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CONFLICT AND PEACEMAKING IN THE PACIFIC:
Social and gender perspectives

♦ Features
Pacific Island women and men speak of their experiences in conflict and peacemaking; the gendered nature of conflict, peacemaking and peacekeeping; the structure of the nation state and opportunities for conflict or peace; religion, tradition and ethnicity in conflict and peacemaking; modern and traditional media and their role in conflict; domestic violence and its impact on national conflict; the Rambo mentality and conflict resolution; women’s roles in peacemaking in Bougainville, Solomon Islands and Fiji; international law, women and conflict

♦ Viewpoint
Peace building, money and the peace dividend in Bougainville and the Solomon Islands

♦ ACFOA Briefing
Threats and opportunities in the Solomon Islands: sinking or swimming in unchartered waters
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CONFLICT AND PEACEMAKING IN THE PACIFIC: Social and gender perspectives
Contents

The UN Transitional Administration in East Timor: Gender affairs
Sherrill Whittington 74

Women and peacemaking
Prue A. Bates 77

The needs of representation of minority ethnic, clan and tribal groups in
development in Sub-Saharan Africa
Haileluel Gebre-Selassie 80

ACFOA Briefing
Threats and opportunities in Solomon Islands: Sinking or swimming
in uncharted waters
Christopher Chevalier 84

Viewpoint
Peace building and money in Bougainville and Solomon Islands
Phillip Miller 88

Global Debate
Summary of recommendations and strategies for action from the
Commonwealth Pacific Symposium on Gender, Politics and Conflict/Peace
91

Summary of OECD/DAC Task Force on Conflict, Peace and
Development Cooperation 93

United Nations Security Council Resolution on Women,
Peace and Security 94

Final Statement of the International Women's Summit to
Redefine Security 96

Women and women's organizations in post-conflict societies: the role of
international assistance
Krishna Kumar 98

Publications
Books 100
Reports 108

Resources
Courses 111
Organisations 114
Materials 119
Electronic fora 121
In this special issue, Pacific Island women and men, together with those who have been intensively involved in peacemaking in the Pacific, consider the social and gender aspects of conflict, peacemaking, peacekeeping and conflict resolution. The contributors include peacemakers and peacekeepers, scholars, church men and women, soldiers and social scientists, researchers and rebels, as well as negotiators, lawyers, politicians and development practitioners. Their involvement and perspectives provide moving insights into the causes of conflict and the difficulties of its resolution. The unique situation in Pacific Island countries is considered in the light of global experience of conflict, conflict resolution, human rights, democratic principles and the role of civil society.

This issue coincides with the historic meeting of the United Nations Security Council which for the first time addressed Women, Peace and Security. Resolutions from this meeting are included in this issue.

Most of the papers, discussion and recommendations are based on the Development Studies Network symposium 'Conflict and Peacemaking in the Pacific: social and gender issues', which was held at Parliament House, Canberra, Australia, October 12, 2000 and a subsequent Network policy workshop held at the Australian National University. The State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project and the Centre for the Contemporary Pacific at the Australian National University assisted in bringing Pacific Island participants to the peacemaking symposium and workshop.

We have provided supporting information on recent publications, the global discussion and current research on the role of gender in conflict and peacemaking.

Financial support

We would like to thank AusAID for assistance towards the printing and distribution costs of this issue of Development Bulletin. We would also like to thank World Vision for their support. Without the collaboration and help of the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project and the Centre for the Contemporary Pacific we would not have been able to make this information widely available.

ACFOA Briefing

The ACFOA Briefing continues the theme of this Development Bulletin. In August/September 2000 ACFOA sent an Australian NGO Mission to the Solomon Islands to assess the need for Australian and international support for reconciliation and rehabilitation. Chris Chevalier, a member of this mission, reviews some of its findings. A full report of the mission is available from ACFOA, Canberra.

Information on line

Information on forthcoming conferences, development-related organisations, and development-related courses will now be available on our web site. Happy browsing.

Next Development Bulletin

Our next issue will focus on Globalisation, Trade and Poverty Reduction. If you wish to contribute please contact us.

Peaceful reading
Pamela Thomas
Introduction: Conflict and peacemaking in the Pacific: social and gender perspectives

Pamela Thomas, Development Studies Network, The Australian National University

To date the international literature has given little consideration to the way gender and social structure relate to conflict, peacemaking and peacekeeping. This is true of the Pacific, where internal conflict in Bougainville, Solomon Islands, Fiji, East Timor and West Papua have shattered a long held illusion of a peaceful Pacific. Escalating violence and the very different roles women and men have played in dealing with it have highlighted the need for a deeper understanding of ways in which conflict might be reduced in the future, how peace can be achieved more quickly, and better support provided for victims of conflict.

Impact of conflict

These papers highlight the complexities that underlie national conflicts and that hardship and trauma do not end with a peace agreement. Alice Pollard, Ruth Liloqula, Daley Paina and Helen Hakena describe the displacement, food shortages, increase in female headed households, chronic physical and psychological trauma and teenage pregnancies that have been the result of conflict in Bougainville and Solomon Islands. They discuss ways to address the long term impact of a generation without education, the increased fear, mistrust and destruction of the economy and infrastructure. All will take many years to overcome. Their papers show very graphically that women and children are the major victims of Pacific Island conflicts and that women are the major, but largely unseen and unacknowledged, instigators of peace. These papers include the personal stories of Pacific Island people - all deeply involved in the violence and conflicts of Bougainville, other parts of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Fiji.

Causes of conflict

Several very clear themes emerge from the 23 papers presented. The causes of conflict, while complex, do not differ greatly from those in other developing countries, most particularly countries with a strong colonial heritage, when, as Bronwen Douglas discusses, the creation of new nation states incorporated very different tribal and ethnic groups. Some causes are universal, including perceived grievances between ethnic groups - usually over resources and power. These are often linked to historical differences and demands by minority ethnic groups to maintain their language, culture and identity. Identity may include demands for a state based on a specific religious affiliation. In terms of the importance of ethnic or tribal identity, the Pacific situation mirrors that of Sub Saharan Africa described by Gebre Selassie.

In the Pacific, the major underlying cause of conflict is unequal access to resources, particularly to land and paid employment, and lack of involvement in decision making and authority. This is brought about by a complex web of population pressure, internal migration and urbanisation; colonial regimes that favoured one ethnic group over others; weak national governments; perceived lack of government concern with, or ability to listen to, demands of the people; centralisation of resources and infrastructure; lack of employment; relative deprivation; and a rapidly increasing gap between a small wealthy elite and a growing number of poor. The situation is exacerbated in the Pacific by a breakdown, or weakening, of traditional methods of dispute resolution and
peacemaking. When this is combined with the ready availability of powerful weapons and a 'Rambo' culture among young men, the likelihood of large scale, open warfare increases dramatically, as Patrick Howley, Carol Kidu and Helen Hakena discuss.

Communication and conflict

A range of factors related to communication also underlie the emergence and escalation of conflict, as well as the possibilities for effective peacemaking. Lack of information about political processes and legislation can lead to conflict. For example, in Fiji, lack of public information and discussion about the content of the new 1997 Constitution helped fuel conflict. Although the new Constitution protected the land and rights of ethnic Fijians, most people were unaware of this, as Mosese Waqa's paper shows. He and Sharon Bhagwan Rolls discuss events in Fiji from an information and media perspective. Lack of knowledge among women of their rights, including their democratic right to vote and their legal rights regarding rape and domestic violence, encourages an escalation of both democratic and personal abuse.

Peacemaking efforts by outsiders are hampered by their lack of knowledge of appropriate communication strategies and language that is acceptable to warring parties. The use of specific words and the 'naming' of events and groupings can inflame tensions in ways that are largely unrecognised. Barbara Pirie examines the power of language in recent Fijian events. She shows that the widespread use in the media of the description 'racial' to describe the conflict and the use of 'Indian/Fijian ethnic events' served to reinforce the racial nature of the problems, hiding the reality of tensions within ethnic groups. Andrew Gardiner describes a similar situation in Kosovo.

Violence and the media

For the last 30 years, the impact of media violence on young people has been widely discussed with recent acknowledgement among medical professionals in the United States that it can encourage violent behaviour among young people. Discussion in both the symposium and the workshop highlighted growing concerns in Pacific Island communities about the popularity of violent videos, the growing acceptability of sexual violence and the glorification of the 'Rambo' gun toting, macho image as a role model for young men. Patrick Howley critically examines the Pacific 'Rambo' role, its growth and impact. He and Martha Macintyre agree that true peace will only come about when men decide not only to give up their guns but to clear guns and the Rambo image from their minds. Chris Chevalier points out that there is a need for viable economic and social alternatives before this will occur.

Domestic violence and national conflict

The relationship between domestic violence, a growing culture of violence and national conflict is widely discussed by the authors. Carol Kidu and Martha Macintyre both look at the relationship between increasing domestic violence and national conflict in their discussions of the Papua New Guinean situation. Socialisation of children, particularly boys, is an issue of concern. Women's status, women's roles, and national and international legislation and the way it is interpreted and implemented, are all underlying factors that relate to an increase in conflict.

Control of political, religious, economic and social processes in the Pacific Region, including in Australia, are still overwhelmingly male. The growing culture of violence which usually starts in the home and includes abuse of children, combined with the lack of legislation or will to police domestic violence, augers ill for the future. A recent AusAID appraisal of violence against children in the Pacific outlines the likelihood of child abuse escalating to more widespread conflict. This is borne out by research in Melanesia and Australia which shows that abused children often become abusive teenagers and often violent adults.

Pacific women and peacemaking

In the Pacific, women have had a vital role in peacemaking although they have been neither consulted, nor included, in formal peace talks. Alice Pollard, Dalcy Paina, Helen Hakena, Ruth Liloqula and Sharon Bhagwan Rolls write of their experiences working with women's groups, NGOs and church women's groups in their attempts to stop the conflict and alleviate its terrible impact on women and children. All night vigils, expressions of women's solidarity across the Pacific, lobbying political leaders and commanders of the warring factions, going behind the 'army' lines to speak with soldiers, running the gauntlet of the rebel no-go zones in the Solomons, getting food into Honiara, providing information to Fijian women and addressing the social and economic devastation of 10 years of war in Bougainville are just some of the crucial roles these and other women have played in their efforts for genuine and lasting peace.

The United Nations and international law

The role of Pacific Island women as peacemakers over the last 10 years was reflected in the historic United Nations Security Council meeting in October which, for the first time, focused on gender equality, peace and security. The resolutions from this meeting are outlined in the Global Debate section of this issue. The resolutions include concerns that 'civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict' and 'reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security' (Security Council Resolution S/2000/1044 - A/S-23/10/Res.1).

Mary Wood, Hilary Charlesworth and Christine Chinkin consider the role of international law in the area of gender and
conflict resolution. Their review of the reports, resolutions and declarations by the Security Council points out two major omissions. These are the often complete absence of women from the ‘public’ arenas of peacemaking and the gendered notions of peace and security upon which international law depends. The invisibility of women in international affairs, the widespread acceptance of religious and cultural justifications for their unequal treatment and lack the of international significance attached to their lives makes it difficult for women to have an international voice in dispute resolution. The absence of women in the process of international conflict resolution has resulted in injustice, ineffective peace agreements and impoverished ideas about the meaning of peace and security. Wood, Charlesworth and Chinkin find that the UN system of collective security is inadequate because its culture and system of meaning are based on a gendered view of the world.

Donor assistance in conflict resolution and maintaining peace

Donor assistance in peacemaking, peacekeeping and/or restorative justice has not always been as effective as it could have been. Workshop discussion indicated that frequently the outsiders involved have not been aware of all factors underlying a conflict, or have not understood the situation and perceptions of both parties concerned. The role of the parties around a peace table is frequently not clearly understood by anybody. Agreement as to the nature and function of these roles needs careful negotiation by donors, the parties in conflict and all other stakeholders.

There is a perception that donor agencies feel that their role ends when a peace agreement has been signed when, in reality, their major role should just be starting. The aid response needs to support peace negotiations, military peacekeeping where it is needed, humanitarian relief and peacemaking development on a timely basis. While there is recognition that donors are limited by their agency requirements, there is a great need for flexibility and realism about what can be achieved and how long it will take. There is a need for immediate humanitarian intervention that is based on a ‘do no harm’ ideology, followed by support for government, NGOs and communities to rebuild and relocate. Throughout the Pacific, community development training in conflict avoidance, conflict resolution, mediation and restorative justice skills, is felt to be required. This should be available at all levels of society, including in schools. Communication between government, local government and civil society must be facilitated. There needs to be support for community groups to access information on governance issues as well as on social and economic development. A free press is a vital factor in an informed public.

Policy recommendations

The major policy recommendations that emerged from the ‘Conflict and Peacemaking’ workshop were for:

- donors and Pacific Island governments to adopt a human rights approach to conflict avoidance, peacemaking and restorative justice and include both women and men in these processes;
- marginalised groups, in particular women and ethnic minorities, to be brought into mainstream political and economic discussion and development activities;
- donor support to help rebuild infrastructure without creating dependency;
- humanitarian relief to be based on the principle of ‘do no harm’; and
- donors to be consistent in their social and economic policies and projects to ensure that development outcomes work towards overall stability in Pacific Island countries rather than creating and/or supporting inequalities or maintaining an unequal status quo.

Notes


Jane Anderson, 2000 ‘Innocents betrayed’ Courier Mail, April 27

Elizabeth Cox, 1992, Campaigning against domestic violence: an evaluation of the PNG Women and Law Committee's Campaign against Domestic Violence, UNICEF report, Port Moresby

Government of Australia 2000, Young people say DV – no way, Evaluation of the National Domestic Violence Prevention Workshops for Young People, Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, Canberra

Women and conflict resolution in international law

Mary Wood and Hilary Charlesworth, Centre for International and Public Law, Australian National University and Christine Chinkin, London School of Economics and Political Science

What are the connections between conflict and the continued exclusion of 'half the world's resources' from effective participation in conflict resolution and peace processes? Apart from the inefficiency and injustice of the failure to involve women in the resolution of international conflicts, it is also clear that an international legal system that systematically ignores the voices and actions of women is seriously flawed.

