

State **Society** *and* **Governance** *in* **Melanesia**

ANNUAL REPORT 2006

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Regional Review

The Pacific Islands region experienced considerable political and social turbulence throughout 2006. In April violence, rioting and looting broke out in the Solomon Islands following the conduct of the national elections and the declaration of Snyder Rini as Prime Minister. Rini had been Deputy Prime Minister in the unpopular, out-going government. A large part of the main commercial area - 'Chinatown' - was destroyed and the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) was unable to quickly restore order. The domestic situation settled down to some extent with Rini's resignation and the election of Manessah Sogavare as Prime Minister. Sogavare's elevation, however, foreshadowed an unsettled period in the bilateral relationship between the Solomon Islands and Australia as well as in relations between RAMSI and the new Prime Minister.¹

East Timor also experienced unrest in April 2006, when discontent within the military turned into rioting, fierce fighting and killing in Dili. Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri, labeling the violence a 'coup', welcomed offers of foreign military assistance. The situation was calmed in May after the arrival of 2,200 troops from Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand and Portugal. The Prime Minister succumbed to strong public pressure to resign, and Ramos Horta was appointed as his successor on 8 July 2006.

In November, Tonga's capital, Nuku'alofa, was beset by a violent mob dissatisfied with the lack of progress in advancing democracy in the country. The rioting began after the Legislative Assembly went into recess for the year without voting on proposals for sweeping democratic reforms to Tonga's semi-feudal system. An estimated 60 to 80% of buildings in the central business district were destroyed and eight bodies were found after government buildings, shops and offices were set alight. There appeared to be a strong anti-Chinese dimension to the riots, with a number of larger Chinese businesses targeted. Local police and military were unable to quell the unrest. Order was restored six days after the riots started with the requested support of New Zealand and Australian troops and police.

In December a long anticipated 'coup' in Fiji occurred when Frank Bainimarama, Commander of the Fijian Military (about 3,000 strong), seized power. After charging the political leadership and administration with corruption, Bainimarama took over the role of President, banished Prime Minister Qarase to virtual exile on his home island, and declared his intention to 'clean up' the government as a *coup* for good governance. The coup was mounted, it was said, because of the government's leniency toward those behind the previous coup in 2000. Ironies and ambiguities abounded, particularly as many beneficiaries of this coup were the opponents of Fiji's previous coups.²

The attacks on Chinese businesses in the Solomon Islands and Tonga in 2006 highlighted growing concern within the region about the impacts of recent Chinese migration to the Islands (particularly in relation to the continued economic dominance of Chinese migrants). These events also focused wider regional concern on the rivalry between Taiwan and Beijing for influence among Pacific Island countries (often taking the form of 'cheque-book' diplomacy) and the impacts of that rivalry on the domestic politics of these countries.³

As the power plays of the two Chinas in part indicated, the Pacific Islands region attracted growing international interest – probably to a level not seen since the closing years of the Cold War. Reflecting this heightened interest, four summits focusing on the region were held in 2006 – the China-Pacific Islands Countries Economic Development and Cooperation Forum, the Taiwan Pacific Allies Summit, the Japan-Pacific Islands Forum, and the France Oceania Summit. While Japan and France have held similar forums in the past, the China and Taiwan forums were the first of their kind. This increased level of engagement contrasts with the perceived decline in interest by a United States government distracted by global terrorism and the war in Iraq.

Australia revamped its approach to aid in the course of 2006, as reflected in the Government's White Paper *Australian Aid: Promoting Growth and Stability*, which analysed the state-of-development in the Pacific and suggested future directions for donor support. AusAID's publication *Pacific2020 Challenges and Opportunities for Growth*, signaled the pressing need for dialogue and action on accelerating economic growth in the Pacific, Papua New Guinea and East Timor. At the diplomatic level, however, Australia struck troubled waters, with a number of Pacific leaders and commentators (both in Australia and in the broader region) alleging poor diplomacy and overbearing and bullying behaviour on Australia's part.

At the regional level, increased cooperation between Pacific Island nations was a key focus of the 2006 Pacific Islands Forum, with Pacific leaders calling for efforts to intensify cooperation, particularly in the areas of energy, transport, and information and communication technology. A taskforce to 'expeditiously' review RAMSI in the light of the Australia-Solomon Islands bilateral row was agreed by Forum leaders. An Eminent Persons Group was formed in December to assess the Fiji situation and advise the Forum of possible assistance in restoring democratic governance.

