Development Policy Centre Progress Report

January-June 2015

HIGHLIGHTS

- We held the 2015 Australasian Aid Conference in February, in conjunction with the Asia Foundation. There was a huge level of interest—the conference was oversubscribed and required overflow theatres. The webstreaming was also a big success. Feedback from participants was overwhelmingly positive, and the 2016 conference will be held on 10-11 February next year.

- We published a number of analyses and gave speeches on the PNG economy, pointing to the growing macroeconomic risks, and highlighting the need for government action.

- We continued to support Femili PNG and the Lae Case Management Centre for survivors of family and sexual violence. Research plans are also advancing in relation to this important work.

- We welcomed the University of Papua New Guinea Vice Chancellor and Dean of the School of Business Administration to ANU in April to sign an MOU to develop the partnership between ANU Crawford School of Public Policy (of which Devpolicy is part) and the UPNG School of Business Administration. Devpolicy is taking the lead on behalf of Crawford in regard to this partnership.

- For the second time, the PNG Update was held in partnership with the UPNG School of Business Administration at the UPNG campus in Port Moresby. More than 400 participants, including those from high levels of the PNG government, attended the two-day event, where about 50 papers and keynotes were presented. There was good media coverage of the keynote addresses. The PNG Update has now firmly established itself as PNG’s premier forum on policy and economics, and planning has commenced for the third Update.

- We again held our annual aid budget breakfast, to discuss the implications of the Australian federal budget on the aid program. Given the unprecedented cuts to aid, there was huge levels of interest in our analysis from the media, from readers on the blog, and from attendees at the breakfast event (220 in person at ANU and 350+ connections over the web livestream—some organisations outside Canberra, such as development contractors and overseas DFAT posts, projected the web livestream in their offices for all of their staff to view). Our budget coverage is the premier source of information, and is highly valued by the sector and by others with an interest in aid.

- We launched a new report on the Seasonal Worker Program in conjunction with the World Bank, which attracted significant media coverage and interest. The report launch facilitated strong dialogue between academics, horticulturalists, the government and other stakeholders. Recommendations on reallocating unused places in trial sectors made by Stephen Howes on the Devpolicy Blog were adopted by the government, allowing more Pacific islanders to access the scheme, and more horticulturalists to access the workers they need. The White Paper on Developing Northern Australia also gave significant attention to the scheme and changes undertaken were in line with our report’s findings.
- We signed an MOU with ACFID, Australia’s peak body for international development NGOs, to collaborate with them on their member survey in order to gain more information about Australian NGOs and public support for development.

- We held the third Harold Mitchell Development Policy Annual Lecture with Professor Mari Pangestu. The event was well-attended, attracted a good web livestream audience, and received positive feedback. We have now published all three Harold Mitchell lectures.

- We released a major new OECD report on the future of aid, co-authored by Devpolicy Associate Director Robin Davies and Visiting Fellow Jonathan Pryke. Robin Davies also wrote a co-authored book on the future of the World Bank which was published early in the year. And he released a policy paper with the Center for Global Development examining the Indonesia-Australia Forest Carbon Partnership, a landmark but ultimately unsuccessful bilateral aid project.
OUTREACH

Media

Media interest in the centre’s work has increased, as more and more journalists come to know the centre as a key resource for independent information and analysis on our areas of focus. Media mentions were more than double the numbers achieved in the second half of 2014, and double those achieved in the same period last year (some 155 mentions recorded over the six months).

There was substantial interest in our Australian aid analysis in the lead-up and after the Federal Budget. Other topics that attracted significant coverage included our new report on the Seasonal Worker Program (in conjunction with the World Bank); work on migration, corruption and economic concerns in Papua New Guinea; and recovery from Cyclone Pam in Vanuatu.


Beyond media mentions, we have also provided backgrounding information for a number of journalists (from outlets such as The Australian, Australian Financial Review and Fairfax Media) to inform their coverage of key issues, particularly on Australian aid and Papua New Guinea. We have continued our outreach to regional journalists. For example, in May, Matthew Dornan, Ashlee Betteridge (Devpolicy) and Kamalini Lokuge (of Femili PNG) spoke to a group of visiting journalists from PNG & the Pacific (Asia Pacific Journalism Centre fellows) about economic and gender issues in the region.
We also published a number of opinion pieces such as:


*A full list of media mentions is attached in Appendix A.*

**Devpolicy Blog**

Readership on the Devpolicy Blog has remained at high levels, with large spikes in traffic around budget coverage bringing some of the highest traffic days in the blog’s history. During budget week, the blog had some 20,000 pageviews (on a normal week, it sees around 10,000). The blog currently attracts 30,000 user sessions a month.

Subscribers to the blog via daily email increased to 2,270 (up by 320 over the last six months).

Blog material is widely reshared, and republished in regional media (i.e. Vanuatu Daily Post, Islands Business), on other blogs (i.e. PNG Attitude), in Australian media (The Conversation, The Guardian, Institute for International Affairs), and cited in news stories and analysis (i.e. Post Courier, U.S. Centre for Foreign Relations).

**Top 10 blogs January-June 2015 (by traffic)**

- **The same, the bad, and the ugly: country allocations in the 2015-16 budget** by Matthew Dornan
- **Australian aid: the way we were** by Stephen Howes
- **Australia’s billion-dollar aid cut: Indonesia gets it, or everybody does** by Robin Davies
- **Vanuatu after Cyclone Pam: the economic impact** by Matthew Dornan
- **Settling as an expat in Port Moresby – a personal account** by Carmen Voigt-Graf
- **Where Australia’s case for aid went wrong – and what we can do to rebuild** by Matthew Morris and Julia Newton-Howes
- **The volunteer hiring freeze: first victims of the aid cut** by Ashlee Betteridge
- **Australia’s billion-dollar aid cut: where to cut a billion dollars in a hurry** by Terence Wood
- **Do we need the WHO?** By Joel Negin
- **Is Papua New Guinea heading for a crisis?** By Stephen Howes

**Top ‘in briefs’**

- **Australia’s aid to Indonesia: a quiet good, until dragged into a fight**
- **Pacific regionalism… it’s tricky**
- **What aid workers think of ‘what journalists really think’**
Social media

In the first six months of 2015, social media engagement continued to increase, as did subscribers across platforms. Twitter followers increased to 5,621 (up by 670), Facebook page likes increased to 2,301 (up by 580). Subscribers to our fortnightly newsletter grew to 5945 (up by 1100).

