









Monitoring Peace and Conflict in the Solomon Islands

Gendered Early Warning Report No. 1

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Executive Summary

Background to the Report

This report forms part of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) project 'Monitoring Peace and Conflict Using Gendered Early Warning Indicators', implemented in partnership with the National Peace Council (NPC), the Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA), Vois Blong Mere Solomon, the Department of Home Affairs, and the Department of National Unity, Reconciliation and Peace.

Conflict early warning is the systematic collection and analysis of information from areas of crisis to anticipate the escalation of violent conflict, or increasing peace. The process involves the collection and analysis of data using specific indicators, combined with the development of appropriate response options, which are then communicated to decision-makers for the purposes of decision-making and action. This project incorporates a gender perspective into each of these processes.

Methodology

UNIFEM works with 20 trained project participants in five communities around the Solomon Islands to collect micro- as well as macro-level data. Gender-sensitive indicator data was collected from equal numbers of men and women using three main sources: a *Self-Monitoring Template* completed by project participants, a *Community Survey* among respondents across the five communities, and a *National Survey* among 'informed specialists' at the national level. Other types of data include a Structural Data Set, a Media Scan and Community Meetings. All indicator-based data use a 5-point measurement scale, with the results converted to low, medium and high risk levels. Male and female responses are disaggregated to highlight any differences between women's and men's perspectives of conflict and peace issues.

Overview of Key Issues

The early warning data presents a moderate risk level for armed conflict in the Solomon Islands, with 12 out of 44 indicators in the high risk level. There is also a general tendency towards low economic development and considerable gender inequality within the Solomon Islands. These tendencies are important because both are strongly linked to an increased likelihood of conflict – however all factors must be considered in the context of the many positive elements and opportunities currently present in the Solomon Islands.

The high risk indicators from the survey data cluster around the categories of governance and land, with several others in the economics and social and ethnic relations categories. The indicators presenting a high risk of conflict are as follows:

Governance

- Corruption in government
- Women's lack of participation in government processes
- > Dissatisfaction with provision of government services
- Inability to participate in government decision-making
- Lack of trust between political groups

Land and Natural Resources

- Frequency of disputes concerning land
- > Fear that one's land may be taken over
- Women's lack of involvement in community resolution of land disputes

Economics

Male unemployment

> Female unemployment

Social and Ethnic Relations

- Incidence of domestic abuse
- Informal negative discourse (gossip)

In addition, a number of areas serve as warning points. These include: frequency of marriage breakups, trust between ethnic groups, fear of reprisal from prisoners and economic inequality. The emergence of a new militant group in Malaita is also cause for concern.

There are also many positive elements to the current situation in the Solomon Islands. Public security indicators generally present a low risk of conflict at present, largely due to the success of RAMSI in restoring and maintaining law and order. Findings in the category of peace building are also positive, with all indicators at a medium risk level. This suggests that while current peace building processes and initiative are on track, this is an area where actions must continue to strengthen and support the capacities of the large number of groups working towards peace – as well as to include the activities and roles of both men and women.

This situation of a moderate risk of conflict combined with important opportunities for peace building calls for both men and women in government, donor agencies, NGOs and communities to work seriously towards appropriate responses in a timely manner. A starting point for such a process to prevent conflict and strengthen peace building is provided in the extensive list of community and national level response options included in this report.

1. Introduction

Covering the period of April – July 2005, this report is the first in a series monitoring levels of peace and conflict in the Solomon Islands, so as to anticipate and act to prevent future conflict, and to strengthen peace building. Having experienced a period of armed conflict during 1998-2003, the Solomon Islands have enjoyed relative peace and law and order since the arrival of the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) in 2003.

However, this is a critical period for the Solomon Islands: while many peace building and development processes are opening the way for greater prosperity and peace, many of the underlying causes of the conflict remain unresolved. Therefore, the Solomon Islands is standing at a point of great potential to move forward, but also with the potential for renewed conflict, especially given the 'conflict trap' whereby countries which have experienced civil war are at high risk of experiencing further conflict. An early warning monitoring system is critically important in this phase so that increasing conflict can be anticipated and responded to appropriately before escalation.

1.1 Context of Conflict

The armed conflict in the Solomon Islands, known locally as 'the tensions', erupted in 1998 and continued until RAMSI's arrival in July 2003. The causes of the conflict were multiple and interlinked. Key issues included the cultural differences between different ethnic populations (especially between, but not limited to, Guadalcanal and Malaita) and increasing competition for limited resources around the centralized capital Honiara, particularly competition for land and for commercial and development opportunities. Conflict centered around the Guadalcanal militant group Isatabu Freedom Movement (IFM) and the Malaitan militant group Malaita Eagle Force (MEF), with involvement also by the Special Constables section of the Royal Solomon Islands Police (RSIP). After the signing of the Townsville Peace Agreement (TPA) in October 2000, hostilities continued and escalated in southern Guadalcanal between the IFM and the Guadalcanal Liberation Front (GLF).

In all the conflict resulted in 150-200 deaths, approximately 450 gun-related injuries, and more than 35,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) throughout Guadalcanal and Malaita. Men and women played different roles during the tensions. Men's roles included active involvement in fighting, supporting their families, and decision-making roles in mediation and reconciliation. Women's roles often overlapped with these, and included productive roles in supporting the family while men were absent, reproductive and social welfare roles in caring for family and community members, re-building social capital and engaging in informal peace processes. The impacts of the tensions on both men and women included being victims of violence of different types — including rape, for women — economic impacts especially surrounding loss of income, break-down in domestic relationships and psychological impacts such as grief and anxiety. However, women often experienced increased status and empowerment resulting from the traditionally male roles undertaken during the tensions.³

1.2 Background to the Report

This report forms part of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) project 'Monitoring Peace and Conflict Using Gendered Early Warning Indicators', one of a global series of gendered conflict early warning pilot projects. This Pacific pilot in the Solomon Islands was launched in January 2005, and will run for an initial period of 12 months.

Conflict early warning is the systematic collection and analysis of information from areas of crisis to anticipate the escalation of violent conflict, or increasing peace. The process begins with the collection and analysis of data using specific indicators. This is combined with the

development of appropriate response options (presented in Annex 1), which are then communicated 'up' to policy-makers as well as 'down' to communities for the purposes of decision-making and action. To date, conflict early warning systems have largely ignored gender issues.

The objectives of the 'Monitoring Peace and Conflict Using Gendered Early Warning Indicators' project are:

- To develop indicators for early warning of peace and conflict, taking into account gender issues and the experiences of women and men;
- To establish a system for the collection, analysis and dissemination of gendersensitive information on conflict and peace building;
- To create a more responsive policy and programming environment for a) gendersensitive conflict prevention and b) supporting the role of women and men in peace building.