Available governance and socio-economic indicators for the region reveal that performance by Pacific Island countries in a range of indicators varies across countries and over time. Despite the unrest that occurred in some areas of the region in 2006, key indicators suggest that, in many instances, Pacific Island nations are performing relatively well. The UNDP's Human Development Index showed improvement for Fiji, Vanuatu, and Tonga, while the Solomon Islands and Timor-Leste declined in the index.⁴ Similarly, the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators showed mixed results for Pacific Island nations. Most nations experienced both positive and negative movements across the six governance indicators – notable observations include Papua New Guinea (which showed a decline on five out of the six indicators) and Vanuatu (which showed an improvement on five out of the six indicators).⁵

Similarly, economic indicators show varied performance across the region. Papua New Guinea – despite a decline in governance indicators - has recently been touted as the economic success story of the region, with real GDP growth for 2006 estimated at 3.7% and forecasted at 4.5% for 2007. Other recent good performers include Samoa and Vanuatu, with real GDP growth for 2006 estimated at 4.6%, and 5.5% respectively.⁶ Countries that have not been performing as well in comparison include Fiji (with real GDP growth for 2006 estimated at 3.4%), Timor-Leste (estimated at 1.8%⁷) and Tonga (estimated at 1.9%).⁸ The estimated economic growth for the Pacific Islands as a region was 3.1% for 2006 which, despite the Asian Development Bank's assessment of this performance as 'largely unimpressive', is an improvement from the average growth of about 2% over the previous five years.⁹

References

1. Dinnen, S & Firth, S (eds.) (in press), *Beyond Unrest in the Solomon Islands*, ANU E Press, Canberra.
2. Fraenkel, J & Firth, S (eds.) 2007, *From Election to Coup in Fiji: the 2006 Campaign and its Aftermath*, Asia Pacific Press at ANU, Canberra.
3. Dobell, G 2007, 'China and Taiwan in the South Pacific: Diplomatic Chess Versus Pacific Political Rugby', *Policy Brief—Lowy Institute for International Policy*.
4. United Nations Development Program 2006, *Human Development Report 2006—Beyond Scarcity: Power, Poverty and the Global Water Crisis*, UNDP, New York.
5. The World Bank 2006, *Worldwide Governance Indicators: 1996—2005* <<http://www.worldbank.org/>>.
6. Economics@ANZ November 2006, 'ANZ Pacific Quarterly' <http://www.anz.com/Business/info_centre/economic_commentary/ANZPacific_Qrtrly_Nov06.pdf>.
7. Ibid.
8. Asian Development Bank 2007, *Asian Development Outlook 2007*.
9. Ibid.

STATE, SOCIETY AND GOVERNANCE IN MELANESIA (SSGM) - OVERVIEW

SSGM is a small academic unit within the ANU's Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. SSGM's central objectives are to develop policy-relevant scholarship and publications, to facilitate dialogue and understanding of governance-related issues within policy agencies and regional education institutions, and to strengthen the network of scholars engaged in inter-disciplinary research on state, society and governance in contemporary Melanesia and the wider Pacific.

Since its inception in 1996, when the ANU and the Australian government recognised the need to bolster research on Melanesia, the SSGM Project has enjoyed a sound relationship with AusAID, DFAT, and other policy agencies, including the Australian Federal Police. AusAID has generously provided financial support to SSGM since its establishment. A new contractual arrangement between the ANU and AusAID was negotiated in 2006 for the provision of a range of research and outreach activities designed to advance knowledge and understanding of the Pacific Islands contemporary environment and to 'bridge' the policy and research communities in this endeavour. The current three-year contract for SSGM, with a budget of \$4.194 million, expires in 2009.

In 2006 SSGM developed a Strategic Plan for policy relevant research around the themes of political governance, conflict and governance, the governance of security, and aid effectiveness. The Strategic Plan outlines the strategies for achieving the five key SSGM goals, as well as the performance indicators for assessing progress over the period 2006 – 2008.

SSGM STAFF

In 2006 SSGM was comprised of **Fellows** Sinclair Dinnen, Anthony Regan, Nicole Haley, Abby McLeod (January – June), and David Hegarty (Convenor of SSGM) (July – December); **Visiting Fellows** Ron May, Hank Nelson (SSGM Chair) and Peter Elder; Sue Rider (SSGM **Executive Officer**); Jean Hardy (**Administrative Assistant**); and **Research Assistants** Benjamin Marwick (September – December) and Iris Wielders (January – March). The SSGM Convenor is responsible for the management of SSGM, with oversight and strategic direction provided by the SSGM Council.



Pictured (from top left): Nicole Haley, Anthony Regan, Nancy Krause, Sinclair Dinnen, Peter Elder, Hank Nelson, Abby McLeod, David Hegarty, Sue Rider, Jean Hardy, and Jon Fraenkel.

SUMMARY OF SSGM HIGHLIGHTS FOR 2006

Research Highlights

Research highlights over 2006 reflect SSGM's strong commitment to active engagement with policy communities in Australia and the broader region. A highlight of 2006 was the publication of the first of the SSGM *Targeted Research Papers* series, which was developed in agreement with AusAID to address key contemporary policy issues. The four papers, researched and written by external consultants, examine the following topics:

- the increasingly important role of cities in the economies of Pacific Island countries, and the need for donors, researchers and governments to revitalise the agenda on urban development and management;
- customary modes of governance, their functional relevance to 'modern' forms of government, and their potential to assist in improving governance more generally in the Solomon Islands and elsewhere;
- conflict prevention concepts, tools and methodologies, with particular focus on conflict sensitive development in the Pacific; and
- the performance of oversight agencies, focusing on their strengths and impediments, and the possible ways that oversight can be strengthened in the Pacific.