International law has come to be incorporated as an integral part of a system of international relations and institutional regulation whose central body is the United Nations. Although the UN Charter declares the maintenance of international peace and security to be the primary purpose of the UN, much of the international law relating to the use of force focuses upon legal justifications for the use of force by individual states, most notably self-defence. This focus is perhaps at its most striking in the statement of the International Court of Justice in its Nuclear Weapons Advisory Opinion in 1996 that it could not conclude 'definitively whether the threat or use of nuclear weapons would be lawful or unlawful in an extreme circumstance of self-defence in which the very survival of a State would be at stake.'

The obligation upon states to seek peaceful settlement of disputes is stipulated in article 2 (3) of the UN Charter and is reiterated in numerous General Assembly resolutions. Chapter VI of the Charter provides the framework for the peaceful settlement of disputes while Chapter VII provides for 'Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression.' Peacemaking options available to the Security Council under Chapter VI merge with its powers under Chapter VII.

In his blueprint An Agenda for Peace and its 1995 Supplement, the then Secretary-General of the UN, Boutros Boutros-Ghali sought to improve the effectiveness of cooperative action within the framework of the Charter for dispute and conflict prevention, containment and resolution. He built upon the provisions of the UN Charter and the practice of peacekeeping evolved by UN organs during the cold war to articulate the associated concepts of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The objectives of preventive diplomacy, averting the eruption of disputes and the spread of conflict demand pre-emptive action. Peacemaking attempts to bring disputing parties to agreement, essentially through Chapter VI processes. Peacekeeping involves the deployment of military, police and civilian personnel, under the auspices of the UN or a regional organisation, in the troubled area, traditionally with the consent of all parties. Post-conflict peacebuilding attempts to prevent repetition by establishing structures to strengthen and solidify peace.

The Security Council has recognised the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, and has stressed the importance of their increased participation in all aspects of the conflict prevention and resolution process. Various reports, resolutions and declarations by the Security Council, including the recent Brahimi Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (S/2000/809), the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming Gender in Peace Support Operations, have underscored the UN's recognition that the involvement of women in peace-building and dispute resolution is essential to a lasting solution to conflict and sustainable economic development. Indeed very recently, in an unprecedented open debate on the topic of women, peace and security by the Security Council on 24 and 25 October 2000, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, was quick to acknowledge the 'invaluable support women provide to our peacekeepers by organizing committees, non-governmental organizations and church groups that help ease tensions, and by persuading their menfolk to accept peace'.

The recognition that women play an unsung role in supporting peace initiatives in many situations is welcome. However the Secretary-General's comments do not deal with either of the two major issues about women and conflict resolution: the (often complete) absence of women from the 'public arenas of peacemaking'; and the gendered notions of peace and security on which international law depends.

Absence of women

The absence of women in representative or mediating roles in formally convened and internationally supported conflict resolution fora is well documented. It is also readily acknowledged in recent times by members of the UN Secretariat as representing a significant problem, in terms of equity at least. However, the problem surpasses concerns about equity. The absence or minority presence of women in discussions about conflict resolution, or the implementation of outcomes of such
discussions, has a bearing on the long-term viability of solutions to issues that invariably represent deep-seated local or regional social dissension. Despite the reality that women account for the majority of conflict victims as objects of rape, assault, abduction, sex slavery, and forced human movement, 'the concerns and priorities of women in conflict resolution are ignored in most peace talks as well as in the development of most post-conflict reconstruction programs.' The most obvious and arguably effective way for women's concerns and priorities to be expressed is for national governments and international bodies alike to take measures to ensure that a large number of women are directly involved in formal conflict resolution procedures, rather than continuing to remain as relatively powerless community members.

It is unusual for women, or women-specific issues, to be perceived as integral to an international dispute. For example, trafficking has increased as a consequence of reduced government commitment to social expenditure as part of the transition to a free market economy in Eastern Europe and of structural adjustment programmes. Economic hardship, organised criminal rings, fraud and violence have fostered the international trafficking of women and children. These issues, however, are not considered the stuff of international disputes, or to be sufficient for the exercise of extra-territorial jurisdiction. By contrast, claims of General Noriega's involvement in international drug trafficking supported the United States' use of force against Panama in 1989 which resulted in his arrest and conviction within the United States. Similarly the United States has justified its violation of the territorial sovereignty of Mexico as necessary to arrest another alleged drug trafficker. Extra-territorial jurisdiction has also been asserted to protect the commercial interests of American nationals against the expropriation of their property by the Castro regime in Cuba.

The invisibility of women in international affairs, the widespread acceptance of religious and cultural justifications for the unequal treatment of women, and the lack of international significance attached to women's lives explain the marginalisation of women in international affairs. Even where women are major actors in an international incident, this reality is rarely identified or discussed. For example, trans-border refugee flows frequently both provoke, and are the consequence of, international disputes. Although women constitute large numbers of refugees, they do not figure separately in negotiations about resettlement. Other forms of discrimination, by contrast, have been at the core of significant international disputes. Events in the 1990s, such as those surrounding the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, genocide in Rwanda and the treatment of the Kurdish and Shiite minorities in Iraq, indicate that race discrimination is significant in contributing to international tension. The multiple discriminations of race, ethnicity and sex suffered by women are not, however, seen as part of these disputes, or as relevant to their resolution.

**Gendered concepts**

One result of the absence of women in the process of international conflict resolution is that basic concepts in the field have been developed in a very limited way. Take, for example, the concept of 'collective security' in international law. Security orthodoxy has seen security as protecting the political and physical integrity of sovereign states and it has promoted the idea of peace through national strength. Liberal internationalists such as Boutros-Ghali have extended this idea to human security and have pointed to the need to respond to large scale violence within states.

In a similar spirit, the former Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, promoted an idea of 'cooperative security' as a substitute for collective security. Cooperative security is broader than the idea of military security, including threats to a state's economic well-being, political stability and social harmony, to its citizen's health, and to its environment. But even these relatively progressive accounts of security are centred on the preservation of the sovereign state from external threats and the activities of other states. They do not investigate the way that power relations work within states and how these power relations affect a state's 'external' activities. An example of the limitations of this genre of security analysis lies in Gareth Evans' book, *Cooperating for Peace*, with his nomination of the Gulf War (1990-91) as a paradigm of successful collective security through the UN. Indeed, Evans claims that the Gulf War allowed Chapter VII of the UN Charter to be used 'exactly as had been intended' by its drafters in expelling the Iraqi forces from Kuwait. This account of the successes of collective security pays no heed to certain very significant and enduring effects (disproportionately suffered by women) of the Gulf War. For example, the Gulf War action was accompanied by significant sexual assault and abuse of women both in Iraq and Kuwait and within the United States military forces. The economic sanctions placed on Iraq at the end of the war have had particularly bad effects on Iraqi women and children, while the aftermath of the war has revived militarism in the United States, which has direct and deleterious impacts on women's lives. The 'liberation' of Kuwait also re-installed an autocratic government of men that denied women the vote. UN action in the Gulf War, then, delivered a very circumscribed and sectional form of security.

**Conclusion**

The absence of women in international dispute resolution has resulted in injustice, ineffective peace agreements and impoverished ideas about the meaning of peace and security. What is deemed to constitute a dispute that warrants the condemnation or intervention of the international community is informed by gendered values that selectively emphasise types and instances of discrimination. Further, the diverse skills, perspectives and knowledge that women bring to informal or community-level peace-building is often overlooked by nations and the United Nations itself in decisions about who to send to
conflict resolution fora. The exclusion of women at formal conferences to resolve international disputes is not an issue that international law deems relevant or addresses in any way, other than by the occasional exhortatory comment by a member of the UN Secretariat that more women should be engaged in decision making or peace-brokering capacities at international levels.

Thus the UN system of collective security is inadequate not only on its own terms, but also at a deeper level because its culture and system of meaning are based on a gendered view of the world. Collective security through the UN will never be feasible unless it is reconceived. This goes beyond the important task of redressing the very low participation of women in peacekeeping. It is most importantly the commitment and ability to develop, explore, rethink and revalue those ways of thinking that would make a difference. For that to happen, men too, would have to be central participants. Thus the challenge is to explore further, and apply the insights gleaned from this exploration, about how some knowledge is privileged and other knowledge is silenced and devalued in collective security discourse.

Notes

2. Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons 1996 ICJ Rep. 226 (Adv. Op. 8 July), reprinted in 35 International Legal Materials (1996) 809 at para. 105. This conclusion was reached by seven votes to seven, with the casting vote of the President of the Court.
4. See, for example, UN Doc. S/PRST/2000/25.
Conflict, gender, peacemaking, and alternative nationalisms in the Western Pacific

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A historical and anthropological approach to governance takes account of particular histories, foregrounds indigenous cultures and grassroots groups, and focuses as much on actual people, their practices and relationships as on formal institutions. Such an approach questions the conventional wisdom that naturalises abstractions like 'state' and 'society' as if they are real, rather than concepts with particular histories: 'the state', for example, is not a human universal but implies the territorial nation-state that emerged in Western Europe and the United States from the end of the eighteenth century. That may not be the most appropriate model for former colonies on the margins of the global system (Douglas 2000).

Ambiguous legacies

For more than thirty years I have done research on Melanesian histories and cultures, with particular interests in indigenous patterns of fighting and peacemaking and more recently in the significance of Christianity and gender. I reject as racist, self-fulfilling prophecy the stereotypes that depict the indigenous people and states of Melanesia as inherently 'violent', 'unstable', 'conflict-ridden' and 'male-dominated'. Melanesians are not 'naturally', 'racially', 'culturally' or 'psychologically' locked into violence and misogyny any more than anyone else is, nor are they less capable of resolving their differences. However, their past experiences (especially colonial and post-colonial histories) and present actualities may converge with racial or cultural stereotypes to inhibit or obscure longstanding, flexible indigenous arrangements to avoid, manage and resolve conflict and violence.

Similarly, the contemptuous cliché of 'weak state', routinely applied to Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, takes inadequate account of histories and circumstances. These modern states emerged very recently out of rickety colonial regimes which lacked indigenous precedents or raisons d'être. The arbitrary borders, dubious local legitimacy and general internal invisibility of the colonial states bestowed an unfortunate legacy on their independent post-colonial successors, which are further burdened by global capitalist encompassment that ensures ongoing economic dependence on external aid and transnational resource extraction. Alone in Melanesia, Fiji could lay plausible historical claim to having been a 'natural' geographic and cultural unit, though certainly lacking pre-colonial political unity. However, the indigenous Fijian illusion of cultural uniformity is shattered by twin colonial legacies: a multi-ethnic populace, and, less obvious but at least as significant in the current crisis, an ethnic Fijian community increasingly divided along class and regional lines, thanks in part to the colonially sanctioned entrenchment in government, bureaucracy and military of an eastern Fijian chiefly elite with interests often opposed to those of other ethnic Fijians, such as ambitious businessmen, young male urban dwellers, and western Fijians generally.

To acknowledge that independent states in Melanesia trace many present problems to recent colonialism and ongoing neocolonialism is not to depict Melanesians or Melanesian states as passive victims of dominated pasts and unequal presents. Corruption, for instance, however seemingly embedded in cultures, histories and structures, is also a personal choice. It is certainly seen as such by Melanesian villagers, who these days almost universally condemn politik, or 'national politics', and criticise politicians. They do so from the perspective of what are represented as the organic indigenous social values of kinship, community and reciprocity, rather than from a voluntarist, individualist conception of civil society. The most common accusation made against politicians and the state by ordinary villagers is of ignoring, abusing or denying the reciprocal obligations expected in social relations. The anthropologist Jeffrey Clark suggests that, in Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, people see themselves not as citizens but as 'followers of the state', which is 'personified as a big man . . . bound by . . . reciprocity to look after and redistribute resources to his followers'. Yet rather than the personified state returning in services the loyalty and taxes paid by its citizens, in national settings in Melanesia reciprocity tends to be the domain of individual, pork-barrelling politicians (Clark 1997:74, 81–2, 86–8, Stewart and Strathern 1998:134). Given people's expectations and resources, it makes little sense to reduce the capacity of the state to serve its citizens, as is usually the outcome of structural reform programmes.

Reciprocity in indigenous violence and conflict management

There were no states in pre-colonial Melanesia, even in Fiji where a series of fairly bloody wars between expanding rival chiefdoms punctuated the first half of the nineteenth century. Elsewhere, there was spectacular diversity and marked political
fragmentation. Autonomous groups were mostly small, but often linked in complex, sometimes far-flung exchange, ritual and trade networks. Such groups engaged in frequent, but relatively low-key, fighting with some of their neighbours and were in shifting alliances with others. Massacres were not unknown, but by and large violence was pragmatically contained by smallness of scale and the imperative of group survival, which required mutual vigilance, avoidance, retreat in adversity and often adoption of the vanquished. The value placed on reciprocity and equivalence provided a major spur to war, because injury and insult to group members demanded indiscriminate vengeance against the offender’s group, provoking an escalating cycle of group vengeance; but reciprocity and equivalence also provided the means to break the cycle of violence and negotiate peace through ritual, exchanges and compensation.

 Everywhere in Melanesia, pacification was either willingly embraced as people converted to Christianity, or was enforced by colonial regimes. Men in particular gained the opportunity to broaden their horizons by recruiting as labourers or becoming mission teachers and catechists. The mostly male labouring experience provided the basis for widening identities beyond the purely local to the island or the region and was the breeding ground for the several creole languages which are now lingua franca in the independent states of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Reciprocity remains a cardinal value: vengeance (payback) is still a major raison d’être for violence; exchange and compensation are necessary ways to resolve it. However, in parts of Papua New Guinea, the far larger scale and sophisticated weaponry of modern clan fighting is resistant to indigenous modes of peacemaking, as was the protracted war in Bougainville for a long time, although here indigenous peacemaking, in conjunction with Christianity, is proving critical in reconciliation and reconstruction. In urban areas, notably Port Moresby but also in the recent crises in Suva and Honiara, well-armed criminal opportunists and alienated young gang members make an equal mockery of indigenous compensation practices and modern law enforcement, where it operates at all.

Gender, Christianity and conflict management

Melanesian women are stereotyped as powerless, downtrodden ‘beasts of burden’ and as the passive victims of indiscriminate male violence. Like all stereotypes, these are caricatures which deny any agency to the persons thus depicted. This is not the self-image of any Melanesian woman I know. The situation and status of women vary widely across the region, but everywhere they are proud of working hard and productively to support their families. They regard themselves and are often represented (and exploited) by men as the moral and economic backbone of local societies. Sexual and domestic violence is a widespread, serious and apparently worsening problem, especially in urban settlements, as it is in many parts of the world, but women are usually not just passive victims. In rural areas, women’s groups try to support abused women and to mobilise public opinion to shame violent men; in town, women’s crisis centres and national councils of women adopt familiar human rights tactics of consciousness-raising, training, counselling and provision of refuge and legal assistance to sufferers, although they do so in mostly unsympathetic environments, with very limited resources.