In mid-2015 we transitioned our podcast hosting to Soundcloud, to improve social integration and embedding options, and to provide a more visually appealing and searchable front-facing podcast directory.

Meetings, talks, training, assignments

Stephen Howes:

- Chaired a roundtable with the Solomon Islands Minister of Foreign Affairs, senior government officials from the Solomon Islands and Australia and academics on the Seasonal Work Program.
- Chaired a brainstorming on the World Bank “Pacific Possible” project with the Vice President of the World Bank for East Asia and the Pacific and various officials.
- Met with Executive Director of the Global Fund, and interviewed him for the blog.
- Chaired and spoke at launch of World Bank-Devpolicy SWP employer survey.
- Gave a talk on careers in economics to UPNG first-year students.
- Gave the main talk at the Australian aid budget forum.
- Gave the keynote speech (Sir Henry Kila memorial address) at PNG Australia Business Forum in Lae in front of PNG PM and Ministers, and Australian Trade Minister).
- Led the team that gave the keynote speech to PNG Update and co-authored Update overview paper.
- Participated in Crawford Leadership Forum and spoke on PNG.

Robin Davies:

- Attended a support discussion of next steps for the OECD’s ‘Agency of the future’ project OECD Development Assistance Committee, informal senior officials’ meeting. 9 April 2015.
- Attended support discussion of OECD partner country survey, at the OECD Development Assistance Committee, regular meeting. 10 March 2015.

Matthew Dornan:

- Matthew briefed the Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the Hon. Steve Ciobo, on Australia’s engagement in the Pacific as part of a roundtable discussion with ANU academics in March.
• In January and February, Matthew met with government officials in Solomon Islands and Tuvalu to discuss the provision of budget support in these countries.
• Matthew and Grant Walton met with the Vice Chancellor and President of the University of the South Pacific to discuss ANU-USP cooperation and the establishment of an MOU between the two universities.
• Meg Taylor, the newly appointed Secretary General of the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, met with Matthew Dornan and other ANU academics to discuss Pacific regionalism.
• Matthew discussed new research on climate change adaptation finance with the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat in June.
• The Development Policy Centre continues its involvement in the ANU Pacific Institute with Matthew Dornan an active board member.
• In June, Matthew Dornan and Carmen Voigt-Graf from the Development Policy Centre, together with Rohan Fox from University of PNG, met with development partners and government officials, including the PNG Secretary of Work, to discuss new research on road management in PNG.
• Matthew, Ashlee Betteridge and Kamalini Lokuge met with Pacific journalists on an Asia Pacific Journalism Centre fellowship to discuss economic and gender issues in the region.
• Matthew facilitated a discussion on aid as part of the welcome and farewell ceremony for Australia Awards recipients at the National Gallery.
• Terence Wood and Matthew discussed Australian aid to the Pacific with the team conducting the Peer Review of Australian aid under the Pacific Islands Forum Compact on Aid Effectiveness.
• Matthew completed a report on development assistance to the Pacific for the Asian Development Bank.
• Matthew presented his research on budget support on 16 June at the World Bank office in Sydney to major development partners, including DFAT, Asian Development Bank, NZ MFAT, the European Union, and World Bank staff.
• Matthew presented analysis of aid to the Pacific as part of the Australasian Aid Conference in February.
• As part of the PNG Update at the University of Papua New Guinea, Matthew presented on long-term trends in development assistance to PNG.

Grant Walton:

• Published in the Journal of Development Studies in January.
• Appointed as an ANU University House Early Career Academic Fellow in February.
• Presented the results of the Lost Decade Report at the Resource Development and Human Well-being Conference, PNG; and to Education Departmental meeting in March
• Began supervision of Honours Student, Ainsley Jones, in March.
• Consulted with National Research Institute and PNG’s Education Department on planned public expenditure research in March.
• Presented research on corruption in PNG to the Mid-west Political Science Association Annual meeting; and on the geographies of education financing in PNG at the annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers. Both meetings in April and in Chicago.
• Presented on corruption in PNG and helped convene a Transnational Research Institute workshop in May.
• Began work on analysing data from the Fiji ICAC in May with an international team of researchers.
• Published a Development Policy Centre Discussion Paper in June: *The limitations of education for addressing corruption: lessons from attitudes towards reporting in Papua New Guinea.*
• Presented at the PNG Update on education, institutional trust and corruption in PNG in June
• Presented to DFAT Law and Justice, Politics and Governance teams on how to research corruption in PNG, as well as outlining a future research agenda, in June.
• Briefed DFAT Education team about Devpolicy’s past and future research in June.
• Briefed a Fairfax journalist on issues of corruption in PNG for their investigation into PNG money laundering in June.
• Attended the Institute of Australian Geographer’s conference in June.
• Submitted three separate papers to international journals.
• With the Developmental Leadership Program, Birmingham University, submitted a funding proposal to DFAT for further research into corruption in PNG (February).
• Submitted expression of interest to DFID for funding for a study of state and transnational corruption, and anti-corruption movements, across the Pacific with Flinders university (June).

Terence Wood:

• Participated in a consultation on Solomon Islands’ future at SSGM, with RAMSI special coordinator Justine Braithwaite.
• Attended a meeting with visiting MFAT (NZ) staff to discuss Melanesian development issues.
• Provided written feedback on MFAT’s aid strategy.
• Taught lesson on ‘A PhD survivalist approach to process tracing’ for ANU Research Design in Political Research course.
• Delivered a seminar to Sydney University’s Electoral Integrity Project on ‘Three political economies of electoral quality’.
• Delivered a Devpolicy Brown Paper Bag Seminar on Australian public opinions and aid.
• Attended a consultation with the Pacific Island Forum Secretariat team evaluating the Australian aid program.
• Seminar to ANU Masters of Public Diplomacy class on the topic ‘Why the SDGs will break your heart’.
• Presentation given to ADB/OECD Paris21 NGO workshop in Suva on the topic ‘Working together with data: case studies from Pacific countries’.
• Presentation on ‘Should aid practitioners really worry about economic inequality?’ at ACFID University Conference in Melbourne.
• Hosted a roundtable with World Vision Country Directors from the Pacific and Timor-Leste region.
• Presented on the topic of ‘What is ODA and does it work?’ at an event for DFAT Australia Awards scholars, National Gallery of Australia.