Two important contributions of SSGM Fellows during 2006 were to the Government's White Paper *Australian Aid: Promoting Growth and Stability*, and to AusAID's major policy paper *Pacific 2020: Challenges and Opportunities for Growth*. Fellows also engaged strongly in major development debates focused on 'state building' (with Francis Fukuyama), on 'drivers of change' (with DFID and AusAID), and on conflict and peace in the Pacific region. A further important development of 2006 was the initiation of the *Papua New Guinea Public Policy Discussion Paper Series*, developed in partnership with the National Research Institute (NRI) in Papua New Guinea as per the Memorandum of Understanding entered into in 2006 by SSGM (through the RSPAS) and the NRI.

A significant contribution to contemporary Melanesian research in 2006 were papers examining illicit guns as a serious impediment to nation and state development. SSGM conducted a small arms survey in Papua New Guinea in collaboration with the *Small Arms Survey*, an independent research project located at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland.

Conferences

In response to the unrest in the Solomon Islands in early 2006, SSGM, in collaboration with the ANU's Pacific Centre, organized the conference *Solomon Islands: Where to Now?*. Held immediately after the riots in Honiara, the conference provided a unique opportunity for reflection and discussion amongst the diverse participants (including academics, civil society, the media, and first-hand observers of the rioting). A book arising from this conference is in-press.

Consultancies

Throughout 2006, SSGM Fellows continued to apply their expertise to the broad range of needs of a diverse client group. Notable consultancies in 2006 include Nicole Haley's work for the PNG Electoral Support Program, Ron May's institutional strengthening consultancy with the National Research Institute in Papua New Guinea on public policy research and development, and Anthony Regan's provision of advice to Naga leadership in negotiation with the Government of India on resolution of a secessionist dispute. SSGM associate Gregory Rawlings was engaged by GRM International to undertake a project examining leadership codes in the Pacific.

Collaboration and Networking

Collaboration with Australian and regional institutions and the development of networks with governance-related institutions internationally continues to be at the heart of the mandate of SSGM. An important activity during 2006 was SSGM's participation in the OxFam Gender and Violence campaign, which was launched on 16 October 2006 at ACFID by Lady Hilan Los, Executive Director ICRAF (Individual and Community Rights Advocacy Forum). SSGM also provided administrative support and strengthening of the ANU's 'Pacific Centre' - the umbrella organization for Pacific Studies.

Significant Outreach Activities

In January/February 2006, ANU for the third time convened Asia-Pacific Week. As part of this event, SSGM and the Pacific Centre organised the Pacific Islands Workshop. Eight young Pacific scholars traveled from various Pacific Island countries and were mentored by SSGM Fellows during their stay in Canberra. SSGM also continued its active visitors scheme in 2006, providing the opportunity for scholars, policy makers and political figures to develop, write and present their ideas in a congenial Canberra environment. In 2006 eight visitors, from countries including West Papua, Sweden, and the USA participated in this program.

Research Grants and Awards

Sinclair Dinnen and Abby McLeod continued their work on the ARC grant *Policing the Neighbourhood: Australian Police Peace-keeping, Capacity-building, and Development in Timor-Leste, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea* – a study examining the grounds for providing assistance and the forms of this assistance, the different cultural and political contexts in which assistance is taking place, and the achievements and shortcomings of previous and current police assistance missions. Other grants in 2006 include the *PNG Electoral Support Project Activity Grant* received by Nicole Haley to observe and review the Kopiago by-election, and a small research grant from the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue for the preparation of a briefing paper on lessons from peace building in the Pacific Islands. Abby McLeod received an *Excellence in Policing Award* from the Australian Council of Women and Policing for her work on gender and policing in the Pacific.

Consultative Meetings

Throughout the year, SSGM was approached by various organizations for the provision of expert advice on a range of issues. In 2006, meetings were held with organizations including AusAID (*Papua New Guinea Civil Society and Drivers of Change in Vanuatu*), Overseas Development Institute (*Bridging Research, Policy & Practice*), the World Bank (with AusAID) (*Justice for the Poor and Growth and Financial Reform in Vanuatu*), the Australia/Papua New Guinea Business Council, the Canadian International Development Agency, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

SSGM 2006 CONSULTANCIES

Anthony Regan advised the Autonomous Bougainville Government, Papua New Guinea, on constitutional and legal aspects of post-conflict development in Bougainville. He also advised Naga leadership in negotiation with the Government of India on resolution of a secessionist dispute.

Abby McLeod was engaged by the AFP to provide cultural awareness training and develop a reintegration program. She was gender advisor to the AusAID / Government of Papua New Guinea *Law and Justice Sector Program*, and consulted for AusAID on *Pacific Leadership Models*.

