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Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee PO Box 6100 Parliament House Canberra ACT 2600

Submission: Inquiry into funding for public research into foreign policy issues

Dear Senator Kitching

The Department of Pacific Affairs (DPA) at the Australian National University (ANU), as the lead partner in the consortium implementing the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) funded Pacific Research Program (PRP), is pleased to make this submission to the Committee's inquiry into funding for public research into foreign policy issues. The PRP consortium includes the Development Policy Centre (Devpol) at ANU and the Lowy Institute (Lowy). Individually and collectively the consortium partners undertake research concerning a broad range of foreign policy and foreign policy-related issues affecting Australia and its place in our immediate region. Whilst this submission focuses on our collective experience in delivering activities under the PRP, each consortium partner has extensive experience delivering a range of government funded research and outreach initiatives.

The consortium takes a broad definition of foreign policy issues that encompasses aid and development, security and stability, and geopolitics and strategy. Whilst the overarching goal of the PRP and its related objectives are primarily focused on influencing Australia's aid program, its activity remains highly relevant to Australia's engagement in the Pacific.

The Australian Government's investment in the PRP builds on long-term funding support provided for Pacific scholarship at ANU through the National Institutes Grant (NIG), which supports pure and applied research in areas of national and international importance. Significantly, the NIG has enabled the ANU to grow and maintain distinctive concentrations of research excellence in relation to Asia and the Pacific, an area of key interest to this enquiry. Notably, the Act of Parliament that established the ANU provided for a Research School of Pacific Studies (RSPacS), now the College of Asia and the Pacific (CAP). Much of the research undertaken in CAP is geared toward issues related to the conduct of Australia's affairs in the region. This takes place through a number of disciplinary lenses, including anthropology, history, geography, economics, diplomacy, law, politics and international relations and security studies.

Yours sincerely

Professor Nicole Haley Lead, Pacific Research Program



SUBMISSION BY THE ANU DEPARTMENT OF PACIFIC AFFAIRS, LEAD PARTNER IN THE PACIFIC RESEARCH PROGRAM CONSORTIUM, TO THE INQUIRY INTO FUNDING FOR PUBLIC RESEARCH INTO FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

Our Key Messages

- The PRP shows that there is a demonstrable return on investment for government in funding long-term research partnerships on issues of national importance.
- The PRP has supported the Pacific Step-up.
- Australian Government investment in research of national importance through the National Institutes Grant (NIG) remains critically important. Much current research concerning the Pacific is funded by NIG.
- Special purpose funding by Australian Government departments and agencies is an important part of the research system in that it encourages co-investment from universities and think tanks.
- Provision of funding to research institutions on a long-term basis is the most effective way to build knowledge to inform future foreign policy.

The Pacific Research Program

Co-funded by DFAT and the consortium partners' parent bodies (ANU and Lowy), the PRP is designed to be a globally pre-eminent centre of excellence for research on the Pacific that aims to contribute to the goal of economic resilience, poverty reduction, security and stability in the Pacific region. It supports this goal by undertaking and effectively communicating high-quality research to inform evidence-based policymaking and program design by the Government of Australia and its partner governments and organisations.

DFAT's PRP investment builds on the Australian Government's direct long-term investment in DPA, formerly the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program (SSGM). Since its establishment in 1996, SSGM/DPA has been funded in partnership by the ANU (in part through the NIG) and the Australian Government through DFAT and AusAID. This 25-year investment has seen DPA become the ANU's largest Pacific-focused research group and a leading international centre for applied research and analysis on the Pacific. The Australian Government's original direct investment in SSGM was driven by an acknowledgement that the countries in our region are vital to Australia's strategic, economic and political interests. It was also intended to counter the decline in Pacific scholarship across Australia's universities and to develop scholarship on issues of governance and state-society relations in Melanesia.

The PRP's four intended end of program outcomes are to:

- a. Produce high-quality, policy-relevant research that is available, accessible and communicated to policymakers and program designers in Australia, the Pacific and from around the world;
- b. Play a central role in fostering and facilitating a strong and vibrant Pacific-Australia-New Zealand-wide network of research on the Pacific;
- c. Be connected to Australia's broader engagement with the Pacific and fosters a greater knowledge and understanding of the Pacific among the Australian community; and



d. Demonstrate a high degree of effectiveness in contributing to evidence-based policymaking and program design primarily in Australia and also the Pacific and around the world.

