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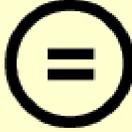
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Master's Degree Program in International Studies(International Area Studies)

Island State and society relationship:

*Going beyond the Paradigms of culture, history,
colonization and re-thinking political governance in
Solomon Islands.*

August 2015

Seoul National University

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Island State and Society: *Going beyond the Paradigms of culture, history, colonization and re-thinking political governance in Solomon Islands.*

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June 2015

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ABSTRACT

“Context shapes meaning” — Dr Noel Woodroffe

“Solomon Islands is a nation conceived but never born” — **Solomon Mamaloni**

“System fails when people with ability don't have authority and people with authority don't have ability.” —**Amit Kalantri**.

The world is changing and demanding changes in the way in which we do things. We have to live, raise families, develop systems for the future, secure the future of our seed in the present changing world in which we live. But the most important changes are occurring in the way in which we think, in the structures of our mentality and the ways in which we educate ourselves. This shift in the structure of our internal intangible environment will cause significant and far-reaching changes in our external physical environment. (Congress World Breakthrough Network)

Key words: State and Society, Leadership, Governance, Politics, Clientelism, Wantok, Social function, Rational Choice.

Student number: 2012-29013.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family
for their unconditional love and support.
and to the people of Solomon Islands.

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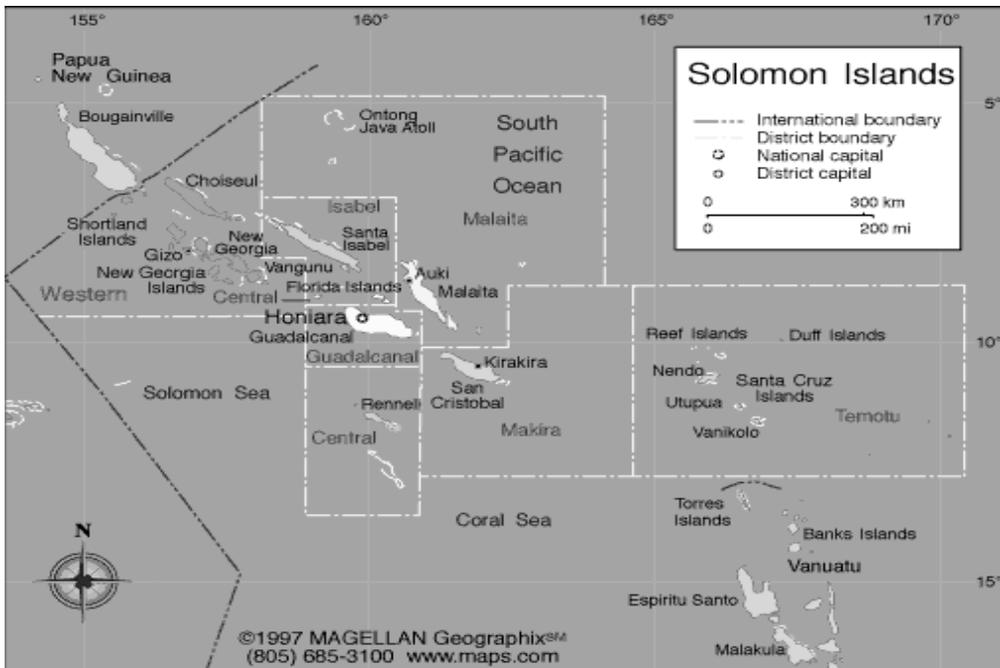
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Figure 2. Map of Solomon Islands.



(Sources: www.googlemap.com)

Table 1. Chronological time line of Solomon Islands.

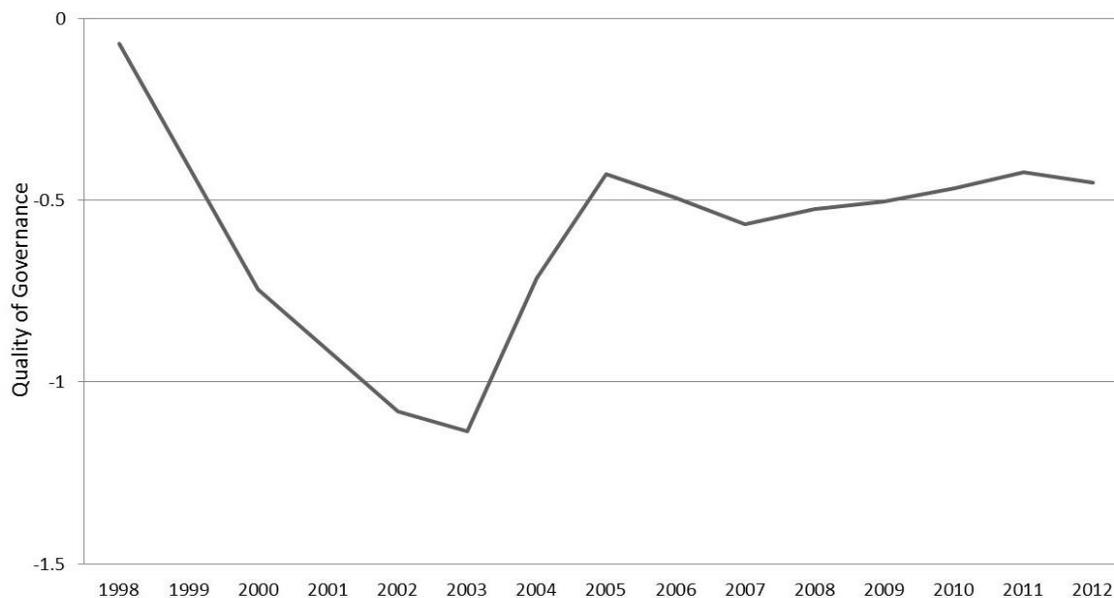
Date		A chronology of key events
1899		Germany cedes the northern Solomon islands to the United Kingdom, which had declared a protectorate over the southern Solomon Islands in 1893.
1942		During World War II the islands are occupied by Japan. There is very heavy fighting, especially on and around Guadalcanal. The Allies of American troops force the Japanese out from the islands in 1945, and British rule is restored.
1946		An independence movement, Marching Rule, is established.
1976		The islands become fully self-governing.
1978	Solomon Islands gained its Independence (7th July)	The islands achieve independence within the British Commonwealth. Queen Elizabeth II remains head of state.
1988		Solomon Islands join Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea to form the Spearhead Group, which aims to preserve Melanesian cultural traditions.
1997		Bartholomew Ulufa'alu, a Malaitan, is elected prime minister.
1998		Ulufa'alu's government narrowly survives a motion of no confidence. The Isatabu Freedom Movement, which says it represents the native people of Guadalcanal, begins to forcibly evict Malaitans, whom they accuse of taking jobs and land. The Malaitan Eagle Force (MEF) is formed in response. At least 20,000 Malaitans are forced off Guadalcanal. Fighting breaks out between the two rival militias.
2000	(June)	The MEF stages an attempted coup. It takes Bartholomew Ulufa'alu hostage. He is subsequently forced to resign and replaced by Manasseh Sogavare
2000	Peace Treaty (October)	A broad peace treaty between the two militias, brokered by Australia, is signed. Unarmed peacekeepers from Australia and New Zealand are deployed to supervise the handover of arms, many of which were bought after fighting on the island of Bougainville in Papua New Guinea ended in 1998.
2001	February	Marau peace agreement is signed bringing together the two warring factions, Marau Eagle Force and Isatabu Freedom Movement. It is aimed at ending two years of conflict.
2001	September	Murder of prominent rebel leader Selwyn Saki of the Isatabu Freedom Movement threatens peace agreement.

2001	December	Sir Allan Kemakeza of the People's Alliance Party is elected prime minister. International donors, including Australia and New Zealand, urge him to make law and order his priority.
2002	Growing Lawlessness	Economic, social problems worsen, with the government unable to pay wages and fund services. In March, international peace monitors withdraw from some posts amid growing lawlessness. In August, a government minister is shot dead on the orders of a tribal warlord.
2002	December	Cyclone Zoe devastates the remote island of Tikopia and its neighbor, Anuta. A relief vessel is dispatched amid fears of a large-scale loss of life, but it emerges that nobody was killed.
2003	June	Prime Minister Kemakeza asks for military help from Australia, New Zealand as country threatens to spiral into anarchy. Pacific foreign ministers back a multinational force. Solomon's government approves peacekeeping plan in July.
2003	Peace Keepers arrive (July)	2003 July - Australian-led peacekeeping force deploys, aiming to restore order and disarm militant groups.
2003	August	Prominent rebel Harold Keke - leader of the Isatubu Freedom Movement - surrenders to Australian forces. He is charged with the 2002 murder of priest and MP Father Augustine Geve.
2003	October – November	Australia, New Zealand decides to scale back their military contributions, citing progress in restoring order. Peacekeepers declare the Weather Coast - an area badly hit by lawlessness - safe.
2005	March	Former rebel leader Harold Keke and two of his associates are jailed for life for the 2002 murder of MP Father Augustine Geve.
2006	May	Parliament elects Manasseh Sogavare as prime minister. His predecessor, Snyder Rini, resigned after eight days in office. Rioting in the capital followed his appointment.
2007	April	A tsunami hits the north-west Solomon Islands after a strong sea quake. The UN puts the death toll at 34. Thousands are left homeless.
2007	July	Controversy as lawyer Julian Moti - wanted in his native Australia on child sex charges - is appointed as attorney general. He is later extradited.
2007	December	Nine ministers defect to the opposition. Prime Minister Sogavare loses a vote of confidence and steps down; MPs pick Derek Sikua as premier.
2009	February	The Solomon Islands declare a national disaster after heavy rain and flooding claim lives on Guadalcanal island, and people are evacuated from there and nearby Savo island.
2009	April	A national truth and reconciliation commission is launched

		to investigate the conflict between rival ethnic militias in which more than 100 people died and 20,000 were displaced between 1997 and 2003 on Guadalcanal.
2010	January	About 1,000 people are left homeless by landslides and a tsunami triggered by an earthquake in the Solomon Islands.
2010	August	General elections. Danny Philip becomes prime minister.
2011	November	MPs elect Gordon Darcy Lilo as prime minister, days after he was sacked as finance minister. Former PM Danny Philip resigned after he lost his majority in parliament over the dismissal.
2011	December	Australian High Court dismisses prosecution on child sex charges of former Solomon Islands attorney-general Julian Moti, ruling that his 2007 deportation to Brisbane was illegal.
2013	February	A powerful earthquake sets off a tsunami that leaves at least nine people dead.
2013	Marks 10 yrs. Anniversary (a decade of intervention) - July	The Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) marks the 10th anniversary since its deployment on the island. It also ends its military phase.

(Source: BBC Asia News. Updated on 20th January 2014.)

Figure 3. Governance ranking of Solomon Islands as provided by the World Bank data as of 1998 -2012



(Source: World Bank data, 2014)

Table 2. Government and community leaders ¹.