Ron May was senior consultant to the National Research Institute in Papua New Guinea through the PNG Advisory Support Facility on public policy research and development.

David Hegarty continued his work as the research and strategy advisor to the *Community Sector Program, Solomon Islands*, a program supported by AusAID, ANU Enterprise and Hassalls International.

Nicole Haley was engaged by AusAID to design the *RAMSI People's Survey*, in collaboration with ANU's Adrian Hayes, and was subsequently engaged to analyse the qualitative data. She undertook two consultancies for the PNG Electoral Support Program. The first project was an observation of the Karioba-Lake Kopyago by-election and the second project focused on improving civic and electoral awareness in the Southern Highlands Province. She was also an advisor to the Justice Advisory Group, which supports the Government of Papua New Guinea in its role of sector monitoring and evaluation.

Sinclair Dinnen, working with Glenn Crannage, undertook a consultancy for AusAID and AFP on the *Review of Australian Assistance to Policing in the Pacific*. He was engaged by the Fragile States Unit, AusAID to prepare *Concepts Paper on Nation Building*, and also provided briefings to DFAT and the Australian Defence College.

SSGM SEMINAR SERIES IN 2006

- 9 Feb Dr Michael Goddard, University of Newcastle and Visitor to SSGM - *Making and Un-making Marriages in Port Moresby's Settlements*
- 23 March Dr Gerard Guthrie, Consultant, Educo Pty Ltd - *Household Crime Victimisation in Port Moresby*
- 28 March Ms Paula Makabory, West Papuan human rights activist, ELSHAM - *Human Rights and West Papua*
- 30 March Maev O'Collins, Emeritus Professor Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU - *Australia and Norfolk Island: Dilemmas Inherent in 'Governance for Afar'*
- 18 May Hank Nelson, Emeritus Professor, College of Asia and the Pacific, ANU - *Governments, States and Labels*
- 2 June Hank Nelson (at AusAID), Emeritus Professor, College of Asia and the Pacific, ANU - *Governments, States and Labels*
- 8 June Kate Butcher, Consultant to AusAid on Papua New Guinea HIV/AIDS - *Responding to HIV in Papua New Guinea: How HIV Mainstreaming can Support Good Governance*
- 6 July Michael Upton, Development Services Exchange - *Strengthening Civil Society in Solomon Islands from the Inside: Organisational Development and Capacity Building of SI Development Services Exchange*
- 11 July Alumita Durutalo, University of the South Pacific - *Defending the Inheritance: The Ruling SDL Party and the 2006 Fiji General Election*
- 14 July Alumita Durutalo (at AusAID) - *Defending the Inheritance: The Ruling SDL Party and the 2006 Fiji General Election*
- 27 July Richard Curtain, Adviser on National Youth Policy, UNICEF Timor Leste, September 2005-April 2006 - *Crisis in Timor Leste: Looking Beyond the Surface Reality for Causes and Solutions*
- 11 August Associate Professor Kjell-Ake Nordquist, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden - *East Timor: Challenges of Consolidating Peace in a Post-Conflict Situation*
- 28 Sept Dr Glenn Banks, Senior Lecturer, School of Physical, Environmental & Mathematical Sciences, UNSW@ADFA - *Beyond Terminal Development: Rethinking Economic Development in Melanesia*
- 24 Oct Ms Monika Kruesmann, Ms Gabrielle Burrell, Ms Nicky Seaby and Mr Damian West, Australian Government Participants in the Emerging Pacific Leaders' Dialogue 2006 - *Navigating Our Future Together*
- 26 Oct Hank Nelson, Professor Emeritus RSPAS - *Kokoda: on the Track Again*
- 2 Nov David Lawrence (Visiting Fellow RMAP), Matt Allen & Solomon Rakei Seimoana - *A Community Snapshot of Solomon Islands*
- 17 Nov Brij Lal, Professor Division of Pacific and Asian History and the Pacific Centre - *Fiji: What Next?*
- 15 Dec Professor Francis Fukuyama, John Hopkins University, Washington D.C. *The Missing Dimension of Stateness*, ANU Public Lecture - available for downloading at <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/melanesia/>

SSGM PUBLICATIONS IN 2006***SSGM Discussion Papers**

2006/1 Hank Nelson, Emeritus Professor RSPAS, *Governments, States and Labels*

Joint SSGM / NRI Discussion Paper Series on Public Policy in Papua New Guinea

2006 / 1 Bill Kua, *Public Sector Reform in Papua New Guinea*

2006 / 2 *Two Papers on the Proposed Decentralisation in Papua New Guinea*

Peter O'Neill, *The Proposal to Establish District Authorities in the Provinces of Papua New Guinea* (Paper 1)

Graham Tuck, *Improved Decentralisation: The Work of the Public Sector Reform Advisory Group* (Paper 2)