The position of Melanesian women has been transformed under the impact of Christianity, pacification and modernity, in both positive and negative ways that I do not have space to detail here. Today almost all Melanesians are committed Christians. Women have very little presence in the clergy or formal church decision making, but church women’s wings are increasingly visible and women are highly active and significant at parish-level – in congregations and local church women’s groups. Except to some extent in Fiji, women are largely absent from national and provincial politics in Melanesian states. There is only a handful in the upper echelons of the bureaucracies – almost all in women’s affairs and health – or of national non-government organisations (NGOs), apart from those dedicated to women’s issues. The broad picture, then, is that women are economically and morally critical in local and domestic spheres in Melanesia, but they participate minimally in national affairs and enjoy few advantages from citizenship.

In Melanesia, as elsewhere, the practice and politics of war are regarded as primarily men’s business. Women, though, have always taken a keen interest in war, as daughters, sisters, wives and mothers, and have been actively involved in fighting and peacemaking in ways that differ across the region and over time. By way of example, I shall say a little about Kanak women in New Caledonia, where I have done detailed ethnological research on indigenous fighting (Douglas 1998:113-58). Kanak warriors were always male and more often than not their fights were about control of women’s bodies and their productive and reproductive capacities. But women were evidently more than just the objects of men’s conflicts. An early Polynesian Christian evangelist, writing in the 1840s, described what Kanak women did during battles:

All the women accompany them to the battle but do not actually take part in the fight. They remain at a distance and when each side meets to fight each party of women stays behind its own side. They take baskets on carrying poles to fetch the slain. Even when one of their own side is killed they rush forward to carry the body away from the battlefield ... When an enemy is taken ... [the men] grab him and chop him up in pieces and give him to the womenfolk who carry him back to their houses [to be cooked and eaten]. (Ta’unga 1968:87, 90)

Women also ‘stirred up the warriors’ with encouragement and taunts, and if the enemy fled they ransacked the gardens and carried away the loot in triumph (Leconte 1847:835, Riviere 1881:211). Defeat usually meant the loss of women to the victors. Indeed, women were the main prize of war: appropriating an enemy group’s women meant that you gained, and they simultaneously lost, wives, in-laws, mothers, their...
potential offspring, and ultimately ancestors, who would protect and assist the group. This was very good politics. Kanak women, then, provided motives and incentives for war and supported men in war.

However, women were central actors in peacemaking. Restraint was an important pragmatic value in indigenous Kanak war. The exercise of restraint often hinged on women’s initiatives and readiness to take extreme action, even cursing or witchcraft or betrayal of the whereabouts of their menfolk, to force them to negotiate peace when the costs of continued fighting had become unbearable.

Today, Melanesian women’s groups and church groups work to broker peace in conflict situations; women participate in reconciliation ceremonies that combine indigenous and Christian symbols; they help to bring back home and rehabilitate alienated young men for whom violence has become a way of life (Saovana-Spriggs 2000). There seems to be a common, repeated pattern that, when things get bad enough, women take decisive action for peace and men eventually listen and respond. One of the most worrying aspects of the crisis in the Solomons is the refusal so far of the warring factions to allow women and the churches, as representatives of civil society, to participate in negotiations for peace. Efforts are being made by the women to ensure that their moral authority in local and domestic spheres and in crisis situations is mobilised at island, provincial and national levels to enable them to participate and contribute effectively as citizens.

Conclusion: negative and alternative nationalisms in Melanesia

I mentioned above the contrived and arbitrary nature of the inherited boundaries of Melanesian states other than Fiji. Recent research, especially by anthropologists, reports that national cultures are locally weak and that in many hinterland areas, especially in Papua New Guinea, the nation is often hardly known or is regarded very negatively (Robbins 1998). Some question the viability or even the necessity of the state in Melanesia, given the ‘political and economic integrity of local communities’ (Clark 1997, Foster 1995:25–6, Jacobsen 1995, Kelly 1995:263–5, Otto and Thomas 1997:1). For many rural people, their church is more meaningful than the state: churches are embedded in village life and are often the main providers of education and health services, while Christianity has long offered communities that transcend the doubtful legitimacy of the state.

Increasingly, the opposition of the local and the national in Melanesian states is giving rise to regional identifications, such as to island, province or ethnic group, which people feel are homegrown and more responsive to reciprocal obligations (see, for example, Jørgensen 1996, Nash and Ogan 1990). It is precisely on behalf of assertions to translocal, but subnational, identity that violent assaults have been made on the integrity of the nation-state in Bougainville, Solomon Islands, West Papua and, incipiently, Fiji. The attraction and threat of such identities have seen embattled state authorities adopt ‘decentralisation’ and ‘local empowerment’ as goals in recent reform programmes. The gap between ‘state’ and ‘nation’ in Melanesia seems to be growing, as local communities away from major centres are less and less engaged in state affairs, and as rival centres for ‘national’ commitment grow in confidence and legitimacy. In this situation it is vital that donors, international agencies, NGOs and academics listen to what Melanesians themselves are saying and respond positively to their initiatives and expressed needs, rather than preach to them.

References


Australia's response to conflict and peacemaking in the Pacific

Peter Nugent, MP, Acting Chairperson, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade

Introduction
It is a sad fact that conflict can be found in many places in our region. Indeed, internal conflict is on the rise around the globe, particularly in the world's poorest countries. Over the last two decades, violent conflict has cost up to a million lives per year: tragically, the majority of those victims were civilians, not combatants. When conflict arises, it can result in the serious reversal of hard-won development gains. For example, in 1996, armed conflicts endangered at least 80 million people with hunger and malnutrition.

Today's wars are fuelled by poverty, rather than by ideology. According to the OECD, the causes are varied and intertwined. The elements are difficult to delineate and they range from destabilising social conditions to extreme social disparities and exclusion. Also, governments lack appropriate mechanisms for the peaceful conciliation of differing interests within society.

The role of the Australian Government's overseas aid programme, managed by AusAID, is to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development in the world's poorest countries. In recent years, the programme has been involved in a number of conflict-affected environments in Africa, the former Yugoslavia and, of course, the Asia-Pacific region. Besides involvement in East Timor, Mindanao in the southern Philippines, and Cambodia, we have helped Fiji, Solomon Islands and Bougainville in dealing with the impacts of conflict and in building more peaceful societies.

Our aid programme ranges from the provision of high-profile, short-term emergency assistance to less well-known activities such as supporting peace building and reconstruction activities for the maintenance of peace and security.

Aid during different phases of conflict
The phases of conflict are complex: violent conflict, conflict resolution and fragile post-conflict situations, reconstruction, and long-term peace building.

During the violent conflict phase, the Australian aid programme helps to meet basic needs, particularly those of people displaced by the violence. It also promotes conflict resolution by facilitating the peace process through the negotiation of ceasefires and peace settlements.

Once a fragile post-conflict situation has been forged, the programme helps to strengthen the fundamentals for peace maintenance. This is where governance, power sharing, community decision making and an emphasis on equitable distribution of the gains of economic growth are given priority.

Emergency phase
In the emergency phase of a conflict, the aid programme is flexible and responsive in terms of providing urgent assistance, usually food, shelter and medicine.

During the Solomon Islands crisis, for example, Australia provided more than $1 million in humanitarian assistance through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which was spent primarily on maintaining supplies of essential medicines. The ICRC has extensive experience in the Solomons and was able to access both sides of the conflict.

Working with the ICRC and the Ministry of Health, we are also providing protection for detainees, and shelter and food for people displaced by the violence. Some of these supplies are being delivered by boat charter to bring relief to the rural areas of Guadalcanal. Through the Ministry of Health, our assistance is supplying basic medicines to people in need.

Peace building and reconstruction
Once the emergency phase subsides, there is an essential role for help in conflict resolution, peace building and reconstruction. Peace building has been described as 'the deconstruction of structures of violence, and the construction of structures of peace'.

In Bougainville, the aid programme focus has been on reconstruction and peace building. In August 1997, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Downer, committed $100 million over five years for this purpose. The security situation has greatly improved since the arrival of the Peace Monitoring Group in 1998, and this has enabled us to extend our development assistance to most of the province.

Our activities directly support the peace process and provide concrete peace dividends to communities. The priority has been to restore essential health and education services on the island and to rehabilitate the basic infrastructure. There have been many important achievements so far in reconstructing Bougainville, although there is still a long way to go. But Australia is proud to say that, together with the people of Bougainville, the following have been achieved:

- substantial support given to the peace process to enable the participation of both men and women;
- an 84 bed hospital constructed in Buka;
November 2000

more than 50 first aid posts and 70 double classrooms established in remote areas;
100 community police workers trained to help restore law and order;
4,000 local people employed on Australian funded aid projects; and
Radio Bougainville reconstructed and 1,200 radios distributed throughout the province.

In Solomon Islands, Australia is firmly engaged in peace building activities. Since April, Australia has committed $600,000 through the aid programme to support the peace process and conflict resolution, including helping to facilitate peace negotiations through logistical support and the provision of expert advisers.

We are also assisting the Ceasefire Monitoring Council and the Ministry of National Unity Reconciliation and Peace, as well as the reconciliation activities of women's and church groups. In the future, the programme will support rehabilitation activities in affected communities and will reintegrate ex-combatants, mainly men, into productive roles in civilian life.

In Fiji, Australia’s response was shaped by the nature of the political crisis. On 15 July, the Australian Foreign Minister announced a range of sanctions designed to impress on Fiji authorities our condemnation of its unconstitutional and undemocratic rule. Most non-humanitarian activities were suspended or terminated, but those that help the poorer sections of the Fiji community were retained, including basic health, education and small-scale livelihood projects.

Australia stands ready to assist in appropriate activities that promote Fiji’s return to constitutional and democratic government. High on the agenda will be support for community based organisations that play a role in ensuring government is democratic and accountable to the people.

Long-term peace maintenance

As the leading aid donor in the Pacific region, Australia plays a central role in improving social and economic development that enables communities to be sustainable, to meet their basic needs, to share power and to resolve conflict without resorting to violence. Poverty is one of the roots of conflict, and any discussion about conflict prevention must inevitably turn to the task of poverty reduction.

Governance and poverty reduction

The objective of Australia’s aid programme is to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development. But how do we ensure that our assistance has a lasting effect? And how do we ensure that it creates the fundamentals for long-term peace? The answer is governance and capacity building.

Our experience suggests that the major contribution that donors can make in the Pacific is to help build the capacity of Pacific Island nations to improve their own governance arrangements. This is because the success of an aid programme is critically linked to the existence of an appropriate policy environment and competent, accountable administrative systems. Improving capacity in these areas will ultimately enable Pacific Islanders to manage their resources sustainably, to modernise their education systems, to enhance their economic growth, to improve their health systems, and to strengthen and improve the governance of the myriad of institutions that contribute to quality of life in the modern world.

Governance covers the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation’s resources and affairs. Civil society is an essential dimension of governance, because it ensures that governments are democratic, transparent and accountable. Non-government organisations also play a vital advocacy role for marginalised or vulnerable groups, and help to deliver services to meet basic community needs.

In particular, governance comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations, and settle their differences. The Australian aid programme helps to advance governance by:

- strengthening economic policies and financial management;
- improving public sector management (from customs services to health and education);
- supporting sustainable resource management and exploitation;
- improving legal and judicial systems (police, auditors, courts, prison systems); and
- supporting political and civil society institutions (parliaments, electoral offices, media).

Governance also includes the protection of human rights. The programme funds activities which promote and protect specific human rights. Our emphasis is on the practical and attainable, and activities are developed in close consultation with partner governments.

Australia also directly funds civil society groups who promote human rights – for example, $2 million over five years to the Fiji Women’s Crisis Centre to address the problem of violence against women and children throughout Fiji and the Pacific. Our assistance is enabling counselling, education and strengthened policies to stop violence and to raise the status of women in the region.

Making a difference through governance

Improving the capacity of people and institutions in the Pacific has been a particular focus of our aid programme for some time.

Since 1996, Australia has provided $15 million to the Policy and Management Reform Fund, which is highly regarded by countries in the region. The fund allocates assistance competitively between Pacific countries on the basis of their demonstrated commitment to reform.
Australia supported Vanuatu's comprehensive reform programme in 1997 when the government faced a fiscal crisis. We quickly mobilised assistance in areas such as economic management and public sector reform, health, law and justice. There have been many tangible achievements. For instance, there are now accurate records and modern financial arrangements in the health department. And the health system can now deliver improved services in Port Vila and throughout the provinces. Our support for the Public Prosecutor's Office has led to shorter processing times for cases, resulting in a doubling of the number of new matters coming before the courts each month.

In Solomon Islands, before the recent unrest, Australian advisory assistance had helped to establish a framework for the sustainable management and exploitation of valuable timber resources. A new Forestry Act was starting to be implemented and a timber-licensing unit had been set up, with staff trained and records established.

In Fiji, Australia's work in assisting the amalgamation of inland revenue and customs agencies resulted in an annual increase in revenue of F$50 million.

The way forward

As these varied examples demonstrate, Australia's aid programme not only plays a central role in dealing with the immediate impacts of conflict but also helps to rebuild peace and societies in the post-conflict phase. And it assists in reforming the manner in which institutions govern. In particular, our focus is on ensuring that governments have the capacity to meet the development needs of their people. Although our role is significant, the greatest successes in social and economic development in the longer term will be driven by good local policies.

The recent crises in Solomon Islands and Fiji underline the fact that there is still much work to be done in the Pacific to strengthen governance. The aid programme is looking at providing more support to democratic institutions and the institutions of law and justice. This is likely to involve expanding capacity building assistance to electoral commissions, ombudsmen, auditors, police, prisons and courts.

We will also embrace opportunities to assist with strengthening the operations of parliaments in the region. The Centre for Democratic Institutions, based at the Australian National University and funded through the aid programme, is a valuable vehicle for providing support in the areas of parliamentary and judicial processes.

We are also working to assist the development of strong and effective media in the region. We are committed to ensuring that our activities involve public affairs professionals from government agencies as well as journalists working in the media.

