



MINISTRY OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT AND INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTHENING

## SOLOMON ISLANDS

### COMMUNITY GOVERNANCE AND GRIEVANCE MANAGEMENT PROJECT



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#### **Briefing Note 1: Patterns of Dispute and Pathways of Resort in Rural Solomon Islands: Evidence, Implications and Early Results**

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*The Community Governance and Grievance Management Project is implemented by the  
Ministry of Provincial Government and Institutional Strengthening, and supported by the Australian Government and the World Bank*



## What is this Briefing Note Series?

This series of Briefing Notes is designed to capture and share knowledge and learning that is being generated as part of the Community Governance and Grievance Management Project. The intention is for this knowledge and learning to be set out in a way that can be readily understood, so it becomes available for wider use and discussion.

This first Briefing Note provides an introduction to knowledge and learning on patterns of dispute in rural Solomon Islands and the different ways that these disputes are handled, which informed the design of the Community Governance and Grievance Management Project. It also offers early indications of how the Community Officers supported by the project are responding to these disputes and influencing the effectiveness and equity of the ways they are handled. A second Briefing Note will focus specifically on knowledge and learning from the project on gender-based violence and social inclusion. A third Briefing Note will explore the implications of evidence-driven project design and adaptive implementation. Additional Briefing Notes will be prepared to share further knowledge and learning generated as part of the project, as the project progresses.

The data drawn on for this Briefing Note series comes from a number of sources, including the baseline survey for the Community Governance and Grievance Management Project. The baseline survey, conducted at the outset of the project, involved a series of quantitative and qualitative modules applied to self-designating household heads, as well as to a male individual, a female individual and an individual of a different generation (elderly or youth) in each household sampled. Where the Briefing Notes refer to 'people' or 'rural Solomon Islanders' this is because the analysis of survey results indicates no significant differences between the responses of men, women, the elderly and youth (or because these dis-aggregations are not applicable in the context concerned). Where there are significant differences, these are identified. Other sources include the research and consultations carried out in the preparation of *Justice Delivered Locally*, a mid-term perception survey for the project, Community Officer logbooks, and the findings from regular supervision missions to participating provinces. These consultations, surveys, logbooks and so forth similarly distinguish between men and women and people of different generations.



*This Briefing Note has been prepared by Doug Porter, Virginia Horscroft, Mike Roscitt and Ali Tuhanuku of the World Bank. The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed herein are those of the authors alone and do not necessarily reflect the views of the World Bank, its Executive Directors, or the governments they represent.*

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## Introduction: What is the project trying to do, and where did it come from?

The Community Governance and Grievance Management project aims to help communities strengthen their internal governance, and to enhance the effectiveness of linkages between communities and government.

The project was based on analytic work and widespread public consultations that began in 2009. These concluded that Solomon Islands' development gains since the end of the earlier period of tension mask significant trends that are likely to heighten disputation and local conflict if left unaddressed.<sup>1</sup> The immediate contributors to these trends are Solomon Islands' weak and geographically uneven economic prospects, extensive poverty, and the geographic challenge of providing public services to such a widely scattered population. The more profound contributors are two long term trends that have intensified in recent decades. The first trend, beginning long before independence, is the disintegration of traditional ways of organizing life that has accompanied the transition from a subsistence-based economy to a capitalist economy concentrated on natural resource extraction. The second trend is the dual process whereby Solomon Islanders perceive that government – meaning the administrative presence and services of line ministries – has withdrawn from rural areas, but at the same time there has been spectacular increase in the flow of public resources into rural areas through constituency development funds under the control of parliamentarians.

The same analytic work and public consultations also revealed that rural Solomon Islanders have a clear sense of both the problems they face with local grievances and disputes, and the remedial measures that they feel could help them address these problems. This triggered a commitment by the Solomon Islands Government, through the Ministry of Provincial Government and Institutional Strengthening, to work together with participating provincial governments and communities on a project aimed at strengthening community governance capabilities and the effectiveness of linkages between communities and government.<sup>2</sup> The primary means of doing this is by supporting community selection of 'Community Officers' (COs), who serve as part of provincial administrations.

COs are now working in Makira-Ulawa and Rennell and Bellona, have just been appointed in Malaita, and will soon be appointed in Central Province.<sup>3</sup> COs have two main tasks. The first is to work with and enable local authorities – chiefly, religious and other leaders – to improve community cohesion and stability. The second is to promote more effective connections between citizens and

provincial and national authorities, including the police. This involves increasing awareness at the community level about national and provincial government policies, programs and activities, as well as feeding information about community concerns and interests to provincial and national authorities. The particular way in which each CO operates depends on the individual CO, the authority structures in the villages they work in, and the province they work in. But they all have in common a distinctive 'institutional location' at the intersection of the state – particularly provincial authorities and the police – and different forms of local authority – whether chiefly, religious, community organisations or other forms of local authority.

This *Briefing Note* sums up what has been learnt to date about patterns of dispute in rural Solomon Islands, how these vary by place, and how they are experienced by different kinds of people. It then considers the different ways that Solomon Islanders handle disputes – referred to as their pathways of resort for disputes. Finally, it records some early indications of how COs are responding to these disputes and influencing the effectiveness and equity of the pathways of resort.<sup>4</sup>

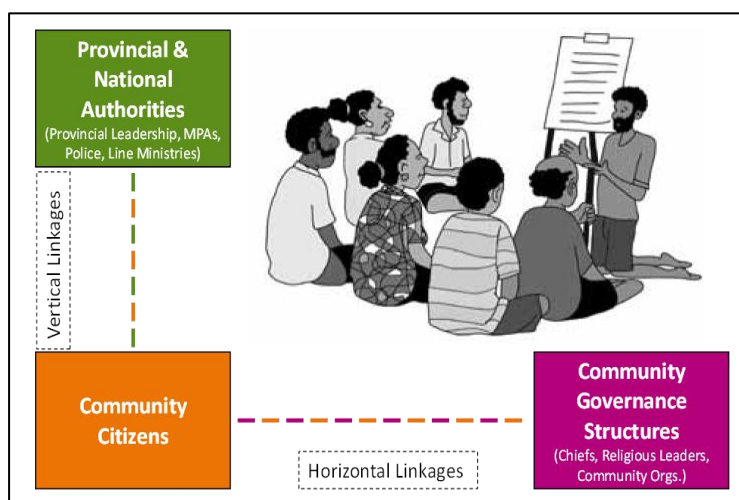


Figure 1: CO Horizontal and Vertical Linkages

## Patterns of Dispute: What types of disputes are of most concern, and for whom?

While rural Solomon Islands is very diverse, there are common points of experience of disputes among rural people and common expectations about how these disputes could be addressed.<sup>5</sup> The first thing to recognize is that in about two thirds of the wards covered by the baseline survey at the start of the project, a large majority of people said relationships in their communities were peaceful or somewhat peaceful. The disputes that rural Solomon Islanders do highlight as concerns can be grouped into three categories:

- **Social order disputes** – family disputes, domestic violence, and drug and alcohol-fueled

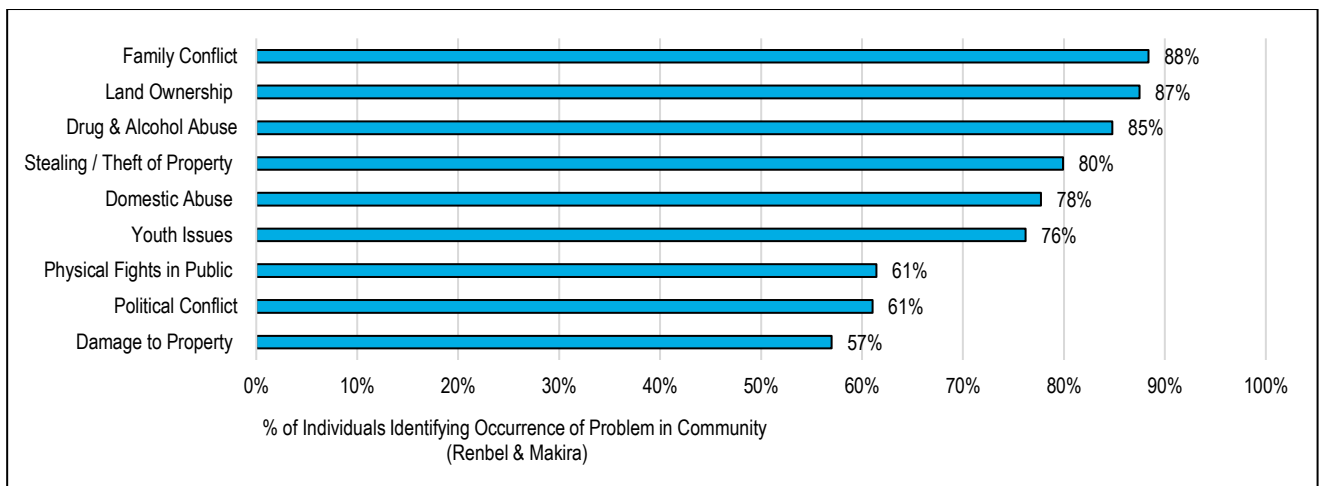


Figure 2: Community Prevalence of Most Common Disputes (Renbel & Makira)

disagreements between youths and elders, and men and women are by far the most prevalent disputes. For instance, confirming earlier research, in almost all of the wards covered by the baseline survey, rural Solomon Islanders cited drug and alcohol abuse as the most prevalent problem in their communities. Large majorities also cited domestic abuse and problems relating to youth as being issues in their communities.

- **Transactions involving land and natural resources** – these are a significant predictor of the intensity of community disintegration and disharmony. In communities where leaders – predominantly chiefs and educated men – are embroiled in disagreements about logging and mining rents and royalties, people say that social order problems are harder to deal with, indicating a greater intensity of these problems and/or the loss of authority of leaders who had traditionally garnered general respect.
- **Competition for the benefits of public spending** – competition for jobs, assets, services and other benefits arising from donor aid and constituency development spending underpin a third major category of disputes of concern to rural Solomon Islanders. For instance, the vast majority of people in the baseline survey regarded the distribution of benefits from Constituency Development Funds (CDFs) as unfair, and inequities in how the benefits of discretionary funds are distributed are frequently cited by Solomon Islanders as being major contributors to grievance, disputation and disharmony. More broadly, there is much disaffection about the gap between what the public expects they are entitled to receive as citizens and what they perceive the state actually provides.<sup>6</sup>

Patterns of dispute in Makira and Renbel are similar, but there are marked contrasts in some areas depending on

the local economy, social structures and gendered power relations. The prevalence of some social order problems (like those involving substance abuse, family issues and youth) was similar across communities, but for politics-related disputes the prevalence was far higher in Renbel than Makira (reported by 83 and 43 percent of people, respectively). This difference in political disputes is not surprising because at the time the baseline survey was done, the provincial assembly in Renbel was in a turmoil as a result of heated disagreements about bauxite mining. For most forms of violence (public fights, threats, and murder) the reported prevalence in communities was very similar, but it was somewhat higher in Makira for damage to property and rape.<sup>7</sup> Confirming results from elsewhere, the reported prevalence of domestic abuse in communities appeared to be unrelated to socio-economic and demographic factors.<sup>8</sup> Most forms of disputes involving land and natural resources (including ownership and logging) had a similar reported prevalence in the two provinces, but disputes relating to gardens/farms were somewhat higher in Makira and disputes relating to mining were markedly higher in Renbel (there being no mining activity in Makira).

Within provinces, there are broadly similar patterns of dispute across wards and villages, but marked contrasts in particular areas – especially as a result of differences in the local economy. In Renbel for instance, the baseline survey revealed a large variation across wards in the extent to which households earn income from logging and mining royalties. As expected, in the wards on Rennell Island where income from logging and mining royalties is more common, the reported prevalence of logging and mining disputes is very high (over 80 percent, on average). In qualitative interviews, people in these wards were more likely to report worries about violence, especially associated with timber rights hearings and land access agreements.