Carmen Voigt-Graf:

• Delivered a seminar at NRI on 9 June on the topic ‘Booming international arrivals and foreign workers in PNG’.
• Presented at the PNG Update.
David Osbourne:

- Completed a second policy paper on the PNG Sovereign Wealth Fund (SWF), which is awaiting publication. The work included two weeks of consultations and the drafting of a technical paper on PNG’s new SWF legislation.

Anthony Swan:

- Presented at the 2015 aid budget breakfast.
- Presented at 2015 Asia-Pacific Week conference, ANU (with Stephen Howes on aid and development).
- Gave a presentation at the PNG Update on international migration in PNG.
- Participated in the Lowy Institute PNG Roundtable *Papua New Guinea in 2015 – At a crossroads and beyond*.

Camilla Burkot:

- Presented on ‘Planning for better health outcomes’ at the Asia and the Pacific Policy Society Conference *More health for the money: accelerating health sector performance* in Nuku’alofa, Tonga, on 12 June. The conference was co-hosted by the Asia and the Pacific Policy Society and the Tonga Ministry of Health.

Events

**2015 Australasian Aid Conference**

*12 & 13 February*

*Attendees: 350 at event, 90+ viewers over livestream*

After the positive response to the 2014 Australasian Aid and International Development Policy Workshop, the conference returned on 12-13 February 2015, once again in partnership with the Asia Foundation, but with a slightly shorter name: the 2015 Australasian Aid Conference.

There was again huge interest in the conference, which included more than 20 parallel sessions and 60+ papers, with keynotes and plenary panels on topics such as the future of aid, aid for health, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, recipient perspectives, aid from India, and more. Tanya Plibersek MP delivered the opening address.

**Seasonal Worker Program: demand-side constraints and suggested reforms**

*18 February*

*Attendees: 90*

Speakers: Axel van Trotsenburg, Vice President, East Asia and Pacific, The World Bank; Jesse Doyle, Labour Migration Specialist, The World Bank; Professor Stephen Howes, Director, Development Policy Centre, Crawford School, ANU

Jesse Doyle from The World Bank and Stephen Howes from ANU presented findings from a joint World Bank-ANU survey undertaken in 2014 of employers and industry associations across the Australian horticulture industry, followed by a panel discussion with stakeholders involved with seasonal migration. Mr Axel van Trotsenburg, World Bank Vice President for East Asia and Pacific, chaired the event.
The 2015 Harold Mitchell Development Policy Annual Lecture - The new economy and development: an Indonesian perspective
12 March
Attendees: 260 in person, 50 via livestream

Speaker: Dr Mari Elka Pangestu, Professor of International Economics at the University of Indonesia and Former Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy, Indonesian Government.

In the third Harold Mitchell Development Policy Annual Lecture, Dr Mari Pangestu spoke on Indonesia’s attempts to build and capitalise on its creative economy, and on the external and globalisation challenges facing developing countries.

Australian aid evaluations: program performance and humanitarian responses
29 April 2015
Attendees: 100

Speakers: Mr Jim Adams, former World Bank Vice President; Professor Stephen Howes and Ms Joanna Spratt, Crawford School; and representatives from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

As in past years, the Development Policy Centre hosted a forum to discuss and debate recent Australian aid evaluations. This year, the event focused on the new annual report, Performance of Australian Aid 2013-14, and on two recent evaluations from the Office of Development Effectiveness (ODE) on Australia’s responses to humanitarian crises in the Horn of Africa and Syria.

Has the Sector Wide Approach delivered improvements in population health?
30 April
Attendees: 20

Speaker: Mr Rohan Sweeney, Research Fellow at the Centre for Health Economics, Monash University.

Sector Wide Approaches (SWAps) for health emerged in the 1990s as a mechanism to improve efficiency of aid delivery and effectiveness of aid. Health SWAps aim to increase recipient government autonomy over aid, allowing greater influence over priority setting. Ultimately, it is hoped changes under SWAps will lead to health improvements, yet evidence on health impacts is scarce. In this talk, Mr Rohan Sweeney spoke to a paper in which he analysed a unique dataset of health-aid recipient countries over 1990-2011 to investigate the impact of the implementation of SWAps on infant mortality rates.

2015 aid budget breakfast
13 May
Attendees: 220 in person and 350+ viewers over livestream

Speakers: Prof Stephen Howes, Director of the Development Policy Centre; Dr Anthony Swan, Research Fellow at the Development Policy Centre; Dr Julia Newton-Howes AM CEO of CARE Australia; and Ms Jacqui de Lacy, General Manager for Global Strategy at Abt JTA.

The morning after Federal Budget, a panel of experts delivered detailed analysis and commentary of the impact on the Australian aid budget.
Creating a national, sustainable microfinance institution: lessons from SANASA, Sri Lanka
14 May
Attendees: 20
Speaker: Dr PA Kiriwandeniya, Founder and Chairman, SANASA Federation.
Throughout Asia, the cooperative movement offered great potential as a vehicle for rural development but was long ago hijacked by local elites. In Sri Lanka, however, there is a flourishing and sophisticated microfinance and cooperative sector that serves as a development hub for many rural communities in the country.
That transformation has been the life’s work of Dr PA Kiriwandeniya (Kiri). Beginning in the early 1970s as a village school teacher, Kiri experimented with ways of strengthening his own village society then progressively developed a strategy for forming district level societies using the same model. In 1978 SANASA was finally formed as a national movement of thrift and credit societies with Kiri as Chairman. Today SANASA provides small farmers throughout Sri Lanka (including Tamil areas) with a full range of banking services including insurance, income generation and marketing support. Kiri’s current efforts are focused on the creation of a rural university.