The geographic scope of the PRP is the Pacific region as a whole, though Melanesia is an area of particular interest in line with Australia's geographic location and national interests.

Current funding from the Australian Government for the PRP

DFAT provides substantial direct funding to the ANU, in support of a range of high value multi-year Pacific-focused initiatives. Key initiatives currently hosted by the ANU College of Asia and the Pacific include the Australia Pacific Security College (2019-2022–\$17.5 million) and the Pacific Research Program (2017-2021–\$23.25 million) both of which were awarded through an open competitive tender process. The original value of DFAT's investment in the PRP was \$18.75m for the period October 2017–June 2021. The ANU successfully bid for the program with a DPA-led consortium.

Critically, the PRP extended SSGM's original scope to include a greater focus on economic development and enhanced engagement with the Australian public in relation to Pacific affairs. Both Devpol and Lowy play a crucial role in delivering on this expanded scope. In 2019, an additional \$4.5m in funding was provided for an expanded program of research and outreach focused on labour mobility in the Pacific. This component of the PRP is led by Devpol, located within the ANU Crawford School, a leading graduate public policy school in the Asia Pacific and home of an economics department with unique regional expertise.

The PRP demonstrates the value of long-term, institutional research partnerships. Long-term funding from the Australian Government to the ANU through NIG, and a series of special purpose grants from DFAT and AusAID in support of SSGM over two decades, directly enabled the establishment of a dedicated Department of Pacific Affairs at the ANU.

DFAT's PRP investment has been enhanced by direct co-funding and in-kind contributions from each consortium partner, which have resulted in the total value of the PRP being more than double DFAT's core investment. The provision of special purpose funding by Australian Government departments and agencies on a long-term basis is an important part of the overall research system in that it encourages co-investment from universities and think tanks in areas of foreign policy interest.

How the PRP promotes the quality of publicly funded research focused on foreign policy issues

I. PRP research supports Australia's increased engagement with the Pacific under the Step-Up.

Through its research, the PRP consortium is investigating some of the most pressing development issues in the Pacific. The consortium's research is organised according to five core research programs, all of which are relevant to Australia's foreign policy interests in the region. They are: regionalism and geopolitics; politics and the nature of the state; economic development, with a particular focus on labour mobility; gender, social change and inclusion; and urbanisation, land and natural resource management.

The consortium contributes to evidence-based policy processes in a range of ways. These include contributing to high-level dialogues within the Australian public service on security, political, diplomatic and development issues involving the Pacific; facilitating dialogues with Australian policymakers and



government officials from the region; conducting a comprehensive program of briefings for Australian government officials on a range of foreign policy related issues; contributing to policy and program review and design processes; contributing to public policy processes through appearances before and submissions to parliamentary committees and consultations; and conducting and publishing high-quality and accessible research in the PRP's focus research areas.

II. Australian Government funding for Pacific research provides the basis for strong institutional and individual partnerships across the Pacific that enhance Australia's connectedness to the region.

Australian research institutions play an important role in fostering partnerships with research institutions and individuals across the region, thereby contributing to stronger people-to-people links between Australia and the region. A key principle of the consortium's research approach is the co-creation of research through organisational partnerships. This involves collaborating with research partners – tertiary institutions, governments, development partners and NGOs – working in the region. Relationships with research collaborators provide a pathway for research impact in that they are often also the intended end-users of research and/or have strong connections to policy communities. The consortium partners' collaborative research approach, long-term knowledge of the region and reputations as academically neutral research partners have enabled them to bring together diverse groups of stakeholders to discuss potentially sensitive political issues, such as urban management, election administration, law and justice reform and labour mobility policy.

The PRP consortium has also demonstrated its capacity to play a central role in fostering and facilitating a strong and vibrant Pacific-Australia-New Zealand-wide network of researchers working on the Pacific. It has conducted substantial, new collaborative research projects with the PNG University of Technology, Solomon Islands National University, National University of Samoa, University of Papua New Guinea, Swinburne University of Technology and the World Bank. Beyond institutional partnerships, PRP-related research and educational activities have fostered people-to-people links across the region. For example, DPA's PhD program has attracted Pacific students with a range of professional and academic experience. Graduates have returned to roles within tertiary institutions, government agencies and other development sector roles in the region. Notably, one of DPA's 2019 graduates was the first serving Papua New Guinea Royal Constabulary (RPNGC) member to obtain a PhD. Recently promoted to the rank of Assistant Commissioner, he is now responsible for policy and planning within the RPNGC.