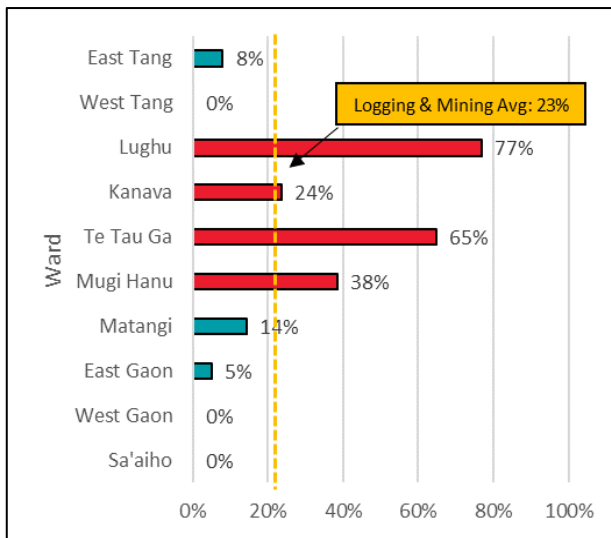


Figure 3: Income from Logging & Mining Royalties (Renbel, % of Households)

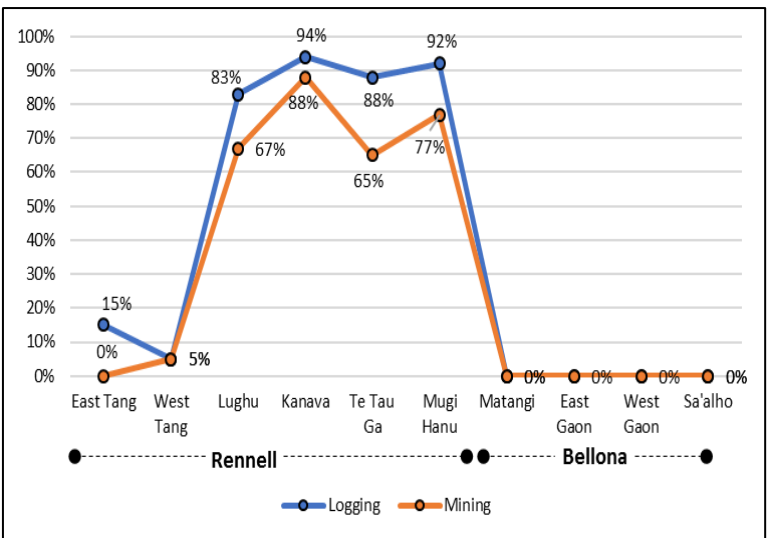


Figure 4: Logging & Mining Dispute Prevalence (Renbel, by Ward, % of Individuals)

The types and intensity of disputes that worry men and women, young people and elders do appear to vary, but not to the degree anticipated. The baseline survey found that perceptions of the prevalence of many social order problems and types of violence did not vary significantly by gender. In Renbel, however, the men appeared to consider disputes relating to politics, gardens/farms, damage to property, stealing and land and natural resource ownership to be more prevalent than the women surveyed. The opposite was true for logging and mining-related disputes – which is consistent with qualitative research findings on the gender-differentiated effects of logging and mining, with the cash benefits most often

captured by men, but the adverse social and environmental impacts (such as on food gardens or water courses) more directly experienced by women. In Makira, the women surveyed appeared to consider public fights and disputes relating to politics to be more prevalent than the men surveyed. Across generations, in Makira the disputes that youths were more likely to report were public fights, politics-related disputes, homebrew and threats of violence. But again, the differences between how men and women, and young people and elders perceived the prevalence of different types of disputes in their communities were not very pronounced.<sup>9</sup>

### Box 1: Logging-Related Conflict in Makira

**Land disputes, social order problems and violence frequently intensify when opportunities arise to exploit natural assets. When logging arrives, old cleavages resurface, and past settlements unravel...**

Su'uwasu (Ward 4, Makira) has an ongoing land ownership issue with members in its immediate neighbouring community. According to Su'uwasu elders, people from the other tribe who claim ownership are descendants of a man from mainland Makira who moved to the area during colonial days to work for traders and eventually got married and settled there. The land ownership issue first surfaced in the 1970s when elders from Su'uwasu cleared the area in question to establish coconut plantations. The matter was taken to the chiefs and later to the local court and rulings by the chiefs and local court were in favour of the Su'uwasu tribe. Things settled somewhat and people from Su'uwasu and those of the other tribe lived peacefully and helped each other. However, elders of Su'uwasu invited a logging company to the area in 2015 and the land ownership challenge resurfaced.

**Repeatedly, there appears to be a close nexus between migration/village formation, land ownership disputes, and logging. These connections can underlie many other social order problems.**

Waita, (Ward 9, Makira) is a coastal community, where all land is owned by one of the tribes. The community was established in the 1950s and, to make up the numbers to gain recognition from the church as a community, the tribal chief of the land-owning tribe invited his relatives from another tribe to settle in the village. Land ownership rights of the leading tribe are not under any challenge from other tribal groups. However, within the land-owning tribe there is an ongoing power struggle between the current tribal chief and his nephew (son of the current chief's deceased elder brother). The two are locked in a power struggle around a land ownership dispute. Despite this, the current tribal chief and his nephew managed their disagreements and led their community. However, in 2011 the current tribal chief invited a logging company to operate in the area and this led to serious a land ownership challenge by the nephew which was taken to the council of chiefs who ruled that the chief and his nephew have equal rights over tribal land. Another tribal group also put up a land ownership challenge over forests that were to be harvested by the logging company. During the logging operation in 2012-2014 the community members were divided in their support between the tribal chief and his nephew in their struggle for leadership and to be the primary representative of the tribal land owners. One community member described the period as hell for the community.

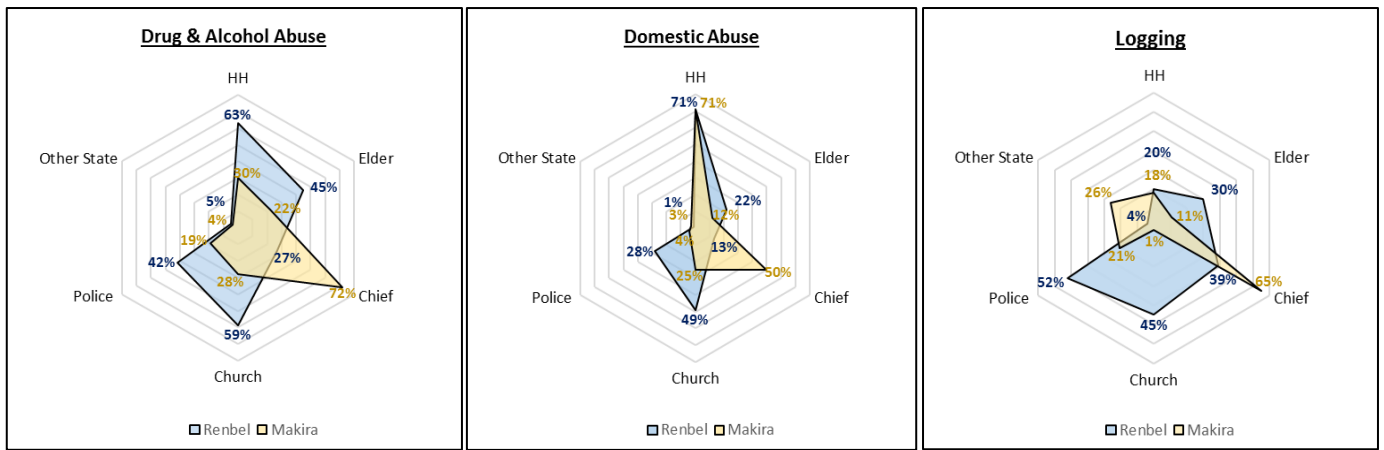


Figure 5: Prevalence of Different Kinds of Authority in Dispute Management (Renbel, household head respondents vs. Makira, individual respondents)