Global inequality: are the world’s poorest being left behind?
9 June
Attendees: 200
Speaker: Dr Martin Ravallion, Edmond D Villani Chair of Economics, Georgetown University.
Traditional assessments of progress against poverty and inequality put no explicit weight on increasing the standard of living of the poorest—raising the consumption floor. This public lecture showed that there has been remarkably little progress in raising the world’s consumption floor over the last 30 years. Neither economic growth nor greater coverage of social safety nets in the developing world has helped much in raising the floor. The poorest have seen very little progress. There has, however, been much progress in reducing the number of people living near the floor, and in reducing the numbers below international poverty lines. The presentation argued that the sharply rising gap between the top one per cent and the poorest is just one (albeit extreme) aspect of rising absolute inequality in the world. Modern economic growth has come with a rising absolute gap between the rich and the poor.

2015 PNG Update
18-19 June, Port Moresby
Attendees: 400
The PNG Update was held on June 18-19 jointly organized by the Australian National University and the University of Papua New Guinea, hosted at the UPNG campus in Port Moresby. More than 400 participants on each of the two days of the Update enjoyed a diverse and stimulating set of presentations and discussions.
Proceedings were opened with a welcome from the UPNG Vice Chancellor Professor Albert Mellam, and ANU College of Asia and the Pacific Dean Veronica Taylor. Australian High Commissioner to Papua New Guinea Deborah Stokes delivered the inaugural address. Finance Minister James Marape put the cat among the pigeons by declaring that LNG was a “myth”, and highlighting the gap between inflated expectations and harsh budgetary realities.
There was a mix of plenary keynotes and parallel sessions over the two day conference: some 50 presentations in all.

**Malaria R&D in a time of global partnerships**

*29 June*

*Attendees: 25*

**Speaker**: Dr David Reddy, CEO, Medicines for Malaria Venture.

Dr Reddy spoke on the Medicines for Malaria Venture (MMV), a global public-private and civil society collaboration that mobilises and shares knowledge and expertise, technology and financial resources to address the global health challenge posed by malaria. In this public lecture, he discussed the impact, progress and opportunities that are driving global best practice for malaria drug development, and explained how product development partnerships are tackling global health challenges like malaria.

**PUBLICATIONS**

**Discussion papers**

**DP 38 New evidence on technology, trade and adjustment to immigration in Israel**  
*Anthony Swan, April 2015*

In the 1990s, nearly a million Russian Jews emigrated to Israel following the fall of the Iron Curtain. This event was exogenous in nature and resulted in a large increase in the relative supply of skilled labour in Israel. Despite this change in factor abundance occurring in conditions seemingly well suited to an application of the Rybczynski theorem, the evidence so far indicates that changes in sectoral output mix played no role in Israel’s adjustment to Russian immigration. Instead, the inflow of factors complementary to skilled labour, such as skill-biased technology, has been put forward by the literature as an explanation for the adjustment process in Israel. By accounting for the extent of occupational downgrading of Russian immigrants and an appropriate amount of time for sectoral changes to occur I present new evidence that changes in the composition in output across sectors was indeed an important adjustment mechanism in Israel. Changes in output mix were of a similar importance to changes in production techniques within sectors in accounting for the increase in skilled labour. Changes in production techniques appear to be consistent with skills biased technical change; sectors with a greater high technology equipment and services input intensity were associated with increased skill upgrading in the workforce in subsequent years.

>> [view publication at SSRN](#)
Educated citizens are often considered more likely to report corruption; this belief shapes anti-corruption campaigns. However, we know little about how other factors may interact with education’s impact on willingness to report corruption. This paper examines data from a household survey undertaken in Papua New Guinea. We find that when respondents were better educated and believed corruption would be addressed by the government, they were more willing to report various types of corruption to officials. However, the positive effects of education on willingness to report corruption are significantly diminished when citizens lacked trust that authorities would address corruption.

>> view publication at SSRN

Reports

Australia’s Seasonal Worker Program: demand-side constraints and suggested reforms
Jesse Doyle, The World Bank; and Stephen Howes, Development Policy Centre, February 2015

This paper reports on the results of a comprehensive survey of employers and industry bodies across the horticulture sector examining employers’ views of the Seasonal Worker Program, which permits workers from eight Pacific Island countries and Timor-Leste to work in Australia for a period of fourteen weeks to six months.

Download report.

Development Policy Centre Annual Report 2014

Completed in March 2015, the report details the centre’s work and progress throughout 2014.

Download report.

Submissions

Improving the effectiveness of Australia’s bilateral aid program in Papua New Guinea: some analysis and suggestions—A submission to the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Reference Committee
Stephen Howes, April 2015

This submission, authored by Devpolicy Director Professor Stephen Howes, provides advice on areas where improvements could be made to Australia’s bilateral aid program to Papua New Guinea. The submission is written in four parts. The first (Part A) provides general background on: (i) PNG, (ii) global aid to PNG; and (iii) Australian aid to PNG. The second (Part B) provides views on various cross-cutting issues concerning Australian aid to PNG. The third (Part C) deals with sectoral issues, and the fourth with capacity building (Part D). The submission does not attempt to be comprehensive but to make a constructive contribution where possible.

Download submission.
Circumstances were propitious for the establishment of the Indonesia-Australia Forest Carbon Partnership (IAFCP) in 2008, and remained favourable for a considerable period thereafter. IAFCP enjoyed a five-year time window in which it could have achieved some instructive outcomes, even if its formal targets were unrealistic. IAFCP would certainly have fallen victim to domestic politics in Australia had it been flourishing in late 2013; in fact, though, it struggled to make headway from the outset, was effectively liquidated in early 2013, and quietly petered out in mid-2014. It achieved some creditable outcomes, some of which might prove durable, but delivered rather little for an expenditure of A$65 million. This represents a sizeable opportunity missed, owing mainly to the hollowing-out of IAFCP’s centrepiece, a large-scale REDD+ demonstration activity in the peatlands of Central Kalimantan—the Kalimantan Forests and Climate Partnership (KFCP). This paper describes the truncated life of IAFCP in its political context and interrogates a number of possible reasons for its demise.

This paper provides insights into what partner country governments anticipate will be their main development challenges within five to ten years, and into how they expect their relationships with DAC development assistance providers to evolve in order to meet these challenges. Based on results from an OECD-commissioned survey of 40 developing country governments, it finds that demand for development co-operation will remain strong given the economic and environmental challenges that lie ahead. However, the countries surveyed expect DAC providers to shift to a more enabling role in the coming years: providing vital finance, but in support of government-led sector programmes; delivering more and better technical and policy support; and leveraging more private finance. This paper will inform the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate’s ‘Agency of the Future’ project, which seeks to identify how DAC members’ development administrations will need to adapt in order to be fit for purpose in a rapidly changing world.