UNIFEM works closely with the following partners in the implementation of the project: the National Peace Council (NPC), the Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA), Vois Blong Mere Solomon, the Department of Home Affairs, and the Department of National Unity, Reconciliation and Peace.

1.3 Methodology

This project utilizes an approach to conflict early warning which values both micro level data from communities, as well as macro level data at the national level, based on the assumption that monitoring micro-level changes can help anticipate conflict before it spreads to higher levels. To this end, UNIFEM works in five communities in the Solomon Islands: White River and Borderline in Honiara; Avuavu on the Weathercoast of Guadalcanal Province; Malu'u in Malaita Province; and Noro in Western Province (see Annex 2). Two men and two women from each of these communities have been trained in monitoring peace and conflict using gendered early warning indicators. In this sense, the current approach differs from many other early warning approaches which are often based on event data.

The indicators were developed to incorporate gender sensitivity. They are also designed to monitor not only levels of conflict, but also levels of peace. For analytical purposes, the indictors are divided into the following six categories: governance and political institutions, land and natural resources, economics, public security, social and ethnic relations, and peace building.⁴

A variety of data sources was used (see Annex 3). Indicator data was collected using three different instruments, to enable triangulation of results, and to ensure each instrument was appropriate to the particular respondents. All indicator data collection instruments targeted equal numbers of male and female respondents:

- A Self-Monitoring Template was completed by project participants, who are trained in monitoring peace and conflict indicators at the community level;
- A Community Survey was carried out among respondents across the five communities: of the respondents, 50% were youths and 50% adults;
- A National Survey was conducted among 'informed specialists' at the national level, including employees of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other national and international organizations.

Additional forms of non-indicator-based data are also included in this analysis. A Structural Data Set is compiled using national statistics on an ongoing basis (Annex 4). In addition, a Media Scan of the Solomon Star newspaper is carried out on a daily basis.

All indicator-based data collection instruments use a 5-point measurement scale. Where necessary, the results are inverted in analysis so that a higher score indicates higher risk.

The results for each indicator are averaged, and converted to a colour-coded 'Risk Level', where a score of 1 to 2.79 indicates 'Low Risk' (green), 2.8 to 3.79 indicates 'Medium Risk' (yellow), and a score of 3.8 to 5 indicates 'High Risk' (red). Male and female responses are disaggregated to highlight any differences between women's and men's perspectives of conflict and peace issues.⁵

Each indicator is matched with corresponding response options. Conflict prevention and peace building are the concern and responsibility of people at all levels – not just of national governments. Therefore, response options are listed for the community level – initiatives and actions which communities themselves have identified and can undertake – as well as for the national level, including initiatives and policies for government, national NGOs, churches and donors (see Annex 1). These response options were generated during meetings with men and women in each of the five communities, as well as in conjunction with the project partners.

In subsequent reports, trend data will be calculated to show increasing or decreasing levels of peace or conflict over time.

2. Analysis of Gendered Early Warning Data

This section considers in further detail the findings of the early warning analysis for April – July 2005. Each of the six categories of indicator are discussed. For each category, a table of results presents the average responses for women and for men, as well as the overall average for each indicator, with 5 as the highest possible score and 1 as the lowest. These are converted to the color-coded risk score described in the methodology section. The narrative analysis is largely based on the high risk indicators. It must be remembered that this data is based on 5 communities, as well as national level data, and the responses are not necessarily representative of the Solomon Islands as a whole. A thorough listing of community and national response options for each indicator can be found in Annex 1.

The early warning data presents a moderate risk level for conflict in the Solomon Islands, with 12 out of 44 indicators in the high risk level. These factors must be considered in the context of the many positive elements and opportunities currently present in the Solomon Islands. Figure 1 on the following page provides an overview of the results of the gendered conflict early warning research for April to July 2005. In addition, an overview of structural data reveals a general tendency towards low economic development and considerable gender inequality across a range of indicators (see Annex 4). These tendencies are important, because both are strongly linked to an increased likelihood of conflict.

2.1 Governance and Political Institutions

Table 1. Risk Levels for Governance and Political Institutions Indicators

INDICATOR	Women's responses	Men's responses	TOTAL RISK LEVEL
Satisfaction with provision of government services	3.92	3.71	3.82 HIGH
2. Ability to participate in government decision-making	4.02	3.72	3.87 HIGH
3. Corruption in government	4.56	4.72	4.64 HIGH
4. Women's participation in government processes	4.16	3.96	4.06 HIGH
5. Influence of men in making community decisions	2.1	1.8	1.95 LOW
6. Influence of women in making community decisions	3.9	2.9	3.4 MEDIUM
7. Use of traditional forms of conflict resolution	3.4	2.6	3.0 MEDIUM
8. Trust between political groups	3.88	4.16	4.02 HIGH

The category of governance and political institutions presents a significantly high risk of conflict, with five out of eight indicators at a high risk level. Of all 44 indicators, corruption in government has the highest risk score of all, at 4.64 out of a possible total of 5. Corruption often features among the issues which trigger conflict. In the case of the Solomon Islands, corruption in the form of the manipulation of the customary process of compensation was a prominent feature of the tensions. A Transparency International study found that most corrupt practice in the Solomon Islands pertains to operations of public service or government practice, and that national integrity systems (for example the legislature, executive and ombudsman) have generally failed to enforce and monitor regulations to prevent corruption, in some cases being complicit in increasing national corruption. It is also critical to recognize the factors which drive corrupt practice, including the widespread 'culture of corruption' making it difficult to stand up to the system, the clash of Western and Melanesian cultures, loyalty and obligations to wantoks (relatives), and economic survival. This is clearly an issue which needs to be urgently addressed and raised in public discourse,

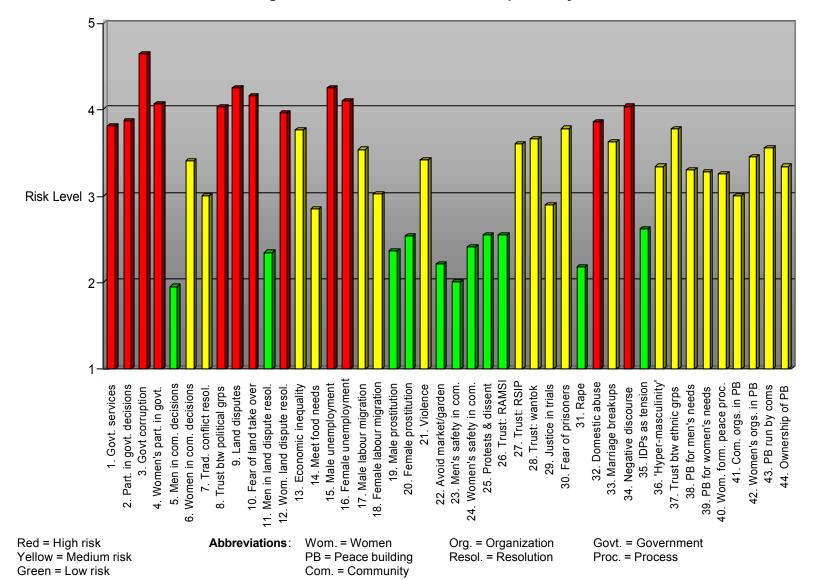


Figure 1. Overview of Risk Levels: April – July 2005

Key:

not just within governance structures, but throughout other types of organizations and within communities themselves.