### Pathways of Resort: How are disputes handled, who by, with what consequences?

Some observers applaud the resilience of local problem-solving capabilities in Solomon Islands,<sup>10</sup> but published surveys of people’s attitudes to public authorities – whether state, chiefly, religious or other – indicate that most people feel these are ‘broken’, perhaps irredeemably.<sup>11</sup> There is still much nostalgia about colonial times – when the courts, police and local-level administration provided some degree of connection with the state. The reduced footprint of the state at the local level that resulted from the retreat of the state in the early independence and pre-tension periods, is starkly illustrated in contemporary pathways of resort.

What kinds of authority (or ‘who’) becomes involved in attempts to resolve disputes depends on the type of dispute. But it also depends on local social structures – as the contrasts between Makira and Renbel illustrate. The three charts in Figure 5 provide examples of the kinds of authority involved in attempts to resolve three different types of disputes in Makira and Renbel.<sup>12</sup> The different pathways of resort taken for the different types of disputes are shown by the different shapes of the three yellow figures (in the case of Makira) and the three blue figures (for Renbel). For instance, in both provinces the police have a greater role in dealing with substance abuse and logging disputes than with domestic abuse, while the household has a greater role in dealing with domestic abuse. The importance of local social structures in influencing pathways of resort is illustrated by the significant differences between the yellow and blue figures on each chart. In Makira, people overwhelmingly turn to chiefs to resolve disputes relating to logging and substance abuse, and chiefs even have a significant role to play in cases of domestic abuse. In Renbel, the role of chiefly authority is much reduced, with households typically more likely to turn to the church, police or elders

than chiefs as they attempt to resolve disputes. A striking feature of the survey findings is the extremely limited involvement of any form of state authority other than the police in any form of dispute. For substance abuse and domestic abuse, the limited extent of state involvement that there is comes from the court system; for logging, it is mainly from the Forestry Department, and to a lesser extent the courts.

If we focus on the involvement of Police in dealing with disputes, we can see both the way their involvement varies with the type of dispute and the differences between Makira and Renbel in recourse to the police. The causes of limited recourse to the police are many and varied (for instance, it is not within police power to resolve land ownership disputes). But one factor that seems to come through is that – aside from the extreme of murder – most people know that the police are not connected to a functioning sequence of prosecution and court processes leading to enforcement. The resultant reasoning on involving the police is often, “Why would I bother?”<sup>13</sup>

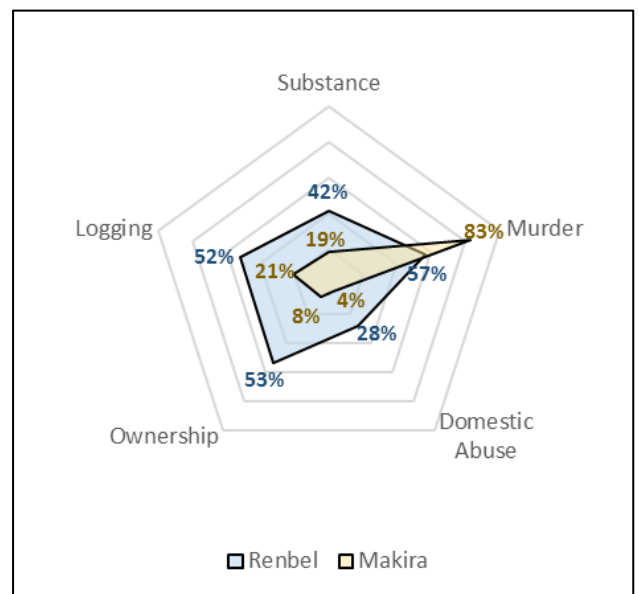


Figure 6: Resort to Police by Dispute (Renbel, household head respondents vs. Makira, individual respondents)

The prevalence of different authorities that become involved in attempts to resolve disputes are not necessarily a good indication of who resolves the dispute. The following charts show the different kinds of authority involved in resolving disputes related to domestic abuse and logging in Makira. They depict the authority of first resort, authorities of subsequent resort, and the authority that actually resolves the dispute. It is evident that people often turn to multiple forms of authority in their attempt to resolve a single dispute – this is sometimes referred to as ‘forum shopping’ (see Figure 7). Depending on the case, this may be because some authorities prove unsuccessful or unsatisfactory, some authorities can only be effective in combination with others, or because different kinds of authority have different roles to play. In logging disputes in Makira, for instance, police are often the authority of first resort, but never the resolving party. This makes sense, because their involvement is typically in response to the related violence – and it is not within their authority to resolve the logging dispute itself. For that, chiefly authority is often required. For domestic abuse in Makira, the pattern of resort is very different. It shows that people will often try to resolve the problem within the family (and that often the family is the resolving party). When stepping outside the family, people selectively draw on the mediation qualities and authority of trusted community members, church leaders and chiefs. It should be recognized that the resolution of a dispute does not mean that it is resolved to everyone’s – or even most people’s – satisfaction. In Makira, for instance, the baseline survey found that while the majority of respondents were

satisfied or very satisfied with how disputes over substance abuse were handled, the majority were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with how disputes over logging were handled.

Most rural Solomon Islanders believe that the best way to handle disputes is by restoring the capability and legitimacy of ‘local leaders’.<sup>14</sup> But it should not be assumed that when they say this they are all referring to the same thing, much less to a common ‘local justice system’. Each village has a familiar but distinctive amalgam of individuals and institutions that variously invoke authority derived from *kastom*, religion, wealth and/or the state. Sometimes and in some places these operate separately, but where they work best they are linked and overlapping, so that powerful and/or respected leaders are able to draw upon a number of different sources of authority to resolve disputes, depending on their nature.<sup>15</sup> It also must be recognized that while people affirm their desire for local authorities to be empowered and rejuvenated, they are acutely aware that the power they exercise is often deeply compromised and reproduces the interests of age and patriarchy. What they aspire to is the rejuvenation of forms of local authority that are both capable and legitimate – that is, efficacious and fair. The more compromised or unreliable local authorities are, the more people will aim to avoid them, and try to enroll others, especially authorities they are networked with, through friendship or kinship. Solomon Islander’s skills in this process may be the backbone of ‘local resilience’ and ability to restore order that outsider observers have admired.