This paper takes the form of a structured interview with Inge Kaul, conducted by Graduate Institute Research Fellow Robin Davies, on the topic of Global vs. National Public Goods in the post-2015 international development framework. Kaul argues that for the good of developing countries and the world as whole, support from developed countries for the provision of global public goods (GPGs), such as climate change mitigation and communicable disease surveillance and control, should be conceived as an international extension of their domestic policies. Financing for GPGs constitutes payment for services rendered, not aid. Likewise, primary responsibility for the production of GPGs should rest with issue- and outcome-oriented ‘tsars’ at both the national and global levels, rather than with overstretched treaty- or country-oriented multilateral organisations. It follows from this
that the distinction within the SDG framework between global and national goals is not merely one of level, but one of kind.


Renewable technologies have been advocated in Small Island Developing States (SIDS) as a risk mitigation measure against oil price volatility. This paper applies empirical data in a custom-built stochastic simulation model in order to assess the economic impacts of renewable technology investments in Fiji’s electricity grid. The model extends previous applications of portfolio theory to the electricity sector by incorporating variability of output from different technologies. The results demonstrate that investments in low-cost, low-risk renewable technologies, such as geothermal, energy efficiency, biomass and bagasse technologies, can be expected to lower both generation costs and financial risk for the electricity grid in Fiji. These results are driven by the reduction in oil-fired generation that these investments entail. The benefits of hydropower and several other “intermittent” renewable technologies are more limited in the model, given that they require costly investment in back-up oil based generating capacity.

Dornan, M., 2015, Renewable Energy Development in Small Island Developing States of the Pacific, Resources, 4:1

Small Island Developing States (SIDS) of the Pacific over the last decade have established some of the most ambitious renewable energy targets in the world. The promotion of renewable energy has been motivated by a desire to lessen dependence on fossil fuels, given the adverse economic impacts of high oil prices on these countries. Efforts to attract development assistance and to strengthen the position of Pacific SIDS in climate change negotiations have likely also played a role. This paper explores the development of renewable energy resources in the Pacific through a public policy lens. The ambitious renewable energy targets established by Pacific SIDS are argued to be appropriate in some cases, but in other cases are criticised on economic grounds. A potential trade-off is identified between the risk mitigation benefits and poverty alleviation benefits of different renewable technology investments, with questions raised about whether support for the former rather than the latter by development partners is appropriate. A number of institutional and financial challenges to the development of renewable energy resources in Pacific SIDS are also discussed.


During March 2015, Tropical Cyclone Pam charted a course of destruction through the southwest Pacific. The effects of the storm were felt in Kiribati, Tuvalu and Solomon Islands. But the greatest impact was in Vanuatu, many of whose islands were battered by the Category 5 system. In this article, we provide an update on estimated fiscal, economic and development impacts of the cyclone on Vanuatu. We commence by establishing projections for the Vanuatu economy before the onset of the storm and move on to an examination of the immediate and short-term impacts. We then consider the medium to longer-term impacts of this event, including risks and opportunities associated with reconstruction efforts.
whether by government or development partners. We conclude with some recommendations for the future.


Corruption is often defined as the abuse of public office for private gain. This article suggests that this is inadequate for understanding corruption in weak states and presents two broader definitions of the concept. It discusses findings from qualitative and quantitative research conducted in Papua New Guinea in light of these definitions. Respondents – particularly the poor and marginalised – saw corruption as tied to the actions of public officials as well as non-state actors. It is argued that applying broader definitions of corruption could help researchers and policy makers better understand citizens’ concerns about corruption, particularly where the state is weak.


The Melanesian country of Solomon Islands held its first general election in 1967 while still a British colony and has maintained an uninterrupted sequence of elections since (Moore, 2013). The elections held on November 19, 2014 were the country’s ninth since independence. This paper provides an overview of the election outcomes and process.
MAJOR PROJECTS

NRI research partnership

The partnership is progressing under the leadership of Devpolicy Fellow Dr Carmen Voigt-Graf, who is based at NRI in Port Moresby as a member of the NRI’s Economic Policy Research Programme. An MOU between NRI and the Development Policy Centre was signed in December 2014. The 2015 work program under the ANU-NRI partnership on “Promoting Effective Public Resource Management” was endorsed by the NRI Council in February 2015. The work programme includes joint research activities, fora, workshops and publications under the two broad areas of “Budget and economic management” and “Effective services delivery” and good progress has been made in all these areas. NRI’s next Corporate Plan for 2016 – 2020 is currently being developed and the area of “Effective Public Resource Management” under the ANU-NRI partnership is included as one of five themes that the Economic Policy Research Programme will focus on.

UPNG partnership

Devpolicy has had a strong and deepening relationship with the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG), in particular the School of Business Administration. We welcomed the University of Papua New Guinea Vice Chancellor and Dean of the School of Business Administration to ANU in March to sign an MOU to further develop the partnership between ANU Crawford School of Public Policy (of which Devpolicy is part) and the UPNG School of Business Administration. In June, for the second time, we co-hosted the PNG Update conference at the UPNG campus in Port Moresby.

Femili PNG – Lae Family and Sexual Violence Case Management Centre

Femili PNG’s Lae Case Management Centre for survivors of family and sexual violence has grown in its second six months of operation. MOUs have been signed with key stakeholders such as the courts, Department of Community Development and local police, and Femili PNG has been approached to offer training to others working on this issue, who are increasingly seeing the project as a best-practice model. We have also had success in expanding our fundraising efforts. In March, we were joined by Kath Taplin, who has taken on the role of Senior Development Manager. Research plans have been developed and are now being implemented under the leadership of ANU NCEPH Fellow Dr Kamalini Lokuge,

2015 stakeholder survey

In 2013 the Development Policy Centre ran the first Australian aid stakeholder survey. This was a new instrument we trialled (new for Australia and as far as we are aware internationally) to obtain feedback on the effectiveness of the Australian aid program, and suggestions for improvement. Much has changed in Australian aid since 2013, and we will again run the survey this year, also extending a survey to New Zealand.

While the questions will be largely aligned between the two surveys, there will be some scope for changes between them due to the different contexts two aid programs.