III. Research funding models matter – there are broad and significant benefits to providing core and long-term funding for research on foreign policy issues that extend beyond research outputs.

PRP funds have further extended academic scholarship on foreign policy issues in the region that has been developed at ANU over many years with long-term Australian Government funding support. It is important to note that Government funding has been provided in a way that has allowed the consortium partners to build their scholarly agendas. For example, while the PRP supports scholarship that is relevant to policymakers and program designers, it does not dictate specific research activities to be undertaken by the PRP consortium. The PRP's research agenda is independent of the Australian Government, but the relationship between DFAT and the consortium is characterised by open, honest dialogue to ensure that the program's research remains relevant to the needs of policymakers in Australia and the Pacific



region. As such, the PRP has enabled the development of a research agenda that accords with the parameters of a research-focused university department and has in turn benefited from an institutional platform that supports applied research. It has also created the institutional stability for researchers to look forward and investigate emerging foreign policy issues in the Pacific.

Australian Government funding has enabled the consortium to develop core expertise in disciplinary areas underpinning issues of high policy relevance in a Pacific context. It has also been provided in a way that has granted the consortium the flexibility to concentrate available resources to support large-scale research projects in areas of high policy interest. A key benefit of the PRP's design has been the provision of research funding for large-scale research projects, such as national election observations conducted in a number of Pacific Island countries and long-term research projects, for example on constituency development funds in Solomon Islands and on gender-based violence in Papua New Guinea. Within its funding arrangement, the consortium has been able to pilot innovative research programs with policy relevance as a key metric. One such pilot research program is the Pacific Attitudes Survey. Piloted in Samoa in 2020-2021 and as a collaboration between DPA, Swinburne University of Technology and the National University of Samoa, the Survey is a large-scale survey of popular political attitudes in Pacific nations and will provide a range of insights with broad policy relevance.

Long-term funding has enabled the consortium to engage researchers with professional experience and skills that enhance its capacity to engage effectively with policymakers in Australia regarding policy and programming decisions on the region. As the PRP design document acknowledged, "high quality research on its own is not sufficient to shape sound policy-making. Policy-relevant research needs to be effectively communicated to the policy making community." This requires people who are able to exercise influence within the various policy making communities and who understand and can contribute to policy-making processes at the right junctures. PRP funding has provided a mandate for recognising policy relevance alongside academic experience when recruiting academic staff and the means to engage staff with diverse skills and experience. These staff have facilitated access to policy networks, enabled research on sensitive policy issues and supported effective communication of research findings.

Finally, DFAT funding has provided both the means and programmatic mandate to pioneer new approaches to research and research capacity building, while the consortium partners' locations, within a leading university and a globally prominent think tank, have contributed to the consortium becoming a training ground for world-class Pacific scholarship.

How the PRP is enhancing greater public understanding of foreign policy issues

Communicating research findings in ways that enhance the Australian public's awareness of the region was an intended intermediate outcome of the PRP. The consortium's strategy for communicating its research findings to the Australian public has been necessarily multifaceted. Undergraduate and post-graduate teaching, executive education for Australian policymakers, targeted media engagement, publishing research in various formats and via a range of platforms have all been important strategies for communicating the PRP's research and expertise on foreign policy issues.



Formal education offerings and executive education

The consortium has fostered awareness and understanding of foreign policy issues related to the Pacific through their undergraduate and postgraduate teaching courses. PRP staff play an active role in teaching many of these courses and research funded by PRP also plays an important role in informing teaching curriculum.

DPA convenes the Bachelor of Pacific Studies – the only degree of its kind offered anywhere in Australia – and currently offers twelve undergraduate and twelve postgraduate courses. These offerings include courses on Australia and Security in the Pacific Islands; The Contemporary Pacific: Society, Politics and Development; and a course dedicated to the study of Pacific Politics. Overall, student enrolments in DPA's courses have increased year on year during the PRP. Enrolments in the undergraduate course on Australia and Security in the Pacific Islands have increased from 70 in 2018 (the first year it was delivered under the PRP) to 200 in 2021.