Constituency **members of Solomon Islands 2014.**

Constituency	Winner	Party/Independent	Status
South Choiseul	Elijah Doro MUALA	Independent	Declared
North West Choiseul	Connelly Matthew SANDAKABATU	Democratic Alliance Party	Declared
East Choiseul	Manasseh Damukana SOGAVARE	Independent	Declared
Shortlands	Christopher LAORE	Independent	Declared
North Vella La Vella	Milner TOZAKA	People's Alliance Party	Declared
South Vella La Vella	Qora Alex LIONAL	Independent	Declared
Rannogga/Simbo	Charles SIGOTO	Independent	Declared
Gizo/Kolombangara	Jimson Fiau TANANGADA	United Democratic Party	Declared
West New Georgia - Vona Vona	Silas Kerry Vaqara TAUSINGA	Solomon Islands Party for Rural Advancement	Declared
South New Georgia R & T	Danny Phillip	United Democratic Party	Declared
North New Georgia	John Dean KUKU	Independent	Declared
Marovo	Snyder RINI	Independent	Declared
Hograno/Kia/Havulei	Jeremiah MANELE	Democratic Alliance Party	Declared
Maringe/Kokota	Culwick TOGAMANA	Independent	Declared
Gao/Bogotu	Sameul MANETOALI	Independent	Declared
North Malaita	Jimmy LUSIBAEA	Independent	Declared
Lau/Mbaelelea	Maeue Augustine AGA	Independent	Declared
Baegu/Asifola	David Tome WANESIOFA	Independent	Declared
Fataleka	Steve ABANA	Independent	Declared
West Kwara'ae	Sam Shemuel IDURI	Democratic Alliance Party	Declared
Central Kwara'ae	Jackson FIULAU	Independent	Declared
East Malaita	Manasseh MAELANGA	Independent	Declared
Aoke Langalanga	Matthew C WALE	Independent	Declared
East Kwaio	Stanley Festus SOFU	Independent	Declared
West Kwaio	Peter TOM	Democratic Alliance Party	Declared
East Are Are	Andrew MANEPORA'A	Kadare Party of Solomon Islands	Declared
West Are Are	John MANENIARU	Independent	Declared
Small Malaita	Rick Nelson HOUENIPWELA	Democratic Alliance Party	Declared
Malaita Outer Islands	Martin KEALOE	Independent	Declared
Ngella	Bartholomew PARAPOLO	Independent	Declared
Russells and Savo	Dickson Mua	Independent	Declared

¹ Kabini Sanga and Keith Walker, *Apem Moa: Solomon Islands Leadership* (2005)

	PANAKITASI		
Rennell-Bellona	Tautai Agikimua KAITU'U	United Democratic Party	Declared
North West Guadalcanal	Dettke Horst Heinz BODO	Independent	Declared
West Guadalcanal	Moses GARU	Democratic Alliance Party	Declared
South Guadalcanal	David day PACHA	Independent	Declared
East Guadalcanal	Bradley TOVOSIA	Independent	Declared
East Central Guadalcanal	Ishmael Mali AVUI	United Democratic Party	Declared
North East Guadalcanal	Derek SIKUA	Independent	Declared
North Guadalcanal	Samson MANEKA	United Democratic Party	Declared
Central Guadalcanal	Peter Shanel AGOVAKA	Independent	Declared
East Honiara	Douglas ETE	Independent	Declared
Central Honiara	John Moffat FUGUI	Independent	Declared
West Honiara	Namson TRAN	Independent	Declared
West Makira	Derek Rawcliff MANU'ARI	Solomon Islands People First Party	Declared
Central Makira	Nestor GIRO	Independent	Declared
East Makira	Alfred GHIRO	Democratic Alliance Party	Declared
Ulawa/Ugi	Willie Bradford MARAU	People's Alliance Party	Declared
Temotu Pele	Dudley KOPU	Independent	Declared
Temotu Nende	Commins Aston MEWA	Independent	Declared
Temotu Vatud	FredaAB Tuki Soria COMUA	People's Alliance Party	Declared

(Source: <http://www.siec.gov.sb/index.php/journalist/127-2014-national-general-election-results>)

Table 3: Case study. Family Voting for West Honiara Constituency.²

Peter Ramosaea (Male)	Married (M) and single (S)	Preferences	Samuel Au Ramosaea (Male)	Married (M) and single (S)	Preferences	Emphrain Mamae Ramosaea (Female)	Married (M) and single (S)	Preferences
Peter Ramosaea (Father)	M	NT	Samuel Au Ramosaea (Father)	M	Did not register	Emphrain Mamae (Father)	M	Voted in the Province
Francis Ramosaea	M	NT	Julie Annie Ramosaea	M	N.T	John Mark Mamae Ramosaea	S	NT
Michael Ramosaea	M	NT	Cindy Nidi Ramosaea	M	Did not register	Thomas Mamae Ramosaea	M	JA
Charles Ramosaea	M	NT	Charles Joseph Ramosaea	M	MJK	Jenny Maurine Ramosaea	M	NT
Alice Eric Ramosaea	M	NT	June Au Ramosaea	M	MJK	Jack mamae Ramosaea	M	Voted in the Province
Veronica Muna Ramosaea	M	NT	Christina Au Ramosaea	M	JA	Margaret Leonga Ramosaea	S	Did not register
Philip Ramosaea	M	NT	Kirwan Konofilia	S	MJK			
			Rowena Konofilia Ramosaea	S	MJK			

² Individuals are consulted through a family source via email. The names of the individuals were as it is.

Table 4: Case study. Family Voting for West Honiara Constituency.³

Joel Auga Ramosaea (Male)	Married (M) and single (S)	Preferences	Lawrence Nare Ramosaea (Male)	Married (M) and single (S)	Preferences	Lilly Agterbhost Ramosaea Mother (Female)	Married (M) and single (S)	Preferences	Veronica Lala Ramosaea Mother (Female)	Married (M) and single (S)	Preferences
Joel Auga Ramosaea (Father)	M	NT	Ruth Nare Ramosaea (mother)	Widow	NT	Mary Sandra Taupiri	M	NT	Christoper Ramosaea	M	NT
Luke Mamae Ramosaea	M	NT	Andrew Nare Ramosaea	S	Voted in the Province	Thelma perri taupiri	M	NT	Lilly berry Ramosaea	M	NT
Nicola Kelly Ramosaea	M	NT	Jack Nare Ramosaea	S	NT	Lina Saeni Taupiri	M	NT	Azaria Ramosaea	M	NT
Agnes Wale Ramosaea	M	NT	Ezekiel Nare Ramosaea	M	NT	Jeremy Saeni	S	NT	Zinia Ramosaea	M	NT
Vahid David Ramosaea	M	NT	George Nare ramosaea	M	Voted in the Province						
Thomos Opaka Ramosaea	M	NT									
Bronstone Ramosaea	S	NT									

³ Individuals are consulted through a family source via email. The names of the individuals were as it is.

CHAPTER ONE.

SUBSECTION ONE: THE CONTEXT

1.1.0.INTRODUCTION.

Solomon Islands consisted of an archipelago of Islands about 1,860 kilometers north east of Australia. It has six large islands such as Choiseul, Isabel, Malaita, New Georgia, Guadalcanal Makira and twenty medium-sized islands, and over hundreds of smaller islets and reefs. Its total land area is 28,369 square kilometers. Solomon Islands, is the second largest country of the South Pacific, with Papua New Guinea (PNG) being the first.

Solomon Islands, is diversely ethno-linguistic with 87 distinct languages spoken by its current population. Pijin is the lingua franca, spoken by a majority of the population. However, English is the official language of schools and administration. It is estimated that around 95% of the population is Melanesian, 3 % Polynesians, and the other 2 % consists of Micronesians, Asians and Europeans.⁴

The cultural and ethnic diversity has implications for nation-building and national leadership. While promoting 'unity in diversity', the divisions along linguistic, island and regional lines affect the development – or the lack thereof – of national consciousness. The civil unrest that started on Guadalcanal in late 1998 is partly due to island differences, but also because of broader socio-economic issues like urbanization, unemployment, natural resource development, and land use and ownership that result from Government policies and administrative inefficiencies.⁵

⁴ The World Fact Book, 2009 estimate.

⁵ Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka, 'Beyond Ethnicity: The Political Economy of the Guadalcanal Crisis in Solomon Islands', Working Paper 01/1 *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia*, (2001); Judith Bennett, *Roots of Conflict in Solomon Islands – Though Much is Taken, Much Abides: Legacies of Tradition and Colonialism*, State, Society and Governance in Melanesia, Discussion Paper 2002/5 (2002); Jon Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands* (2004); Clive Moore, *Happy Isles in Crisis: The Historical Causes for a Failing State in Solomon Islands* (2005)

Though diverse attempts were continuously made to cultivate a national consciousness, mainly amongst the educated, urban dwellers and children of inter-island marriages; those for whom social groupings often cut across linguistic, ethnic and island boundaries.⁶ The issues of identity and nation building, however, continue to be challenging ones. Identification with wantok (same language) or island groups, rather than a national identity, influences people's perception of national leaders. This is because of the view that leaders are likely to access and use state resources to benefit only their particular islands, or wantok group. Furthermore, different parts of the country have different leadership systems or ways of organizing and enforcing authority. Some societies have hierarchical and chiefly systems, while others have egalitarian 'Big-man' systems.⁷

1.1.1. History: How it all begins?

Solomon Islands purely rely on its diverse cultures and oral traditions and tribal-based leadership structures prior to its introduction to the evolving system introduced by its western influencers and colonizer. Historically not much has been documented but accounts were told that it is an agrarian society and one that is shaped by hunting, fishing, nomadic lifestyle and the tribal warfare in between islands for territorial domination.⁸

Solomon Islands by geographical and social nature, is a vast majority of multi-cultural ethnic groupings with unique contexts within smaller sub-setting of a group of people which were identified as the smaller units that are uniquely connecting together to make that massive unit called the nation of Solomon Islands. It is a country of unique diversity in terms of language,

⁶ Christian Jourdan, 'Stepping-stones to National Consciousness: The Solomon Islands Case' in R J Foster (ed), *Nation Making: Emergent Identities in Postcolonial Melanesia* (1995) 127, 127-150.

⁷ Francis Saemala, 'Constitutional Development', in P Larmour (ed), *Solomon Islands Politics* (1983) 1-8.

⁸ Allen, J. 1997. The impact of Pleistocene Hunter Gatherers on the Ecosystems of Australia and Melanesia. In: P. Kirch and T. Hunt (eds). *Historical Ecology in the Pacific Islands: prehistoric environmental and landscape change*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp.23-50.

culture and traditions right in the midst of common struggling political and socio-economic situation that it has faced.⁹

Solomon Islanders have recorded much of their history – a term which refers both to the events of the past and to ways of viewing those events – in a rich oral tradition, and in a variety of art forms. But hitherto few of them have written about it. Foreigners, araikwao, have done most of the writing about the Solomon Islands. (Hugh Laracy (ed.), 1989)

The unique diversity and culture of Solomon Islands was found in the history of the nation as it evolves over time from a staunch traditional society into one that is transforming into Modern nation state breeding some of the nations growing social academic social scholars as David Welchman Gegeo, Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka, Alice Aruhe'eta Pollard, Ruth Maetala and Transform Aqorau.¹⁰

Nevertheless, little has been documented from an inside perspective of the historical past of Solomon islands, The most published research documenting social conditions of the country is still produced by an outside perspective and as such we can refer to the accurate and detailed account provided by Peruvian Spanish explorer by the name Alvaro de Mendana in 1567 but was not colonized by Spain¹¹.

Most emphatically, people's knowledge on reading the ocean tides, star mapping, sea voyaging and behavioral patterns of the countries natural cycles are specifically adapted to, in that part of the world as far as communication skills, language, trading, customs, and agricultural and religious practices were taught through oral tradition. For foreigners trying to gain some ground on the anthropology and the study of unique culture and the changes, locals are born experts.¹²

⁹ CIA, The World Fact Book < <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bp.html>>

¹⁰ Solomon Islands Truth and reconciliation commission (SITRC), 2012.Final report.

¹¹ Colin Jack-Hinton: *The Search for the Islands of Solomon 1567-1838*; London, Clarendon Press, 1969

¹² Latinis, D. Kyle. 2000. The development of subsistence system models for Island Southeast Asia and Near Oceania:

1.1.2. WHAT IS CULTURE?

There are several definitions that were considered for the sake of this research, to explain the fundamental aspects of what culture was, is and what it stands for in the context of society. British anthropologist, Tyler (1870: 1) as cited by Avruch (1998: 6) define culture as, that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952: 181) as cited by Adler (1997: 14) has define culture as patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other, as conditional elements of future action as.

The culture of the Solomon Islands reflects the extent of the differentiation and diversity among the groups living within these islands that are within the part of the Pacific Ocean known as Melanesia, with the peoples distinguished by island, language, topography, and geography among the Solomon Islands. (Roger M Keesing, 1989). In the contemporary Solomon Islands, as elsewhere in Melanesia, custom is the core of the assertion of traditional values and cultural practices in a modern context.

Cultural and linguistic contact is a way of life. Together with ideologies of change and “progress,” contact has forced a definition of urban identity that feeds on ideologies of **kastom**¹³ (custom practices, often reified), tradition, modernization, and social roles and options, and is revealed through language choice and practice. (Jourdan, C.2007).

the nature and role of arboriculture and arboreal-based economies. *World Archaeology* 32(1): 41–67

¹³ **Kastom** is a pidjin word used to refer to traditional culture, including religion, economics, art and magic in Melanesia. The term is the generally accepted term in anthropology to describe such phenomena as well as the common and lay term used in everyday language.

The history of culture and tradition in the Solomon Islands predates colonial times. However due to the significance of contact with the west, the nations trajectory has since then took a dramatic shift. More significantly is when colonization challenged the egalitarian ethos of Solomon Islands sociality. Christianization, urbanization, and globalization in turn also brought about ideologies that had direct bearing on the shaping and defining of the meaning of self in the contemporary Solomon Islands. (Jordan, C.2007).