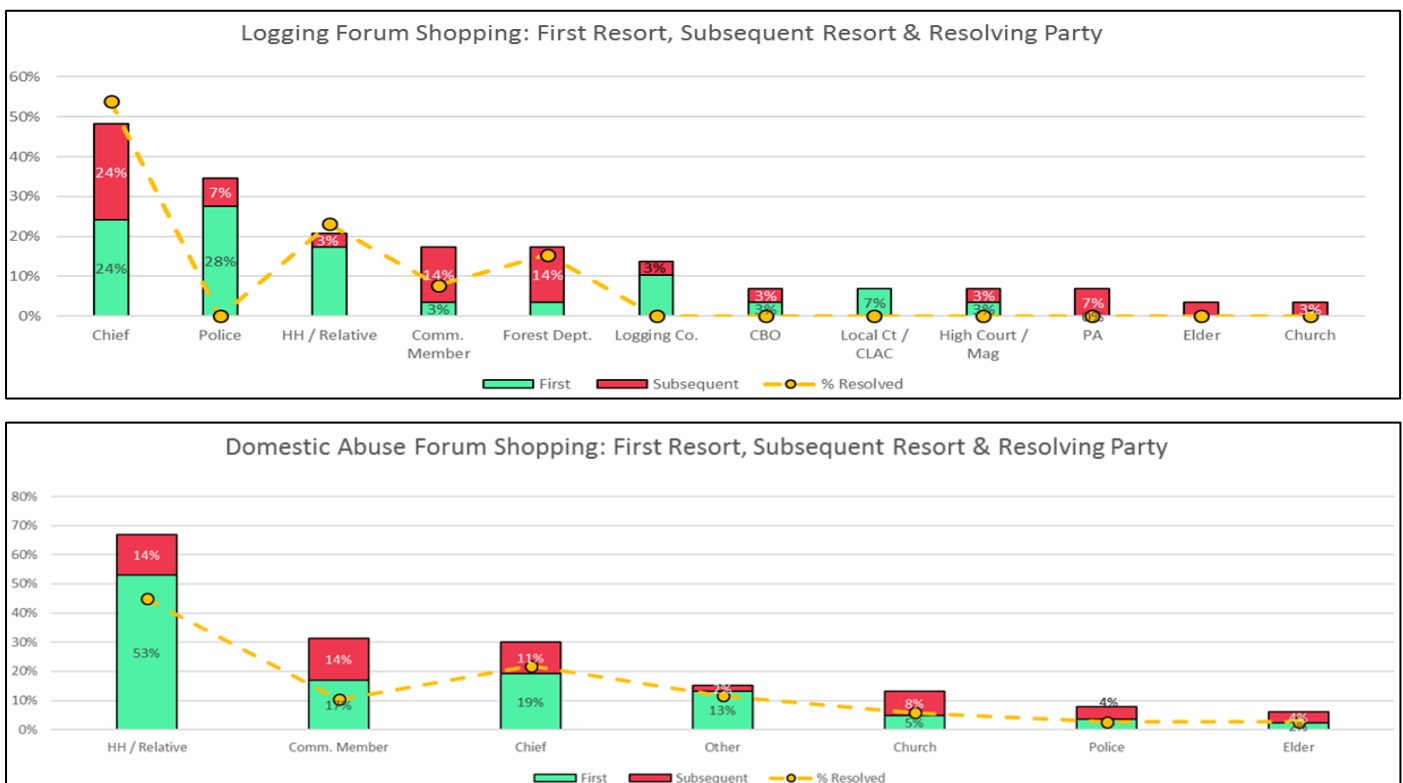
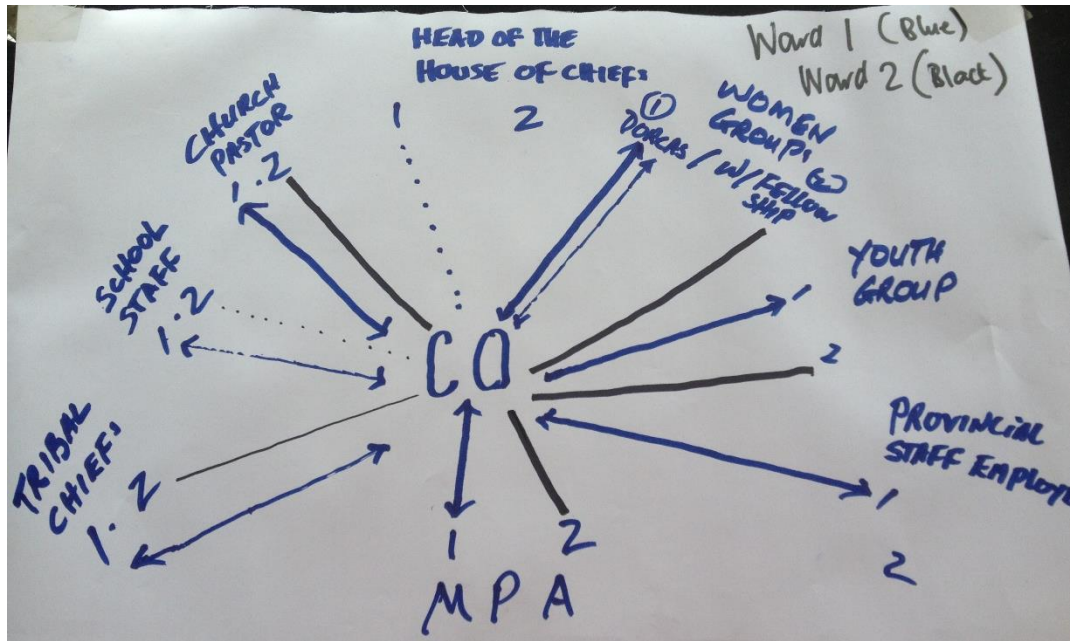


Figure 7: Forum Shopping in Makira – Logging and Domestic Abuse (individual respondents)

Figure 8: Where COs fit, in relation to local authorities and community groups – as understood by COs during training in Renbel



**The Project: What are the early results, and what are their implications?**

The first batches of COs were appointed in Renbel and Makira during September 2015 and November 2015, respectively. Are they perceived to be making a difference and – if so – in what ways and for whom? At the broadest level, a survey conducted in April 2017 confirmed high levels of community satisfaction with the selection of COs and with the benefits they were providing to communities – with 76 percent of respondents in participating communities reporting direct benefits from the project (80 percent for males, 71 percent for females).<sup>16</sup> COs have relatively quickly embedded their role in dispute resolution pathways, whether directly via mediation processes or by helping other community leaders resolve disputes, becoming one of the primary channels community members turn to with disputes. Some 59 percent of people reported experiencing improved accessibility and 77 percent reported experiencing improved effectiveness of community grievance management mechanisms.