There is a pervasive sense of exclusion from government processes and decision-making, pointing to a lack of linkages and engagement between government and its citizens. At the same time, this is based upon a view of governance whereby the government serves it's citizens. However, it is also critically important to recognize the role of civil society in holding government accountable, and therefore citizens need to be empowered to play that role.

Women express higher levels of dissatisfaction than men with most governance indicators. Women feel very strongly the impacts of inadequate services, and are excluded more than men from decision-making, often due to entrenched cultural and religious norms where women's voices are not encouraged nor listened to. This finding also highlights the fact that development affects different groups in different ways, and that for example the needs of men and women must be considered in the targeting of development and services. It should also be noted that the provision of government services has been considered problematic since long before the tensions.

Women's exclusion from decision-making occurs at both the community level, as well as at the highest levels of government, where women currently hold no seats in national parliament. This is a critical risk factor, as research has found that states with a lower percentage of women in parliament are more likely to use violence to settle conflicts. It may be appropriate to consider and debate the introduction of a quota system to begin to give women some equitable representation.

While the use of traditional forms of conflict resolution indicates moderate usage of such systems, and therefore a medium risk level, this is an important issue for conflict prevention in the Solomon Islands. Continued work is needed to empower chiefs as mediators, to work on the Solomon Islands' mediation process, and to consider an holistic approach to conflict resolution which includes not only 'tradition', but also the church and other relevant sectors.

The positive news is that the up-coming elections in early 2006 present an important opportunity to address many of these governance issues. In the lead-up to the elections, there is a critical need for civic education – starting from the personal level and moving to the level of society – and other measures to promote good governance, as well as transparency and accountability.

2.2 Land and Natural Resources

Table 2. Risk Levels for Land and Natural Resources Indicators

INDICATOR	Women's responses	Men's responses	TOTAL LE\	_
9. Frequency of disputes concerning land	4.33	4.17	4.25	HIGH
10. Fear that one's land may be taken over	4.16	4.14	4.15	HIGH
11. Men involved in community resolution of land disputes	2.3	2.4	2.35	LOW
12. Women involved in community resolution of land disputes	3.9	4	3.95	HIGH

Land issues also currently present a high level of risk in the Solomon Islands, especially given that this was one of the root causes of the tensions which has not yet been adequately addressed. Increasingly, land disputes centre around economic development and commercialization issues colliding with communal land ownership systems.

One of the key contributing issues is people's lack of information as to who owns which land, which means that land disputes are not able to be resolved. The implementation of an adequate system of land recording to identify ownership is crucial, although there is some debate about this. Tribal rather than state-based recording could be a compromise for those who feel flexibility and community autonomy would be lost with a national system of land recording. In addition, a Commission of Enquiry was agreed to in the Townsville Peace Agreement (TPA), and the implementation of this commission would enable the investigation of the manner in which people came to own all registered land.

In addition, Solomon Islanders still feel very close to their land, and these perspectives shape the way decisions are made. Many of the conflicts over land arise when the natural resources from tribally owned land are developed, and the pointing to a need for frameworks which allow for economic development to take place without creating internal disputes. This is also linked to economic issues surrounding natural resource exploitation, which is discussed in the following section.

Women's involvement in the community resolution of land disputes is limited, and is not encouraged. This is a critical issue, given that this limited decision-making power comes despite the fact that women are actually the official land custodians in matrilineal societies such as Guadalcanal and Isabel. A positive element is that some women, for example the Central Guadalcanal women around Gold Ridge, are now beginning to realize their potential roles, and are asking to be involved in discussions concerning land decisions. This calls for women to seek participation in tribal committees on land, and the government to develop polices and legislation to protect women's traditional rights as land owners.

2.3 Economics

Table 3. Risk Levels for Economics Indicators

INDICATOR	Women's responses	Men's responses	TOTAL RISK LEVEL
13. Economic inequality within the population	3.60	3.92	3.76 MEDIUM
14. Ability of families to meet their basic food needs	2.8	2.9	2.85 MEDIUM
15. Male unemployment	3.9	4.6	4.25 HIGH
16. Female unemployment	4	4.2	4.1 HIGH
17. Labour migration among men	3.62	3.44	3.53 MEDIUM
18. Labour migration among women	3.18	2.86	3.02 MEDIUM
19. Level of male prostitution	2.60	2.12	2.36 LOW
20. Level of female prostitution	2.60	2.48	2.54 LOW

The economic indicators suggest a moderate risk level, with the exception of both male and female unemployment, which represent a high risk of conflict. This is especially problematic in terms of male youth unemployment, illustrated by the disenchanted, 'vagrant' under- or unemployed male youths known as the 'Masta Lui' phenomenon, who used compensation demands as a means of gaining cash incomes, and which had destabilizing consequences in and around Honiara during the 1998-1999 up-rising. It was recently announced by police, for example, that increased criminal activity in Honiara was caused by youths who had dropped out of school and were unemployed.

The problem of unemployment is also linked to the financial institutions' mistrust in Solomon Islanders, such that it is extremely difficult to obtain credit for the start-up of small businesses. This mistrust fuels inequality, and calls for a transformation of the financial

institutions in order to increase access to credit for Solomon Islanders, especially women and youth.

It should also be noted that while these survey findings indicate that women and men experience similar levels of unemployment, in fact the national statistical data show that women suffer a much higher unemployment rate than men (see Annex 4); this is linked to differential access to education and opportunities for participating in all employment sectors. On the other hand, these statistics do not consider women's role in the informal economy, especially important as a coping mechanism during the tensions. The issue of unemployment calls for increased vocational and technical training, employment opportunities combined with adequate infrastructure targeting men and women in provincial areas, and deregulation to allow for increased activities in the informal sector.

An interesting finding concerns perceptions of economic inequality. While the overall risk level is medium, for male respondents it is in the high risk category. This may be due to men's traditional role as breadwinners, whereby men must strive for economic opportunities to provide for the family, and in this process they encounter significant inequality.