This led us back to the first European to visit the Solomon Islands in 1586, a Spanish voyager by the name Alvaro de Mendana who sailed from the Spanish colony of Peru and through the oceans to reach the shores of archipelago of Islands he called the Solomon Islands. He named them "The Isles of Solomon", referencing the King Solomon in the Bible.

Most of the Spanish Colony were Christianized, hence the origin of the name Solomon and as a result of their expedition's discovery of alluvial gold in rivers on Guadalcanal. Yet little has been done to introduce the locals to the ways of the west at that time and so after those years, there a time of great silence. And therefore little has been recorded to give a clear picture of the cultural context to which it has given shape for the western education system to sit in.

1.2 THE MACRO CONTEXT OF SOLOMON ISLANDS.

1.2.1. Pre-colonial context.

To understand the past, the present and the future of any given society, it was always a common view and belief that one has to have a clear grasp of the social structure and the patterns of life within a society, and how it has been shaped over time by its culture and traditional beliefs. Furthermore it is even important to consider its social norms the norms for communal action were

generated and where people live and followed by it as part of their daily existence.¹⁴

Likewise, One of the most important pillars of the social structure is the leadership component. In this regard, it is fundamentally important to understand the leadership structure of Solomon Islands in the past centuries up to present.

Solomon Islands still employed its traditional values and norms, expressed through the mentalities of the people and most significantly within the rural areas, which comprise of 79 percent of the total population as recorded for 2012¹⁵. In retrospect, not much has been documented archived by our forefathers and talks of culture and tradition were transferred through oral learning, story telling or what is sometimes known as oral tradition. However, tracking the changes means, understanding the introduction and influence of Christianity as it provides some significant ideas of what it was like during those pre-colonial days.¹⁶

During pre-colonial times, most of the affairs of the traditional Solomon Islands society were based on decisions and actions taken up to the leadership. Whether it is an individual, family or group centered issue yet decisions were based in a very communal way. However, leadership style is also based on two systems, which are a patrilineal system and a matrilineal system.¹⁷

1.2.2. Traditional Leadership structure

Tradition and culture were a major part of the Solomon Islands constitution and it was recognized and acknowledged under the Solomon Islands constitution and with provisions to accept and maintain traditional practices.¹⁸ However, these opportunities has been changing so much with influence from the outside world, mostly the early missionaries and eventually the colonial

¹⁴ David Hilliard: "Colonialism and Christianity: The Melanesian Mission in the Solomon Islands", in *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 9, 1974, pp. 93-116.

¹⁵ World bank data.

¹⁶ David Hilliard: "Colonialism and Christianity: The Melanesian Mission in the Solomon Islands", in *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 9, 1974, pp. 93-116.

¹⁷ Ruth Maetala, 2008Matrilineal Land Tenure Systems in Solomon Islands: The cases of Guadalcanal, Makira and Isabel Provinces.p48

¹⁸ Solomon Islands Constitution CAP II, which contains the Bill of Rights.

influence of the establishment of the protectorate around 1878 (Maetala, R.2008)

Patriarchy is a social system in which: males hold primary power; males predominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege and control of property; and, in the domain of the family, fathers or father-figures hold authority over women and children. Matriarchy is a family, society, community, or state governed by women. A form of social organization in which the mother is head of the family, and in which descent is reckoned in the female line, the children belonging to the mother's clan; matriarchal system.

These two systems, shaped the way decisions were made concerning land ownership, marriages, funerals, food gathering, planting, harvesting and so forth which were routinized through community close consultation with the big man or the chief lineage operated under either a matrilineal or patrilineal system. In some areas of Solomon Island up to the present date, it is still widely practiced or at least respected as a way of respect and honor in life.¹⁹

1.2.3.Colonization period.

The Solomon Islands was colonized and divided between Britain and Germany in the late 19th Century; the southern islands became a British Protectorate in 1893 while the north remained under German rule until mandated to Australia in 1920. With the exception of the northern part of the chain (now part of Papua New Guinea), the Solomon Islands became self-governing in 1976 and fully independent within the Commonwealth of Nations in 1978.

An example of the impact of colonization on the leadership structures is the Westminster system, 'adopted' as the governance system when Solomon Islands became independent. Like many new countries, Solomon Islands endeavored to navigate its way under a new Constitution, upholding customary values driven by a comparatively different machinery of government (Judith Bennett,

¹⁹ Ruth Maetala, 2008Matrilineal Land Tenure Systems in Solomon Islands: The cases of Guadalcanal, Makira and Isabel Provinces.p48

2002).

Traditionally, however, the predominant leadership structure in Solomon Islands was the ‘big-man’ system. This system centered primarily on a single influential leader (the big-man), chosen by his peers or community due to certain leadership characteristics he possessed. In this system, leadership is determined either by one’s charisma and popularity; Strength and physical prowess; wealth and material possession; or a combination of these.²⁰

The second leadership structure common in traditional Solomon Islands is the chiefly hereditary system, where leadership is determined by birthright. Generally, the ‘big-man’ system is dominant in Melanesian culture; the chiefly system is common in Polynesian culture and in a handful of Melanesian societies. Most cultures in the Solomon Islands would have both systems operating, with one dominant over the other.²¹

It is evident that the traditional Solomon Islands systems for determining leadership is based on material and physical factors, above more internal attributes such as strength of character. While this system of leadership selection would be appropriate in a traditional Solomon Islands context, the modern nation requires a different type of leadership due to the new global context. While there is a requirement for a new type of leadership, the old, traditional sentiments and systems of leadership selection still remain the same.²²

As a new colonial governing system was introduced, however, a new social setting emerged. The Solomon Islands saw a shift in the structures of traditional leadership – the new leadership became a hybrid of the traditional and colonial systems of governance. This hybrid system of

²⁰ Christian Jourdan, ‘Stepping-stones to National Consciousness: The Solomon Islands Case’ in R J Foster (ed), *Nation Making: Emergent Identities in Postcolonial Melanesia* (1995) 127, 127-150

²¹ *ibid.*

²² Kabini Sanga and Keith Walker, *Apem Moa: Solomon Islands Leadership* (2005)

leadership resulted in a blurring between the right to lead and the ownership and distribution of commonly owned resources – these were invested in a group of big-men, which only increased the abuse of power and exploitation of these resources.

1.2.4. Self-government and Independence

Prior to Solomon Islands' independence, the demand for self-government developed first within small cultural groupings (such as Ma'asina Ruru Movement from Are' Are, Malaita), and gradually spread across the country's provinces. These demands caused a new pattern of leadership to emerge, as Solomon Islanders gathered themselves around prominent local personalities (in most cases educated bureaucrats and administrators), in a similar way to the traditional means of selecting a big man. These leaders were armed purely with the mandate to bring independence, but pursued the objective of self-government with limited experience and understanding of the demands of nation building in a system of government that was both foreign and in its infancy in Solomon Islands.

The characteristic of the Solomon Islands governments since the first government of 1978 can be likened to a fighter punching above his weight. Each successive group of leaders attempted to bring about economic stability and national development but was, and continues to be, undermined by complexities of a foreign governance system. It is evident that leadership that can navigate through these complexities and find accurate solutions was needed.

1.2.5. Ethnic unrest and the RAMSI intervention

As a result of a lack of leadership at the national level, from 1999 the Solomon Islands continued to be riddled with a backward drift in law and order, peace and stability, infrastructural and economic development. In 1999 the momentum of tension towards the Government (due to

unmet demands and corruption) erupted into a revolt against the government system.²³

In 2003 Australia's help was sought to restore peace and order as the issues of ethnic violence had reached a new high. An Australian-led multinational force arrived in 2003 to restore peace and disarm ethnic militias. The Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI)²⁴ has created stability into the Solomon Islands and donors have invested money into the Solomon Islands economy through bilateral and multilateral ties with the Solomon Islands Government.²⁵

1. 3. MICRO CONTEXT OF SOLOMON ISLANDS

1.3.1. Structure one: Leadership Structure

In the Solomon Islands, there is a critical need for a new leadership platform that is based on character, ethics, and the capacity of bearing the responsibility of a nation. In the midst of political instability, competing economic priorities, ailing social security systems and deteriorating workforce, education and healthcare structures, and the one constant factor that will enable change is *leadership*.

As a nation the Solomon Islands has gone through so much negative experiences from ethnic unrest, social disorder, national disasters and a lack of direction in terms of its place within the region and in the world. Years of neglect from those entrusted with the mandate to lead the people, including families, communities and organizations, has led to much distrust of the nation's ability to experience change in the hands of honest and trustworthy leaders.

²³ Solomon Islands TRC Report Final, 2012.P152.

²⁴ The Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) - originally made up of police and troops from Australia, NZ, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, and Tonga - had been scaled back to 303 police officers, 197 civilian technical advisers, and 72 military advisers from 15 countries across the region

²⁵ World Fact book <www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bp.html>

Building leadership that is transparent, ethical and visionary will transform these issues over time. Ultimately, leadership should empower the nation to not only reach its full potential, but also maximize the opportunities and the resource it has.

1.3.2. Structure two: Political Stability

Solomon Islands has often been described as a politically unstable country where the governance systems have either been the cause of social unrest or been too weak to prevent ethnic violence, including the tension experienced between 1998 and 2003.²⁶ The ethnic tension of 1998 stemmed primarily from disputes between two cultural groupings from two provinces (Malaita and Guadalcanal), discontent about the level of inter-island migration and the resultant abuse of access to land, disregard for traditional governance protocols, and unequal economic opportunities.²⁷ The Honiara riot of 2006 was driven by the discontent of the general population, unhappy with the new government formed after the 2006 general elections. Whilst underlying causes of the 2006 riots has largely settled, the impact it has had on the people of Solomon Islands is far-reaching.²⁸ Since 2003 and after 2006, immense focus has been given to improve good governance and the governing capacity of local leaders. The relative stability now enjoyed indicates an increased respect for the rule of law and the increase of the capacity of the government to manage the affairs of the people.

1.3.3. Structure three: Human development

The increased cost of living, changing lifestyle habits and the lack of economic opportunities

²⁶ World Bank, *Solomon Islands Youth in Transition: Summary Note: Key findings, Options, and Recommendations of the Youth Scoping Mission*, 2008.

²⁷ *ibid*

²⁸ *ibid*

impact on family well being particularly children. Today, limited government funds are disproportionately allocated and more focus is given to investing in tertiary education at the expense of vocational, technical training and non-formal opportunities, due to an unbalanced perspective on academic achievement²⁹. Whilst there has been improvement in the education system, Solomon Islands still falls behind most Pacific Islands in terms of enrolment and school coverage.³⁰

Additionally, Solomon Islands is experiencing what is described as the ‘youth boom’ with seventy percent of the population under the age of twenty-nine. At the same time there is a ‘talent drain’ occurring due to the lack of opportunities in the country.³¹

The pressure that a pear-shaped demography will have on future infrastructure, housing, job creation and credit availability is great, and a serious challenge for present and future governments. The current shortage of opportunities for youth in the labour market, poor enrolment and retention at primary and secondary levels, and a lack of investment into vocational and technical training put the Solomon Islands at risk. If these issues and risks can be mitigated, however, the potential for development for the nation is huge. Leadership should empower young people through proper education and training opportunities to build the future leaders of tomorrow.

1.3.4. Structure four: Labour market

There is a high rate of youth unemployment and under-employment in the nation; the low market access and opportunities in the economy are a consequence of a limited presence of private sector

²⁹ Dr Christine Jourdan, *Youth and Mental Health in Solomon Islands: a Situation Analysis*, Foundation of the Peoples of the South Pacific International, 2008.

³⁰ *Solomon Islands Youth in Transition*

³¹ *ibid*

enterprise and industry.³²This is the case in both urban and rural areas. There are also limited public sector employment generation activities, job information services, and access to credit which make it unlikely that the labour market will be able to absorb a sufficient amount of youth market entrants in the foreseeable future.³³

There is so much potential for economic growth, community development, and individual empowerment if the right decisions are made about these issues in the labour market. However, the current state of affairs further points to the glaring gap that needs to be filled by leaders who have the vision and capacity to be able to develop the nation for the better.

1.3.5. Structure five: Education.

Solomon Islands have one of the highest illiteracy rates amongst Pacific island countries, and much of this is attributed to an obsolete education system and the lack of emphasis given to basic and continuing education³⁴.

The above-mentioned imbalanced approach to the focus of education and inappropriate investments into preparation for work in the education sector impacts on the labour market. This imbalance at an educational level is a direct correlation to the exodus of young people due to a lack of employment opportunities in Solomon Islands.