2006 / 3 *Two Papers on Electoral Reform in Papua New Guinea*

Andrew S. Trawen, *Electoral Reforms: Implications for the 2007 National Elections* (Paper 1)

John Nonggorr, *Electoral Reforms – Improving Election Administration and Management* (Paper 2)

2006 / 4 Ron May, *The Public Sector Reform Process in Papua New Guinea* (in press)

2006 / 5 Edward P. Wolfers, *Bougainville Autonomy – Implications for Governance and Decentralisation.*

2006 / 6 Margaret Thomas, *The Role of Donors in Papua New Guinea's Development*

Working Papers

2006/1 Richard Curtain, *Crisis in Timor Leste: Looking Beyond the Surface Reality for Causes and Solutions*

2006/2 Hank Nelson, *The State of Francis Fukuyama*

2006/3 Michael Upton, *Strengthening Civil Society in Solomon Islands: Organisational and Network Development in Development Services Exchange*

Targeted Research Papers

February Donovan Storey, *Urbanisation in the Pacific*

February Geoffrey White, *Indigenous Governance in Melanesia*

February Gregory Rawlings, *Regulating Responsively for Oversight Agencies in the Pacific*

February Rebecca Spence and Iris Wielders, *Conflict Prevention in the Pacific*

SSGM CONFERENCES, WORKSHOPS AND ROUNDTABLES IN 2006

5 May *Solomon Islands: Where to Now?*, SSGM conference in collaboration with The Pacific Centre, ANU

24 August *PNG Civil Society Workshop*

5 October *Drivers of Change in Vanuatu Workshop*

*all SSGM publications are available for downloading at <http://rspas.anu.edu.au/melanesia/>

SSGM FELLOWS – RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS AND AWARDS IN 2006
SINCLAIR DINNEN—SSGM SENIOR FELLOWResearch Interests

The governance of security in Melanesia; external police-building; Australia's foreign policy in the Pacific; state and nation-building in Melanesia; politics and the rule of law in the Pacific.

2006 Publications

'Restorative Justice and the Governance of Security in the Southwest Pacific', in D Sullivan & L Tift (eds.), *Handbook of Restorative Justice: A Global Perspective*, Routledge, London and New York:401-421.

(with Abby McLeod and Gordon Peake) 'Police-Building in Weak States: Australian Approaches in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands', *Civil Wars* 8(2):87-108.

Forthcoming Publications

(with Edwina Thompson) 'Gender, Violence and Guns in Papua New Guinea', in V Farr & A Schnabel (eds.) *Guns and Gender – A Global Review*, United Nations University Press.

'Trying to Do Too Much, Too Badly, With Too Little? Thirty Years of Law and Order Policy and Practice in Papua New Guinea', in R May (ed.) *Policy-Making in Papua New Guinea*.

'Beyond State-Centrism: External Solutions and the Governance of Security in Melanesia', in G Fry & T Kabutaulaka (eds.) *Intervention and State-Building in the Pacific – the Political Legitimacy of Cooperative Intervention*, Manchester University Press.

(with Abby McLeod) 'Police Building in the Southwest Pacific – New Directions in Australian Regional Policing', in A Goldsmith & J Sheptycki (eds.) *Crafting Transnational Policing: International Police Capacity-building and Global Police Reform*, Oxford: Hart.

Papers at National & International Conferences

'The Challenges of Nation-building in Solomon Islands', *Rich Vassals – Poor Dependents? Reflections on Nation-Building in the South Pacific*, German Pacific Network Conference, Munster, Germany, 10-12 November 2006.

'Security and Development: Australia in the Pacific and Asia', *Ingram Colloquium on International Law and Development*, University of New South Wales, 20 October 2006.

'The Governance of Security in Papua New Guinea', *Collaborative Relations, Personal Aims, and the Work of Institutions in Contemporary Melanesia*, Institute of PNG Studies and University of Cambridge, Port Moresby, 12 September 2006.

'The Challenges of State and Nation-Building in Solomon Islands', *Solomon Islands – Where to Now?*, Australian National University, 5 May 2006.

Research Reports

(with Glenn Crannage) 'Australia's Engagement in Policing Interventions in the Pacific', March 2006, review commissioned by AusAID and the Australian Federal Police.

Grants

Continuation of ARC Linkage Grant *Policing the Neighbourhood*, a study examining the grounds for providing assistance and forms of that assistance, the different cultural and political contexts in which assistance is taking place, and the achievements and shortcomings of previous and current police assistance missions.

Teaching

Master of Applied Anthropology and Participatory Development – *Law, Order and Conflict in the Pacific* (with Abby McLeod).

Significant Outreach Activities

Provided briefings and seminars for the AFP, AusAID, DFAT and Australian Defence College.

NICOLE HALEY—SSGM RESEARCH FELLOWResearch Interests

Investigation of conflict in its various forms including: contemporary land politics and land disputes in the context of resource development; election politics and election related violence in Southern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea; proliferation of small arms; HIV/AIDS and torture.