The economic structural data (Annex 4) is also revealing. With a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of approximately US\$506 per capita, Solomon Islands is considered a low income country in relation to others in the Pacific region, and is included in the global list of Least Developed Countries (LDCs). This is significant for early warning purposes, because low income countries are at increased risk of conflict; for example, as per capita income halves, the risk of civil war roughly doubles.¹⁰

In addition, the Solomon Islands is heavily dependent on primary commodity exports – up to 1996, approximately 70% of GDP was provided by primary exporting industries, a trend that continues to the present. This constitutes a high risk of conflict for the Solomon Islands, as studies have found a strong relationship between the likelihood of conflict and a heavy dependence on natural resources, especially when combined with poor governance. There are a number of interrelated reasons for this: natural resource dependency has a destabilizing effect on macroeconomic conditions, it leads to an increased prevalence of corruption due to large concentrated revenues, and it can fuel conflict through disputes over the distribution of revenues at local, provincial and national levels. In the Solomon Islands, these factors are combined with the critical issue of land disputes arising from economic development on communally-owned land, as discussed in section 2.2.

While levels of prostitution appear low risk overall, if only the data from Honiara is considered, the average for female prostitution climbs to 4.05 with a high risk level. This is linked to economic need, and therefore reinforces the need for targeted employment programs and alternative forms of income generation for young urban women.

2.4 Public Security

Table 4. Risk Levels for Public Security Indicators

INDICATOR	Women's responses	Men's responses	TOTAL RISK LEVEL
21. Incidences of violence	3.44	3.39	3.42 MEDIUM
22. Avoidance of markets / gardens due to fear	2.02	2.40	2.21 LOW
23. Safety for men to walk around the community	1.8	2.2	2.0 LOW
24. Safety for women to walk around the community	2.4	2.4	2.4 LOW
25. Protests, demonstrations, riots or other forms of dissent	2.3	2.8	2.55 LOW

26. Trust in RAMSI to ensure security	2.8	2.3	2.55 LOW
27. Trust in RSIP to ensure security	3.7	3.5	3.6 MEDIUM
28. Trust in wantoks (relatives) to ensure security	3.7	3.6	3.65 MEDIUM
29. Belief that justice will be done in trials over the tensions	2.76	3.02	2.89 MEDIUM
30. Fear of reprisal from people in prison	3.84	3.72	3.78 MEDIUM
31. Incidence of rape	2.24	2.12	2.18 LOW

The risks associated with public security are generally medium to low. This positive current situation is largely thanks to RAMSI and its significant success in restoring law and order since July 2003. While RAMSI remains, it is very likely that these public security indicators will continue to be generally positive. However, for a sustainable approach beyond RAMSI, Solomon Islanders must re-build confidence in their own country. In terms of public security, it is therefore important to continue to build the capacity of the RSIP, as well as to address the thic alliances or 'regionalism' endemic within the institution. It is also crucial for organizations working for peace to consider what they can do to sustain peace in a post-RAMSI context, including an ongoing commitment to conflict resolution and reconciliation processes.

This positive level of public security must not be taken for granted. Anecdotal evidence suggests, for example, that petty crime such as shop lifting and pick-pocketing may be increasing, signifying broader dissatisfaction and lack of trust. In addition, despite various successful arms-reduction interventions, a wide range of firearms are still believed to be in circulation in Malaita and Guadalcanal, and small arms continue to be used for the purpose of intimidation. ¹²

The data indicates a low level of rape. This is in contrast to other documented data which found that beyond the large extent of rape which women and girls suffered during the tensions, high numbers of rapes continued to be reported to police well after the tensions.¹³ It is unclear whether the present results indicate that cases of rape have decreased, are no longer being reported to police, or if the surveys failed to capture the real situation.

The one high risk indicator is that of *women's* fear of reprisal from individuals currently in prison. This is associated with women's experiences of violence and trauma during the tensions. There is already some evidence that women are being threatened and subjected to retribution from men being released from prison over tension-related crimes. This is an issue which must be acknowledged and addressed by RSIP and RAMSI when releasing prisoners back into their communities.

2.5 Social and Ethnic Relations

Table 5. Risk Levels for Social and Ethnic Relations Indicators

INDICATOR	Women's responses	Men's responses	TOTAL RISK LEVEL
32. Incidence of domestic abuse	3.80	3.91	3.86 HIGH
33. Frequency of marriage breakups	3.80	3.44	3.62 MEDIUM
34. Extent of informal negative discourse (gossip)	4.00	4.06	4.03 HIGH
35. Presence of IDPs as a source of tension	2.32	2.92	2.62 LOW
36. Aggressive or 'hyper-masculine' behavior encouraged	3.36	3.32	3.34 MEDIUM
37. Trust between ethnic groups	3.70	3.84	3.77 MEDIUM

Social indicators are a mixture of medium and high risk levels. Of particular concern is the high level of 'informal negative discourse' – or street-level gossip – with the current state of affairs in the Solomon Islands, a phenomenon which was also significant prior to and during the tensions. This is also a gendered issue, as women are frequently associated with gossip, especially during the tensions when women's gossip was often considered to fuel conflicts.

Also in the high risk category is the incidence of domestic abuse. This is linked to a number of issues including alcohol consumption, economic insecurity, and the aftermath of the tensions – domestic abuse is often associated with armed conflict, and in the Solomon Islands anecdotal evidence from communities suggests that the rate climbed dramatically during the tensions. Another factor is the cultural norms by which many people still believe husbands have the 'right' to abuse their wives. For this reason, it is important to increase education about domestic abuse through public awareness campaigns, as well as pushing for appropriate action in implementing the law through RSIP and the courts system.

The incidence of marriage break-ups emerges as a high risk indicator, although interestingly only among women. According to discussions with community members, this is associated with alcohol abuse, 'O2s' (second wives, or mistresses), and the high rate of teenage marriage. The incidence of marriage break-ups also rose significantly during the tensions. Important response options include counseling for couples, as well as national level campaigns to promote contraception use and to reduce alcohol abuse.

Box 1. The Malaita Separatist Movement (MSM)

The MSM was made known to the public on the 10th of May, 2005, on the front page of the Solomon Star newspaper. The group claimed to have 66 male members, largely comprising former members of the MEF, and also claimed to possess high-powered weapons. The MSM's positions included demands for:

- the resignation of the Prime Minister;
- investigations into alleged associations between the PM and former militants;

and dissatisfaction with:

- alleged injustices against Malaitans by RAMSI;
- the justice process post-TPA;
- the Prime Minister's pro-Australian stance.

Responses to the MSM and their demands have been mixed. Many groups were quick to disassociate themselves from the MSM, while others acknowledged validity in their demands but encouraged dialogue and non-violent means of resolving their concerns. There is a strong belief among many Solomon Islanders that the group is backed by politicians and others in Honiara. In addition, there are related signs of religious fundamentalism encroaching into the political arena, with potential serious implications in future.