Leadership needs to be able to make the connections between appropriate education and training systems, preparation of young people for the professional environment, opportunities for new entrants into the labour market, and the overall economic, social and political stability of the

³² *ibid*

³³ *Solomon Islands Youth in Transition*

³⁴ *ibid*

Solomon Islands. Insufficient opportunities in the labour market impacts primarily on families and communities; if finance and direction are limited, there are negative impacts on the wellbeing of families and their ability to provide appropriate, for example, health and education for their sphere.

1.3.6. Structure six: Health

The consequence of an ill-developed labour market is a lack of government access to capital to fund education, social development and health. Income needs to be earned and managed to raise living standards and the general wellbeing of the people. In the Solomon Islands, there is an issue of poor diet and an increase of disease as a consequence. Teenage pregnancies, substance abuse, poor access to health services and over-population in urban areas are all connected to, and symptoms of, poor management of the welfare of the people i.e. leadership³⁵.

³⁵ *Youth and Mental Health in Solomon Islands*

SUBSECTION TWO: SIGNIFICANCE OF A TIME LINE.

Table 1. Historical Chronological events in Solomon Islands (1567 – 1978).

Year(s)	Date	
1567-1568		Mendaña explores Solomon Islands.
mid 1800s		Arrival of Christian missionaries.
1860's-1910		"Blackbirding"
1893		Solomon Islands declared British Protectorate.
1896		Resident Commissioner Charles Woodford arrives.
1899		Germany cedes the northern Solomon Islands to the United Kingdom.
1942		World War II: heavy fighting between American and Japanese troops, especially on Guadalcanal.
1946		Maasina Ruru Movement in Malaita.
1960		Executive Council created as the Protectorate's policymaking body.
1974		A new constitution adopted, establishing a parliamentary democracy and ministerial system of government.
1975		The name Solomon Islands officially replaced that of British Solomon Islands Protectorate.
1976	January 2 nd	Solomon Islands attains self-governance.
1978	July 7 th	Solomon Islands achieves independence within the British Commonwealth.

(Source: Solomon Islands TRC reports Final Volume 1)

Solomon Islands has experienced a tremendous chronological events as seen in the timeline, dated for an approximately of 326 years since its recorded contact the west or European contact. The time shows the exposure of Solomon Islands from when it was first discovered by a Spanish explore from the west, right through to the year it has gained its independence. 85 years of colonialism and 36 years of being an independent state could easily be led to the historical argument of being scarred, marred and psychologically trapped by dependency syndrome due to wests influence over the past years.

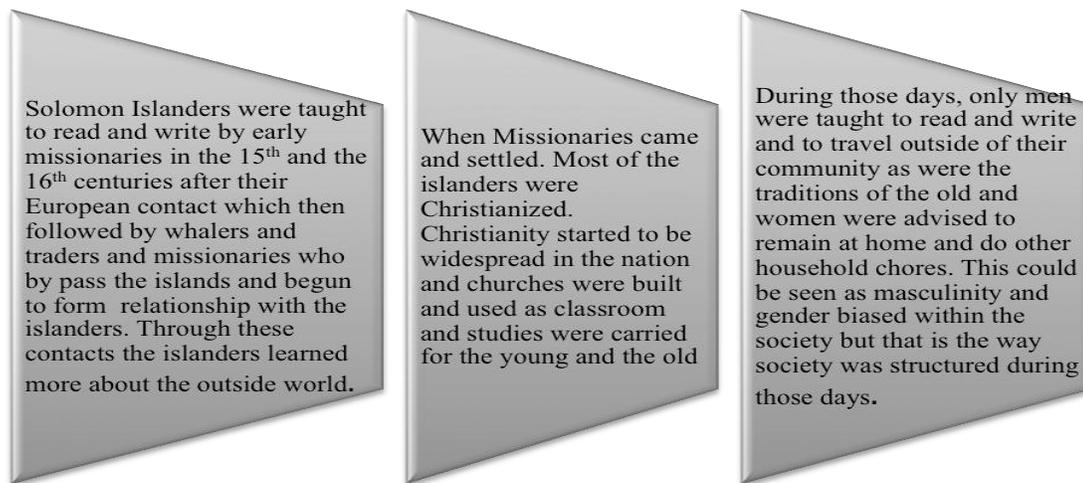
SUBSECTION THREE: PRE – COLONIAL ERA

Table 2. Timeline features of Solomon Islands history that gives meaning for a nation state.

Years	Milestone
1567 - 1568	Mendana explores Solomon Islands
Mid 1800	Arrival of Christian Missionaries
18602 -1910	“Black-birding”

This is a formative process of Solomon Islands as a nation under the British protectorate. Outstandingly, how the islands were discovered and the process of forming the national administration was conceived first from the British and colonization begun to happen in the 1800.

Figure 3. Process of change.



Colonialism is a term, which was coined in the twentieth century to designate a doctrine referring to three distinct processes: colonization, overseas expansion, and colonial rule. Colonization goes back millennia. Formal colonial rule is now mostly a thing of the past and colonialism as a doctrine has few defenders. Nevertheless, informal tutelage, often called neo-colonialism, persists.³⁶

³⁶ Samir Saul, 2005. University of Montreal. <http://www.globalautonomy.ca/global1/glossary_entry.jsp?Id=CO.0046>

Colonialism's legacy continues in the form of distorted and unviable economic structures, underdevelopment, dependency vis-à-vis former colonial powers, reliance on foreign assistance, artificial state boundaries, absence of political institutions and traditions, authoritarian rule, ethnic and religious strife, cultural alienation, and marginalization or elimination of non-Western languages.³⁷ Colonization's role in globalization is moot. It can be viewed as a first stage of globalization. The colonized world was attached (one-sidedly and against its will) to the capitalist West, thus laying foundations for globalism (Samir Saul, 2005).

If globalization is but the latest phase of colonialism, then the link is direct. In contrast, if globalization is a distinct phenomenon, then colonialism and its legacy are hindrances in that, behind the outward appearances of interconnectedness and complementarity, they created sharp and durable structural divides which are obstacles to globalization. Colonial rule is a specific form of government imposed on overseas territories by the colonial power, usually by force. Nominees of the colonial power exercised ultimate, and often immediate, authority.³⁸

The Solomon Islands does not have caste or class divisions as found among some Asian cultures. Instead, the country has different tribal groups found on the different islands. Individuals and groups gravitate towards their own kind and kin. Largely, they move along island lines or interisland groupings according to various affiliations, including marriages, church memberships, and general friendship. The actual date couldn't be predated during the historical movements of Austronesians and the Lapita movements into the islands some 200,000 years ago according to some previous research on migration of Melanesian people from Africa, however there were a lot of debates on the subject matter and so I would not make any comment on that trajectory.³⁹

³⁷ *ibid*

³⁸ *ibid*

³⁹, Guy Gugliotta, 2008. The Great Human Migration : Why humans left their African homeland 80,000 years ago to colonize the world. Access on 5th of Nov <<http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-great-human-migration>>

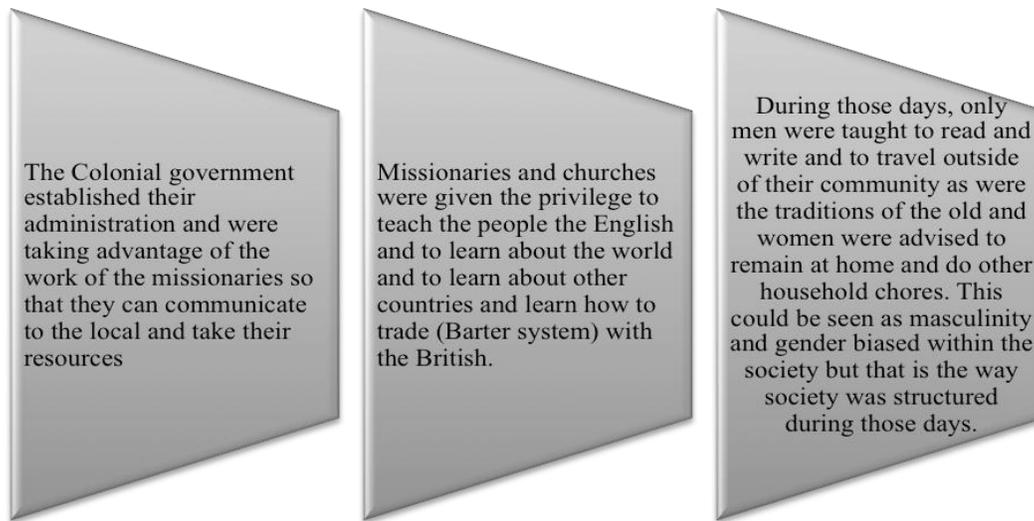
SUBSECTION FOUR: COLONIAL ERA.

Table 2. Timeline features of Solomon Islands history that gives meaning for a nation state.

Year (S)	Date	Significant Milestones
1893		
1896		
1899		Germany Cedes the Northern Solomon Islands to the United Kingdom.
1942		World War two: a Heavy clashes between American and Japanese troops especially on soils of Guadalcanal.
1946		Ma'asina Ruru movement in Malaita
1960		Executive council created as the protectorate's policymaking body.
1974		A new constitution adopted, establishing a parliamentary democracy
1975		The name Solomon islands officially replaced that of British Solomon Islands Protectorate.
1976	January 2 nd	Solomon Islands attains self-governance
1978	July 7 th	Solomon Islands achieves independence within the British Commonwealth

An important feature during this era was the emergence of a semblance of class, which was brought about during the colonial days between those who moved to urban centers and those who remained in villages. Today, those who are employed in the formal sector form a sort of elite class, in contrast to those who are not formally employed either in the public or the private sector. The late twentieth century saw the emergence of another class, a small group of businesspeople.

Figure 4. Process of change.



SUBSECTION FIVE: POST COLONIAL ERA (1978 – 2013)

Julia McGonegal (2008) in her book, *Imagining Justice: The Politics of Postcolonial Forgiveness and Reconciliation* pointed out that ‘Post-colonialism’ has radically changed the forms of critical analysis which prevailed in English studies during the period prior to its arrival. Post-colonialism has had a major impact on current modes of cultural analysis, especially considering its short history as a critical practice in the Western academy and literature departments. Over the past four decades it has brought issues of race, nation, empire, migration, and ethnicity to the forefront of academic knowledge, as well as examined their interconnection with cultural, political, and economic forces.⁴⁰ On the otherhand, these emerging issues were always the basis for arguments made by developing island states like Solomon Islands.

⁴⁰ Julian McGonegal, 2008.

By studying the relationship of culture to politics and history, she emphasised that one of the more important things that post-colonialism names is the critique of the cultural, political, and linguistic power of the West over non-Western cultures and societies; or more generally, the effects of colonization on the latter.⁴¹ In other, words Solomon islands has its official language as English, spoken lingua franca known as *pijin*⁴² and a constitution established through the Westminster system.

Post-colonial theory is an interesting area in politics and political ideology, and it basically entails the notion that post-colonial nation-states will inevitably experience certain challenges that are common between them (political, economical, social etc.), but which are really brought about as a result of a sort of 'hangover' from the colonial era. The theory explains that the impact of colonial administration has been so potent, that many former colonies are caught at crossroads between past legacies and future endeavors of nationhood. This is reflected in the conflict between traditional and modern concepts of leadership (e.g. chief v. politician), culture (patriarchal v. democratic), public administration (colonial v. capitalistic) and even church (orthodox v. reformist) etc. A common trait is the dependency on external advice and direction in government (e.g. Aid, Donor Agencies, RAMSI etc.), which is essentially the 'spirit of colonialism' permeating the present context.⁴³

Political governance is essentially about managing the state, establishing a practice of accountability to the people, and promoting a sense of nationhood. It includes the process of electing leaders to office, the interface between the political and bureaucratic arms of government, the strength of oversight bodies such as the judiciary and the ombudsman, and the

⁴¹ Julian McGonegal, 2008.

⁴² “**Pidgin language**”, is a simplified version of a language that develops as a means of communication between two or more groups that do not have a language in common

⁴³ Calvin Ziru, 2012. Post-Graduate Student. Durham University.

role of civil society in influencing the quality of governance. The way the leaders gain the support of the people, most likely through bribery.⁴⁴

This can occur through the voting system where the candidate gain the support of the people by providing support for school fees or other basic necessary needs that the voter might be in need of due to a whole lot of reasons connecting to income, health status, the need to educate their children and mostly for sustainable livelihood where the voter might be in need of financial support and capital to start of their small village (rural) based business to make ends meet.