2006 Publications

(with R Muggah) 'Jumping the Gun: Armed Violence in Papua New Guinea', *Small Arms Survey 2006: Unfinished Business*, Oxford University Press.

Forthcoming Publications

(in press) (edited with R. May) *Conflict and Resource Development in the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea*, ANU E Press, Canberra.

(in press) (with R Muggah) 'Jumping the gun? Reflections on armed violence in Papua New Guinea', *African Security Review 15(2):38-56*.

(in press) 'Cosmology, Morality and Resource Development: Election Outcomes and Moves to Establish a separate Hela Province', in *Conflict and Resource Development in the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea*, ANU E Press, Canberra..

(in press) (with R May) 'Introduction: Roots of Conflict in the Southern Highlands', in *Conflict and Resource Development in the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea*, ANU E Press, Canberra.

'When There's No Accessing Basic Health Care: Local Politics and HIV/AIDS at Lake Kapiago, Papua New Guinea', in *AIDS in Oceania: Culture, Politics and the Global Pandemic* (under review with University of Hawaii Press).

'Witchcraft, Torture and HIV/AIDS', in *Law, Order and HIV/AIDS in PNG*.

Research Reports

Report on the Koroba-Lake Kapiago By-Election, prepared for the Electoral Support Project and the PNG Electoral Commission.

Report on the RAMSI People's Survey (Part 3), prepared for ANU Enterprises / AusAID.

Teaching

Co-supervisor of a PhD student in Anthropology; also on the panel of three other students (from Linguistics, CCR and GRC).

Conference, Workshop and Seminar Papers

'Anything But Fair: Report on the 2006 Koroba-Lake Kapiago By-election', *PNG Electoral Support Project and the PNG Electoral Commission*, Port Moresby, 10 August 2006.

'Kei Yaka (Praise Names) and Piloni', *Goroka Workshop II on Chanted Tales from Highland Papua New Guinea*, Goroka, 22 June 2006.

‘Jumping the Gun? Reflections on armed violence in Papua New Guinea’, *International Conference Driving Change: Developing Firearms Policy for Safer Societies*, Durban, 31 March 2006.

‘When There’s No Accessing Basic Health Care: the Effects of Service Delivery Failure on Local Politics and Experiences of the HIV/AIDS Epidemic’, *The Pacific in Australia, Australia in the Pacific*, AAAPS Conference, Queensland University of Technology, January 2006.

Grants

PNG Electoral Support Project Activity Grant to observe and review the Koroba-Lake Kapiago by-election.

Significant Outreach Activities

Seminars, briefings and peer reviews in Canberra and Papua New Guinea for AusAID, DFAT and ACFID.

DAVID HEGARTY—SSGM CONVENOR AND SENIOR FELLOW (July-December 2006)

Elections

Re-elected Vice President, Pacific Islands Political Studies Association.

Research Interests

Governance and political change in PNG and the Pacific Islands; governance indicators; diplomacy and security in the Pacific region; conflict and conflict-resolution strategies; state and nation-building in the Pacific.

Significant Outreach Activities

Provided briefings and seminars for AusAID, DFAT, AFP, RAMSI, Australian Defence College, NZ MFAT, and the Australia-PNG Business Council. Facilitated a peer review workshop for AusAID’s civil society strategy in Papua New Guinea, and a working group on ‘Drivers of Change’ analysis for Vanuatu. Facilitated video-link dialogue with Professor Francis Fukuyama (Johns Hopkins University and the World Bank).

2006 Publications

(with Anna Powles) ‘South Pacific Security’, in R Ayson & D Ball (eds.) *Strategy and Security in the Asia-Pacific*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

‘Australia’s Recent Engagements in the South Pacific; Lessons and Limitations of ‘Soft’ and ‘Hard’ Interventions’, *Pacific Islands-Australia Update*, Crawford School of Economics and Government, ANU, Canberra, December 2006.

(with Anthony Regan) ‘Peace-Building in the Pacific Islands: Lessons from Bougainville, Solomon Islands and Fiji’, in *Handbook on Conflict and Mediation in Asia: Challenges and Opportunities*, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Geneva, pp.57-68.

ANTHONY REGAN—SSGM FELLOW

Key Research Directions

Conflict resolution in Melanesia, with particular reference to the lessons from the Bougainville conflict; ombudsman institutions and leadership codes as constitutional accountability and anti-corruption mechanisms; and civil society in Melanesia.

2006 Publications

(with Y.P. Ghai) 'Unitary State, Devolution, Autonomy, Secession: State Building and Nation Building in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea', *The Round Table* 95(386):418-446.

Forthcoming Publications

'Development and conflict in Bougainville', in *Security and Development in the Pacific Islands: Social Resilience in Emerging States*.

'Australia's Role in the Bougainville Peace Process – 'Lessons' from a Limited and Cooperative Intervention', in *The New Intervention in the Pacific: The Legitimacy of International Engagement in National Governance*, Manchester University Press.