These tensions running high in Malaita were heightened on the 23rd of May 2005, when gun-fire was exchanged between a RAMSI military team and suspects 'wanted for serious crimes over a long period' in Malu'u.

The MSM may prove to pose no threat of an uprising of conflict, yet it must be treated as a serious risk of conflict. Similar demands by other groups heralded the beginnings of conflict in 1998-1999, although the real risk is easier to see with hindsight than with foresight.

Trust between ethnic groups is a very important indicator, and while it presents as medium risk overall, for men it is a high risk issue. This lack of trust is linked to the prevalent stereotypes about different ethnic groups, as well as to strong in-group identification, especially among men. The finding that men perceive higher levels of ethnic distrust than women can be partially attributed to the gender roles, whereby it is traditionally men's responsibility to go to war, as well as to resolve disputes; it has been suggested that men sense distrust more keenly than do women. During the tensions, it was women from opposing groups — not men — who were able to meet and form alliances as women (for

example the peace market at White River), rather than as members of distinct ethnic groups. The emergence of a new militant group in Malaita is also cause for concern, related partly to ethnic identity and also to dissatisfaction with the government, RAMSI and the justice process (see Box 1).

The fragmented and regional sense of identity – as opposed to a more 'unified' national sense of identity – is a significant barrier to sustainable peace in the Solomon Islands. This needs to be tackled through civic and peace education programs in school curriculums and churches – building on existing work in this area, such as UNICEF's (the United Nations Children's Fund) peace education work, and including curricula to promote national identity and positive role models for youth. Positive national identity initiatives can also be implemented through national government programs.

While the presence of internally displaced persons (IDPs) as a source of tension is low overall, in White River it is at the high risk level, suggesting that this should be carefully monitored. A more decentralized approach to the provision of development opportunities would be an appropriate response, as would legislative change to include assistance to people displaced as a result of conflict (as opposed to those displaced by natural disasters).

Finally, structural data indicates that the Solomon Islands has a distinct 'youth bulge', with 37% of the adult population (15 and over) in the 15-24 age cohort (Annex 4). This is an important issue, because youth bulges increase the risk of domestic armed conflict¹⁶; one study found that countries with a youth bulge of 40% or more were more than twice as likely to experience civil conflict.¹⁷ The Solomon Islands' youth bulge is also linked to levels of unemployment and crime, as discussed earlier.

2.6 Peace Building

Table 6. Risk Levels for Peace Building Indicators

INDICATOR	Women's responses	Men's responses	TOTAL RISK LEVEL
38. Peace building programs address the needs of men	3.34	3.26	3.30 MEDIUM
39. Peace building programs address the needs of women	3.19	3.35	3.27 MEDIUM
40. Involvement of women in formal peace processes	3.02	3.27	3.18 MEDIUM
41. Community organizations involved in peace-building	3.0	3.0	3.0 MEDIUM
42. Women's organizations involved in peace-building	3.4	3.5	3.45 MEDIUM
43. Peace building activities initiated & run by communities	3.2	3.9	3.55 MEDIUM
44. Perception of 'ownership' of peace-building activities	3.44	3.24	3.34 MEDIUM

The peace building indicators demonstrate a medium risk of conflict, which suggests a cautiously optimistic view of peace building in the Solomon Islands. This also suggests that there remains a lot of work to be done, thus reinforcing the mandate of those working for peace such as the NPC and the Department of National Unity, Reconciliation and Peace, as well as calling for greater coordination among these and other actors.

Peace must not be taken for granted. Solomon Islanders identify many challenges to peace building. For example, men are often caught in the 'compensation' notion of peace (the majority of claims for compensation as a result of the tensions were by men). At the community level, people may not yet understand what activities contribute to peace building, and there is a continued need to consider more closely the needs of men, women and youth. Other critiques of current peace building practice claim that efforts are still piecemeal, unsustainable and overly focused on external timeframes.

The survey data suggests that Solomon Islanders believe that women's involvement in formal peace processes falls in the moderate category. This is a surprising finding, given that women's formal participation has been extremely limited. This may concern a lack of awareness of the issues, combined with misperceptions based on the presence of a few highly visible women. In fact, women need to be supported and represented at all levels in their work for peace, including in community organizations, NGOs and within national government.

It appears that men strongly feel that there are few peace building activities initiated and run by communities, making this a high risk indicator for men. It has been suggested that this is because women are frequently more active and proactive in community-based organizing through their pre-existing groups, they 'know the language of peace', and because they acted as 'icebreakers' during the tensions. It is interesting to find that men feel excluded from this community-level peace building. There is consequently a need to involve men in peace building activities initiated by women, such that they feel empowered to participate, and such that men can represent those issues in their traditional role as community decision-makers.

One especially optimistic finding of the survey data is that male and female youth are on average more positive about peace building than are adults. This suggests the possibility of a new generation of peace builders in the Solomon Islands. The challenge therefore is for peace building organizations to promote activities targeting youth, especially in rural areas, as well as to engage youth to 'sell' the message of peace to the community.

2.7 Media Scan

A total of 696 articles on peace and conflict issues were analyzed between the 14th of March and the 14th of June 2005, all from the Solomon Star newspaper. There was close to equal representation of articles concerning peace and articles about conflict. Of the articles concerning conflict, the most common topic was unrest (67%), followed by political and legal issues (38%) and crime (22%). Of the items about peace, political and legal issues were the most frequent topic (46%), closely followed by peace building activities (42%) and community development (40%).

The media scan demonstrates a strong bias against the representation of women in the Solomon Star. Only 11% of articles about peace and / or conflict had a focus on women. Of those articles which did concern women as the primary subject, 56% portrayed a positive image of the women involved, and 33% portrayed a negative image. These proportions are similar to those where the focus was on men. In this sense, in the Solomon Islands media discourse around peace and conflict, women are not portrayed differently from men, but they are portrayed far less than men, reflecting the general tendency towards gender inequality described earlier. This suggests a need for actions to enable those working in the media to better understand gender issues and the way they represent men and women.

3. Conclusion

The early warning data reflects a number of high risk issues currently at play in the Solomon Islands. Among these, the following issues stand out as of particular concern: corruption, women's lack of participation in government processes, male and female unemployment, and the extent of negative informal discourse (gossip). These, combined with the general tendency towards low economic development and high levels of gender inequality, indicate a moderate potential risk of renewed armed conflict.

There are also many positive elements to the current situation in the Solomon Islands. For example, public security indicators generally present a low risk of conflict at present, and indicators in the category of peace building are also positive. A key opportunity which links with these two positive elements of public security and peace building is that of the upcoming election in 2006. The election provides the potential for addressing and re-dressing some of the risk factors identified above, especially in the areas of governance and economics, as well as increasing women's participation in formal government processes. Another important opportunity lies in the finding that young men and women are more positive than adults about peace building in the Solomon Islands, suggesting a hopeful outlook for the country if this generation of youth can be supported.