Conclusion

Historical, economic and geographic factors have contributed to the development challenges facing Pacific Island states. The particular constraints for small, isolated and ethnically diverse societies also include the complexities of indigenous culture and land tenure.

But the Pacific story has its positive achievements. Despite the innate vulnerabilities of these countries, there has been progress, and Australia will continue to make a very significant contribution to their stability and development.
Strengthening communities for peace in Bougainville

Helen Hakena, Executive Director, Leitana Nehan Women’s Development Agency

Brief history of the conflict
The armed conflict on Bougainville caused a lot of pain and suffering for innocent people. Atrocities were committed by the armed forces and an estimated 10,000 to 15,000 people were killed. All administrative, social and economic services came to a standstill at the height of the conflict in 1999. Nearly ten years of war have resulted in the almost total destruction of the island’s economic and social infrastructures. Health centres and school buildings were burnt to ashes. Government infrastructures were an easy target.

The Bougainville conflict initially started as a land issue among the landowners from Panguna copper mine. There was disagreement about how royalties were being paid. As a result, Francis Ona led a faction which was not happy with the operation of the mine and which demanded more royalties from it. Other major issues included environment concerns, compensation for damage done to the land, employment, and maximum participation of Bougainville in business spinoffs.

Right from the early stages of the mining project, landowners were totally opposed to it. At the same time, there was no proper negotiation between the government, developer and resource owners. The agreements signed did not take on board the real wishes of the resource owners.

In addition, the issue of secession is not new for Bougainville. In the late 1960s, it petitioned the United Nations for the island to be administered by the United States. Many people had a long-harboured resentment against the colonial administration. They felt that Bougainville was getting less attention from the central government and little government service. The lack of genuine response from the national government resulted in the province declaring its independence on 1 September 1975.

At the political level, the Bougainville people realised earlier in the 1960s that the Australian colonial administration was highly centralised and that its decision making processes were dominated by the bureaucracy. Bougainville leaders wanted to see the political process brought closer to their people.

Since it began in 1988, the conflict has escalated to unexpected political, economic and social complexities. It has crippled the nation financially, greatly sabotaging the national economy in the early 1990s. Our people did not expect that such an upheaval would cause so many deaths, suffering and destruction. We were indeed puzzled that what was a land rights struggle could cause the loss of many lives.

Experience of women during the conflict
Women were the victims from day one of the conflict. At its height, freedom of movement to attend to family needs — for example, to go to the garden and collect food — was very much restricted.

The well-being and advancement of women and their important social and economic role was suppressed during the ten-year conflict. There were many unwanted pregnancies. Many women died during childbirth. It was heartbreaking to see a woman die in front of you. You were helpless to do anything, except cry and cry, even if there was a qualified nurse with you. What could she do with no medicine? Our women were simply not safe and secure, even at home.

The armed conflict had an immense impact on the women of Bougainville. Women felt the most pain, trauma and loss because of their place in society, for example:

- rape, torture and abuse were inflicted by the armed forces;
- freedom of movement and speech was very restricted. Women were not free to express their views openly on issues affecting them;
- many women died during childbirth;
- many women lost their loved ones (husbands, sons, daughters);
- there was an increase in the number of single mothers;
- many wives were deserted by their husbands; and
- there was a total breakdown of family values.

Women’s involvement in the peace process
As a result of the countless problems they encountered, the women have taken an active role in the process of finding a lasting solution to the conflict. The war has taught us many lessons. I am sure the government, churches and private sector have taken stock of all the failures that it created. Women’s groups also are very much aware of the lessons of the conflict and many of them are now involved in a number of community rehabilitation programmes.

The conflict has brought about many changes and challenges. New roles are being imposed on our women. In short, new roles need new approaches. We need a new vision that can be put into practice for the betterment of our women.
This is an important task that needs expertise and funding. Bougainville will not be the same again politically, economically or socially.

Our women have a special place in our society. They are mothers, teachers, owners of land. They have traditional values and responsibilities. This is to name only a few of their important roles. Bougainville is predominantly a matrilineal society. Under the traditional system, women are responsible for making decisions on the use of the land. The cultural rights of women have been suppressed since foreign colonisation of the island. Women are naturally well placed in the Bougainville social system so that they are well respected by men. This means that women are also in a better position to influence our leaders to restore peace.

There is a great need to strengthen the reconciliation programmes. Also, psychological services for the counselling and healing of women are required. A survey has revealed an alarming statistic: there are more than 2,000 widows in the province. This disadvantaged group needs assistance to support their families and to equally participate in the development of Bougainville. All women need to be given the chance to be involved in decisions that affect their lives.

The Leitana peace plan

The Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency came into existence as a result of the pain, suffering and violence inflicted on women during the conflict. It is a non government organisation (NGO) based on Bougainville and is registered with the investment promotion authority of Papua New Guinea.

The main aim of the organisation is to reduce gender violence on Bougainville. To this end, it organises workshops and campaigns, carries out community education awareness and advocates on behalf of women on issues affecting them. It also encourages increased support for women's programmes at the national and provincial government levels.

Since the agency was established in 1992 it has helped women and children in the areas of humanitarian relief, rehabilitation, skills training and working for peace and development. Through its network on Bougainville, it provides counselling to women victims of the armed conflict. Simultaneously and in a small way, it provides in-house counselling to women affected by domestic violence. The majority of cases are domestic violence, rape and child abuse victims, but incest, and verbal and sexual harassment are also common. I believe that there are lot of women on Bougainville who are in need of help but who are unfortunately not able to present themselves for counselling by trained counsellors.

The agency places more emphasis on preventive rather than curative measures. It advocates a non-violent approach to conflict resolution. The following activities are carried out in the effort to reduce the high rate of violence against women:

- raising social awareness about the consumption of homebrew alcohol (this is a major concern related to gender and community violence);
- provision of counselling and support for victims of gender, family and community violence;
- advocacy work to increase awareness of the roles of women in decision making about issues affecting their lives; and
- facilitating community workshops on gender sensitivity.

Women have played a very active role in working alongside government and village elders in attempting to find a peaceful solution to the Bougainville conflict. Their involvement in many peace initiatives has been witnessed by numerous peace ceremonies throughout the island. Women were able to organise themselves and talk to the armed forces on the island to lay down arms. This had proven to be a successful process in most cases.

Strengthening Communities for Peace project

Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency is currently involved in the Strengthening Communities for Peace project in Bougainville, funded by AusAID and co-managed by the agency and the International Women's Development Agency. Under a two-year agreement (2000–01), the project entails the following programmes: homebrew awareness; counselling; violence against women; advocacy on women's rights; and integral human development. The other programmes carried out by the agency are youth mobilisation and skills training.

The first year of the project (2000) involves volunteers visiting communities and schools and carrying out workshops on homebrew alcohol awareness, violence against women, and counselling. In the second year (2001), the agency will mainly focus on integral human development. The volunteers are located in all areas on Bougainville, supported by the communities.

Existing programmes

The work of rehabilitation and reconciliation on the island is a mammoth task for all parties, including NGOs, who are using their own resources to find a lasting solution to the conflict. The following groups are heavily involved in the peace process: national and provincial governments; Council of Chiefs; youth; women; churches; and NGOs. Assistance is also provided by Australia and New Zealand and others too numerous to mention.

Conclusion

A lot remains to be done on the peace process. There has to be personal and community reconciliation. I believe that not
enough effort is being put into these very important areas in order for Bougainville to enjoy a safe and peaceful future. More rehabilitation and healing programmes are needed.

Although there will always be day-to-day problems and crises along the path towards a lasting peace, it is worth reflecting on just how far the parties have come in barely two years since the peace process started: there has been no fighting during that time.

People are now going about their daily lives without fear, attending to family needs and travelling more widely on the island. The economy is showing the first signs of activity. There is now a ray of hope for the peace process. Things are slowly returning to normal. Children are going back to school, and health centres are providing much-needed health services to the rural masses.

Bougainville women fully support the work done by the national government and Bougainville leaders in finding a lasting peace solution to the conflict. We, the women of Bougainville, endorsed the non-violent approach to the peace process taken by the ex-combatants.

We also very much appreciate, and consider essential, the presence of the Peace Monitoring Group, comprising Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Vanuatu. The United Nations representatives have done an excellent job and their presence has helped to build confidence throughout the province.

The fragile peace has to be nurtured carefully but we are moving in the right direction. After nine years of fighting, Bougainvilleans have been able to come together and discuss the overall process with open hearts and minds.
Introduction

This paper considers the sustainability of the peace process within the ceasefire period from 1998 until now. In exploring the peace process, this paper addresses the following questions:

1. If peace continues what are the forces behind its sustainability?
2. What could be the potential destabilising forces?
3. What impact might these forces have on peace?

In early November 2000, media reports within and outside the country have highlighted dissatisfaction over the slow progress on negotiations on the part of the Papua New Guinea government as expressed by the Bougainville leaders and their people.

'Bougainville leaders have expressed that the peace process on the island may collapse if the national leaders and island leaders do not get back to the negotiating table soon to resume the stalled negotiations on the future of the province ... In spite of ten rounds of negotiations over the past 17 months (nine since December 1999), the positions of the National Government and Bougainville on almost all of the key issues remain far apart.'

Stabilising and destabilising forces

Stabilising forces

It is the people who either make or break the peace process. The local and international institutions merely accommodate and provide security and strength to people. Metaphorically speaking, institutions are power generating storehouses, which continue to energise people as they persevere to maintain the peace process.

Notably, women as a powerful force are one group of people that are seen as the backbone of the process. In contemporary Bougainville, the church institutions form the core of 'what life is all about'. The separation between secular and spiritual lives does not exist in any significant or practical way. Most women's groups are based within the churches. The churches therefore are deeply and intimately connected with women's roles and activities in the peace process. The relationship is one of interconnectedness and inter-dependence.

In an interview this year, a woman from Siwai in South Bougainville passionately related how she and her small group of women turned to the church for direction in how to deal with the young men fighting for Bougainville's independence as members of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA).

'The fear of harassment and intimidation permeated the area and so no one could publicly express or discuss their opinions and feelings with one another. No one should say anything to anyone and so the women were living in fear. But the women had to break the cycle, they had to be brave, we had to show courage and we knew the Lord was with us, we knew, we knew!'

Prior to this courageous intervention, a small group of women went into a week of what she called 'meditation'. A Catholic Father encouraged and supported them during this time. At the time of the initial meeting with a group of BRA men, the young fighters surrounded them and threatened them by putting bush knives to their necks, calling them 'PNG Army spies' and 'accusing them of pretending to be peacemakers.' But the women stood their ground and requested their attention.

The spokeswoman told the young men, 'We are your Siwai mothers, we are your mothers.' Such a statement was not in any way convincing to the young men because they have mothers of their own. However, the speaker insisted, 'Regardless of that, I am still your Siwai mother.' Of course she was speaking on...
be met because the national Constitution cannot be changed to accommodate their wishes.

This is in spite of numerous changes each successive government has made to the Constitution over the years. These include the provincial government system—an initiative led by the people of Bougainville which caused the very first constitutional crisis before and soon after PNG's newly declared independence; a political settlement between Bougainville and PNG government, when Bougainville threatened to secede from PNG in 1975; and the introduction of a 'Call Out Order' to deploy troops in Bougainville. So how could the Government of Papua New Guinea continue to behave hypocritically towards the people on the island. This stance will be another major stumbling block to stabilising peace on the island.

Thirdly, there has been an insistent requirement by the Government of PNG that the Bougainville people establish a utopian society before the government could give Bougainville substantial political and economic powers. This requirement relates to the law and order problems in Bougainville, which the PNG Government perceives to be a hindrance to normalcy. So the pressure is on the people to fix the law and order problems—in particular the high rate of consumption of home brewed alcohol commonly known as 'jungle juice'. Widespread consumption of alcohol creates havoc in the families and the community and hampers peace.

The problem with this demand is that it does not take into consideration that the country's most notorious law and order problems are in Port Moresby. This paradoxical situation weakens the national government's integrity. Years of corruption amongst leaders of successive governments, heads of departments, and other prominent national institutions provide another startling example of the many paradoxes that loom over PNG. The abuse of power at the highest level results in people's complete lack of trust and confidence in their leaders.

Fourthly, there has been the imposition of reconstruction and rehabilitation programs. These include education reform programs, political reform systems, and now economic reform and the introduction of the free trade zone concept recently agreed to in the parliament. Bougainville is intended as one of the major free trade zones, but this decision was made without consultation with Bougainvillean leaders (The National, 7 November 2000). In none of these developments have the people been consulted. This is in complete contrast to the consultative mechanism introduced and practised in Bougainville in the pre-crisis period. The people are bound to react to these impositions. What is implicated in this behaviour is the fact that, democracy, cooperation and equal participation does not feature in the minds of the bureaucrats and parliamentarians. This is just another major violation of the people's right to decision making.

An example of lack of consultation has been the decision to introduce Australian rabbits as a means of reducing protein deficiency in people's diets. However, Australian rabbits could
introduce unknown diseases to both human and domestic animals and breaches the basic principles of Australian quarantine. Although the concept was for the rabbits to be raised in captivity the practical experience elsewhere is that rabbits escape and breed phenomenally quickly. Rabbits' uncontrolled reproductive habits would no doubt lead to destruction of food gardens, the land and the environment generally.

Concluding remarks

There are a number of factors that could undermine the peace process.

First, an underlying objective of the PNG government appears to be to force Bougainvillean to 'comply' to the Constitution and the current thinking of the national government. This is miscalculated.

Secondly, the concept and practice of democracy is at stake. The number of programs and changes in education, politics and the economy imposed on the population are likely to backfire. There have already been numerous complaints and dissatisfaction about how programs are not meeting the expectations and the aspirations of the people.

Thirdly, there is the issue of power and authority, and ownership of various developmental projects and programs. It is human nature to want to control and direct change, to feel and have the ownership of something, to have authority and exercise it accordingly. This is what the people want to regain from the Government of Papua New Guinea. In their minds and belief, the people own what is known as Bougainville: the land, the resources and the sea. They desire to control these within their own means and not from Port Moresby.