A brief survey of recent anthropological and ethno-historical literature indicates that nationalism in Melanesia particularly is weak, contested or absent. Where Melanesians – rural and urban – engage the state, they often treat it with a high degree of suspicion or antagonism⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Cedric Saldanha, 2002. Pacific 2020 Background Paper: Political Governance. Commonwealth of Australia.

⁴⁵ Michael Morgan, 'Cultures of dominance: institutional and cultural influences on parliamentary politics in Melanesia', *State, society and governance in Melanesia*, Discussion Paper no. 02, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 2005.

CHAPTER TWO.

2.2.0. AIMS AND PURPOSE OF STUDY

2.2.1. Realizing the Problem.

The Aim of the study is to underscore the importance of political governance. However, there can be no significance of political governance without a clear comprehension of state and society relationship, issues of leadership, and the importance of governance as a core element for development of the nation. There were written blogs, discussion papers, and media coverage yet little emphasis was placed upon by academics within Solomon Islands regarding the poor governance within the nation for decades. For the Solomon Islands as a nation – this is actually a big problem – lack of information and so people are uninformed of the subject matter that should be translated down to the fibers of the society. Lack of empirical evidences to verify the indicators are important but absent, however, just by looking at the literacy level of the nation as a whole –we can say that that we actually have that problem. Three questions can be derived from this problem: 1). Why is it the government or other stakeholders not addressing this problem? We understand that information is a powerful weapon and tool, and if people are informed and are knowledgeable – already with the given democracy of government we have that facilitates freedom of speech for citizens – people will make informed decisions and it will be very hard to manipulate or to be manipulated as what we have seen now and over the years. 2). What is the priority area of any government of the day for the last 36 years? For example, if education and health service, then what’s the scope and depth of it – what’s the government infrastructure for it? Are there any institutions being set up to cover awareness programs and trainings that educate and enhanced it’s human machinery and simultaneously empower the citizens in the rural areas? 3) Pressure Groups such as (Transparency Solomon Islands – TSI) political influence; what are its intent, vision, and biasness free of such group? Is it politically driven or exist without political influence? However, A common feature of argument would naturally alluded to and blamed on

the inherent cultural diversity and traditional practices of the social units, which makes up the society. These features were perceived as the core hindrance to poor government, poor society and weak behavior of social, political and economic development experiences of Solomon Islands.

36 years of being an independent state, abodes no excuse for Solomon Islanders to remain adamant at being scarred, marred and trapped by colonization and dependency mentality from the west's influence and hinging on to the local cultures and tradition that opposes national development and transformation to happen.

2.2.2. The Subtleness of the Problem

Nonetheless, one cannot deny the features of cultural diversity, traditional hierarchy and practices, as these factors were resident within the country and at present, it even contributes towards shaping the decision of the state and the government within the social, economic and political structures of the country. However, there needs to be a mentality shift on the state level and the society level and how it has to happen, it has to work through a system or a common structure, which can be institutionalized within the political governance process and guides the decision made by society. A new look into governance, its processes and ways it can facilitate states decision and society's adherence has to be visible. People cannot adhere unless there's something in place – process/procedures which were and are the very thing that has been bypassed all the time in our context. This led us back to the time when Solomon Islands has gained its independence; the country has been facing so many hurdles and problems within the government systems and how it tries to retain its status as a nation. Concurrently, the country is yet faced up by ungoverned monolithic entities that operate beyond a homogenous expectation of

the state to lead. In this regard, an institutional governance instrument that can act as the catalyst for the state and the society to integrate beyond the fabrics of culture and remnants of colonization must be put in place. Only then, will there be a national paradigm shift that can provide valid answers for effective social and political development from now and onwards.

Emphatically, local scholars relating to Solomon Islands highlighted a few good arguments. Nevertheless, these arguments placed more emphasis and interest on how, why, where custom and culture had shaped people's behavior and social roles for national integration to this present day, and little attention were condensed to the issue of political governance which is the heart of many problems that were faced in the country.

This system of integration has been known and practiced over the years by missionaries and educators, to make Solomon islanders becoming relevant to the global scene but at the same time, it was seen as one of the many increased challenges for the local context. This is an indication that there has to be a clear grasp of those the political process of governed and a correct understanding of the fundamental changes that it has to meet to benefit society and state. Clearly, Solomon Islands need a new system to rebut the poor governance status that it has over the decades. This new system must lead the way, so that society can abide by the rules, state can align them and integrate a paradigm shift within the mindset of the people in order to propel a national development.

2.2.3. Addressing the Problem.

The study captures three significant arguments. First, this study assumes that the role of national institutions to address the unique issues relating to a mutli-cultural ethnic Solomon Islands matters. Second, it also assumes that the state-society performance is based on differences in state power but also societies' loyalty. Third, this study examines the nature of the connection of

state and society towards the integration of culture and leadership and how it has been redefined to be shared among the different ethnic groups of the population in Solomon Islands as they engage in the process of governance.

This study therefore hinges on three theoretical approaches. Firstly, Herbert Spencer's social theory implies: Social interaction and social structure are wide-ranging concepts that affect the way in which we understand individuals as they relate to each other and institutions. Each social structure has social functions, or consequences, for the operation of society as a whole. Education, for example, has several important functions in a society, such as socialization, learning, and social placement. Functionalists emphasize that order and balance are the normal state of society - and a disruption in one part of the system will certainly disrupt other parts. What would happen to other social institutions if the entire educational system became dismantled? The same principle applies to "governance", take away governance or violate the process of governance and it will result in the collapse of the whole system⁴⁶.

Secondly Institution Implies: A structural feature of the society may be formal (a legislature, and agency in the public bureaucracy or legal framework), or it may be informal (a network of interacting organizations, or set of norms). As such, an institution transcends individuals to involve groups of individuals in some sort of patterned interactions that are predictable, based upon specified relations among actors⁴⁷. This study therefore looked at institutions as the structures for governance. Based on these governance structures, state and society can make the decision that govern the way they should behave and respond to their present conditions and how resources are also distributed to meet their present needs.

⁴⁶http://highered.mheducation.com/sites/0072824301/student_view0/chapter4/chapter_summary.html

⁴⁷ **Peters, Guy B.** (1999) *Institutional Theory in Political Science: The 'New Institutionalism*. London and New York: Continuum.

Third is rational choice theory, which will support a case study I have conducted to analyze the behavior of a set of number of voters within the same family and the rationale behind why they choose the candidate they chose whether win or lose or become a politician or not. They made choices based on their loyalty towards the candidate. Rational choice theory, also known as choice theory or rational action theory; is a framework for understanding and often formally modeling social and economic behavior.⁴⁸

2.2.4. Dissecting the Problem.

The problem is the process of good political governance is very much dependent on the nature of state internal organizations and state-society relations. For example, In Solomon Islands bureaucrats or political candidates are not recruited on merit but firstly based on which constituency he or she stands for and how he or she will provide resources and support the needs of those who vote cast their vote for him or her into parliament. Solomon Islands practices a kind of Clientelism politics over decades and there is therefore a fragmentation within the internal structures of the society and the state, they are likely to be beholden to special interests. In that context, state officials are unlikely to observe and enforce the rule of law even when such rules are constitutionally entrenched.

Corrupt state officials are likely to subvert the rules rather than enforce them. It is within the institutional levels of the organizations that conflicts are mediated, either compromise were made and decisions made on how resources are distributed. For instance, in both the private sector and the public sector, governance come on the scene in this – how resources are distributed – both in grants and services. Governance comes to play when stakeholders need to know how their money is spent. For private sector – directors need to know, as they are worried if they are making profits or not. For both, if they have good governance – then they have credibility for loans, projects, as

⁴⁸ Susanne Lohmann (2008). "Rational choice and political science," *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, 2nd Edition.

good stewards. Also, it is the organizational characteristics that shape whether or not rules are enforced.

Solomon Islands is hewn by a vast number of monolithic entities and social divides which associated with social structures such as tribes, clans and ethnic groupings. Thus, the picture that can be seen from its electoral process is one affiliated to the culture and the social association of the people. As Terence Wood (2014) of Australia National University pointed out, one in which people vote for the candidate who they identify most strongly with, one of their ‘**Wantoks**⁴⁹’.⁵⁰

2.3.0. SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY.

This study is significant to Solomon Islands as it underscores a fundamental element of state and society relational challenges or misconceptions that most scholars, who studied Solomon Islands, find it controversial and limited publications were often undertaken by Solomon Islanders who have various interpretations, views and little emphasis to expound deeply from their previous studies. Hence it is important to address the problems of political governance through state society’s relationship, significance of political process through means of Clientelism, which means that the process of good political governance is compromised, in order to achieve a stable political, social and economic development.

Moreover, the significance of this study also lies in the argument that it is important to go beyond the notion of culture, experience of colonization and look at “governance” as a structural integrity to which everything else hangs upon and explain the conditions in Solomon Islands.

⁴⁹ Literally Wantok refers to a fellow speaker of one’s native language; however, in Solomon’s vernacular it is often applied with reference to relational groupings such as extended families or clans.

⁵⁰ Terence wood, 2014. *Understanding Electoral Politics in Solomon Islands*. Australia National University.

Governance refers to "all processes of governing, whether undertaken by a government, market or network, whether over a family, tribe, formal or informal organization or territory and whether through laws, norms, power or language."⁵¹ It relates to "the processes of interaction and decision-making among the actors involved in a collective problem that lead to the creation, reinforcement, or reproduction of social norms and institutions."⁵²

Governance therefore in my opinion is like the skeletal structure or vertebrae of both the state and Monolithic entities known as society. Once this skeletal structure is removed, what is remaining of the whole body is a blob of flesh. Blob of flesh without a vertebra may represent a state and society that follows its own interest without good governance to bind them and this is representing the crisis, institutional schisms and lethargy of development faced by Solomon Islands over the years since its Independence.

Most emphatically, development problems seen in Solomon Islands currently, acknowledges previous arguments about culture historical experiences from colonization being etched into the Psyche of every Solomon Islands through those who experienced it first hand and transferred on to successive generations, through family and other authority figures as social conduits that finds itself struggling with those colonial and cultural mentalities when making decision. A kind of firsthand observation was the gauging of the public servants and private sector professionals who were given more of the administrative work and less of the strategic positions, where they can be pushed to think and make informed decisions.

⁵¹ Bevir, Mark (2013). *Governance: A very short introduction*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

⁵² Hufty, Marc (2011). "Investigating Policy Processes: The Governance Analytical Framework (GAF). In: Wiesmann, U., Hurni, H., et al. editors. *Research for Sustainable Development: Foundations, Experiences, and Perspectives.*" Bern: Geographica Bernensia: 403–424.

Governance in its simplest form is doing the right thing in its right way, which brings about best results as expected and envisioned. For instance, in terms of doing the basics or necessities as in an example of a standard family in Solomon Islands – just surviving, paying school fees to go to school and get educated and able to feed the family on a daily basis. I was wondering how many of every family has shifted from that to training visionary children who are strategic and are willing to take risks and challenges that will shape what kind of future they anticipate and how they will contribute towards this country. It's like we just happen to be there but no long term planning. This is transferred behavioral pattern that influence the kind of government we have now and the state of development we have reached. It shows the repeated weak government and weak political and social infrastructures that we have. The question remains adamant, why is it very important to acknowledge cultural aspects and the history of Solomon Islands but to go beyond that and consider the need to emphatically address poor governance? Why is it important to strengthen it institutionally? Why is it an important catalyst of the society and state for growth and development? Weak governance means developmental goals cannot be fully satisfied or achieved but strong governance means that state and society regardless of which one is weak or strong will find a way to align itself and harmonize through the process of achieving national development goals and eventually led into growth and development of the country as a whole.

Regardless of the argument of culture as the only most important fabric in the Solomon Islands society, which can stagnate or push forward national development, the impression concocted out of that notion of culture, was that new arguments for Solomon Islands development has to go further than that. It has to be based on the relationship between state and society and to discover the mismatch of their congruency in terms of their values and the likely defects of both entities that hinder that relationship. Therefore, I will adopt a few social approaches to explain my argument and use recent examples to prove my point.

Solomon Islands is a nation and a society that is still developing politically, socially and economically and seeks to better understand its own roles and function in this integrative world's system. This might seem like what any other nation state might face but in the hope of the significance of my study, I have to highlight it as an important fact. An enhanced view of the domestic and national issues that is surrounding us either through the social, political and the economical aspect could be best consolidated through institutional strengthening and the role of political governance is pivotal to achieve nationwide success and instrumental for nation building.