These results, though encouraging, reveal little about the kinds of conflicts COs engage with, how they work, with what effect, and what explains these outcomes. Data from the logbooks of COs in Makira indicates that the types and prevalence of disputes that COs help communities to address are similar to that reported in the baseline survey: dominated by alcohol abuse, violence (domestic violence, common assault and sexual harassment), damage to property and stealing, and disputes regarding land and logging. On the different approaches and efficacy of different COs, experience to date shows the need to answer these questions by keeping two things in mind: the quality of the individual; and the specific context in which he or she is working. The quality and character of the CO – in other words, their ‘agency’ – has received considerable attention in performance reviews of COs, and rightly so. Age, gender, education, experience, community standing and ‘style of operating’ can have a major bearing on outcomes. This has led some communities to replace their COs, and, as they have gained more experience and confidence, to adjust the qualities they look for in new candidates for the position. Communities have also sought specific kinds of training for

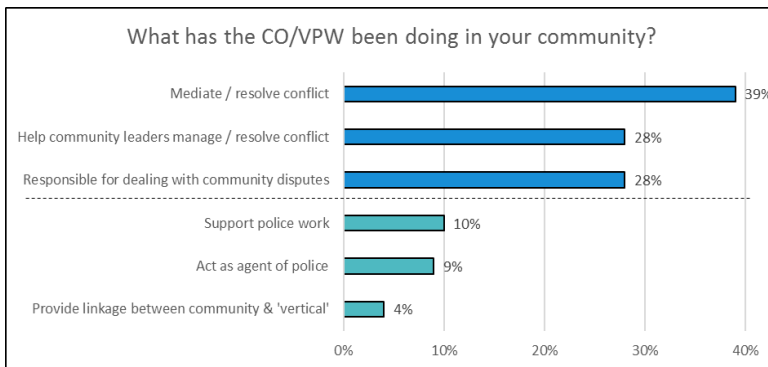


Figure 9: Reported CO Activities in Community

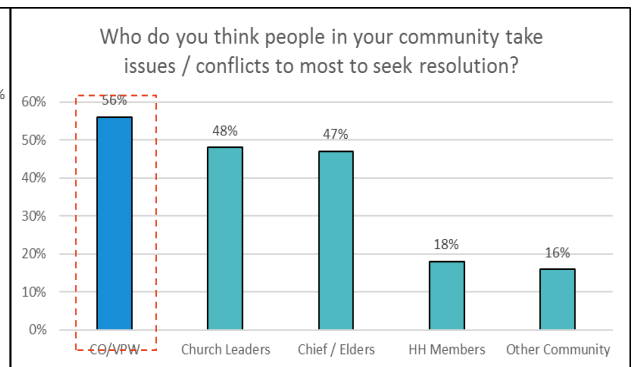


Figure 10: Reported Forums of Dispute Resolution



their COs. To date, there is evidence of some variation in the types of disputes dealt with by male and female COs, and the approaches they take to them, but these differences do not occur consistently.<sup>17</sup> Some youths and women report being more comfortable working with female COs. Some youths remark that female COs are less threatening and better listeners, so are better able to calm youths in a dispute. Some women are not prepared to approach male COs, and if they do, are not ready to discuss issues that are personal or may impact on family reputations. At every level, there is no contention that more women COs would make a positive impact on social inclusion. But it is also true that many male COs are working innovatively with issues of domestic abuse, both in making themselves approachable by soliciting help from female assistants and in working with them to address situations of domestic abuse.

The early evidence of the ways COs are working also underlines the need to consider ‘context’ as well as ‘agency’ when looking at the impact of COs on local authorities, dispute management and linkages with government. It is evident everywhere that the way the chosen CO relates to pre-existing networks of power, privilege and exclusion – as a result of their particular connections with chiefly, religious or customary authority – is important to the access they have to different forms of local authority and the support they gain from them.<sup>18</sup>

In Makira, for instance, where the baseline survey had shown the prominent role of chiefs in attempting to resolve a range of different types of disputes, COs have been working with this grain. The survey conducted in April 2017 found that nearly 70 percent of respondents in Makira saw the CO as working with the chief. In both Makira and Renbel, levels of community satisfaction with COs tended to be higher in areas where COs were seen to be working with chiefs. At the same time, COs are well aware that working with the grain of local authority (typically elder, male, chiefly) may not always be for the common good, and the risk is ever-present both that people will contrive to compromise COs, and that they will themselves act unwisely in relation to chronic and deeply felt grievances. In areas of Renbel where chiefs are absent from local areas, COs more typically represent people of ‘first resort’ in resolving disputes. Also important are the particulars of the village and ward in which COs operate, including its social structure, economic base, and basic geographic features like the terrain and ease of transport. In Renbel, the lowest community satisfaction with COs was recorded in places where conflict around logging and mining was already high, and in one stand-out case where the CO actively colluded with, and then defected to the logger’s employ. This has underscored the importance of active supervision and peer guidance by provincial, police and national authorities.