Doing Less to Achieve More: Lessons from a Successful Peace Process, Bougainville 1997-2006, USIP Special Report.

Conference Papers

'External Versus Internal Incentives in the Peace Processes – Aspects of the Bougainville Experience', *The Conciliation Resources Workshop for the 'Accord' Project on 'The Role of Sanctions, Conditionalties and Incentives in Peace Processes'*, September 2006.

'Resolving Conflict Through Autonomy in Bougainville: Negotiation, Design, Implementation and Impact', *Autonomous States Forum on Tibet*, Delhi, India, November 2006.

Significant Outreach Activities

Provided advice to DFAT, AusAID, and the Autonomous Bougainville Government in Papua New Guinea. Advised the Naga leadership (NSCN-IM) in the negotiations with the Government of India in relation to the secessionist dispute between those parties.

**ABBY McLEOD—ARC POSTDOCTORAL FELLOW / SSGM ASSOCIATE
(January – June)**

Research Interests

Women and the law in PNG; women and conflict in Melanesia; state and non-state mechanisms of social control; cultural impediments to police reform.

2006 Publications

(with M. Morgan) 'An Incomplete Arc: Analysing the Potential for Violent Conflict in the Republic of Vanuatu', accepted for publication by *Pacific Affairs*.

(with M. Morgan) 'Have We Failed our Neighbour?', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 60(3): 412-428.

Forthcoming Publications

(in press) 'Social order in Papua New Guinea: Challenges to Police Reform' in Brown & Reinner (eds.) *Security and Development in the Pacific Islands Region*.

(in press) (with S. Dinnen and G. Peake) 'Police-building in Weak States: Australian Approaches in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands' in Peake & Rienner (eds.) *Security Sector Reform – A Global Perspective*.

(with S. Dinnen) 'Police Building in the Southwest Pacific - New Directions in Australian Regional Policing', in Goldsmith & Sheptycki (eds.) *Crafting Global Policing*.

(with M. MacIntyre) 'The Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary', in Luker, Dinnen & Patience (eds.) *Law, Order and HIV/AIDS in Papua New Guinea*, ANU E Press, Canberra.

Selected Conference Papers

'Women & the Law in Papua New Guinea', *The Pacific in Australia—Australia in the Pacific*, Australian Association for the Advancement of Pacific Studies Conference, Brisbane, January.

Grants and Awards

Continuation of ARC Linkage *Grant Policing the Neighbourhood* - a study examining the grounds for providing assistance and forms of that assistance, the different cultural and political contexts in which assistance is taking place, and the achievements and shortcomings of previous and current police assistance missions.

Received an Excellence in Policing Award from the Australian Council of Women and Policing for work on gender and policing in the Pacific.

Significant Outreach Activities

Provided briefings to AusAID, DFAT and the AFP on matters of culture, gender, regional security and policing. Provided advice to the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) on matters relating to the State's treatment of women in Papua New Guinea, which resulted in a number of domestic violence victims obtaining refugee status in Australia.

Teaching

Master of Applied Anthropology and Participatory Development - *Law, Order and Conflict in the Pacific* (with Sinclair Dinnen).

RON MAY—ANU EMERITUS FELLOW, SSGM VISITING FELLOWResearch Interests

Comparative politics, particularly ethnicity and ethnic conflict; decentralisation, parties and elections; civil-military relations, focused particularly on Papua New Guinea and the Philippines (especially Muslim Mindanao).

Significant Outreach Activities

Provided seminars and briefings for AusAID and the Government of Papua New Guinea.

2006 Publications

'Papua New Guinea: Disorderly Democracy or Dysfunctional State?', in D Rumley, VL Forbes & C Griffin (eds.) *Australia's Arc of Instability - The Political and Cultural Dynamics of Regional Security*, Springer, Dordrecht.

'Political Parties in Papua New Guinea', in R Rich (with L. Hambly and M. Morgan) (eds.) *Political Parties in the Pacific Islands*, Pandanus Books, Canberra.

'Northern Exposure: the New Guinea Research Unit', in B Lal & A Ley (eds.) *The Coombs: A House of Memories*, ANU College of Asia & the Pacific, Canberra.

'Political and Social Change: Not the Research School of Politics and Sociology', in B Lal & A Ley (eds.) *The Coombs: A House of Memories*, ANU College of Asia & the Pacific, Canberra

'The "Clan Vote" in Papua New Guinea Open Electorates: Data from Angoram', *Journal of Pacific Studies* 29(1):108-129.

(edited with Binayak Ray) *Corruption, Governance and Democracy in South Asia*, Towards Freedom, Kolkata.

'El Pacifico insular en 2005', in *Anuario Asia Pacifico 2005*, Barcelona: Fundación CIDOB.

HANK NELSON, PROFESSOR EMERITUS, CHAIR SSGM COUNCIL

Research Interests

History of Papua New Guinea; relations between Papua New Guinea and Australia; current politics of Papua New Guinea.