Sadly, it has been a struggle ever since the Solomon Islands has had its first contact with the outside world in the early fifteen and 16th century. It was also being acknowledged that the Solomon Islands were being described as a society of savages and primitive people with a deeply rooted strong culture of kinship and community. A society that needs to be colonized, transformed and adapted to the current modern changes and fit into a globalized standard created through the inter-connectedness of the world.

2.4.0. LIMITATIONS

Limitation remains for lack of in-depth publications, records, data and or theoretical foundations for the Solomon Islands with regards to the subject. Hence, the reason for use of a qualitative and descriptive approach based on articles, documents that include official material from the websites of organizations, historical records, media coverage and other publications that is relevant to the subject is paramount. Time is also a limitation for this thesis. Thorough feedback and input through fostered dialogue and interaction with other scholars and local Solomon Islanders was also a limitation, although attempts were made through random questions asked through email threads from fostered social network which I had access to, it provides limited direction for this subject.

CHAPTER THREE.

SUBSECTION ONE: RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

In the Words of the first chief Minister of Solomon Islands, Honorable Prime Minister the Late Solomon Mamaloni (1943 -2000), He stated that “Solomon Islands is a nation conceived but never born”⁵³. That statement alone has a cascade of meaning which I would like to develop my argument based on that. Why is Solomon Islands a nation conceived and yet not born? What guarantees or qualifies Solomon Islands to become a full nation state under the sovereign leadership of a democratic and bureaucratic government? Is this problem in Solomon Islands has to do with the lack of a good leadership style that can work within the structures of the state and society? Or was it that the structure of governance and power distribution amongst the ethnic groupings is in opposition to that of the state? However, all this questions could be asked but does not lead to the heart of the problem identified through this research paper. The underlying question remain at why is Solomon Islands have weak and poor political governance? What is the main cause of this weak governance? What are the reasons behind this weak political governance? How can it be understood and on what measure can this weak and poor political governance be best addressed?

The Problem facing Solomon Islands is one of lack of strong leadership through robust political governance that can harmonize, distribute and regulate power within the state and society. If Solomon Islands are a legitimate nation state under the west minster constitution, why then is the political governance by the state seems to be much weaker than the tradition governance systems by the society?

⁵³ Radio New Zealand. <http://www.radionz.co.nz/collections/u/new-flags-flying/nff-solomon/solomon-mamaloni>.

Solomon Islands have a governance problem that exists in two Major entities which is the state and society as a Monolithic Entity. Therefore, it is acknowledged by the civilians that the bureaucratic system in Solomon Islands is not working well and does not support political governance or neither the traditional governance system?

SUBSECTION TWO: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

- A. This study has adopted a predominantly descriptive qualitative research method in its best attempts to provide a comprehensive study of the topic and achieve the aims and the objective of the thesis. As a qualitative research, the strategy emphasizes words, concepts, models and a case study without quantification. There is also collection and analysis of literature reviews and data from secondary information, and is therefore of an interpretive nature. (Bryman, 1984)

- B. It also focus on understanding the topic through a study of some models, figures and data provided from the government statistics and the social theories in support of it, in order to achieve a clear explanation of the current context and the architectural shape of Solomon Islands as a developing nation.

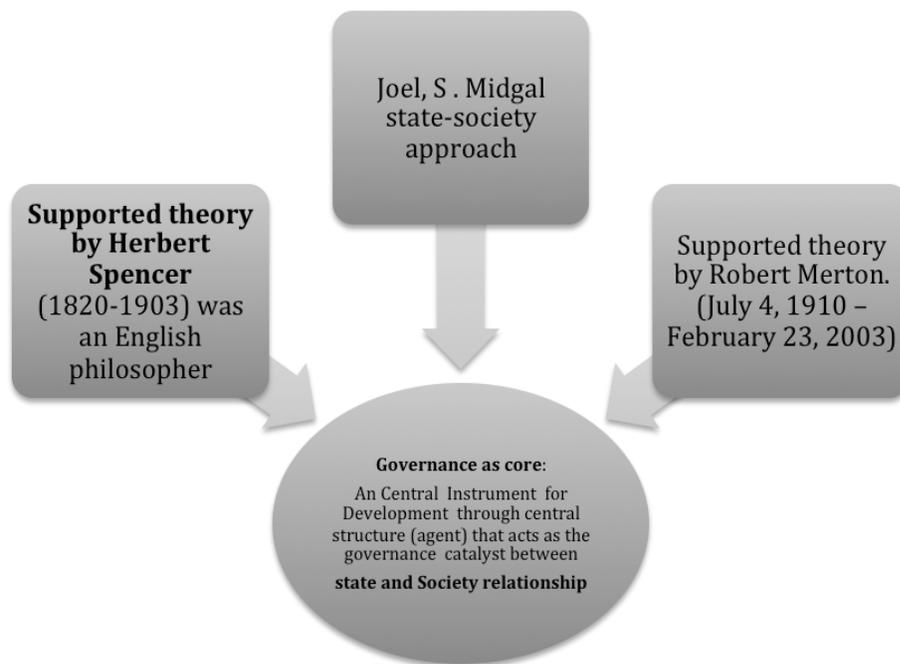
- C. It will underscore an approach of social concepts of culture and change within the local leadership and "traditional culture" in colonial and postcolonial contexts; Premised on the leadership structure, it will then factor in a perspectives and ideologies that goes beyond culture and colonization to emphasis on institution.

CHAPTER 4

SUBSECTION ONE: SUPPORTING THEORY FOR THE CONTEXT.

Figure 3. Theoretical support to understand the context.

Theories in this case, help us to explain how some aspect of human behavior acts, thinks and sensitized towards its environment. And therefore theories, enable us to make forecasts or predictions about that behavioral pattern, in relation to its given context. Hence in this attitudinal human behavior context, we want to understand the composition of the social aspects of Solomon Islands by using some social theory to bring light on this subject.



Joel Midgal's social theory, features the relationships between political and social organizations known as a state-in-society approach. Both mutually influences each other, and for reasons of this research, Migdal approach is clearly one that is referenced to support the elements observed argument and to support earlier work undertaken by a referenced group of Solomon Islands' scholars, civil society leaders, and public intellectuals who understood the problem but could not go further in putting their fingers on the core of the matter which goes beyond culture, the

experiences from colonization and the state of independence that Solomon Islands has endure up to present date for three and a half decades and many more to come. Migdal, 1988:10- 41)

Therefore, if we would like to adopt Karl Max's concept of Modernization theory, which argues that development can bring about pervasive cultural changes (Ronald and Wayne, 2000), it also explains the process of social changes that occurs in any given society making Solomon Islands not an exception or mutually exclusive. Modernization refers to a model of a progressive transition from a "pre-modern" or "traditional" to a "modern" society. And through that process of change the structures of leadership or authority figure or the big-man system has also enhanced.

Regardless of modernization theory being mentioned, it would be more favorable to understand Migdal's definition of the state in society approach so that there will be a clear grasp of the social fabrics of Solomon Islands which includes culture, tradition and how it interplays within the boundaries of its governance process. However, in this case the theory explains how culture and traditional forms of life within Solomon Islands define the way people behave and relate to each other and towards the authority figure who is usually big men, chief or someone with a well-respected status in the community.

It is therefore important to analyze how this theory explains certain social conditions within Solomon Island. Keeping in mind, the reality that Solomon Islands has comprise of many islands that is geographically dispersed, with settlers of various ethnic tribes and unique spoken languages that can be classified as Melanesians, Polynesians and Micronesians.

When Solomon Islands have experienced its early contact with the west, the first major change is Christianization, which occurs through language. Since there is a major barrier of communication, islanders were then taught to read and write in English through the missionaries

who set up mission schools and taught the people, their religious values and practices and the need to read, write and understand the bible. Hence, Christianization has spread like wild fire over the century and a record of almost 90% of the population is Christians and women are more easily converted.⁵⁴

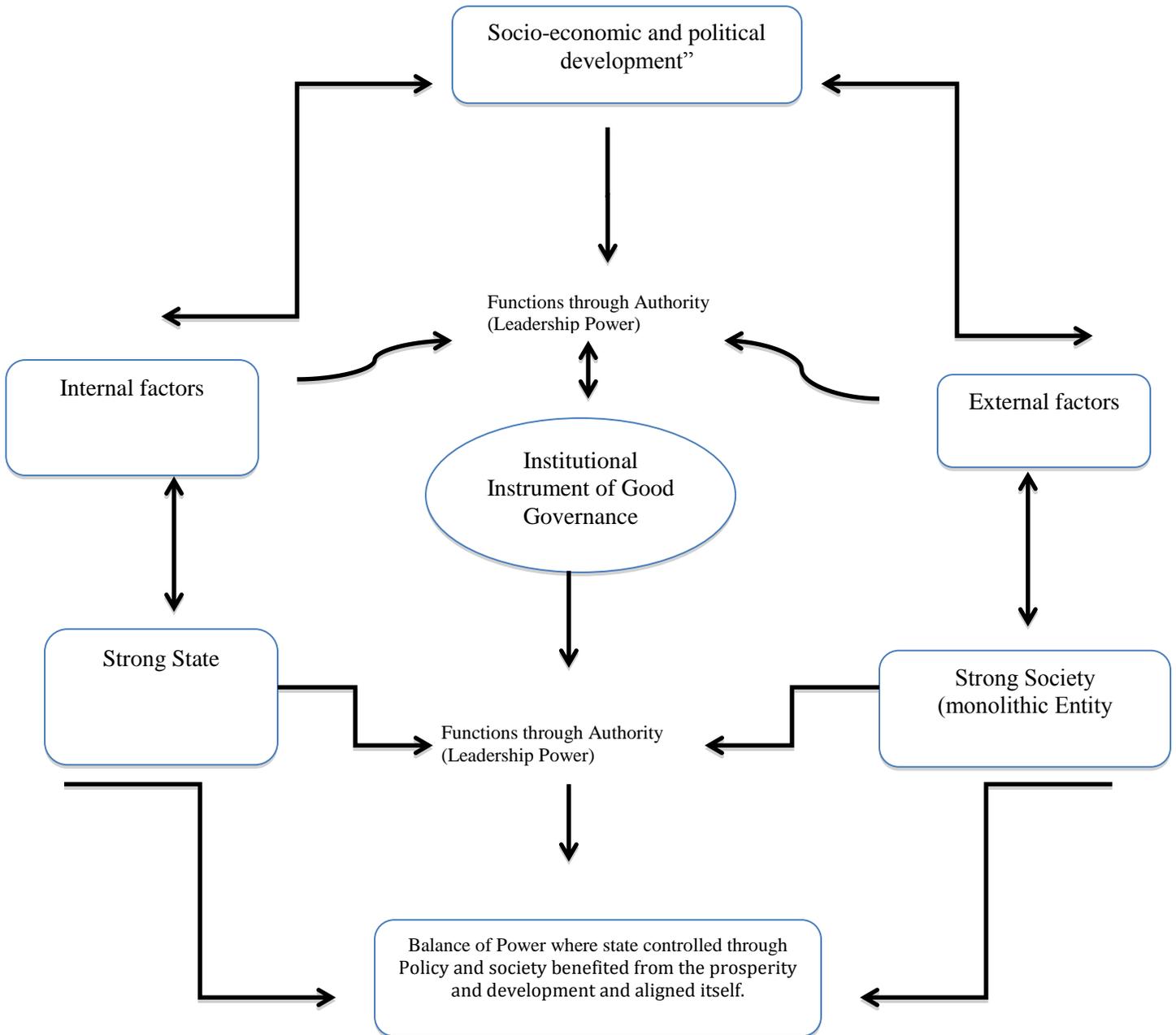
Leading the country to a modern western (whether conservative or liberal) style leadership is not an easy experience for Solomon Islands. Despite the absence of war as a common practice of the colonizers seen from other countries before it can be rendered its independence, however in this case since the British colonization, Solomon Islands had experienced a very smooth transition for its independence.

Solomon Islands has an 85 percent of rural population, which means that the way people live and interact were shaped and cultured into their traditional way of life in the rural communities. Only 25 percent of people live and fully cultured into the western way of life. Majority of these changes were shaped by globalization and westernization brought about through the period of colonization and what is considered as a process of Modernization of the island nation.