The consortium has also developed courses with a specific focus on developing understanding of policymaking processes in the region. In 2018 and 2019, DPA and Devpol delivered a joint Pacific Regionalism course as part of the DFAT-funded New Colombo Plan and with support from PRP-funded staff. The two-week, Suva-based component of the course involved students attending and volunteering at the annual Pacific Update and meeting with representatives from the Pacific Islands Forum Secretary, the Australian High Commission in Fiji, UN Women, the Pacific Island Development Forum (PIDF) and the Pacific Community (SPC).

In 2021 DPA is offering a Graduate Certificate in Pacific Development for the first time. The Graduate Certificate in Pacific Development provides a pathway to research-led learning on the Pacific region for policymakers, program designers, researchers and analysts working, or interested in working, on and in the Pacific region. The flexible program offers the foundations to understand the complexities of development in the Pacific, while covering a range of current development, societal and political issues. The Graduate Certificate involves a range of courses, including The Politics of Aid and Development in the Pacific; Pacific Diplomacy; Gender, Violence and Development; Understanding the Pacific: New Actors, Contemporary Issues; and The China Alternative? Changing Geopolitics in the South Pacific. Students can choose from courses with traditional, online and intensive delivery methods, featuring assessment methods that foster critical awareness through an emphasis on building an evidence-base for policy work.

The consortium's higher degree research training (PhD and Masters of Philosophy programs) provides support for development of a new cadre of Pacific experts and researchers both in Australia and the region. DPA's PhD program established in 2009 now comprises over 30 students. Of the 20 students to have graduated from the program to date, 75 per cent have obtained employment in Australian and Pacific universities – including four with DPA – while the remaining five are employed by the Australian Government, the PNG Government or by development partners within the Pacific. DPA's PhD cohort have and continue to study a range of topics related to Pacific politics, society and governance.

Devpol also has a steady stream of masters and PhD students and visiting fellows from the region supporting in centre research and being mentored by centre staff under the PRP, or leading their own research under staff supervision. The high quality and employability of ANU graduates as evidenced



above is a critical way in which ANU sustains a vibrant Australia-Pacific-NZ research network through the PRP.

Executive education provides a vehicle for enhancing understanding of the Pacific region amongst policymakers in Australia and in its partner countries. During the PRP duration, DPA has developed and delivered seven iterations of its Understanding the Pacific executive course for DFAT's Diplomatic Academy. The course aims to build course participant understanding of Australia's interests and role in the Pacific, the Pacific Diplomatic system, key development issues in the Pacific and policy choices in relation to the Pacific. A number of DPA and Devpol staff (including those funded by the PRP) deliver lectures in the course, which remains one of the Academy's most demanded courses. DFAT officers, staff of other Australian government departments and agencies and diplomats from partner governments' Pacific missions have participated in the course. Aside from this course, PRP researchers frequently deliver guest lectures in other executive education courses, including those convened by the ANU's National Security College.

Research outputs, media engagement and public events

The consortium works to make its research accessible to the Australian public. PRP research and analysis has been communicated through a range of written outputs – media citations and op-eds, blogs, journal articles, reports, discussions papers, policy briefs, books and book chapters. Its research and expertise have also been presented in seminars and public forums. Publication download data, mailing list subscriptions and social media engagements all indicate that more people have engaged with PRP publications each year. With critical support through the PRP, the consortium collectively produces and disseminates more Pacific research and policy analysis – thus providing a nucleus for further growth in the Pacific research ecosystem – than any other research group in the world. The Devpolicy Blog and Lowy Institute Interpreter are the primary hubs for substantive and timely discussion and analysis on Pacific-related issues outside of the Pacific. Devpol's Pacific Regional Media Advisor works to solicit submissions from Pacific authors, as well as place blog articles in Pacific newspapers.