The survey will again be distributed online in two phases – the first phase to the target groups discussed above and the second phase made publicly available online. In the first half of 2015, preparations have been underway and the survey will be launched in July.
Gates Foundation-funded research on Australian and New Zealand aid

In the first half of 2015 the centre commenced its Gates Foundation Funded research on Australian and New Zealand aid. To-date, work has focused on learning (through analysis of survey data) about the Australian public’s attitudes to aid, designing further public opinion work, scoping case studies for field research of aid practice, and collecting data on Australian NGOs.

STAFFING

New staff

- Camilla Burkot joined the centre as a Research Officer, funded under our Gates Foundation work on Australian aid. She has a background in social anthropology and holds a Master of Public Health from Columbia University, and has field experience in Eastern & Southern Africa and PNG.

New fellows and associates

- Michael Cornish is a Visiting Fellow at the Development Policy Centre, working in Port Moresby on the Crawford School partnership with UPNG. He is a development economist and conflict management specialist, and a former visiting lecturer at the School of Economics and School of Social Sciences at the University of Adelaide.

- Kath Taplin joined the team of Femili PNG as Senior Development Manager and as a Research Associate of the Development Policy Centre. Prior to working with Femili PNG, Kath was a senior development practitioner in AusAID and DFAT, and has practised as a senior lawyer in the private and community legal sectors in various Australian jurisdictions.

Greg Taylor Scholars

We have hosted three Greg Taylor PNG & Pacific Scholars at the Centre during the first half of 2015.

- **Serena Sumanop (2015-16 round)**
  Serena Sumanop has just completed her final semester of her Masters of Business from the Queensland University of Technology. She is a lawyer by profession and practiced with Gadens Lawyers before resigning to work full time for The Voice Inc., a dynamic youth development organization that runs leadership programs with young people in educational institutions in the country. She also sits on the Management Committee for Femili PNG a new Non-Government Organization that runs a Case Management Centre in Lae to assist survivors of family and sexual violence to access the services they need. Serena will be reviewing the current legislation in PNG that relates to family and sexual violence and assist with research on the current case management model. Serena has just commenced her Greg Taylor placement at the centre.

- **Logea Nao (2014-15 round)**
  Logea is currently undertaking her Masters in International and Development Economics at the Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU. She formerly worked as a researcher at the National Research Institute in PNG. Logea’s research is focused on the important problem of domestic, family and sexual violence in Papua New Guinea. Logea will use the recent PNG Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) to understand its prevalence in PNG and
identify how the problem relates to family and community characteristics, and how victims of violence respond to the problem.

- **Futua Singirok (2014-15 round)**

Futua is currently undertaking his Masters in International and Development Economics at the Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU. He previously worked as an analyst at Bank South Pacific in PNG. Futua is also analysing the HIES to understand the characteristics of internal migrant households in PNG, such as their prevalence, ethnicity, relative education and income, and contribution to meeting costs of living of extended family members through remittances.
## FINANCES

**Year to June 2015**

### INCOME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harold Mitchell Foundation</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian National University</td>
<td>250,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australian aid program</td>
<td>368,750</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bill &amp; Melinda Gates Foundation</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>41,435</td>
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**Total Income**: 660,185

### EXPENSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
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<td>Travel</td>
<td>35,954</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overheads</td>
<td>28,464</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>63,590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total Expenses**: 651,678