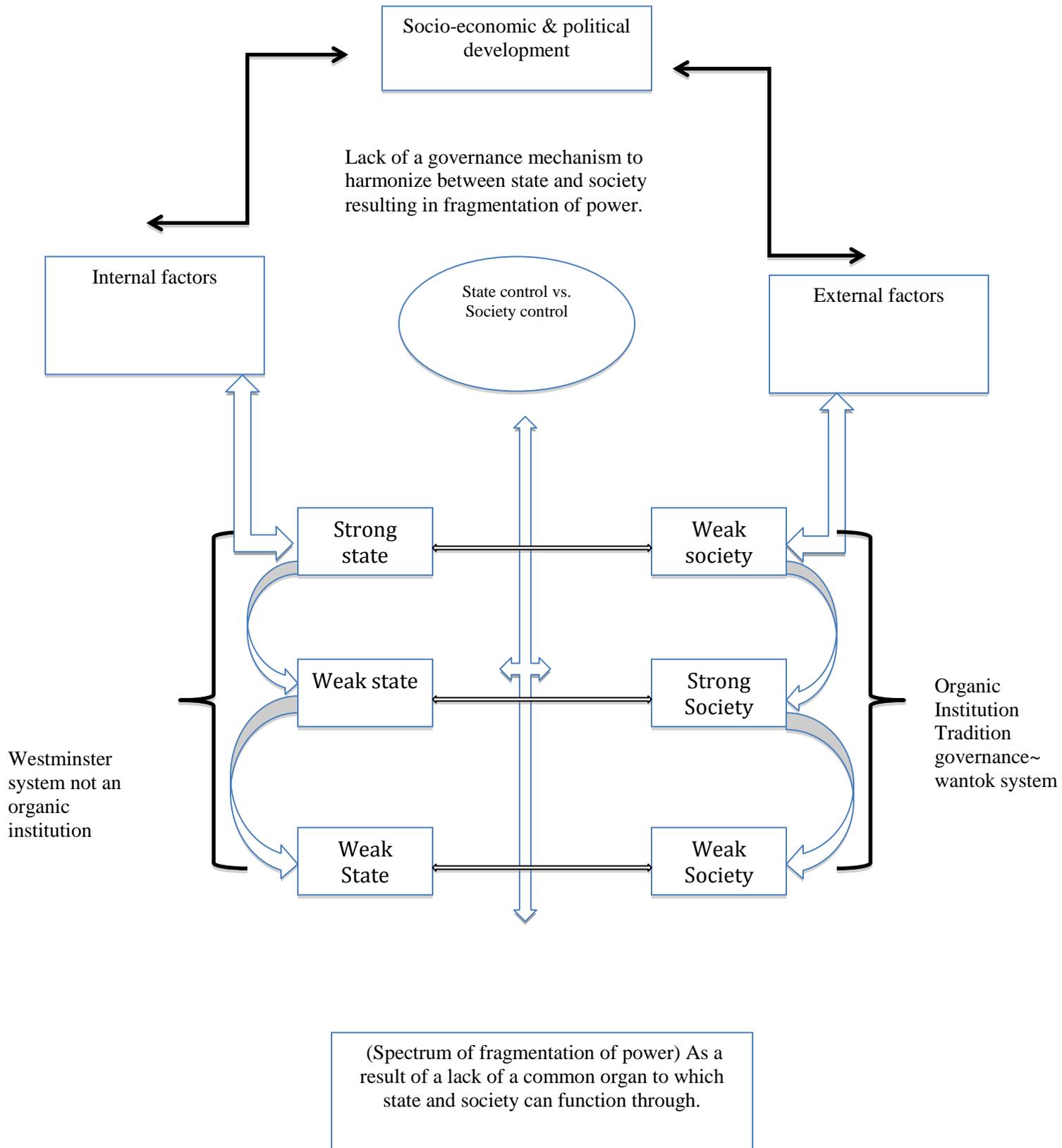
⁵⁴ Alice Pollard, 2008.

CHAPTER 5: DERIVING AND ANALYSIS OF A STATE SOCIETY MODEL.

Model 1. A positive relationship between State and Society.



Model 2. A negative relationship between state and society



Based on the supporting theories to understand society and state relationship, Model one and Model two were both derived from Joel Migdal's definition of the relationship between the state and society through the separation of powers. Hebert Spencer and Robert Merton's important contribution towards recognizing the function of society and those are within or comprise the society. In other words there has to be a clear grasp of the individual function and contribution of the monolithic entities, as Migdal would put forth in his arguments.

This function works in the same manner as the function of a human body as Spencer would say and with role models like Merton would have mentioned, who could be the father, the mother, the big-man, the leader, the candidate or politician, all of which contribute towards the whole ecosystem of the society as a body, with their rules, their laws, their policies, their problems, their struggles, their challenges, their needs and their wants. Governance ~~as a~~ has to form social and political power to govern, provide rules, provide control, provide direction, and develop systems of interaction in our societies. For reasons of this thesis, governance is referenced as a pillar for both the economic, social and political development of Solomon Island.

In model number one, when the process of governance is strengthened and well adhered to by both parties (for instance agent and client, society and state or candidate and voter), it therefore acts as the conduit to which society can be engaged in a healthy political process, in spite of internal or external factors such as financial situation, ethnic crisis and other economic and political situation. There is a balance of power where state can control autonomously and society can align itself. Contrasting to model one is model two. In this model, it shows the negative relationship when the state and the society is experiencing a weak and poor governance process, resulting in the separation of power as a spectrum of fragmentation of power, separation of

loyalty as in the case study that will be discussed in chapter 6 which is an attribute of weak political governance process.

CHAPTER 6

SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS.

SUBSECTION ONE: THEORY VS. REALITY

The basis of My Argument is in support with Joel Migdal's approach on relationship between states and societies. Although Migdal approach is to feature the relationships between political and social organizations which is a state in society approach, and how it mutually influences each other,⁵⁵ this approach is clearly one that I would like to underscore for my argument and to support earlier work undertaken by a referenced group of Solomon Islands' scholars, civil society leaders, and public intellectuals who understood the problem but could not go further in analyzing empirical evidence the core of the matter which goes beyond culture, the experiences from colonization and the state of independence that Solomon Islands has endured for the last three and a half decades in their history.

And I am in favor of the fact that culture will always be part of our society that is very much multi-cultural in nature and very diverse in practice yet there is a common ground to which all These subsets of monolithic entities are ascribing to and that is the governance that is provided by the state to control and regulate the ways in which people should live and exist through political and social means under the constitution of Solomon Islands. Empirical studies cannot measure this relationship and in countries like Solomon Islands, a social approach using case studies is favored to understand how this system between state and the monolithic entities worked.

Migdal emphasized that the high level of group diversity in web like societies is the reason for the

⁵⁵ Migdal, 1988:10- 41

state's inability to achieve greater social control which is a factor that is resident in Solomon Islands. Each tribes, ethnic groupings and social groups are shaped and fashioned by their social value and subject to an authority figure that leads them. However this does not mean that people are not being governed for numerous justice systems operate concurrently.⁵⁶

It is deemed favorable under these circumstances that what Migdal termed as the “struggle for social control to takes place between the state and the strongmen who are usually unwilling to cede their privileged position by abandoning social control to the state”. However, what I emphasized here is that society does not necessarily abandon their social control entire to that of the state as Solomon Islands is a democratic country and a one state party like China but the point I am getting at is society must harmonize and align their privilege position to that of the state governance through a centrifugal force, a system or an agent.

And in the case of Solomon Islands, the agent of governance is the regional assistance Mission to Solomon Island (RAMSI). RAMSI's mandate has to be made clear in term of its institutional strengthening arm of the Solomon Islands law and order and through its desire to support governance control in certain areas of the political and the social systems of the state and society. I am in no favor of that RAMSI's presence should be forever injected into the governance system of Solomon Islands. My point for using RAMSI is because of their current role-played in Solomon Islands for a decade by now.⁵⁷

Thus, I am using the example of RAMSI in this case as a favorable example to explain Migdal's theory of state society relationship common denominator, an important instrument that could be an agent to harmonize between the state and the society and it would be deemed as a catalyst to balance the power or authority excised by state and also societies in a democratic Solomon Islands. If the state and the society operate beyond its boundaries then RAMSI's principle

⁵⁶ Migdal 1988: 39.

⁵⁷ <http://www.ramsi.org>

mandate must be the sounding board to act and this is currently what is happening in Solomon Islands where most of the authority figures in the state and society had to face up with justice for their deviant actions within the society.

Migdal used the example in the history of Sierra Leone to explain the degree of schism a web like society has breed due to its social diversity and pointed out that “In any case, the fragmentation of social control – the heterogeneity of rule making in society – greatly restricted the growth of state capabilities after independence. Even with all the resources at their disposal, even with the ability to eliminate any single strongman, state leaders found themselves severely limited.⁵⁸ Many state leaders realized that their tenure depended on the social stability the strongmen could offer through their social control; the strongmen had direct access to most of the population, and they could mobilize people for specific purposes.⁵⁹

By considering the relationship between state and societies example of Sierra Leone, I could identify the prevalent similarities of such problems in the context of Solomon Islands where, ethnic groupings, the culture, the experiences from colonization and the ability of the strongmen within this monolithic entities to practice their own social control whether through voicing political concerns, economic concerns, dealing with land rights, and other social expectations for development. Furthermore, if I could use the example of the (Maasina 1944-52) pioneered by some authority figures in one of the ethnic entity to rally again the British labour system that exists in during the colonial period and to stand against the British control for labour trade amongst the islands in Solomon⁶⁰. Another example of the fragmentation of social control can be explained by the result of the government coup and the civil ethnic tension, which happened in 2000 as a result of that misuse of the social power, vested upon the strongmen.

⁵⁸ Migdal 1988: 141

⁵⁹ Migdal, J. (1988) *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

⁶⁰ Source URL (retrieved on 11/18/2014 - 03:24): <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/solomon-islanders-withdraw-colonialism-maasina-rule-1944-52>

Migdal posed the question of who controls the institutional mechanisms for group survival as a key central figural force to which everyone else has been controlled by must be taken into consideration and by identifying the roles that authority figures (“strongmen”) within this monolithic entities (families, clubs, social networks, businesses, tribes, subcultures has played in the lives of the people.⁶¹

Migdal argues that both internal and external factors are determinants for state development. How relevant can this argument be used to explain the conditions and situation in Solomon Islands. The internal and external factors could be considered on two dimensions. The Positive aspect of the internal and external factors, but also the negative factors of both elements.

SUBSECTION TWO: STATE AND SOCIETY: PROBLEMATIC BEHAVIOUR

Solomon Islands have a system of government that can link rural people to the state. The Provincial Government Act of 1981, as revised in 1997, provides the legislative basis for provincial government and empowers provincial government to create local-level government, which took the form of Area Councils. The Solomon Islands has a three-tier legal system comprised of a Court of Appeal, a High Court, and magistrate’s courts. Local courts, which evolved out of colonial era native courts, are informal courts with limited criminal and civil jurisdiction that are supposed to be the initial entry to the justice system for ordinary villagers. In practice, however, none of the lower levels of the legislative, executive, or judicial systems have been functioning since the 1990s.⁶²

⁶¹ Migdal, J., Kohli, A., Shue, V., (eds) (1994) *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*, Cambridge University Press.

⁶² Debra McDougall, 2014. University of Western Australia. Accessed from the http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/WP%202014_3%20McDougall.pdf

Tobias Haque who is an economist for the World Bank. He lived and worked in Solomon Islands during 2009 to 2011; he argues that some economists have recently attributed development problems in the Pacific to various aspects of Pacific culture. For instance, a criticism of Solomon Islands culture is detrimental for social-economical and political development. The *wantok* system, Solomon Islands' kin-based networks of resource sharing and within-group reciprocal obligations, is often presented as an essential force, driving all kinds of problematic behaviors. It is said to undermine:

1. **Political stability and policy cohesion**, because politicians are selected on the basis of their status within the kin-group, rather than on the basis of expected or past performance in providing improvements in policy or services.
2. **Public administration** because *wantok* loyalties come to trump professional standards of behavior. Recruitment and promotion mostly is determined on the basis of *wantok* membership rather than merit eroding the professional standards thus undermining governance.
2. **Private sector development** because key resources, like land, are collectively owned and Pressures to share profits from investment with *wantok* weaken incentives for investment and entrepreneurialism. He argued that recognition that problems might be driven by institutional settings as much as they are driven by culture allows us to identify more practical solutions for development in Solomon Islands.

CHAPTER 7. CASE STUDY

Rethinking Clientelism and Loyalty in a political process.