Consortium partners engage with Australian and international media – print, TV and radio – on a near daily basis, providing expert commentary on a range of foreign policy issues in the Pacific. Lowy Institute plays a leading role in the consortium's media engagement, contributing op-eds to leading media outlets, including The Australian, The Australian Financial Review and the Guardian on critical policy issues in the region. Interviews and expert commentary from consortium partners have also been published in Australian and international outlets such as The Guardian, The Financial Times, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Economist, The South China Morning Post, Reuters, CNN, The Sydney Morning Herald, ABC News, ABC's The World, SBS, ABC's Pacific Beat. In the Pacific, Devpol blog articles have been republished in a range of regional media outlets, including the Fiji Times, Vanuatu Daily Post, Pacific Islands News Association, PNG Post Courier, Solomon Islands Herald, Loop PNG and The National (PNG).

Consortium partners have been particularly active in shaping public debate throughout the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak, with Lowy, Devpol and DPA initiating new communication channels – including podcasts – and other outputs to inform the public on the impact of COVID-19 in Pacific Island countries. COVID-19 has also encouraged us to think creatively about the way that we communicate our research. Over the past six months, DPA has produced three short films related to a study on family protection orders in PNG – these videos were an example of us working to find new ways to ensure that



our research is valuable to a range of stakeholders despite international travel restrictions. The consortium has also taken to hosting webinars, including Devpol's online launch of its Pacific COVID-19 Economic Response Database, which involved speakers from across the region and attracted over 200 attendees.

In addition to engaging with the media and producing specialist content accessible online, consortium partners have curated a number of public events aiming to disseminate knowledge among the broader community. For example, the consortium hosts two large conferences – the Pacific Update in Fiji and the State of the Pacific conference in Canberra with the support of PRP funding, both of which are forums for showcasing research on the Pacific. The Lowy Institute has also hosted a series of high-profile events in in Australian capital cities that seek to foster discussion and knowledge of the region, for example an address by Papua New Guinea's Prime Minister James Marape.

How the PRP supports broader engagement in the development and implementation of foreign policy

PRP research has supported Australia's increased engagement with the Pacific under the Step-Up. For example, PRP research has contributed to decisions regarding labour mobility policy and programming and informed thinking about mobility pathways for microstates. The PRP has also demonstrated its capacity to contribute to Pacific Island governments' policy review and planning processes through its research. For example, speaking at the launch of DPA's 2019 Solomon Islands National General Elections (NGE) Observation report in February 2020 in Honiara, the speaker of the Solomon Islands National Parliament and Chair of the Solomon Islands Electoral Commission, Hon. Patteson Oti, explained that the findings presented in the report "have provided us with credible, in-depth information that will help us to effectively implement our Electoral Reform Strategic Framework 2019-2023", adding "[m]any of your recommendations, if not all, will be fed into the development of detailed Implementation Plans for the delivery of the Electoral Reform Strategic Framework during this election cycle."

Although the COVID-19 pandemic has undoubtedly presented a range of obstacles to delivery of PRP activities as had been planned, the consortium has drawn on relationships with Pacific research partners to continue its research and conducted analysis on emerging issues, including the economic and social impacts of COVID-19 in the Pacific. Its relationships with partners throughout the region continue to be one of its greatest assets.

Contributing expertise to program design processes and dialogues

PRP partners conduct research intended to inform the work of development partners, programs and initiatives directly funded by DFAT and part of Australia's broader engagement in the region. These initiatives include the Australia Pacific Security College, the Pacific Fusion Centre, the World Bank, Pacific Labour Facility, Balance of Power, the Australian Electoral Commission, the Justice Services and Stability for Development (JSS4D) Program, Pacific Women, and the Australia Awards Women's Leadership Initiative. PRP researchers have also worked with the DFAT-funded Pacific labour facility in the development of a number of survey tools, including a pre-departure baseline worker survey and an employer survey and other instruments. PRP researchers have also facilitated processes intended to increase awareness of impact evaluations in PNG and the Pacific, specifically the types of impacts evaluations used in the Pacific and the potential for greater use of the approach.



The consortium partners regularly convene or contribute to policy dialogues involving experts on a range of development and policy issues related to the Pacific and policymakers from Australia and the region. Key amongst these have been dialogues concerning the impacts of COVID-19 in the Pacific region and Australia's response to COVID-19 in the region. In 2019, the PRP worked with DFAT to develop and host an invitation-only dialogue on Security in the Pacific between officials and academics from the US, NZ and Australia held at ANU in June 2019. The 1.5 dialogue, the first of its kind under the PRP banner, which involved 80 participants, was designed to address a range of questions about geostrategic developments in the region.