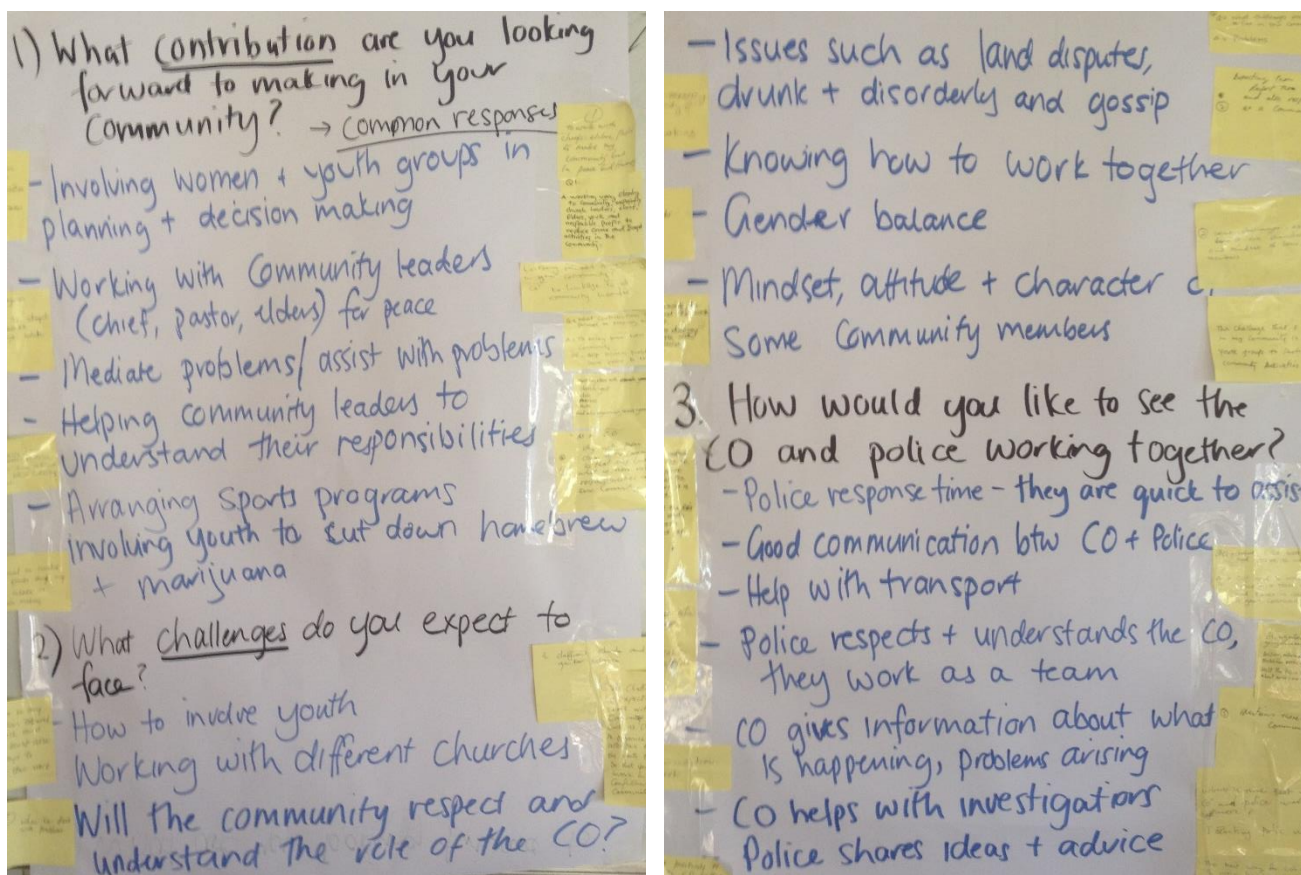


Figure 11: COs anticipating their roles, challenges, and relationship with the Police – during training in Renbel

Experience with the project has so far has reconfirmed earlier conclusions from the analytic work and public consultations, that it is a mistake to assume disputes are ever simply 'local'. Some disputes do reflect longstanding local social cleavages and local causes. However, as is most obvious in the case of conflicts triggered by logging or mining, 'local' disputes are escalated by failures provincially, nationally and abroad to properly regulate corporate conduct. Recognising this, the project design never anticipated that COs would gain much traction in these kinds of dispute. Indeed, the Renbel authorities deemed that the risks to COs' reputations and credibility from engaging with logging and mining disputes were so great that they instructed them to steer clear of the central logging and mining disputes, and to focus instead on the range of social order disputes typically generated by them – the results have been promising.

For similar reasons it was not initially clear whether COs would play a significant role in disputes around aid and public spending. The local political economy of aid projects and public spending is in many respects quite similar to logging and mining. Each of these have the effect of pitching local people against each other in competition to control links with external actors (whether they be donors, brokers, parliamentarians or companies) in the hope they can tap into opportunities (discretionary spending, loyalties and networks, or jobs and livelihoods). At the same time, the dividends from working with and enabling external players can be highly regarded. Lessons to date suggest that the COs are making reasonably astute judgements about whether and how to engage with disputes or issues that are driven by relationships that are external to the village or ward. From the outset in 2015, communities and provincial authorities have appreciated instances of COs' positive impact on disputes that result from the politicization of development spending. That COs have been active in the roll-out of national policy, awareness of rights, and linkages with national line

ministries has also been much appreciated. For example, COs have been attributed with

***“The Village Peace Warden has done awareness in the community about the Family Protection Act and punishments for harming women and children.”***  
Female leader, Makira

defusing conflict, sometimes violent, around emergency humanitarian relief, by depoliticizing the process of targeting vulnerable/needier people during the 2015/16 El Nino event in Renbel. COs are frequently included in Rural Development Project committees and the newly-initiated ward-level Crime Prevention Committees. They have been active in promoting awareness about the Family Protection Act, including its options, entitlements and penalties. Police in Makira report that the number of women reporting gender-based violence at police stations is increasing rapidly – although the follow-up and consequences are not yet clear.

Early concerns that parliamentarians and project officials would be wary of COs, shun them as competitors, or treat and entice them to collude, have not so far proven warranted. On the contrary, more frequent are remarks to the effect that COs have become, as said one respondent to the 2017 beneficiary survey, “a significant positive player amongst local authorities”. Given the nearly complete absence of provincial authorities from any involvement in disputes and broader regulation of land, natural resources or development spending shown in the baseline survey, it is surprising that COs are perceived to be improving linkages with provincial authorities to at least some extent. The role of COs in further strengthening linkages between communities and provincial authorities, police and national authorities is critical to the capacity of communities to effectively manage grievances and disputes, as well as the capacity of state institutions to be responsive to the needs of communities across rural Solomon Islands.

