Dr Philip Gibbs (Melanesia Institute, PNG)  
Dr John Roughan (Solomon Islands Development Trust, Solomon Islands)  
Dr Laurence Sullivan (Cenderawasih University, Papua, now with Scottish Government, Edinburgh)  
Dr Karen Nero (Director, MacMillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, NZ)  
Dr Henry Okole (School of Humanities and Social Sciences, UPNG)  
Mr Eric Wittersheim (EHESS-CNRS, France)  
Dr August Kituai (Department of History, UPNG)  
Dr Vicki Luker (Joint SSGM / Pacific and Asian History, ANU)  
Dr Benny Giay (STT Walter Post Theological College, Jayapura, Papua)  
Dr John Naitoro (Solomon Islands)

## **ANNEX VI: INDICATIVE LIST OF PARTNER INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANISATIONS**

Indicative list of institutions and organisations with which SSGM has collaborated and engaged on Pacific and Melanesian issues.

Centre for the Contemporary Pacific, ANU  
Resource Management in Asia-Pacific Project, ANU  
Land Management Group, ANU  
Papua Web Project, ANU  
Centre for Conflict & Post Conflict Studies Asia-Pacific, ANU  
Centre for Democratic Institutions, RISS, ANU  
Development Studies Network, RISS, ANU  
Asia Pacific School of Economics and Government, Pacific Policy Project, ANU  
Graduate Studies in International Relations Program, ANU  
Strategic & Defence Studies Centre, ANU  
University of Papua New Guinea, PNG  
Divine Word University, PNG  
University of Goroka, PNG  
University of Technology, PNG  
National Research Institute, PNG  
Solomon Islands College of Higher Education (SICHE), SI  
University of the South Pacific, Laucala Campus, Fiji  
University of the South Pacific, Emalus Campus, Vanuatu  
Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, NZ  
University of Auckland, NZ  
University of Hawaii, Pacific Islands Studies Program, USA  
National University of Samoa, Samoa  
University of Queensland, Aust  
University of Canberra, Aust  
Centre for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, Aust  
University of the Sunshine Coast, Aust  
Australian Defence Force Academy, Aust

Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, Fiji  
Australian Strategic Policy Institute  
Research Institute Asia Pacific, Aust  
United States Institute for Peace, USA  
Centre for Pacific and Asian Studies (CPAS), University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands  
Graduate Institute of International Studies, Small Arms Survey, Geneva, Switz  
UNDP Regional Office, Fiji

Australian Council for International Development (formerly ACFOA)  
Conciliation Resources, UK  
Australian Council of Churches  
Australian Volunteers International  
Ecumenical Centre for Research, Education and Advocacy (ECCREA), Fiji

State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project  
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies  
Australian National University  
Canberra ACT 0200  
AUSTRALIA

Tel: +612 6125 8394  
Fax: +612 6125 5525  
Email: [ssgm@anu.edu.au](mailto:ssgm@anu.edu.au)

URL: <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/melanesia>