This situation of a risk of conflict combined with important opportunities for peace building calls for both men and women in government, donor agencies, NGOs and communities to work seriously towards appropriate responses in a timely manner. A starting point for such a process to prevent conflict and strengthen peace building is provided in the extensive list of response options included below.

Annex 1. Indicators, Conflict Risk Levels and Response Options Matrix

INDICATOR	RISK LEVEL	RESPONS	SE OPTIONS
		COMMUNITY LEVEL	NATIONAL LEVEL
Governance and Political Institutions			
Satisfaction with provision of government services	HIGH 3.82	 Hold SIG accountable & provide feedback on status provision of services 	 Publicize reform programs & structure of service delivery, incl. provincial govt.
2. Ability to participate in government decision-making	HIGH 3.87	 Invite government to visit communities to provide awareness of their roles & to inform them of community concerns Elect good leaders with leadership qualities Elect women to govt decision-making positions 	 Provide training in good governance Recognize & respond to community level views & concerns Support women to be more involved in government decision-making roles
3. Corruption in government	HIGH 4.64	 Define & educate on corruption at all levels of leadership, e.g. household, community, provincial, national Quality leadership awareness raising 	 Support good governance at all levels Clear regulations & legislation on corruption Support anti-corruption institutions to fulfill their functions Support a Truth & Reconciliation process
4. Women's participation in government processes	HIGH 4.06	Gender awareness raising Awareness of CEDAW & human rights	 Build institutional capacity to mainstream gender across all sectors of SIG & civil society SIG to implement CEDAW
5. Influence of men in making community decisions	LOW 1.95	Support good leadership training for men in community organizations	Development of leadership training for local men
6. Influence of women in making community decisions	MEDIUM 3.40	Support community women's groups, e.g. leadership training, cohesive relationships Elect women representatives in politics	 Funding to support women's groups at the community level Development of leadership training for local women
7. Use of traditional forms of conflict resolution	MEDIUM 3.00	Implement structures for chiefs' roles & responsibilities Involve whole community; church, chiefs, leaders, men, women	 SIG to recognize kastom & culture Funding for awareness about kastom & culture
8. Trust between political groups	HIGH 4.02	Raise awareness of party politics Civic Education	Support political awareness raising, e.g. Voters' Rights & Civic Education
Land and Natural Resources			
9. Frequency of disputes concerning land	HIGH 4.25	 Establish committees for land management, with female representatives Ensure proper recording of land ownership Introduce family trees 	 SIG to promote legislation & implementation of on Land Registration & record land ownership Improve local court hearings SIG management in natural resource development

INDICATOR	RISK LEVEL	RESPON	SE OPTIONS
		COMMUNITY LEVEL	NATIONAL LEVEL
10. Fear that one's land may be taken over	HIGH 4.15	Develop & implement land recording & registration procedures Establish land committees to handle land issues	 SIG to produce clear polices & raise awareness on land issues that support community interests Provide land survey specialists SIG to respect traditional land ownership
11. Men involved in community resolution of land disputes	LOW 2.35	 Involve neutral people with appropriate understanding in solving land disputes 	Radio programs for awareness about land
12. Women involved in community resolution of land disputes	HIGH 3.95	 Include women in tribal committees Form 'women's resource owners' associations' in matrilineal societies 	 SIG to promote policy & legislation on women's traditional rights to land ownership Radio programs for awareness about land
Economics			
13. Economic inequality within the population	MEDIUM 3.76	 Increase & share local knowledge about how to develop local resources sustainably 	 Promote greater equality of distribution of economic activities across provinces
14. Ability of families to meet their basic food needs	MEDIUM 2.85	 Support subsistence farmers and supsup gardens Practice family planning Utilize alternative forms of income generation 	 Support to rehabilitate communities SIG to promote family planning SIG to promote & fund sustainable agriculture projects & land development training
15. Male unemployment	HIGH 4.25	 Parents encourage youth to continue school Use land & sea resources as self-employment Appropriate skills training 	 Employment programs, esp. for young men Increase vocational training centers, especially in rural areas
16. Female unemployment	HIGH 4.10	 Parents encourage youth to continue school Appropriate skills training 	 Provide women with skills training & employment programs SIG to consider deregulation to encourage informal sector activities
17. Labour migration among men	MEDIUM 3.53	 Identify community strengths & needs for local employment Encourage self employment through farming & small businesses Allow land & resources for development 	 Provide employment opportunities, services & market outlets in provincial and rural areas Develop additional vocational & rural training centers Provide business courses
18. Labour migration among women	MEDIUM 3.02	 Encourage girls to continue in education and train in specific skills Initiate a training center for women Support women in small businesses 	 Fund & support women's organizations Ensure employment & training programs target women as well as men

INDICATOR	RISK LEVEL	RESPONSE	OPTIONS
		COMMUNITY LEVEL	NATIONAL LEVEL
19. Level of male prostitution	LOW 2.36	 Families educate young men & women to respect themselves, custom & traditional values Promote youth community activities Encourage alternate forms of income generation 	 Provide employment programs for male sex workers Training centers for youth & adults Counseling & awareness for sex workers & those at risk
20. Level of female prostitution	LOW 2.54	 Families educate young men & women to respect themselves, custom & traditional values Promote youth community activities Encourage alternate forms of income generation for girls and young women 	 Provide employment programs for female sex workers Health workers to provide sex workers with information on HIV/AIDS & other STIs Training centers for youth & adults
Public Security			
21. Incidences of violence	MEDIUM 3.42	 Community Policing, involving men, women & youth Neighborhood Watch programs Community regulations on drugs & liquor 	 Control of number of liquor licenses & outlets Justice system – police, courts – to control violence & impose penalties
22. Avoidance of markets / gardens due to fear	LOW 2.21	Enhance Community PolicingEducate people to respect each otherReduce consumption of kwaso	 Provide support to Community Policing Reduce number of liquor outlets Provide regular mobile police patrols
23. Safety for men to walk around the community	LOW 2.00	Community members to take precautions & respect others Establish &/or strengthen community policing	 Increase no. of public phones & street lights Police to work with provincial wards to establish more police posts
24. Safety for women to walk around the community	LOW 2.40	 Community members to take precautions & respect others Establish &/or strengthen community policing Community committees to counsel women on safe practices 	 Increase no. of public phones & street lights Training for police on gender issues
25. Protests, demonstrations, riots or other forms of dissent	LOW 2.55	Awareness activities on rights & responsibilities	SIG to address the grievances & concerns of civil society
26. Trust in RAMSI to ensure security	LOW 2.55	Women & men to respect RAMSI Develop better relationship between RAMSI & community	RAMSI to post representatives in more communities RAMSI to understand & respect local culture before operating in the community RAMSI to ensure professional behavior