The establishment of the Panguna copper mine is a story of power and authority successfully taken away from the people. Where does this leave Bougainville and its people in the pursuit of peace? In brief, the bottom line is independence for Bougainville.
Restorative justice in Bougainville

Patrick Howley, State Society and Governance in Melanesia Project, Australian National University

PEACE Foundation Melanesia

Bernard Narokobi established PEACE Foundation in 1988 when he was the PNG Minister for Justice. Ever since the Constitution of Papua New Guinea was written in 1973, Narokobi had been searching for ways to bring the law of the land closer to the law of the village – custom law.

PEACE Foundation developed three courses:

- **People skills** provides people with communication skills, tools to study their lives and relationships, and the confidence to discuss and develop ideas of importance to them in their personal lives and village meetings.
- **Conflict resolution** provides skills of facilitation, how to get the best out of a team, win-win mediation for dealing with conflicts such as land disputes, and finally restorative justice for handling conflicts where there is a victim and an offender.
- **Community development** is provided to assist communities to think through their values and priorities and how to go about achieving their goals.

All courses run for two weeks. The training process is adult learning/workshop style and is carried out in the villages. The courses are very popular and there is no difficulty in getting people to attend. Ideally, each course aims to include 30 participants, including village leaders and equal numbers of men and women. We have fallen short on our aims. Village women have more duties in childcare and garden work than men, and often enough, village chiefs find it beneath their dignity to attend courses where the ordinary villager is accepted.

The first courses began in Buka in 1994. In 1995 training began on the mainland, but renewed fighting interrupted courses for a year. On average, the Foundation conducted about 60 courses each year for the period 1994–99. Some people have attended only one course, some two and some three.

PEACE Foundation has divided Bougainville into 13 districts, with coordinators who organise and oversee the training in their districts. We have trained about 50–70 people who are available to conduct courses, and they are supported by more than 500 trained mediators who are capable of handling win-win mediation and restorative justice situations. (I do not have a figure on how many of these mediators are active.) We have found that our female mediators are generally more understanding in the area of restorative justice but, because of their workload, they are not so readily available. More than two-thirds of our mediators are men.

Constraints on peace in Bougainville

In Bougainville, at present, the visitor to Arawa is shocked by the damage to public buildings and infrastructure. The loss of life, and the human rights abuses which occurred during the crisis, are matters which attract the media, and the people in Arawa township and in the villages are frustrated by the anarchy resulting from the activities of young criminals with guns and by damage to the community and individual health caused by ‘homebrew’ (also known as ‘JJ’ or ‘jungle juice’).

There is another side effect of the crisis which, while not being overlooked, is not gaining the attention that it deserves. Post traumatic stress is a threat which I believe is both enduring and a major danger to the health and economic future of Bougainville.

‘Rambos’

Before the crisis began, many young Bougainvilleans around Arawa township and the mine turned to crime as a way of life. On leaving their villages they were cut off from the controls of their community and were challenged by the behaviour of unemployed squatter rascals to make a living from crime. Joe Berenke, the PEACE Foundation coordinator, said of them: ‘They were criminals before the crisis, they were criminals during the crisis and they are still criminals’. As the crisis developed, others of like mind joined them. The Nasiol called these people ‘Rambos’. As a group they were responsible for most of the extra-judicial killings and torture of the civil war.

Resistance and BRA

Young men who were members of the BRA or the Resistance, even though they fought against each other, see themselves as both patriots and freedom fighters. For the BRA, their worst memories of the crisis are that Bougainvilleans fought against other Bougainvilleans: ‘He was black and I am black and he was trying to kill me’. For the Resistance, their greatest trauma arises from the fact that other Bougainvilleans killed and tortured their parents, friends and relatives and that, in self-defence, they joined the Army, not to assist the PNG Government but to protect themselves.

Home guard and civilians

There were many young men who remained civilians, either because they chose to do so or because their parents forbade them to join up. Some of these are suffering post traumatic

November 2000
stress (PTS) because they feel guilty that they took no part with their friends who fought for one side or the other and were killed in the fighting. The home guard, who acted to protect their villages at the request of their own communities, are less affected by PTS because they still have the support and approval of their communities.

Children

Children who were exposed to the worst effects of camp life and the torture inflicted on communities by Rambos took no part in the fighting but are probably the most traumatised group. They were present while their parents and their significant elders were stripped, beaten, dragged behind motor vehicles and subjected to severe humiliation, but because they were not yet even teenagers they did nothing to stop it. Now they are suffering enormous stress because their feelings of shame and guilt are a block to their accepting that, ten years ago, they were weak children, not the strong and healthy adults that they are today.

Care centres

Women who lived in the care centres were horrified at the resulting psychological damage to their children:

They were terrible places. People were crowded together with no privacy; their village groupings were broken up; the network of mutual relationships, associations, interaction and mutual social obligations was suspended. The cultural glue that binds the villages and people together was lost for ten years. Values were lost and it was impossible to provide the children with the social conditioning which is the basis of behaviour in our villages. Without this glue many people, especially the young, lost their sense of respect and shame. Adultery, stealing, domestic violence, lack of respect for elders and the customs and traditions such as one never experienced in the traditional village became so commonplace that people scarcely remarked on them. The soldiers who administered the camps were often inconsistent and violent when thwarted. They killed suspect BRA and used their position to steal things and demand women to sleep with. Only now are we seeing the moral damage of the camps in our children who are growing up lacking the values of our society. (Maria Kopiku)

In the camps controlled by the BRA, the damage was probably worse. Army choppers hunted BRA hideouts and they probably worse. Army choppers hunted BRA hideouts and they hunted Streets with guns and the village was crowded together with no privacy and the soldiers who administered the camps were often inconsistent and violent when thwarted. The camps were terrible places. People were crowded together with no privacy; their village groupings were broken up; the network of mutual relationships, associations, interaction and mutual social obligations was suspended. The cultural glue that binds the villages and people together was lost for ten years. Values were lost and it was impossible to provide the children with the social conditioning which is the basis of behaviour in our villages. Without this glue many people, especially the young, lost their sense of respect and shame. Adultery, stealing, domestic violence, lack of respect for elders and the customs and traditions such as one never experienced in the traditional village became so commonplace that people scarcely remarked on them. The soldiers who administered the camps were often inconsistent and violent when thwarted. They killed suspect BRA and used their position to steal things and demand women to sleep with. Now only are we seeing the moral damage of the camps in our children who are growing up lacking the values of our society. (Maria Kopiku)

In the camps controlled by the BRA, the damage was probably worse. Army choppers hunted BRA hideouts and they had to hide and leave no trace of their presence. This placed severe restrictions on the women particularly. It was most difficult for them to find food for their children. BRA camps were fighting camps and the effect on the children has been worse in terms of conditioned violence and trauma.

Anarchy

Peter Meriki, Chairman of the North Nasion Council of Chiefs, believes that the greatest problem that Bougainville suffers today is the anarchy brought about by the loss of traditional village values. Young Rambos with guns are still able to act with impunity and use force to take anything they want. Nothing is sacred any more. Favourite targets are government properties, schools, hospitals, motor vehicles and desirable private property. Until the guns are collected, this situation will remain and, until the Rambos are disarmed, there cannot be healing or forgiveness for them.

Youths suffering from post traumatic stress

Ken McDonald is a trained trauma counsellor and headmaster of a new high school at Marbiri which caters for about 50 male students, aged 20–25, in Grades 9 and 10. Most of the students were involved in the fighting during the crisis years Ken McDonald says:

Most of the fifty students here are traumatised. Killing in clean fighting produces the least PTS but extra-judicial killing, torture or being forced to watch while parents and relatives were raped or tortured takes a long time for recovery. Young men suffering from PTS are easily triggered into rage and violence by a word or an act. At school where they have support and understanding, it is not too bad but when they are at home on holidays they drink home brew and when triggered, they act out their stress with house burning, threats backed by violence and violent sex bordering on rape. They are not criminals; rather they are victims of stresses that they are unable to control. This is difficult and painful for the village people to understand and accept and there are people who advocate punishment, jail or expulsion from the community. However recovery depends on their being accepted back by the community. If the community rejects them because of their behaviour they will never recover. Instead of recovery and becoming a useful citizen they will always remain a threat to the village.

Restorative justice

Restorative justice is the most suitable method for dealing with PTS. It is carried out in full view of the community and is monitored by the chiefs. It recognises and condemns the crime but treats the offender as a person who is aware of the harm he has inflicted on the community. It provides him with an opportunity to express his shame and ask the community to forgive him for what he has done in his frustration and rage. The victim and the community are then able to place on him some ritual penalty to pay for the damage done and to provide a ceremony of forgiveness and reconciliation.

A comparison of the processes used by courts and by restorative justice methods shows that the latter are more likely to meet the needs of youth suffering from PTS.

Of particular importance is the part played by the whole community.

- The village people with their chief, the offender and the victims do not ignore the offence or merely suffer it without response. The victim and community have a safe community structure where they can confront the offender and place him on notice that his behaviour is not acceptable.
- The hurt done to the victim is not ignored. The victim is in a position to express the injury suffered because of the behaviour of the offender. Without the recognition of the victim, there can be no forgiveness, no reintegration of the offender back into the community, and no healing.
Court process
Magistrate looks at offence.
Magistrate calls witnesses to decide guilt or innocence.
Magistrate hears evidence against offender.
Magistrate makes a judgement on offender.
Magistrate decides punishment for offender.
Magistrate may lecture offender.
Victim mostly ignored.
No healing for victim.
Community mostly ignored.
No reintegration into community for offender.

Restorative justice process
Meeting between victim, offender and community.
Offender admits wrongdoing.
Victim speaks of impact of wrongdoing.
Chief and others speak of damage to community and its values.
Offender speaks of his own feelings and justification.
Victim suggests a way for recompense.
Offender and victim discuss proposed recompense and come to an agreement.
Offender apologises to victim and community.
Victim and community forgive offender.
Victim and community reintegrate offender into community.

• In his ‘acting-out’, the youth knows that he is doing wrong but feels incapable of restraining himself. When he recovers, he is consumed with shame at his behaviour and has an urgent need to purge himself of the shame. In this condition of mind, the offender welcomes the meeting with the victim and the community because it is in purging himself, doing penance and being forgiven and reconciled with the community that he is able to recover his mental health.

• Finally, the episode provides the community with a forum where they are able to publicly restate their values and draw the ethical boundaries for all to see. By forgiving the offender (but not his behaviour), they are able to get on with their lives in the hope that the community has been reconstituted and strengthened. The act of the offender is used to strengthen the community rather than damage it.

The court system, on the other hand, makes no distinction between offender and behaviour. Once guilt is established, the court goes about punishing the offender, with little reference to his willingness to reform. The court sees the offence as having been committed against the state and it is the state that demands justice. It is hardly surprising, then, that the court scarcely recognises the damage, loss and hurt suffered by the victim or the community.

PEACE Foundation mediation activities
Typical of PEACE Foundation mediation is the one carried out in Buin. In 1996, Francis Kakapona and Joe Nakota (Buin) brokered a ceasefire between Thomas Tarii’s BRA and the Resistance. The fighting had left 19 dead and three villages burned to the ground. Francis and Joe shuttled back and forth between the two groups for a fortnight to bring about the ceasefire. Next they arranged an agreement, which included gifts and food to wipe away the bad feelings. When the details were complete, the final ceremony was presided over by the chiefs. Two hundred BRA and Resistance lined up on each side of the table, exchanged their gifts, listened to the speeches and then mingled to shake hands.

Ordinary mediation work is carried out in the villages every day and includes cases such as stealing, insulting language, attempted rape, adultery, runaway children, church fights, families angry at people who fled the crisis, arguments over sawmills and timber, and even murder. Ideally, restorative justice operates in conjunction with the chief’s court and the wrongdoer is given the alternative of going to the chief’s court or to the mediator. Unfortunately, there are no chief’s courts because of the presence of guns and the prevailing anarchy. Wrongdoers who choose to defy the community and the chiefs cannot at this time be brought to any kind of judgement.
The relationship between development and violence against women in post-conflict Bougainville

Michelle Tonissen, Community Aid Abroad–Oxfam Australia

Introduction

The number of conflicts fought between and within countries has risen since World War II. One consequence of conflict is increasing violence, especially violence against women. As Sorenson (1997:26) suggests, 'organised violence may be linked to increases in domestic violence, and women may experience an escalation of violence as a result of conflict'. It is, therefore, an important topic of investigation because violence against women is not only a social issue, in health and human rights terms, but also a development issue. This paper examines these issues, using Bougainville as an example of a society that has experienced conflict and where violence against women is prevalent. Key issues will be discussed in the context of the wider Pacific region.

Recognition of the development–violence connection

During the United Nations Decade for Women (1976–85), violence, and particularly violence against women, was acknowledged as an important element in development discussions, not only economically but also socially and culturally. A general definition of violence against women includes domestic verbal and physical abuse, rape and sexual assault, incest, and female genital mutilation (de Bruyn 1995:11). When the UN Conference on Women met in Beijing in September 1995, the issue of violence against women formed a key part of the discussions.

There is little doubt that violence against women is a cost to development in terms of health and loss of productivity, and there are other costs that are not so obvious but that are equally important. Violence prevents women from exercising their rights to achieving social and economic equality, hampers their ability to organise and, ultimately, is a major obstacle to their empowerment and full participation in shaping the economic, social and political life of their countries.

Post-conflict violence can follow not only overt warfare but also human rights violations, political violence, or economic and social crises. In post-conflict societies, violence against women in particular may be viewed less importantly, as violence becomes generally pervasive and legitimised. Whether Bougainville is 'post-conflict' is still being debated. According to Harris (1999:40), a post-conflict environment may be characterised by a signed peace accord, a process of political transition through elections or a coup, increased levels of security (broadly defined), and a perception that there is a real opportunity for peace and recovery. Bougainville has elements of all of these key characteristics.

Gender relations in Bougainville

The people of Bougainville can be divided into 19 distinct groups, each with its own language, customs and traditional practices, and a further 35 dialects. These cultural differences were probably closer to the geography and associated patterns of contact with other language groups or islands. Conflict between different groups was commonplace and varied between cultural groupings, but evidence suggests that violence between women and men was less prevalent than in other Pacific societies.

A partial explanation may be the matrilineal structure of many of the groups (for example, the Nasioi). Most Bougainvilleans trace their clan through their mothers, and land ownership in most communities is traced through the mother. Although the roles and status of women varied considerably between language and culture groups, the idea of balance and the practice of reciprocity held social responsibilities for both women and men. Because they had designated roles, women and men understood their place in society.