### INCOME MINUS EXPENSES

**Net Income**: 8,507
Appendix A: Media mentions January-June 2015

- **Cooking with gas?** ANU College of Asia and the Pacific website, 5 January 2015. (Stephen Howes, PEPE research)
- **Oil price drop shatters hopes for PNG LNG sector**, *RN Breakfast*, 22 January 2015. (Paul Flanagan interview)
- **Inside the takedowns of AusAID and CIDA**, *Devex*, 19 January 2015. (Robin Davies and Stephen Howes)
- **The goals of foreign aid: to reduce poverty or feed the ‘fads’**, *The Mandarin*, 19 January 2015. (Robin Davies, Stephen Howes)
- **Global vaccination alliance GAVI appeals for $7.5 billion**, *AM*, 27 January 2015. (Robin Davies)
- **Special migration proposed for Kiribati, Tuvalu citizens to Australia, NZ**, *Radio Australia*, 28 January 2015. (Sophia Kagen—based on her Devpolicy Blog post)
- **Papua New Guinea’s first LPG project: Is PNG cooking with gas?** *Canberra Times*, 4 February 2015. (Stephen Howes, PEPE research)
- **How eight goals helped change the world**, *Sydney Morning Herald/Fairfax Media*, 8 February 2015. (Stephen Howes, Robin Davies)
- **China’s development bank AIIB offers to complement, not compete**, *Radio Australia*, 13 February 2015. (Australasian Aid Conference)
- **Gutting of funding and DFAT the hot topic at Australasian Aid Conference**, *Radio Australia*, 12 February 2015. (Australasian Aid Conference)
- **Aid conference to scrutinise development agenda**, *Radio Australia*, 12 February 2015. (Stephen Howes, Australasian Aid Conference)
- **Developing Asia needs expertise, not just traditional aid**, *Devex*, 12 February 2015. (Robin Davies, Australasian Aid Conference)
- **Little to show for hundreds of aid meetings in the Pacific**, *Radio Australia*, 13 February 2015. (Australasian Aid Conference)
- **In Canberra, AIIB tries to ease governance, transparency concerns**, *Devex*, 13 February 2015. (Stephen Howes, Australasian Aid Conference)
- **China moves to allay fears its new development bank will compete with the World Bank and Asian Development Bank**, *ABC News*, 14 February 2015. (Australasian Aid Conference)
- **Pacific health sector burdened by 'too many aid meetings', policy expert says**, *ABC News*, 13 February 2015. (Australasian Aid Conference)
- **Labor issues call to arms for aid groups**, *AAP*, 12 February 2015. (Australasian Aid Conference (Newswire story, widely republished))
- **Indian aid- an emerging force**, *Australian Outlook*, 27 February 2015. (Australasian Aid Conference)
• China woos Australia to join Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, Australian Financial Review, 13 February 2015. (Australasian Aid Conference, Stephen Howes)
• Australia deadline urged for AIIB, The Australian, 13 February 2015. (Australasian Aid Conference)
• Australia deadline urged for AIIB, Courier Mail/News.com.au, 13 February 2015. (Australasian Aid Conference)
• Backpackers take Pacific seasonal workers jobs, Fiji Broadcasting Corporation, 18 February 2015. (Devpolicy-WB Seasonal Worker survey)
• Call for Pacific seasonal workers to share costs, Radio New Zealand, 18 February 2015. (Devpolicy-WB Seasonal Worker survey, Stephen Howes)
• Changes needed to make Australian work scheme work, Dateline-Radio NZ, 18 February 2015. (Devpolicy-WB Seasonal Worker survey, Stephen Howes)
• Seasonal Worker Program for islander countries failing due to illegal labour and backpackers: World Bank, PM, 18 February 2015. (Devpolicy-WB Seasonal Worker survey)
• Backpackers, illegal labour cruelling Seasonal Worker Program for islander countries: World Bank, ABC News, 18 February 2015. (Devpolicy-WB Seasonal Worker survey, Stephen Howes)
• World Bank says tourists pushing south Pacific workers off farms, Australian Financial Review, 18 February 2015. (Devpolicy-WB Seasonal Worker survey, Stephen Howes)
• Backpackers undermine Pacific program, AAP, 18 February 2015. (Devpolicy-WB Seasonal Worker survey, Stephen Howes) (Newswire story, widely reprinted)
• Australia’s billion-dollar aid cut: Indonesia gets it, or everybody does, The Guardian, 18 February 2015. (Robin Davies, op-ed)
• 中国有意减轻AIIB对世行和亚洲开发银行竞争担忧. (Australasian Aid Conference)
• Is PNG heading for a crisis? East Asia Forum, 22 February 2015. (Stephen Howes, op-ed) (republished on multiple blogs/websites i.e. Economy Watch; Australian Outlook)
• PNG faces tough decisions, or crisis, Australian Financial Review, 22 February 2015. (Stephen Howes, op-ed)
• Australian aid to Indonesia may be due for a cut, Australian Financial Review, 19 February 2015. (Robin Davies)
• Fruit picking backpackers undermine Pacific programme, 3 News (NZ), 18 February 2015. (Devpolicy-WB Seasonal Worker survey, Stephen Howes)
• Backpackers take Pacific seasonal workers jobs, Radio NZ, 18 February 2015. (Devpolicy-WB Seasonal Worker survey, Stephen Howes)
• Interview on Australian aid, 2ser’s ‘On the Money’ program, February 2015. (Terence Wood)
• Australia’s support for development research falls, SciDevNet, 11 March 2015. (Robin Davies)
• Australians becoming stingier when giving to development charities, PNG Post Courier. (Jonathan Pryke)
• Australians giving less to NGOs, Radio Australia, 3 March 2015. (Jonathan Pryke)
• News: Young Scholar’s Perspective on Aid Conference, February 2015, Crawford Fund Blog. (Australasian Aid Conference)
• Warning Over Political Interference On PNG’s Economy, PNG Today, 25 February 2015. (Stephen Howes)
• **EU pressures US and China to join global climate agreement**, *The World Today*, 26 February 2015. (Stephen Howes)  
• **Backpackers 'undermining' seasonal worker program**, *SBS World News*, 25 February 2015. (Stephen Howes)  
• **Budget cuts: calls to end our aid to Indonesia**, 2ue, 25 February 2015. (Robin Davies)  
• **Observers vital for Pacific tuna industry, researcher says**, Radio Australia, 5 March 2015. (Matthew Dornan)  
• **UK aid spending puts Aust to shame: expert**, *AAP*, 10 March 2015. (Stephen Howes)  
• **UK and Australia aid spending**, 2ser, 18 March 2015. (Stephen Howes)  
• **We can all learn to compromise from Kiribati**, *The News Hub*, 18 March 2015. (Blog post quoted)  
• **Increasing aid cuts flagged as tensions rise between Julie Bishop and Joe Hockey**, Fairfax Media, 24 March 2015. (Devpolicy chart/data featured)  
• **Risky neighbourhood: Pacific disasters and Australia**, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 March 2015. (Robin Davies)  
• **Interview on aid**, *ABC 666 Canberra*, March 2015. (Stephen Howes)  
• **Nearly a decade after coup, the (Western) aid tap is back on in Fiji**, *Devex*, 16 March 2015. (Matthew Dornan)  
• **Cautious optimism on DFAT’s innovationXchange**, *The Mandarin*, March 2015. (Terence Wood)  
• **The Bjorn legacy: what will Lomborg say about Australian aid (and will anyone listen)**? *Canberra Times*, 7 April 2015. (Stephen Howes)
• Overseas aid is a true test of national character, *Fairfax Media* Editorial, 5 April 2015. (Stephen Howes cited)

• Foreign workers: who’s coming to Papua New Guinea and from where? *Business Advantage PNG*, 8 April 2015. (Carmen Voigt-Graf, **op-ed**)

• Foreign workers to PNG increase, PNG Post Courier, 10 April 2015, p 53. (Carmen Voigt-Graf)

• Oil price drop puts PNG's oil shares under pressure, Radio Australia, 14 April 2015. (Paul Flanagan)

• Importance of foreign aid, interview with Andrew Geoghegan, ABC TV Weekend Breakfast, 12 April 2015. (Robin Davies)


• Vanuatu advised to redirect development funding to rebuild, *Radio NZ*, 8 May 2015. (Matthew Dornan)

• Indonesia, Africa set to be hit in aid cut, *AAP*, 7 May 2015. (Stephen Howes) (newswire, widely republished)

• Australia Expected to Drastically Cut Aid to Indonesia, *The Jakarta Globe*, 7 May 2015. (Robin Davies)

• Federal budget 2015: Foreign aid to Indonesia to be slashed, *Fairfax Media*, 6 May 2015. (Robin Davies, Stephen Howes)


• Australia Potong Bantuan untuk Indonesia/Australia cuts aid for Indonesia, *MetroTV* (Indonesia), 5 May 2015. (Robin Davies, Stephen Howes)

• Pemotongan Bantuan Australia Bukan Aksi Balas Eksekusi Mati/Australian aid cuts not in response to execution deaths, *Okezone* (Indonesia), 6 May 2015. (Robin Davies, Stephen Howes)