INDICATOR	RISK LEVEL	RESPONSE	OPTIONS
		COMMUNITY LEVEL	NATIONAL LEVEL
27. Trust in RSIP to ensure security	MEDIUM 3.60	Encourage community policing	 Address corruption within RSIP Balance number of police officers from each province Avoid posting wantoks to own communities
28. Trust in wantoks (relatives) to ensure security	MEDIUM 3.65	Community members trained in security procedures & issues	Awareness programs about community-based security
29. Belief that justice will be done in trials over the tensions	MEDIUM 2.89	Cooperate with PPF/RAMSI/RSIP Recognize the positive changes since July 2003	RAMSI & RSIP to highlight achievementsEnsure transparency in justice process
30. Fear of reprisal from people in prison	MEDIUM 3.78	 Accept and help ex-prisoners, including reconciliation, counseling, inclusion in community activities Enhance Community Policing 	 Provide information about prisoners & the continuation of law and order Security assistance (RAMSI & RSIP) Support small income generation projects for prisoners
31. Incidence of rape	LOW 2.18	Awareness-raising to overcome taboos on discussing rape	Ensure laws are implemented & perpetrators are charged & prosecuted appropriately
Social and Ethnic Relations			
32. Incidence of domestic abuse	HIGH 3.86	 Awareness-raising to overcome taboos on discussing domestic abuse Provide counseling 	 Push for Domestic Violence Policy to be adopted & implemented (DHA) Support to service providers working on domestic abuse (NGOs, Churches, etc.)
33. Frequency of marriage breakups	MEDIUM 3.62	 Pre-marriage counseling for couples Discourage early marriages of very young or immature couples Discourage drug & alcohol consumption 	 Reduce number of liquor outlets Churches to provide spiritual training & couns eling on marriage Awareness & availability of contraception
34. Extent of informal negative discourse (gossip)	HIGH 4.03	Implement Civic Education, e.g. rights & responsibilities of MPs, SIG & civil society	 SIG to implement policies & provide services fairly to all people Identify potential constraints to the above Ensure honest & accountable people in strategic positions in SIG
35. Presence of IDPs as a source of tension	LOW 2.62	 Register IDPs, identify needs & place of origin Establish community committee to work on IDP issues & orient new arrivals about the community & how it operates 	 Provide income generating projects targeting IDPs SIG to decentralize development opportunities to encourage IDPs' return

INDICATOR	RISK LEVEL	RESPONSE OPTIONS		
		COMMUNITY LEVEL	NATIONAL LEVEL	
36. Aggressive or 'hyper-masculine' behavior encouraged	MEDIUM 3.34	Encourage positive & respectful models of masculinity & femininity within family /community	Media to be sensitive to gender issuesSupport to 'men's programs'	
37. Trust between ethnic groups	MEDIUM 3.77	 Promote respect for inter-marriage Promote unity programs in schools, churches, youth groups, e.g. flag raising & national anthem 	 SIG to support & re-visit past programs on ethnic harmony All school intakes to allow all ethnic groups, & to include civic education in the curriculum 	
Peace Building				
38. Peace building programs address the needs of men	MEDIUM 3.30	Identify & communicate needs for peace building Promote community-driven peace programs involving men, women & youth	 Establish linkages between peace building programs & economic empowerment progs Conduct gender-sensitive needs assessments & analyses 	
39. Peace building programs address the needs of women	MEDIUM 3.27	 Identify & communicate women's needs for peace building Promote community-driven peace programs involving men, women & youth Support strengths of women as peace-builders 	 Establish linkages between peace building programs & economic empowerment programs Conduct gender-sensitive needs assessments & analyses 	
40. Involvement of women in formal peace processes	MEDIUM 3.18	 Encourage inclusive peace programs Support & promote women working for peace at the family & community level 	 Identify a pool of women peace workers for representation in SIG, NGOs, etc SIG to uphold international agreements, e.g. UNSC Resolution 1325 	
41. Community organizations involved in peace-building	MEDIUM 3.00	 Create database on groups working for peace Groups to coordinate with each & plan together Counseling & drop-in centers for youths 	 Provide funding & capacity building for community-based peace organizations Distribute projects through provinces 	
42. Women's organizations involved in peace-building	MEDIUM 3.45	Include more women in community committeesEnd discrimination against women groups	Provide capacity building for women groupsFinancial support to women's groups	
43. Peace building activities initiated & run by communities	MEDIUM 3.55	 Communities develop own goals for peace Church leaders & chiefs to promote peace activities in the community Women's organizations to encourage & include the participation of men 	 SIG distribute Solomon Islands flags to all schools Peace education curriculum in schools 	
44. Perception of 'ownership' of peace-building activities	MEDIUM 3.34	 Form a committee to encourage community groups to organize peace building activities Encourage women, youth, chiefs and community leaders to plan & implement peace building activities 	 Train community leaders on how to plan and implement peace building activities SIG, NGOs & donors to consult with communities & act on their needs when planning peace-building programs 	

Annex 2. Community Profiles

Characteristic	Borderline	White River	Malu'u	Avuavu	Noro
Rural / Urban	Urban capital s quatter settlement	Urban capital squatter settlement	Rural village	Rural village	Urban provincial town
Ethnic Profile	Mixed; majority Malaitan	Mixed; majority Tikopean, Renell/Bellona, Malaitan, Gilbertese	Malaitan	Guadalcanal	Mixed; majority Western
Church	Anglican & SSEC; also Pentecostal, AOG, COC, SDA	Anglican, SSEC, New Apostolic, SDA	SSEC; also Baptist Jehovah's Witness	Catholic Church; also SSEC	United Church; also SSEC, SDA, Catholic, COC, CFC Anglican
Population*	3,973	8,025	3,804	1,781	2,502
Province	Guadalcanal	Guadalcanal	Malaita	Guadalcanal	Western

^{*}Borderline and White River figures calculated by Statistics Office using data from the 1999 Population and Housing Census; Malu'u, Avuavu and Noro figures from Population and Housing Census (1999).

Annex 3. Data Sources

Data Source	Туре	Number	Sex Distribution	Comments
Self-Monitoring Template	Survey	20	50% male 50% female	4 people from each community were trained as monitors of peace and conflict
Community Survey	Survey	100	50% male 50% female	Conducted in each of the communities, with 50% youth and 50% adult respondents
National Survey	Survey	100	50% male 50% female	'Informed specialists' from NGOs & other national & international organizations
Structural Data Set	Statistics	-	-	Based on available national level statistics
Media Scan	Scan	697 articles	-	Solomon Star newspaper is scanned for articles on peace and/or conflict on a daily basis
Community Meetings	Focus Group	8*	50% male 50% female	Separate meetings with men and women are held in each community

^{*}There should have been 10 Community Meetings, 2 in each community; however a security incident (the shoot-out discussed in Box 1) in Malu'u prohibited UNIFEM staff from traveling to the area.