The onset of armed conflict in Bougainville (1988–97) changed many things, not least the roles and responsibilities of women, men and children, and, more importantly, gender relations. Women, in particular, have suffered as a result of the conflict, through the loss of family and friends, reduced levels of trust and security in their society, and the increasing violence against them. Violence in many forms is far more prevalent than before 1988, so much so that there are fears that high levels of violence may be a long-term consequence of the nine-year conflict. Accordingly, there is concern about how best to sustain long-term peace, security and development in Bougainville.
Elsewhere in the Pacific

The end of a war does not automatically lead to the end of insecurity for populations affected by armed conflict. In some parts of the island, especially in central and south Bougainville, the hindrance to the restoration programme is exacerbated by continuing violence. In addition, it appears that women are suffering the consequences of men's disillusionment with change. As El-Bushra and Lopez (1993:7) state: 'in post-war situations, the reintegration of (mostly male) ex-combatants into society gives rise to problems of self-esteem and sense of responsibility for men, who may take out their problems on their women-folk'. This appears to be especially the case in Bougainville, (and more broadly in the Pacific Region). With little or no education, few employment opportunities, boredom and homebrew alcohol in plentiful supply, the level of law and order problems have intensified. Included in this is the issue of violence against women.

Although the following excerpt is about Bougainville, there are rising concerns that this may be becoming an all-too-familiar scene throughout the Pacific:

"Power at the barrel of a gun is being misused and abused. It has enabled young men to settle traditional scores which has resulted in in-fighting within families, relatives and clans. Women and children are of course once again in the thick of this confusing state, in some cases being used as shields for protection and to stop the violence."

Men (in Bougainville) vent their frustrations and feelings of helplessness on mothers and children, they become very aggressive and violent, abusive and in most cases bash up their wives and children. (Savaona-Spriggs 1993)

This example highlights the consequences of the interaction between young men, alcohol, guns and conflict, the most serious of which is increased violence against women. Often, the conflict is divided along religious and ethnic lines, which further intensifies tensions between individuals and villages. Women are often the victims in the campaigns against the 'other side', creating an environment of fear and uncertainty. There is no doubt that social, economic and individual factors have contributed to the intensity of violence against women in Bougainville. People have suffered not only physically, economically, socially and politically, but psychologically as well. If violence against women is to be significantly reduced, then men, women and children will need to examine and adapt their attitudes and behaviours.

Violence against women is now being debated and discussed at national and regional levels in several Pacific Islands. Some of the practical achievements over the last 15 years to address the issue include increased services, law reform, training, research, campaigning and community education. Twenty-three crisis counselling, community education and advocacy programmes have been established in the region, including ones relating to the impact of alcohol and unemployment. In Papua New Guinea, the Simbu Counselling Centre and the Individual and Community Rights Advocacy Forum deliver services for women who are victims/survivors of violence. Similarly, in Fiji, the Women's Crisis Centre has three new branches to cater for increased demand for services. Members of the Pacific Women's Network Against Violence Against Women, such as Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency (see Helen Hakena's article in this issue), are in complete agreement that the issue of violence against women cannot be adequately addressed without education to change attitudes towards women.

Leitana's approach

Leitana, a Bougainville non government organisation (NGO), is attempting to find ways to challenge the individuals and organisations that have used violence in the past, and not allow them to rationalise its use in the future. Almost all the communities that Leitana works with have common problems relating to violence and alcohol. Leitana works on the assumption that homebrew leads to aggression and violence within the home. Violence is being openly discussed in ways it has not been in the past, in terms of the physical effect – in particular, the abuse and domestic violence towards women – and the consequences this has upon society as a whole. By understanding the influences that have shaped gender relations in Bougainville, organisations like Leitana are better placed to plan policies that address the constraints that hinder women's participation in the development process.

Key issues for the future

Of particular importance to research in societies under stress is the integration of gender analysis into the development process. Success will be achieved if a combination of community-driven decision making and organisational development is implemented. Furthermore, it is important to take a more inclusive approach to human rights and gender in the post-conflict setting and to include women's social, economic and political rights in the discussion. There are several reasons why there should be further support for research and thinking in gender analysis in post-conflict situations. The effects of armed conflict on any community are often devastating in social, economic and cultural terms. Other elements include changes in population balance between men and women, and subsequent changes in the division of labour, often resulting in gender relations being contested, such as increased urban and domestic violence and women being excluded from peace negotiations.

Therefore, it is important to examine gender issues in peace-building initiatives, because conflict is a gendered activity and because women and men experience conflict differently. Women, as well as men, have a fundamental stake in building peaceful communities. Peace is a prerequisite for achieving the goal of gender equality and women's empowerment and some would argue that such equality is necessary for true peace (broadly defined). A gender and development analysis should, therefore, be an automatic element in the planning of strategies, as it would...
seek to trace the ways in which changes in the rebuilding of society impact upon gender relations. In particular, it would look at the extent to which women's marginalisation is increased during and after conflict, as well as whether there are opportunities for improving their position as a result of the changing situation.

There are many factors that may enhance, support or detract from the work of organisations like Leitana, in particular, the role that bilateral agencies, NGOs, governments (national and provincial), and structural, cultural and religious actors have in development projects. Funding arrangements may constrain local NGOs, who are often dependent upon outside assistance. External donors may favour an approach that is in contrast to the complexities of the local situation. There is an urgent need to get governments and institutions in power to acknowledge the importance of women in development, by addressing structures that contribute to a continuation of the status quo. This is especially significant in Papua New Guinea, where one province – Bougainville – is attempting cultural change (that is also part of an independence movement), when changes in attitudes towards women are not taking place or are doing so at a slow pace.

Despite what Leitana has achieved in Bougainville, the lack of established structures, particularly in government, church, and law, to deal with gender violence provides another major obstacle to eliminating violence against women. It was not until the late 1980s that the World Council of Churches acknowledged the problem as an issue it needed to address, and attempted to create a more active role in implementing the human rights of women within religions and religious institutions. Religious institutions have, until recently, been slow to respond to issues relating to violence against women. In the late 1990s, several publications sought to challenge the silence of the churches around the world in ignoring the issue, and the negative impact that this has upon the development of societies as a whole. In Bougainville, Sister Lorraine and colleagues of the Bougainville Inter-Church Forum are attempting to address issues relating to women and gender through trauma counselling and discussion groups.

Despite positive advances, the most overwhelming impediment is the lack of acknowledgement of the unequal power relations between men and women. Structural change is ultimately influenced by policy planners, the majority of whom are men, who may not be willing to give up their positions of power. Governments must accept that women are part of the development process and must find ways that combine traditional and modern authority, in order to accommodate both men and women and achieve a balance in the political economy of a new Bougainville.

Conclusion

The representation of violence is a fundamental feature of education strategies for violence or against violence, and is particularly important in Bougainville, where violence has been a way of life for over a decade. The work of organisations like Leitana illustrates the creativity and commitment that staff and volunteers have towards raising awareness on issues of violence and development. Women, and their communities, will benefit directly from projects that promote women's rights, address violence against them, and tackle the growing problem of increased use of homebrew and alcoholism. Leitana is attempting to define a new approach to development, one that is holistic and appropriate in post-conflict Bougainville. To think of development in opposition to culture and tradition will ensure that policy will not be as effective as articulating an approach that has been developed locally.

A post-conflict environment creates new social structures and ways of working, and the political solution it brings may open up new possibilities for development. Violence against women and women in development are important issues of research in their own right, especially when one considers the links between them. It is vital, then, to focus on the relationship between violence and development, particularly as it relates to women in a post-conflict situation.

Notes

This paper is an edited version of a Minor Thesis, submitted to the University of Melbourne as part of a Masters in Development Studies (Gender and Development).


References


Reflections on change, ethnicity and conflict: Family and ethnic violence in Papua New Guinea

Carol Kidu, Member of Parliament, Port Moresby

Background

The problem that is crippling development in Papua New Guinea was articulated recently by the Speaker of the National Parliament, the Hon. Bernard Narokobi, when he was launching the UNDP 2000 Human Development Report (UNDP 2000):

Papua New Guinea suffers from a culture of violence which abuses all known human rights ... [these] abuses often occur outside the accepted legal order, sometimes coinciding with wrong political and cultural practices that [are] now accepted as a way of life.

This is the worrying reality now facing Papua New Guinea: violence and destruction of property have become the common response to conflict situations. This culture of violence sees women getting beaten to death without redress and property being burnt and destroyed in blind payback as people take the law into their own hands. There is increasing frustration at many levels over the inability of the justice system to cope with the enormous complexities of the situation.

To try to understand these complexities, we need to look to our past and our present. I would contend that missionary influence and colonial impact, although well-intentioned and dedicated, had a disempowering effect in many areas. People found that they were no longer truly in control of their lives and a feeling of dependence developed. On top of that has been both the positive and negative impact of Western culture and technology and the growing concern about unmanaged globalisation.

It is 25 years since Papua New Guinea's independence and the enactment of our Constitution. Sadly, we are a long way from achieving the ideals in the Preamble, considering the complexities of:

- a nation of over 800 different languages and tribal groups;
- a nation that is entering the world of modern science and technology in one gigantic leap from technologies based on stone, wood, and shell implements;
- a nation in which traditional, subsistence villages are coming face to face with the bulldozers of globalisation;
- a nation faced with the difficult task of marrying worthy customs and traditional wisdoms of over 800 tribes with the values and customs of foreign cultures; and
- a nation with a widening gap between rich and poor, with growing health and education needs, and with law and order problems.

Since Independence, many people have been progressively marginalised as population increase outstripped the nation's capacity to provide formal education. The pressure on the education system has been building up for many years and stems from the dilemma about how to provide a relevant education for many different sections of society, each with different needs and expectations. In my low-income urban electorate, this is an area of major concern for me:

Firstly, there are approximately 85% of the population who will remain in their own communities. Their major source of employment will be their own subsistence and small community-based commercial enterprises. The second group is the 15% or so who will find formal employment in the slowly increasing government, business and service industries. Further to those two major groups there are the small number of children, who, like those from any other country in the world, have the ability to perform at top international standards. It is vitally important that this group, however small, continue to receive the education that they require to fully realise their potential. The final group is the small but growing number of landless urban youth who are alienated from their village links yet have no prospects of formal employment. This is the group that poses the greatest potential for political instability. It is often argued that the increasing law and order problem in the country, in particular in Port Moresby, has been caused by the inability of the education system to adequately cater for this group of people. (Government of Papua New Guinea, 1999 p.13)

Violence and the Constitution

In the past two decades, family violence, particularly violence against women, has been recognised as a major human rights issue. In June 1993, the World Conference on Human Rights recognised gender based violence as incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person. In December 1993, the UN General Assembly proclaimed the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women. Domestic violence is not just a Papua New Guinean, or developing country, issue. It is a human rights issue, affecting women, men and children worldwide, that each society must deal with in its own cultural context.

Any form of violence is clearly contrary to the spirit of the PNG Constitution:

- The Preamble states that 'we reject violence and seek consensus as a means of solving our common problems'.

November 2000
• Section 1 states that the first goal of the National Goals and Directive Principles shall be for 'every person to be dynamically involved in the process of freeing himself or herself from every form of domination or oppression so that each man or woman will have the opportunity to develop as a whole person in relationship with others'.

• Goal No. 2(12) affirms 'recognition of the principles that a complete relationship in marriage rests upon equality of rights and duties of the partners and that responsible parenthood is based on that equality'.

• Under Section 55(1), 'all citizens have the same rights, privileges, obligations, and duties irrespective of race, tribe, place of origin, political opinion, colour, creed, religion, or sex'.

• Section 36(1) provides that no person shall be submitted 'to treatment or punishment (whether physical or mental) that is cruel or otherwise inhuman, or is inconsistent with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person'.

• Schedule 2.1(2) states that a custom which is inconsistent with the Constitution or a statute, or is 'repugnant to the general principles of humanity ... shall not be applied or enforced'.

That is the answer that must be stated very loudly and very clearly to people who excuse violent behaviour by saying 'pasin bilong Papua New Guinea' or 'ita eda kara' (PNG way). The Constitution was framed by the Founding Fathers to protect all human rights. In theory, it is more powerful than customary law.

Theory and reality are very different, however, and the reality is that violence and conflict have become major problems in our homes, villages and urban areas. It must be stressed, though, that there are marked differences between ethnic groups and between rural and urban areas.

Anecdotal evidence and limited research indicate an increase in wife beating, child abuse, and rape (including marital rape), in line with the general increase of violence in society. There is a need for much more research (both quantitative and qualitative) so that we can gain a better understanding of the changing nature and incidence of violence, as a basis for policy formulation and for planning interventions that will reverse this worrying trend.

Possible causes of increasing domestic violence

Causal analysis is difficult when it has to be based on anecdotal evidence, as is the case with a lot of family violence, but there are several likely contributing factors:

• Abuse of custom: Bridal price was traditionally an exchange of wealth between clans or tribes which established mutual obligations and 'protocols'. In many areas, it was actually a protection for women but nowadays it is a commercialised transaction that can turn them into mere chattels to be bought. Polygamy has become serial marriage in many places, with women and children being the victims, often of physical violence. And pasin bilong yumi is being used to sanction male dominance.

• Breakdown of traditional protective customs: Women (for example, senior aunts) used to act as peacemakers but are now rarely used in conflict resolution; chaperoning is disappearing; and peacemaking customs within extended families (for example, badu heresu) are breaking down.

• Introduction of mass media with too much violence.

• Alcohol and drugs.

• Frustration, anger and resentment/jealousy.

• Inability of present structures and procedures to deal with the situation in a restorative way.

• Continuing attitudes of male dominance and differential rates of social change.

• Increasing rapid urbanisation that dislocates people.

Progress in dealing with domestic violence

In the early 1980s, domestic violence was recognised as a matter of public importance and the then Minister for Justice, Tony Bais MP, asked the Law Reform Commission to report to him on the issue. A lot of research and work was undertaken and the commission's final report (Report No. 14) was presented to Narokobi (then Minister for Justice) in 1992. The ten-year period was marked by some excellent public awareness campaigns, extensive surveys and proposed amendments to existing legislation. The Domestic Violence Report made 54 recommendations.

Unfortunately, since then the momentum has slowed. The legislative as well as the social recommendations of the original report have recently been reviewed. But neither review has yet been to parliament, although one of my recommended legislative amendments has been passed as a private member's bill.