• A fair budget? Not for the poor losing Australian aid in record cuts, *The Conversation*, 12 May 2015. (Stephen Howes, **op-ed**)

• Indonesian aid slashed, but Pacific nations largely untouched, *Pacific Beat/Radio Australia*, 13 May 2015. (Stephen Howes)

• Reconstruction-how should it be financed? *Vila Times*, 9 May 2015. (Matthew Dornan and Tess Newton Cain, **op-ed**, republished blog)


• Budget review draws calls for defining Australian aid vs development cooperation, *Pacific Beat/Radio Australia*, 13 May 2015. (Stephen Howes)

• How do you feel about the 2015 budget?, *The Drum*, 13 May 2015. (Devpolicy analysis cited)

• A deeply unfair budget for our Asian neighbours, *Crikey*, 13 May 2015. (Stephen Howes)

• Aid budget slashed, *ABC PM*, 13 May 2015. (Stephen Howes)


• **In Canberra, confusion over Australia’s aid program**, *Devex*, 13 May 2015.
• **Australia slashes foreign aid spending**, *Radio New Zealand*, 14 May 2015. (Stephen Howes)
• **Budget 2015 cuts foreign aid to Africa, Asia, Middle East**, *ABC 7.30*, 13 May 2015. (Stephen Howes)
• **Aid groups call “a once in a decade” budget for foreign aid**, *SBS World News*, 13 May 2015. (Stephen Howes)
• **Budget cuts to foreign aid put Australia on track for least generous spend ever**, *The Guardian*, 14 May 2015. (Stephen Howes)
• **Rise in overseas workers**, *The National*, 26 May 2015, p. 44. (Carmen Voigt-Graf)
• **Southeast Asia bears brunt as Canberra seeks savings**, *Nikkei Asian Review*, 15 May 2015. (Matthew Dornan)
• **Fair budget? We have never looked meaner**, *The Drum*, 19 May 2015. (Devpolicy analysis cited)
• **Save the Children warn of the effects foreign aid cuts could have on Afghan women**, 14 May 2015 (Devpolicy Visiting Fellow Nematullah Bizhan).
• **Australia cuts foreign aid in favour of budget repair**, *Financial Times*, 10 June 2015. (Stephen Howes)
• **Link between diabetes and TB**, *Radio Australia*, 20 April 2014. (Kerry Viney, coverage of Devpolicy Blog post)
• **Re-elected Conservatives unlikely to change aid policy, despite slim majority**, *Radio Australia*, 11 May 2015. (Matthew Morris)
• **Vanuatu facing quarter-billion-dollar rebuild**, *Radio NZ*, 8 May 2015. (Matthew Dornan)
• **Despite aid surge, Vanuatu reconstruction costs may prove burdensome**, *Radio Australia*, 12 May 2015. (Matthew Dornan)
• **Shrinking Australia’s Aid Budget Is Selfish And Self-Defeating**, *New Matilda*, 24 March 2015. (Devpolicy analysis cited)
• **Joe Hockey’s ‘better bang’ foreign aid cut delusion**, *Eureka Street*, 17 May 2015. (Stephen Howes analysis cited)
• **Status quo won’t end extreme poverty by 2030, think tank says**, *Humanosphere*, 14 May 2015. (Chris Hoy Devpolicy Blog post cited)
• **Why cuts to foreign aid are bad news for Australia’s place in the world**, *Fairfax Media*, 25 May 2015. (Stephen Howes analysis cited)
• **Vanuatu floats scheme to sell passports to rich Chinese**, *Asian Nikkei Review*, 28n May 2015 (Matthew Dornan)
• **Vaccine bonds for a healthy return on saving lives**, *Australian Financial Review*, 31 May 2015. (Robin Davies)
• **We need real consensus, not Bjorn Lomborg’s illusion of it**, *Climate Spectator/The Conversation*, 22 May 2015. (Development Policy Centre reference)
• My G-20 soaked season in the sun, Australian Financial Review, 5 June 2015. (Robin Davies)
• Support for establishment of Sovereign Wealth Fund, The National, 12 June 2015. (Matthew Dornan)
• Exchange rate affects tourism, The National, 12 June 2015. (Stephen Howes)
• Veil of secrecy descending over foreign aid, experts warn, Fairfax Media, 14 June 2015. (Stephen Howes)
• Australia’s Foreign Aid Cuts Could Be Costly, Council for Foreign Relations, 12 June 2015. (Stephen Howes)
• Overcoming chronic lack of skilled tradespeople in Papua New Guinea requires more government funding, say industry leaders, PNG Business Advantage, 16 June 2015. (Carmen Voigt-Graf)
• Marape: LNG is a myth, The National, 19 June 2015. (PNG Update)
• China-led bank to invest in Pacific, Radio NZ, 16 June 2015. (Terence Wood)
• PNG schools accused of corruption in tuition fee-free scheme, Radio NZ, 16 June 2015. (Devpolicy Blog/research cited)
• PNG New Guinea Budget review welcomed, PNG Business Advantage, 3 June 2015. (Paul Flanagan)
• Vanuatu urged to diversify economy, Radio NZ, 19 June 2015. (Tess Newton Cain- Devpolicy Blog post)
• PNG corruption: Education, individual initiative crucial to tackling high-level corruption, research says, ABC News, 29 June 2015. (Grant Walton)
• Marape: Start focusing on other sectors, PNG Post Courier, 19 June 2015. (PNG Update)
• Dept heads urged to attend meet, PNG Post Courier, 19 June 2015. (PNG Update, Stephen Howes)
• China-led bank to invest in Pacific, PNG Post Courier, 19 June 2015. (Terence Wood)
• Opinion: Fall in LNG revenue require new economic strategy, PNG Post Courier, 16 June 2015. (Stephen Howes and Paul Flanagan, op-ed)
• LNG is a myth, says Marape, Pacific Business Review, 26 June 2015, p. 1. (PNG Update)
• PNG education minister says the state has been defrauded by schools, Radio Australia, 17 June 2015. (Anthony Swan)
• Greater focus on gender equality needed in Pacific, Dateline Pacific- Radio NZ, 29 June 2015. (Terence Wood)

Total media mentions recorded January-June 2015: 157