Annex 4. Structural Data Set

Indicator	Score
GDP per capita (US\$) ^a	506.28 (2005)
External debt (gross, SI\$ millions) ^a	851.7 (2000)
Human Development Index (rank) (HDI) ^b	124 of 177 (2004)
Primary export industries (% of GDP) ^b	70% (up to 1996)
Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) ^b	0.596 (1999)
Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) ^b	0.593 (1999)
Women with seats in national parliament	0% (2005)
Female suffrage (year)	1974
Signatory to CEDAW	Yes
Unemployment rate: male ^c	7.1% (1999)
Unemployment rate: female ^c	12.5% (1999)
Males in paid employment (% working age males) c	31%(1999)
Females in paid employment (% working age females) ^c	15% (1999)
Fertility rate (births per woman) ^d	4.4 (2000-2005)
Maternal mortality (per 100,000 live births) ^e	184 (2004)
Infant mortality: male (per 1,000 live births) ^c	67 (1999)
Infant mortality: female (per 1,000 live births) ^c	65 (1999)
Life expectancy at birth: male ^c	60.6 years (1999)
Life expectancy at birth: female ^c	61.6 years (1999)
Adult literacy rate: male ^c	83.7% (1999)
Adult literacy rate: female ^c	69% (1999)
Primary enrolment ratio: male ^c	78.2% (1999)
Primary enrolment ratio: female ^c	74.6% (1999)
Secondary enrollment ratio: male ^c	33.6% (1999)
Secondary enrollment ratio: female ^c	24.8% (1999)
Youth (14-24 year olds as % of adult population) f	37% (2005)
Freedom Rating ^g	Partly free (2005)
Political rights rating ^g	3/7 (2005)
Civil rights rating ^g	3/7 (2005)

a) Using 2005 World Bank data for GDP, and United Nations projected population data; 18 b) Solomon Islands Human Development Report, using 1999 data; 19 c) Population and Housing Census; 20 d) UNDP Human Development Report; 21 e) Ministry of Health; 22 f) Population Division, United Nations; 23 g) Freedom House. 24

Acronyms

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women

DHA Department for Home Affairs
GDP Gross Domestic Product
GLF Guadalcanal Liberation Front
IDP Internally Displaced Person
IFM Isatabu Freedom Movement
LDC Least Developed Country
MEF Malaita Eagle Force

MOL Ministry of Agriculture and Lands

MP Member of Parliament

MSM Malaita Separatist Movement NGO Non-Governmental Organization

NPC National Peace Council

SICA Solomon Islands Christian Association

SIG Solomon Islands Government PPF Participating Police Force

RAMSI Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands

RSIP Royal Solomon Islands Police
TPA Townsville Peace Agreement
UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

UNIFEM United Nations Development Fund for Women

UNSC United Nations Security Council

Notes

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World Bank (2003) *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*, Washington, DC: World Bank and Oxford University Press.

R. Muggah (2004) *Diagnosing Demand: Assessing the Motivations and Means for Firearms Acquisition in the Solomon Islands and PNG*, Discussion Paper 2004/7, Canberra: The Australian National University. 'Internally displaced persons' is the standard international terminology, although in the Solomon Islands the term 'displaced people' is also often used.

For more information on women's and men's roles and experiences during and after the tensions, see A. Moser (2005) 'Peace and Conflict Gender Analysis: Community Level Data from the Solomon Islands', UNIFEM report, Honiara. Available from UNIFEM Honiara.

⁴ Early warning indicators are generally divided into three types: *structural indicators* of background preconditions; *proximate indicators* of emerging situational trends; and *intervening factors* which decrease or increase the likelihood of conflict. Structural data in the form of statistics are generally limited and out-of-date in the Solomon Islands. Given this and the project's emphasis on community interaction, UNIFEM is best positioned to focus its analysis on proximate and intervening indicators.

While some conflict early warning frameworks aggregate their indicators into composite scores, this is analytically problematic. It assumes that such indicators are comparable, and relies on judgments as to their relative weight (for example, 'economic inequality is twice as important as political corruption'), or equally problematically assumes that all indicators are equal (see Foweraker, J. and R. Krznaric (2000) 'Measuring Liberal Democratic Performance: an Empirical and Conceptual Critique', *Political Studies* 48: 759-787). For these reasons, in this report indicators scores are not aggregated.

Le Billion, P. (2003) 'Overcoming Corruption in the Wake of Conflict', in Transparency International, Global Corruption Report 2005, London: Pluto Press.

⁷ Fraenkel, J. (2004) *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Wellington: Victoria University Press.

P. Roughan (2004) National Integrity Systems. Transparency International Country Study Report: Solomon Islands 2004. Blackburn: Transparency International Australia and Asia Pacific School of Economics and Governance.

For example, a 5% decrease in the proportion of women in parliament renders a state nearly five times more likely to resolve international disputes using military violence. The same study found that states with high fertility rates, which indicate a low social status for women, are also more likely to use force in international disputes, as are states with a low percentage of women in the labor force. Caprioli, M. (2000) 'Gendered Conflict,' *Journal of Peace Research* 37(1): 52-68, p. 63.

¹⁰ Collier, P. (2003) 'Development and Peace', *Global Future*, First Quarter 2003.

Bannon, I. and P. Collier (2003) *Natural Resources and Violent Conflict: Options and Actions*, Washington, DC: World Bank. For example, when the ratio of primary commodity exports to GDP is used as a proxy for natural resources, it has been found that a high dependence on primary commodity exports substantially increases the risk of conflict, with the risk of conflict peaking when they constitute 32% of GDP. In Collier, P. and A. Hoeffler (2001) 'Greed and Grievance in Civil War', World Bank Paper 28126, October 2001.

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¹⁵ Despite this common perception, under Solomon Islands law domestic violence is considered as assault.

¹⁶ Urdal, H. (2004) 'The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, 1950-2000', World Bank Social Development Paper Number 14, June 2004.

¹⁷ Cincotta, R., R. Engelman and D. Anastasion (2003) *The Security Demographic: Population and Civil Conflict After the Cold War*, Washington, DC: Population Action International.

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United Nations Development Programme (2004) Human Development Report 2004: Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World, New York: UNDP.

²² Ministry of Health (2004) *National Health Report 2004*, Honiara: Ministry of Health.

Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat (2005) World Population Prospects: The 2004 Revision, http://esa.un.org/unpp, 28 June 2005.

²⁴ Freedom House (2005) *Freedom in the World 2005: Civic Power and Electoral Politics*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.