The YWCA is playing a very strong advocacy role and, with assistance from various donor agencies, has been conducting public forums and other activities to raise awareness of the worrying levels of violence. These are gaining good media coverage and are undoubtedly having a subtle influence on public thinking.

As one of the activities to commemorate Papua New Guinea's Silver Jubilee in September, a two-day workshop on domestic violence was held, with the aim of coordinating all the past workshops, reports and activities into a more integrated approach to deal with the problem. This workshop, instigated by the Institute of National Affairs, was funded with help from the British High Commission and AusAID. Its report is not yet ready, but follow-up preparation of an action plan is receiving...
funding assistance from the British High Commission and possibly other sources. It should be successful in moving the whole issue forward, because it is running parallel with and in consultation with bureaucratic developments but is NGO, church and private sector driven.

**Proposed domestic violence legislation**

A submission concerning the legislative recommendations of the Domestic Violence Report has been prepared by the Law Reform Commission for the minister to take to cabinet. It is anticipated that this will be enacted as government legislation in the near future.

A private member's bill from Narokobi (when Leader of the Opposition) proposed making polygamy in any form illegal. This bill has now been taken up by the Hon. Stephen Pokawin since the original sponsor became Speaker. However, I believe it is unlikely to be passed in its present form for a variety of reasons.

I have a private member's bill on child sexual abuse, plus some amendments to the present legislation on rape, in preparation for review and further amendments before it goes to parliament.

My amendment to the Village Court Act, making it mandatory for each village court to include at least one female village magistrate, was unanimously passed in July 2000. It now needs to be publicised through the women's networks so that they can lobby for its implementation on the ground.

**Violence in communities**

Narokobi's contention that Papua New Guinea suffers from all forms of violence is certainly true in the capital city of Port Moresby. Besides family violence, the rapidly increasing urban population is faced with the violence of 'rascalism', based in a youth gang culture, and with the tensions of ethnic violence, based in customary responses to conflict situations. It cannot be denied that containing the escalating breakdown in law and order is perhaps our greatest challenge to sustainable development.

The situation we are facing is largely a result of many years of what I call the 'violence of neglect', which has left people frustrated, disempowered and increasingly poorer. This violence of neglect is not something that I will develop here, except to state the urgent need for integrated and comprehensive community based development programmes designed for maximum impact at minimum cost. It is going to need a gigantic effort at both the community level, to break the cargo-cult dependency syndrome that has developed, and at the political and bureaucratic level, to make decision making and service delivery responsive to people's real needs and accountable to principles of good governance.

‘Rascalism’

Youth gang subcultures have been a reality in Papua New Guinea, particularly Port Moresby, for over two decades. They are perhaps a by-product of the inability of the system to provide education opportunities for all. They began as a nuisance, with gangs claiming 'territorial areas' and sustaining themselves through criminal activity. They have grown to become highly organised and sometimes ruthlessly violent gangs, who basically hold everyone to ransom through the atmosphere of fear that now permeates society.

Papua New Guinea is a young nation and it is a nation made up of young people. Youth make up almost half of our population and until we address this reality effectively, in terms of ensuring opportunities and a sense of hope, we will be sharpening only one side of a double-edged sword. There is no point in planning policies for peace if we do not address the violence of neglect.

During my visit to Bomana prison for Independence celebrations, the prisoners, most of whom are youth, spoke frankly and honestly of their belief that Papua New Guinea has two sets of laws in terms of implementation nowadays. They were rightly critical of the fact that some leaders have 'stolen' large sums of public money by misappropriation and mismanagement for pure greed, whereas people stealing for survival are treated very harshly.

The reality for most youth in PNG is well expressed in this poem:

One world, two worlds, And I stand in between.

Old world and new world, I am your divided child.

It is a reality that has serious implications for the mental health of our youth, who create their own fantasy world with false empowerment from abuse of alcohol and drugs (mainly marijuana) combined with guns and violence.

**Changing nature of ethnic violence**

There is no one country in Papua New Guinea . . . There are hundreds of countries in Papua New Guinea and we are trying to make them into one great country.

Tribal fighting was the traditional response to conflict between groups in Papua New Guinea. Whereas the longer 'pacifying' influence of missionaries and colonial rule in coastal areas brought a virtual end to tribal fighting, in the Highlands region it remains a major problem in many areas.

With the increasing rural-to-urban drift, ethnic enclaves are developing throughout Port Moresby, and tribal customary law is regularly imposed outside the parameters of the legal system, sometimes blatantly ignoring the basic principles of universal justice that are needed in a cosmopolitan city.

The difficulty lies not in the new ideas but in escaping from the old ones, which ramify, for those brought up as most of us have been, into every corner of our minds. This difficulty is
compounded by the fact that what is practised now is a new version of old customs. Tribal and clan fighting was traditionally regulated and stage-managed by adherence to strict rules imposed by the elders. Nowadays, the elders cannot control situations, the rules are being ignored and high-powered weapons have been introduced to tribal fighting, with money and politics having a big influence.

During debate on the passage of the Intergroup Fighting (Amendment) Bill in March 2000, the seriousness of the situation to human life and to stopping the development process was well illustrated by many MPs. Baki Reipa, Kainantu MP, described the harsh reality of tribal fighting in part of his electorate:

- about 40 people have been killed in the ongoing conflict;
- K470,000 of electorate development funds allocated to assist police is still insufficient to deal with the situation;
- several schools have been closed;
- the only health centre has been closed;
- the Okapa road has been closed;
- women are dying in childbirth and children are dying of preventable diseases because there is no access to medical help; and
- there are continuing problems with gun trading.

Some Highlands MPs have called for greater regional control on law and order enforcement to allow for public hangings in lawless situations.

In urban electorates such as mine, the incidence of ethnic clashes and senseless killings and destruction of property is growing with the increased rate of unmanaged urbanisation. Recently, we had serious incidents in three different communities. I spent all afternoon in one community in my electorate in an attempt to defuse the volatile situation but felt complete frustration over the inadequacies of the formal legal system to deal with such situations. It prompted me to ask a Question Without Notice in parliament, emphasising the need for us to address the problems of the conflict between custom and the law in tribal clashes.

On a positive note, however, on the same day, the Minister for Justice presented to parliament a progressive policy document from the law and justice sector. It has some excellent recommendations on restorative justice. I hope that these recommendations will receive both political and bureaucratic support and the necessary resource allocations for implementation. Without genuine support from the state to communities, there is little hope of turning the tide of violence and the breakdown in law and order in Papua New Guinea. This policy document on restorative justice is a major step forward.

**Peacemaking policies**

It is important to take a multisectoral, integrated approach in developing peacemaking policies, because the issues involved are extremely complex and the law enforcement agencies cannot be expected to deal with all of them. I make a few general suggestions:

- Training for transformation in communities and developing principles of good governance at all levels of society must be pivotal in the whole process of peacemaking – peace and good governance are two sides of one coin.
- Comprehensive community based programmes for individual and community empowerment and sustainable development must be part of the process. Civil society must break free from the dependency syndrome and introduce community strengthening and capacity building. The violence of neglect must be reversed – peacemaking and poverty reduction through empowerment are two sides of another coin.
- The peacemaking process must be inclusive and the role of women and youth must be clearly defined, mainstreamed and visible.

It is important to note that a lot of good work is being done. Many churches have established social concerns committees, and several NGOs are working in urban settlements and villages. PEACE Foundation Melanesia, for example, has been running courses on people skills, conflict resolution, and community planning.

Maxine Pitts emphasises the necessity for both informal and formal methods of crime control:

In view of public expressions concerning crime, I conclude that the control of crime in PNG is not just a 'social' issue as politicians suggest. It is more a leadership issue which links with resource equity and availability. I also conclude that informal methods of crime control which preserve human rights will not work in isolation from state controls and that to be sustained they need a variety of state services and other resources. Universally, citizens want their leaders to lead and create order. PNG citizens admire strength and consistency in those leaders who have the courage of their convictions, high moral codes of behaviour and provide visions that translate into practical benefits.

My research points repeatedly to the fact that informal methods of crime control will be enhanced when the public sector is diligent in basic administrative practice and are supported by politicians in their efforts... In a transparent environment I believe resources will increase to communities and PNG citizens will have greater incentive to maintain social order and become enthusiastic practitioners of crime control strategies that respect shared values and beliefs and link with state driven initiatives to preserve human rights. (Pitts 1999)

**Conclusion**

Although our Constitution states that 'we reject violence and seek consensus as a means of solving our common problems', we seem to be further from that ideal than ever before.
Our challenge is to move forward from articulating the ideals in the Constitution and from juridical legal postulates of 'thou shalt nots', to a vision of hope, a set of values all of us will cherish as dear to our hearts ... A massive national campaign to persuade everyone to accept human rights as a statement of faith and hope is most urgent.

We must urgently face the fact that British common law, which was imposed and which is in fact inappropriate and not common, is a superficial veneer that has worn thin. We must develop an acceptable Melanesian common law, based in custom but adhering to universally accepted principles of human rights and justice.

This is a complex and difficult issue, because facts become confused with emotions in any volatile situation and because commonsense and reason are often forgotten. But it is an issue that must be addressed at all levels of society because, as long as there is conflict in our communities, the processes of sustainable development cannot take place.

References
Violence and peacemaking in Papua New Guinea: A realistic assessment of the social and cultural issues at grassroots level

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Introduction

These are my own observations drawn from my experiences of living and working in Papua New Guinea over the last 22 years. I am not speaking for any of the women with whom I have lived and worked - I know that some would agree with some of my views and others would not. Some of my ideas have developed in the context of discussions of the problem that violence poses for women in their everyday lives. In conversations I have often been struck by the force with which women have articulated their suffering at the hands of men. But such vehemence is rarely enunciated publicly. Women's public status, condoned male violence, the law - both formal and traditional - and the ways in which it is interpreted and implemented, are crucial elements in the lack of attention paid to women's views and opinions.

The growing gap between young people and their parents and grandparents, and the ways in which young people are exposed to images and values that glorify violence, are underlying factors in the generation of this 'culture of violence' that permeates the lives of the impoverished urban poor in Papua New Guinea. While there is much talk about the success of Melanesian traditions of negotiation, compromise and solving problems by talking them out, there are numerous instances where these methods have conspicuously failed to bring about peace and harmony. Continuing local tensions in Bougainville, in areas of the Highlands and in other rural areas reveal the lack of culturally accepted alternatives for attaining political ends and settling disagreements that have arisen in the context of economic and social change in an independent nation.

Papua New Guinea is a violent society. There are some areas of the country where tribal warfare is now endemic, resulting in the deaths of many men and the loss of houses, gardens, coffee plantations and livestock. International comparative studies of crimes of violence indicate that Papua New Guinea ranks third in the world in terms of victim rates. Police killings and police violence against suspected offenders are common occurrences. The majority of public complaints against police for acts of violence are recorded as crimes - look high, and for those who want to present a rosier picture of Papua New Guinea by drawing parallels such contrasts can serve them well. But, once we acknowledge the fact that most crimes, especially those of violence against women, are unreported, that police records are often inaccurate, that most crimes are dealt with by 'rough justice' or not at all, the situation in Papua New Guinea is bleak.

In towns such as Port Moresby and Lae, women live in fear of rape and assault. The statistics estimating violence against women indicate that as many as 70 per cent of all women are beaten by their husbands. The most common place for assault is inside the home. This violence is largely condoned by men and accepted by women. Men condone it because they believe that they are entitled to physically punish a wife who has, in their eyes, committed some wrong. Women accept it for a variety of reasons: because they are economically dependent on their husbands; because they do not want to break up the family; because they accept the right of a husband to beat them; or because they have nowhere to go to escape.

Responses to violence

The response to violence varies from place to place in Papua New Guinea. In some areas, there are cultural constraints whereby people readily intervene whenever violence breaks out. Traditionally, in the region of Milne Bay, where I have done research, women, especially older women, could stop men from fighting or prevent the death of a war captive by stepping between them and either holding up one of her skirts or laying it on the shoulders of the captive. Similarly in some areas of Bougainville, women could surround a person who was being attacked and so prevent further injury. But I thought too of the Guadalcanal woman in Solomons who refused to hand over her niece to be raped by Malaitan men - she was violently assaulted.

Recently on television, I saw a film clip of women confronting armed soldiers in Chiapas in Mexico. There were hundreds of them and they held up their children, daring the soldiers to shoot unarmed women and children as they would have shot their menfolk. I wondered about this action - one that has many precedents in many different countries, but not in Papua New Guinea. I discussed this with some of the women working on the project with me and they said simply that, in their experience of reprisal raids by mobile squads, when women
The life of a fighter, the thrill of combat and the glamour of swaggering around as a 'Rambo' are hard to lay aside. Men dashing back to Bougainville.

Few men intervene to prevent violence against women, even when the woman is a sister. Many police report that women were beaten while others, including other family members, looked on. My own interviews with women in Port Moresby revealed numerous cases where a woman was assaulted in a public place and nobody came to her assistance. Sometimes, people stand and watch an assault as if it is a form of entertainment.

The taste for violence as an exciting activity is constantly fostered in contemporary Papua New Guinea, with videos and TV shows that depict and glorify violence being the most popular forms of entertainment. It is not just the raskols who long to be 'Ramos'; just look at the members of the defence force in Bougainville, the police mobile squad members, the men fighting tribal wars in the Eastern Highlands, the disaffected unemployed youth in small towns, the Malaitan and Guadalcanal men swaggering around with bandanas and baggy army clothes – all emulate the style of dress and the arrogant stance familiar from advertisements and films. Violence is glamorous masculinity in Melanesia.

In recent years, I have often sat in houses while a video is on – Bruce Lee, Sylvester Stallone, assorted other musclesmen whose main activity and aim in life is to take the law into their own hands by inflicting injury and death on those who have in some way offended them. The women of the household usually sit quietly and watch with interest and without comment. On the occasions when I have asked women what they think of these films, they have shrugged or expressed some puzzlement. While I sit grossly offended by the values, the violence and the glorification of brute force, most of the women accept these films as something that belongs to the world of men. Few appear troubled by the ways in which their sons imitate the behaviours they observe.

A whole generation of young men has grown up without learning the skills of gardening and nor do they want to do so. The life of a fighter, the thrill of combat and the glamour of swaggering around as a 'Rambo' are hard to lay aside. Men disarm under orders from their male leaders, not because of the prayers and pleas of their mothers and wives. They make 'jungle juice' and sit around reliving the glories of warlordship. They get in a banana boat (probably bought with aid money) and go down to Gizo in Western Solomons, strutting around the town brandishing their weapons and spoiling for a fight. The fighting between Malaitans and Guadalcanal people becomes their excuse for threatening to murder Malaitans, for killing a man and then dashing back to Bougainville.