Significant Outreach Activities

Provided seminars on regional new states at ANU, AusAID and the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies; participated in video-conference with Professor Francis Fukuyama on issues of state building, and chaired Francis Fukuyama's public lecture at ANU on The Missing Dimension of Stateness.

2006 Publications

Governments, States and Labels, SSGM Discussion Paper.

SSGM GENERAL STAFF—KEY ACTIVITIES IN 2006

SUE RIDER, EXECUTIVE OFFICER

In the first six months of 2006, in the absence of a convenor, Ms Rider undertook the role of manager of the Program. During this time Ms Rider negotiated a new funding arrangement with AusAID for \$4.194 million over 3 years, which provided support for SSGM research priorities as set out in the Strategic Plan. She was selected by the ANU to undertake a nine month program of 1/2 day workshops for its ANU Career Advance Program, and graduated in November 2006. Ms Rider also coordinated the financial and administrative support for the newly created ANU College of Asia and the Pacific's Pacific Centre, headed by Professor Stewart Firth, and continued to provide support to SSGM Fellows (administrative and travel). She also participated in the SSGM strategic planning process.

JEAN HARDY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT (P/T)

In 2006 Mrs Hardy provided a compilation of SSGM's research products for the ANU and RSPAS annual reports, and for the online publications listing for the ANU web database. She undertook the administration of SSGM's Seminar Series, provided support for staff research travel and assisted with the travel arrangements for participants of the *Asia Pacific Week* conference. She also arranged numerous ad hoc consultative meetings with academic scholars and government officials.

BEN MARWICK, RESEARCH ASSISTANT (September—December 2006)

Mr Marwick supported SSGM Fellows through the provision of library research, assistance with the preparation of academic seminars and presentations, and the preparation of manuscripts for publication. He also contributed to the preparation of briefing seminars for AusAID staff and other public servants involved in the *Enhanced Cooperation Program*.

IRIS WIELDERS, RESEARCH ASSISTANT (January—March 2006)

Ms Wielders assisted in coordinating the Pacific Islands portion of Asia Pacific Week 2006. She also co-authored *Conflict Prevention in the Pacific*, an SSGM Targeted Research Paper, and assisted in the preparation of other papers in the series.

SSGM 2006 PROJECT VISITORS

Michael Goddard, University of New Castle

Kjell-Ake Nordquist, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden, and the Centre for Conflict and Post Conflict Studies, Asia Pacific

Wallis Yakam, Consultative Implementation and Monitoring Council, Papua New Guinea

Kristian Lasslett, University of Westminster

Octo Mote, West Papua Genocide Program, Yale University, USA

Paula Makabory, ELSHAM, West Papua

Michael Upton, Development Services Exchange, Solomon Islands

Alumita Durutalo, University of the South Pacific, Fiji

Richard Curtain, Public Policy Consultant with UNICEF

Glenn Banks, University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy

Kenny Kendoli, Hirane Village, Lake Kopyago, Papua New Guinea

Richard Alo, Aiyukuni Village, Lake Kopyago, Papua New Guinea

COLLABORATING INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANISATIONS

Centre for the Contemporary Pacific / The Pacific Centre, ANU

Resource Management Asia-Pacific Project, ANU

Land Management Group, ANU

Papua Web Project, ANU

Centre for Conflict and Post Conflict Studies Asia Pacific, ANU

Crawford School of Economics and Government, Pacific Policy Project, ANU

Graduate Studies in International Relations Program, ANU

Strategic and 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), Solomon Islands

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, New Zealand

University of Auckland, New Zealand
 University of Hawaii, Pacific Islands Studies Program, USA
 National University of Samoa, Samoa
 University of Queensland, Australia
 University of Canberra, Australia
 University of New South Wales, Centre for South Pacific Studies, Australia
 University of the Sunshine Coast, Australia
 Australian Defence Force Academy, Australia
 Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, Fiji
 Australian Strategic Policy Institute
 Research Institute Asia Pacific, Australia
 United States Institute for Peace, USA
 University of Nijmegen, Centre for Pacific and Asian Studies (CPAS)
 Graduate Institute of International Studies, Small Arms Survey, Geneva, Switzerland
 UNDP Regional Office, Fiji
 Australian Council for International Development (formerly ACFOA), Australia
 Conciliation Resources, UK
 Australian Council of Churches

AAAPS	Australian Associated for the Advancement of Pacific Studies	Australian Volunteers International Ecumenical Centre for Research, Education and Advo- cacy (ECEA), Fiji Lowy Insti- tute, Austra-
ACFID	Australian Council for International Development	
AFP	Australian Federal Police	
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade	
DFID	UK Department for International Development	
ICRAF	Individual and Community Rights Advocacy Forum	
NRI	National Research Institute, Papua New Guinea	
NSCN-IM	National Socialist Council of Nagaland—Isak-Muivah	
RSPAS	Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies	

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

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