A little case study I carried out during the course of the National elections in Solomon Islands in November 2014. The study was not empirical but it was based on rational behavior largely on my extended family's responses towards political candidates campaigning within our constituency. My extended family is consisted of my Paternal Grandfather and his wife who is my grandmother and their 7 kids and their grandchildren from the 7 kids who are currently residing at west Honiara constituency and have voting rights and who are easy to reach and get their information.

The family is consisted of my father and his 5-brother and their family and his 2 sisters, and their family whom each has an average of 7 families each and their spouses, which I did not include in the table provided at the appendix. However, it must be noted that whenever one spouse vote for a candidate for spouses will have the same vote and this is what happened in this case study. I discovered that they all have different choices and based on their adherence to a certain value and standard that was ascribed to the person who they cast their votes to.

Firstly, I will have to define what Clientelism means in this context as well. According to Richard Graham, he defined Clientelism as a set of actions based on the principle *take there, give here*, with the practice allowing both clients and patrons to gain advantage from the other's support. Moreover, Clientelism is typified by "exchange systems where voters trade political support for various outputs of the public decision-making process"⁶³

Another classic definition was coined by James Scott (1972: 92), who described Clientelism as a relationship based on a need for goods and services in return of something. It was referenced by Julio C. Teehankee, 2012 in a study of "Clientelism and political part system in the Philippines".

⁶³ Roniger, Luis (2004) Political Clientelism, Democracy and Market Economy, *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 36 no. 3, April 353-375.

The definition emphasized clientelism as a concept:

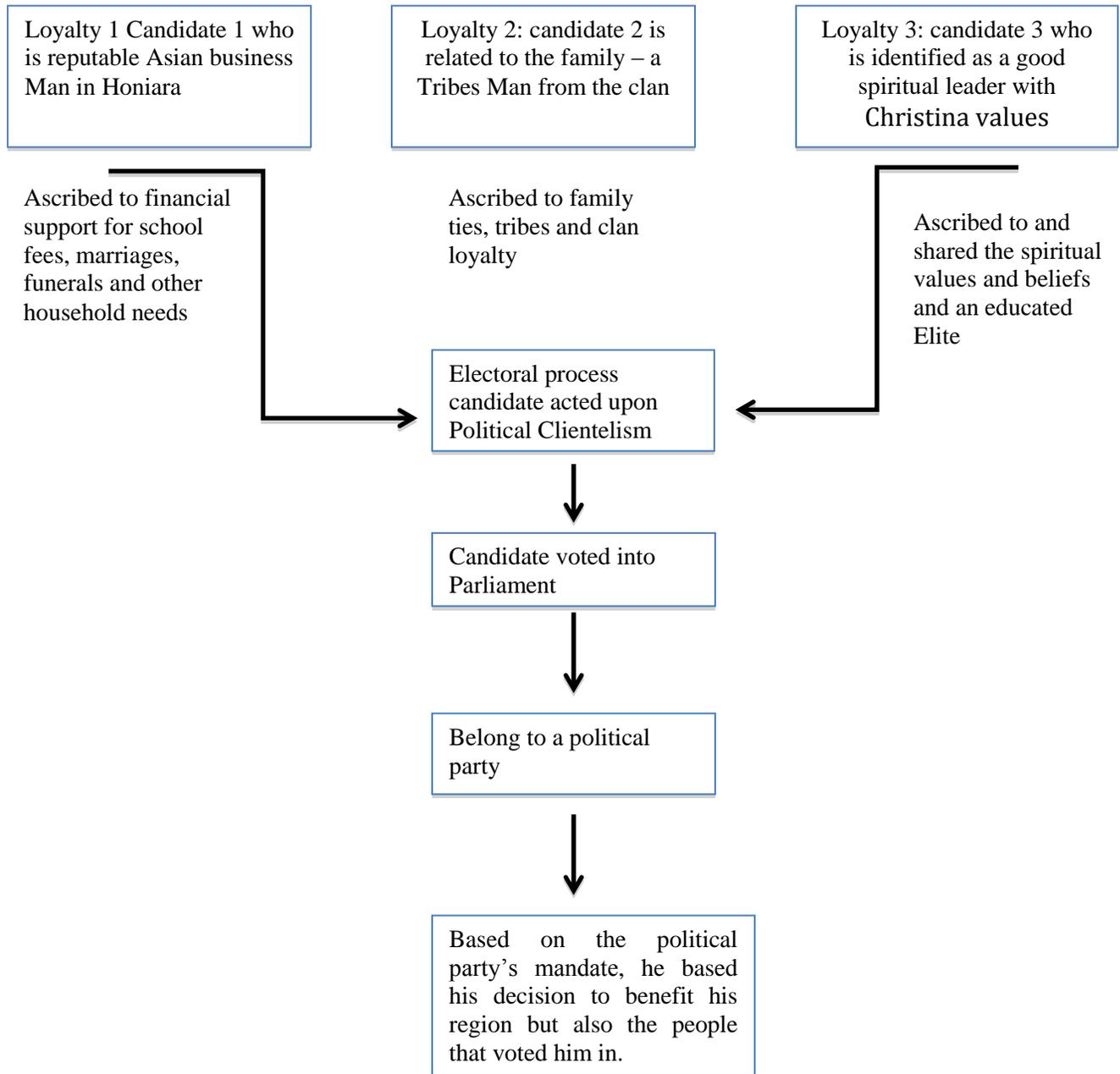
In which an individual of higher socio-economic status (patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits, or both, for a person of lower status (client) who, for his part, reciprocates by offering generous support and assistance, including personal service, to the patron.⁶⁴

More recently, political scientists like Hicken (2011), Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007), or Stokes (2007) have linked clientelism directly to elections. Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007: 2), for example, refer to clientelism as ‘the direct exchange of a citizen’s vote in return for direct payments or continuing access to employment, goods, and services’.

⁶⁴ Scott, J. C. (1972) ‘Patron-Client and Political Change in Southeast Asia’, *The American Political Science Review*, 66(1): 91-113.

Model 3. Clientelism vs. Loyalty based on voting.

Issue of Clientelism and its attribute and how it indirectly contributes to the bureaucratic decision of the candidate.⁶⁵



⁶⁵ For reasons of confidentiality, names of the candidates will not be used however; annexes 1, 4 and 5 provide some data and initials.

In the Model (3) I provided above, I develop the model to analyze the relationship between the preferences of individuals and who they are loyal to based on their association or what they ascribe themselves with in terms of values, education level of goods and services provided for them by the candidate.

Based on my candid analysis of loyalty to the candidate, I found several attributes that interested me. First of all I must define what loyalty. How loyalty was perceived in the context of family, church and businessman. However, loyalty is challenged significantly where Clientelism is prevalent therefore loyalty to an authority figure is based on the voters perception of what is priority and a pressing need for him or her as an individual, family and also assumed as for the nation.

This case study further recognized the distinction between tribe's common practices of loyalties versus the individual's democratic right to vote, which was inspired and compelled by the principle of Clientelism. And this right to vote is based on individual preferences instead of the traditional meaning of corporate agreement to vote a certain individual ascribing to the values or the interest of the voter and this is where the principle of Clientelism comes in. All members of the family have different loyalties based on whom they vote for and the reason behind their casting of votes or how they ascribe themselves to the values and standards they perceive the candidate to be.

Oxford Dictionary defines Loyalty as, a strong feeling of support or allegiance or the quality of being loyal to someone or something.⁶⁶ Here is an example of how it works. In the same way, we would like to assess the process of loyalty is an element basically developed by what Rowley and Dawes (2000, p.539) call an "interaction between attitude and behavior". Based on this definition,

⁶⁶ (Access on 22nd Nov) http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/loyalty

we could point out that loyalty is a measuring factor of the relationship developed by the voter with what they ascribe themselves to base on the attribute of the candidates⁶⁷. Based on the little case study carried out, the following results came out.

Firstly the winning candidate for the west Honiara constituency who is a returning candidate as he previously held the constituency post in the previous years, he has the highest vote from most of the family member (about 90 %). There are reasons behind the choice of voting and one of the obvious one is that, based on his businessman accreditation and his ability to provide financial support to those who voted him and he has done that in his previous term.

The second candidate who is a family member has gotten only 8% of the family vote, which is very low. Despite his leadership qualities and close family ties, only 8% of the family voted for him for reasons of family lineage, tribal leadership and recognition of traditional bond. The third candidate has gotten 2%, which is the lowest. They voted for this candidate based on his spiritual values and his background as one of the top lawyers in the country and a man of dignity and integrity as they emphasized in their opinion. Both candidate one who is an Asian businessman and candidate three, who is from another region are examples that Clientelism can be recognized not only as goods and services but also as moral spiritual support.

However, this case study is to point out that social unit such as families' whether a nuclear or an extended family, their voting rights and power and loyalty are vested on their needs. Despite the fact that they knew how the leader does not have integrity and has no concerned for the nation

⁶⁷ ROWLEY, J.; DAWES, J. (2000) Disloyalty: a closer look at non-loyals. *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 17(6), p. 538-547.

wide development, yet the need of an individual is far more significant than the corporate good and this is the rationality of the behavior seen in the case study.

CONCLUSION.

I am of the firm belief that good political governance in any country is only as good as the weakest link, in any of its process. Solomon Islands must be encouraged to work out its own approaches for better governance, whether this is through adjustments to institutional structures, the active promotion of a national identity, or the greater incorporation of social tradition into its governance processes. Whatever the strategies adopted, they need to take account of the fundamental causes of poor governance and its sociopolitical trends. Realizing Migdal, Spencer and Merton's explanation of the interaction between state and society, the clarity gained was that state and societies' relationship could only be as powerful as the functioning body of a human with a structural integrity known as good social and political governance. The process is very much important as the product. Which means that, when there is good social or political governance, then the country will experience good leadership and good governance. I am in support of the principles of the structure of "governance" as emphasized by Cedric Saldanha (2002), a development consultant of the Commonwealth of Australia who suggested that countries like Solomon Islands has to support governance through firstly, Strengthening the Supply side of governance (through State function) and synonymously Strengthening the demand for good political governance (Society – Civil, religious, business and other cultural groupings etc.) Again, these supply and demand cannot be measured through empirical evidence, however when using social theories to understand the situation, we can add that the country is experiencing development hurdles mostly due to weak and unstable governance on the state level. In addition to identifying the problem, Joel Migdal posed the question of who controls the institutional mechanisms for group survival as a key central catalyst to which everyone else has been controlled by. I have taken into consideration when identifying the roles that authority figures

("strongmen") within these monolithic entities (families, clubs, social networks, businesses, tribes, subcultures) have played in the lives of the people. The people's loyalty and their loyalty to the people is important as far as buying or selling their rights to vote for the sake of meeting their present needs, that is the reason why clientelism in Solomon Islands has been prevalent in all the cultures, integrate into the tradition is deemed as a malicious practice. This is an integral part of Solomon Islands as Solomon Islands is made up of diverse cultures, ethnic tribes and languages and various authorities within the social sub-sets of leadership structures in both the state and the society were playing significant roles into the lives of the people. Therefore, the problems in Solomon Islands transcend culture and colonization and goes deep into a flawed political system of governance to lead the people into their future state of robust national development. Solomon Islands experienced so many problems due to weak and bad political governance. Specifically, problems to do with bad leadership which manipulate the need of a desperate citizen with short term personal benefits, violating their loyalty and distorting their ability to understand or see the bigger picture which is the national change. Therefore, the relationship between states – society relationship must be redefine for Solomon Islands. There has to be a rethinking of the political governance within the country. From this perspective, one of the suggested solutions to development problems is through engineered cultural change and the in-calculation of a sense of national identity to overpower wantok loyalties (Fukuyama's 2008), and strengthen sound political governance systems and structures. Solomon Islands must propagate a governance process that will benefit both the society and the state through its strengthened institutional mandate. The people are blind in their decisions mostly because they are driven by the present need to live, eat, drink, go to school, go to work and make money and leaders need to provide vision to make sure that the social, economical and political needs of the country are synchronized and met at a decent standard. However, if the circumstances within the country were deemed otherwise, where the state is weak, hence it will produce more weak leaders and if the society is not strong enough to address the problems on a national level, then the

fragmentation between states and society will remain the major hurdle for growth and development within Solomon Islands.

Therefore, the key is to educate and spread the vision for strong political governance whereby the society will know that their contribution towards the country through voting a good leader is important as much as the bureaucratic government leader whom they voted, leading to a redefinition of merits for candidates and a state controlled political Clientelism.

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