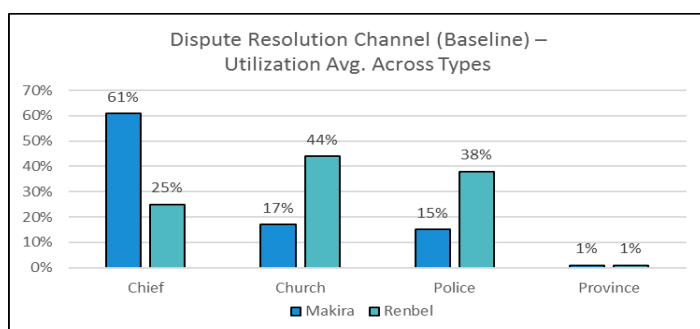


Figure 11: Baseline Dispute Resolution Channels (Makira, individuals vs Renbel, household heads)

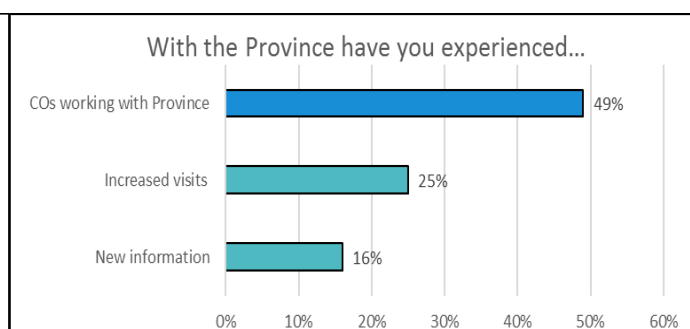


Figure 12: CO Vertical Linkage Results (Perception Survey)

<sup>1</sup>These background activities are summarized in Porter D, D Isser and P Venning (2015). *Toward More Effective and Legitimate Institutions to Handle Problems of Justice in Solomon Islands*, Policy Note, Washington DC., The World Bank.

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2015/03/24095499/toward-more-effective-legitimate-institutions-handle-problems-justice-solomon-islands>

<sup>2</sup> The CGGM Project is supported by the World Bank and Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

<sup>3</sup> At time of writing, in Makira there are 27 COs (called 'Village Peace Wardens'), covering 3 Wards. In Renbel there are 10 COs, covering all 10 Wards. In Malaita there are 15 COs (called 'Community Liaison Officers'), covering 15 Wards. In Central Province, there will soon be 5 COs (to be called 'Provincial Community Officers'), covering all 13 Wards.

<sup>4</sup> The information sources drawn on in this note include quantitative and qualitative baseline surveys in Makira and Renbel, a mid-term perception survey in Makira and Renbel, and CO logbooks and the findings from regular supervision missions to Makira and Renbel, the first two of the four participating provinces. Reports on the baseline and mid-term perceptions surveys are available at [www.worldbank.org/JusticeSI](http://www.worldbank.org/JusticeSI).

<sup>5</sup> See summary in Porter et al. (2015).

<sup>6</sup> Data and interpretive remarks on public attitudes to local authorities (e.g., religious and chiefly authority, 'senior people'), the police and public administration at large, as well as the mismatch between public expectations regarding their entitlements as citizens and their lived experiences is provided in the RAMSI-Solomon Islands Government *People's Surveys* for the years 2007, 2008, and 2010 to 2013 (published by Australian National University Enterprise, Canberra).

<sup>7</sup> With respect to rape, it is likely that the difference resulted from the occurrence of recent cases in Makira that multiple individuals in communities referred to.

<sup>8</sup> Secretariat of the Pacific Community (2009). *Solomon Islands Family Health and Safety Survey: a study on violence against women and children*, Noumea, SPC.

<sup>9</sup> Even the limited number of differences reported here should be treated with caution, because gender or age was not the single differentiating factor among respondents (for instance, their standing in their respective households may have varied), and the sample sizes were not always large enough to draw firm conclusions.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Brown, A. (2007) (ed.) *Security and Development in the Pacific Islands – Social Resilience in Emerging States*, Boulder, USA, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

<sup>11</sup> See Allen m. et al. (2013). *Justice Delivered Locally: Systems, Challenges, and Innovations in Solomon Islands*, Washington DC, The World Bank. For a discussion of public attitudes towards the police, see the RAMSI-Solomon Islands Government *People's Surveys* for the years 2010 to 2013 (ANU Enterprise, Canberra). For

an analysis of focus group discussions on the declining "power" of churches, see *People's Survey 2010* (ANU Enterprise Canberra, p.146). For an analysis on public opinion on the behavior of "senior people" at the community-level see the *People's Survey for 2007 and 2008* (ANU Enterprise, Canberra).

<sup>12</sup> Some caution is required with these comparisons between Makira and Renbel, because in Makira the pathways of resort module of the survey was conducted with individuals (a male, a female and a person of another generation in each household sampled), whereas in Renbel it was conducted with household heads. Given that the people self-designating as household heads would typically exhibit some differences in status from non-household heads, and that about three-quarters of the household heads were male, the responses on pathways of resort in Renbel may not be as representative as those in Makira. That said, the main difference between the two provinces is the significantly higher resort to chiefly authority in Makira, where the responses came from individual males, females and elderly or youth, interviewed separately.

<sup>13</sup> It does not appear that lack of trust is the determining factor – though it may contribute in some cases. In the baseline survey, just over half of respondents said they regarded police as trustworthy, and nearly two-thirds said they would be comfortable making a formal complaint against the police if officers behaved badly.

<sup>14</sup> See Allen M. et al. (2013). Loc. Cit.

<sup>15</sup> This process is sometimes referred to as 'stacking' authority. How this works elsewhere in Melanesia is explained in Craig, D., D. Porter and F. Hukula (2016). *Come and See the System in Place. Mediation Capabilities in PNG's Urban Settlements*. The World Bank: Port Moresby; and Craig, D. and D. Porter (2018). *'Safety and Security in Papua New Guinea's Urban Settlements: capable institutions and local regulation beyond the state?'* Research Report, The World Bank: Port Moresby.

<sup>16</sup> The beneficiary survey was conducted with a gender-balanced sample of individuals.

<sup>17</sup> See Dinnen, S. and N. Haley (2012). *Evaluation of the Community Officer Project in Solomon Islands*, Research Report, Justice for the Poor, Washington DC., The World Bank. The evaluation of the CO Pilot project (that ran from 2009 prior to the CGGM Project) found 'no significant or consistent differences between the kinds of dispute dealt with by male and female COs, nor in the manner in which they responded to cases'. CGGM experience has also been that there are no consistent gender differences. Rather, differences reflect a combination of the nature of the dispute, the qualities and characteristic of the CO, and the 'context', that is, the patterns of power and authority, economic activity and geography that are unique to the locality.

<sup>18</sup> See similar observations in Chadwick, W, & A Tuhanuku, *Women at the Interface of Local and State Justice systems: a case study of Community Officers in Solomon Islands*, unpublished paper; and Dinnen, S, and N Haley (2012). *Evaluation of the Community Officer Project in Solomon Islands*, The World Bank, Washington DC.