PRP experts have conducted on average 300 briefings each year of the program, including on the record, background and Chatham House for a range of key stakeholders, both in person and online. Australian stakeholders briefed by PRP experts include government and opposition frontbenchers; several DFAT staff in Canberra including new Pacific HOMs Designate, and staff from the Department of Education, Skills and Employment; Prime Minister & Cabinet; Australian Federal Police; Australian Civil-Military Centre; ONI; Department of Defence; and Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Communications.

In addition to on-request, individual and small group briefings, consortium partners are regularly invited to contribute to the Joint standing committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. For example in June 2020 Devpol's Stephen Howes and Beth Orton presented on "Australian trade relations with the Pacific, with a focus on PACER Plus and labour mobility". Howes and Orton, and Lowy's Jonathan Pryke, also presented for the Trade Sub-Committee's "Inquiry into activating greater trade and investment with Pacific Island countries". Howes, Pryke and DPA's James Batley presented at the "Inquiry into strengthening Australia's relationships with countries in the Pacific region". Pryke presented at the "Inquiry into Australia's defence relationship with the Pacific". Furthermore, in 2020 Devpol made a submission to the JSCFADT "Inquiry into the implications of the COVID-19 pandemic for Australia's foreign affairs, defence and trade" and a submission to the Select Committee on Temporary Migration and the National Agricultural Workforce Strategy.

Strengthening people-to-people links, skills and leadership

The 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper acknowledged "(a)n increased focus on skills and education will be vital if the Pacific is to realise its economic potential" and highlighted strengthening people-to-people links, skills and leadership as a key priority of its stepped-up engagement in the Pacific.

DPA's Pacific Research Colloquium has contributed to skills development of Pacific researchers and the forging of new links between Pacific and Australian researchers. The PRC, a social science research skills training program mentoring early career researchers, has been run each year (except 2020) since 2007. The PRP has funded two iterations of the PRC – in 2018 and 2019. The program brings 20-30 researchers from the Pacific to Canberra for a two-week intensive workshop to develop social science research skills and present a research paper on current or proposed research. Participants have the opportunity to submit their papers for publication in DPA's publications series and to receive editorial support. The 2019 cohort was the most diverse in the program history with young researchers coming from Cook Islands, FSM, New Caledonia, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Samoa and Tonga. In 2020, DPA could not deliver the PRC due to COVID-19 travel restrictions, but instead actively supported and mentored its PRC alumni to publish their research.



In 2021 DPA will host an adapted version of the PRC, developed over the past 12 months. It will for the first time deliver formal qualifications and will create direct pathways for PRC researchers to gain entry to ANU postgraduate and doctoral studies.

Since 2008, DPA has also offered 12-18-month Pacific Research Fellowships, awarded through a competitive process, to researchers from the Pacific to pursue research and writing at ANU. The fellowships provide established academics or promising early career researchers with time and space to write, away from busy teaching and administrative schedules at home institutions. Two fellowships have been awarded during the PRP period. In addition to these longer fellowships, DPA runs a short-term Pacific Visitor program, supporting Pacific researchers for 6-12 weeks to advance research and writing.

The efforts help to create strong links between Pacific scholars working in and on the region and also to develop the next generation of researchers who can work to influence the development of evidence-based policy in Pacific countries.

How the Australian Government can support the development of knowledge needed to support more effective future foreign policy

Support for quality research intended to inform future foreign policy related to the Pacific should focus on providing researchers with the scope to consider and develop forward-looking research agendas focused on emerging issues, for example climate change politics and digital democracy. This involves providing core support for research institutions that affords researchers time to investigate these issues and provides research career pathways for researchers undertaking applied, policy-relevant research focused on foreign policy issues.

Ensuring that research agendas remain current and responsive to the needs of the Australian Government and partner governments in the region requires supported support to be delivered in a way that promotes research partnerships and collaborations across the region through which researchers can identify emerging areas of policy interest.

The PRP shows that there is a demonstrable return on investment for government in funding long-term research partnerships on issues of national importance. Provision of funding to research institutions on a long-term basis is a highly effective way to build knowledge to inform future foreign policy.