The cultural acceptance of male violence as a response to anger or frustration and the social acceptability of violent punishments underlie the problems facing peacemakers. Working in an area where there is a goldmining project, I have on several occasions observed meetings where decisions to blockade, or otherwise take a confrontation stance, have been made. Women do not usually attend these meetings; if they do, they sit in at the back, quietly. When the heedy, angry talk is raging and men are whipping up emotions and threatening violence, women are absent, or their voices are silent.

**Women's lack of representation**

The exclusion of women from public political decision making in traditional societies is well-documented for Papua New Guinea. In a modern nation-state which enshrines equal rights for all men and women, the lack of women in political roles is discriminatory and unjustifiable. Whereas it was accepted that in the past men, as husbands and brothers, adequately represented the interests of their wives and sisters in political processes, such a view is untenable in the modern context. If this were true, the Bougainville conflict would not have dragged on for a decade. Men listened to women when they finally got sick of fighting – not when their wives died in childbirth because of the lack of hospital facilities; not when women were being routinely raped by soldiers, police and other Bougainville men; nor when women had to struggle to find food for their families away from their villages. Women had no political presence when so-called peace talks were foundering. Violence by men was constantly met by counter-violence. Rapes were avenged by rapes, killings by killings.

Even now, as the slow process of reconstruction has begun and various non-government organisations (NGOs) attempt to assist in transforming the devastation, the rhetoric about women's centrality is belied by the reality on the ground. This is not to deny the significance of the roles of some women, but to insist that these few women not be seen as typifying the situation of women. Reading the NGO reports, listening to the stories of women who are involved in projects, two things stand out: that women's organisations are heavily dependent on outside funding, and that, in projects aimed at reconstruction and development, men are the major decision makers and beneficiaries. One woman, working on the community policing project, recounted how often she had to press for women's views to be elicited and how scornful the men were about her insistence. In many villages, the burden of subsistence work falls heavily on women. They do not have time to be involved in development projects. They have to produce food, collect firewood and water, wash clothes and look after the needs of their families.

The separation of men and women's spheres of authoritative action is regularly appealed to in Melanesia. Men use it to justify the exclusion of women from political decision making; women use it to cling on to the notion that they have influence within the domestic, familial sphere that can be indirectly applied to other areas. Yet there is little evidence of this influence in the modern political process. Women on Bougainville were praying...
for peace almost from the moment that fighting broke out. The destruction of roads, hospitals and aid posts meant that they suffered. The burning of schools and other government buildings meant that their children suffered. They were powerless to protect their interests and those of their children in the face of destructive male violence.

It is in the area of women's health that their lack of representation in political decision making and in the implementation processes manifests itself most negatively. Papua New Guinean women's health defies the 'rule' that economic development results in an improvement in maternal health. The death rates and the life expectancy of women are worse in Papua New Guinea than in Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, which are poorer countries with lower literacy rates. National health policies have for years observed the poor health of women and been committed to improving it. The policies are there but, when budget decisions are made, health gets cut.

Similarly with law reform and police policies. There is constant talk about government responses to 'law and order' but no funding for improvements in policing. It is no use training people and stressing improved performance and response when the facilities are inadequate — phone bills unpaid mean that station phones are cut off and people cannot contact the police by phone. A person can call and their report will be taken, but there are no vehicles so there is no immediate response. Delays in response mean that people commit crimes knowing that their chances of getting away with it are good. In Port Moresby, crime pays. For many young men it is their livelihood. The funds required to improve police performance are simply never forthcoming. The training of police in community policing strategies will lead nowhere if police never have enough vehicles to go outside their stations.

Can violence be addressed?

Papua New Guinea has had extensive 'awareness' campaigns on the problems of domestic violence. The term itself is recognised by women who know only a little pidgin. Police are all familiar with the idea and the slogan that domestic violence is a crime, yet the problems of police inaction, of sending women complainants away, persist. Policemen themselves are among the worst perpetrators of domestic violence.

Most recently, my work has involved assisting community policing officers in conducting workshops on crimes against women. The majority of people attending are women, the solutions that we arrive at invariably involve actions by men — men are the problem, after all — but the institutional authority to implement policies that would improve the situation lies in men's hands and they do not see the solutions as being in their interests.

The separation of spheres of influence and activity based on customary gender role distinctions creates some interpretative problems for outside observers. Over the years, working on different projects, I have often been struck by the ways in which women can analyse and articulate the social problems they face. In the context of their own organisations, they often appear to have better political skills than many Papua New Guinean men. They are dignified, intelligent and articulate in their ways of interaction with each other and with Europeans with whom they are working. I often leave such meetings feeling incredibly inspired and filled with admiration for such women. They work tirelessly in NGOs and other groups, trying to improve the lives of other women.

But these extraordinary talents are rarely exercised jointly with men. Integrating women into development projects has proven very difficult, if there is any money around, men find ways of getting it and women can always be sidelined. In meetings when men are present, these wonderful articulate women often remain silent or their voices are drowned out by those of the men.

Even worse, from the perspective of trying to work out projects that will improve the lives of women, the political tensions between different women and their organisations often hinder and obstruct implementation. Differences of opinion and struggles over funding often fragment women's organisations, rendering them ineffective. Men are often obstructive — refusing to allow women to attend meetings or to travel, insisting that they control the money that women earn. The failure of income-generating projects for women and the tensions associated with women's organisations are issues that are inadequately dealt with by agencies supporting these organisations.

Peacemaking in wars is reacting to situations that have, in the main, been created by men who refuse to compromise and youths who are caught up in the glamour of violence, who enjoy the freedom from constraint. The prevention of conflict and the refusal to accept or tolerate violence are a much more difficult political task, mainly because women's voices are usually outside the political arena. At present in Papua New Guinea, women's interests are subsumed by men's. Men fight because they perceive that there are political gains to be made. Many of the women with whom I work think that the economic and social costs of those political gains are too great, but they remain excluded from the institutions that define political interests and so they are unable to change the circumstances that give rise to conflict and violence.

Conclusion

The title of my article refers to a 'realistic assessment'. Realism requires interventionist responses that are going to be very difficult, and before any real peacemaking can occur in the most profound ways — those that bring about a peaceful society — there needs to be a realistic assessment of the social and cultural origins of the problem and the ways in which male violence is now enacted with powerful weapons. The material advantages
that men have gained by controlling weapons must be acknowledged. There needs to be disarmament both literally, in the case of the Solomons, Bougainville and various other parts of Papua New Guinea, and figuratively, in respect of those men who see themselves as entitled to inflict violence on other men and on their women. There also needs to be a recognition that raising awareness among women is only part of the solution; the socialisation of boys and men is the other, more problematic dimension of this issue.

The peacemaking activities of women demonstrate their political abilities, just as they enable women to develop ideals of the ways in which they want their society to improve and change. Twenty-five years after Independence, women are still not equal participants in the political, social and economic processes that will determine improvements in the future. Peacemaking is mopping up after the men have made a mess of things; the real task is trying to ensure women's full political representation and participation so that these messes do not arise.
Gender, culture and conflict resolution among the Murik of the Sepik River, Papua New Guinea

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Introduction

One of the main empirical contributions of cultural anthropology to the study of conflict resolution in Papua New Guinea has been to report on fine-grained case studies of the management or regulation of disputes, many of which involved sexual jealousies or domestic violence. Theoretically, many cultural anthropologists have followed a Durkheimian framework. That is, they have sought to relate conflict to remedies and legal processes, not from above (for example, to the monopoly of legitimate violence held by a state) but from below (for example, to the relative solidarity of disputants). They have stressed, for instance, the social range of their relationship, measured in terms of power differentials, wealth, group size and so forth (see, for example, Koch et al. 1977, Malinowski 1926).

In my book Mangrove Man (Lipset 1997), I sought to bring another kind of anthropological expertise to bear on the question of conflict resolution—namely, to explicate a ritual remedy as a cultural system of meaning. In doing so, I argued that, among the Murik Lakes people of the 1980s and early 1990s, a major source of conflict continually arose from tensions between men and women over alienated affection. The ritual resolution of these tensions symbolically recreated a moral image of nurturant generosity, of a good mother feeding dependent children. In other words, the construction of moral order in Murik culture drew upon a feminised image of maternity to which either gender might appeal when the need arose. Conflict typically resulted from the sexual rivalries of men over women, and vice versa, and conflict resolution, as I watched it during this time, recreated an ideal of nurture and quietism that the Murik implicitly associate with the dependency of children upon their mothers. The relationship of gender to the culture of social control among the Murik could not be any more comprehensive.

Murik society

The Murik live in small, kinship based villages that are located on the edge of a big system of brackish lagoons at the mouth of the Sepik River. In the 1980s and early 1990s, their society remained relatively isolated from the state and its judicial systems. Since Independence (in 1975), therefore, the people have found themselves largely left to their own devices, with respect to conflict management.

My research began in 1981 and has since continued on an intermittent basis. In the 1980s, during which I made three field trips to the Murik Lakes, the villages were repeatedly divided by conflicts that had broken out because of sexually motivated rivalries among male youth about women.

I concluded that, as a system of cultural meaning among the Murik, reproduction, conflict and conflict resolution are nothing more than a recreation of each other. The same process that is constantly enacted between men and women during reproduction is symbolically recreated when conflict breaks out and is ritually resolved. And, reciprocally, the process of conflict and conflict resolution is recreated during the sexual reproduction of children. I admit that this assertion is somewhat counter-intuitive to Western ears. But I have watched the (public parts of the) two processes unfold many times over the years. Let me explain what I mean more fully.

Following intercourse, a woman’s body becomes pregnant. It is held to be beset by mystical impurities and it becomes vulnerable to sorcery attack. A woman must then be quarantined from the public. She stays home and removes herself from collective life after her pregnancy becomes visible. The culmination of gestation—birthing—at once threatens and reproduces moral order. The woman is sent to a birth-house, located on the edge of the community. This exclusion is meant to protect men, in particular, from contact with the very toxic impurities of childbirth. Just after a baby is born, a knot is tied above its body in order to secure the soul. Mother and child are then sequestered at home for several more months, until the newborn is brought down from the house and introduced to the village by his mother’s brother or father’s sister, depending upon the baby’s gender. He or she is decorated in ceremonial regalia at this time and the male cult prepares a sacred porridge for the pleasure of the community.

The Murik process of conflict and conflict resolution

The Murik ethnotheory of the process of conflict and conflict resolution advances in four discrete and quite explicit phases:

1. ‘private’ tensions between coeval youths arise from sexual jealousies, which often come to a head when a girl becomes pregnant;
2. these tensions may escalate into wider violence and go on until
3. they are suspended by the institution of avoidance relations that may be
resolved by the exchange of reciprocal feasts and the display of ceremonial regalia, should the parties agree.

Symbolically, in the course of this process, mystical pollution becomes transformed into a pure image of the body, adorned with regalia, bound with knots, weighted down by abundant prestations and renewed commensality. Ridding the body of pollution symbolically recapitulates the process of procreative reproduction as it is locally understood.

The avoidance phase of the conflict resolution process is their equivalent of the defiled, 'gestative' phase of pregnancy, when the maternal body is withdrawn from the community. Like pregnant women, the parties may not eat together during this period. They must restrict all domestic contact until they have renewed their relationship by exchanging reciprocal feasts, that is, until they have been reborn and have 'mothered' each other via ritual acts of nurture, and recreated their relations as moral, as between 'mothers and children'. An exchange of tobacco and betel-nuts may also re-establish moral relations between conflicting parties, particularly if the dispute has been between individuals and not allied groups.

During an extended truce/avoidance period that was established between feuding villages in 1981–82, the parties physically turned when paddling past the community of their rival so as not to cast their eyes upon it. The major toll of the avoidance was felt by kin and affines in the two villages, who stood and declared, 'Thank you for preparing food for us. We are very happy indeed.'

The role of food in resolving conflict

In addition to dyadic rivalries, all levels or scales of conflict may be and are settled through the exchange of food – for example, between in-laws, between senior and junior generations of a community over leadership issues, between the directors and the members of a fishing cooperative over decision making, among a sago-processing work group, between birth and adoptive parents. But the solution to conflict is one and the same:

- In 1980, Lady had an affair with Malai and soon afterwards split up with her husband, William Aumbe. The two youths got into a fistfight on the sidelines of a soccer game some weeks later. Over a brief period of several weeks, their conflict escalated until two entire villages were pitted against each other. A meeting took place in the male spirit-house of a neutral village. A taboo was instituted which was meant to be observed until the two villages exchanged reciprocal pig feasts. Eighteen months passed. The visitors tied ginger leaves on the piles of all the buildings of their hosts and were treated to a day-long feast. Individual hosts made compensation payments. Speeches were made revealing common ancestry, ceremonial regalia and other cross-cutting relationships. Peace resumed immediately (see Lipset 1997).
- Sembu had a verbal fight with Bilau, her daughter's husband. 'I have not eaten fish he has shot since we argued', she told me. In 1982, in order to conclude the period of avoidance they had observed, Bilau gave his mother-in-law a fish, which she cooked and ate, and she presented him with a meal of fish and sago-pudding.
- In 1982, a work group had gone to process sago near a neighbouring village of trading partners. A feeling of bitterness arose that they were gone overly long. After they returned, food was brought to the men's spirit-house that was sponsored by the workers. The meal was said 'to silence their complaints'. The village counsellor stood to explain that the work group had faced several problems while away. Their hosts had asked them to help clear away overgrowth in a channel that connected the two villages. The plates were divided in half to be consumed by people who had been complaining and by others who were not. Early in the morning, a long, tense discussion ensued in the men's spirit-house about the inconsistency of the directors. Later in the afternoon, food began to arrive in the men's house. A large number of plates of fish and rice, and fish and sago pudding, covered the central area of the large floor. It was then divided in half, 'one for the people and the other for the directors'. People got up and moved across the floor: the directors moved to the side of the room where the people had been sitting, and the people walked over and sat down in the space which the directors had formerly occupied.

Why do I say that the Murik associate food-giving with motherhood and therefore avoidance relations as a denial of it? There are several other contexts in which food-giving stands as the definitive role of important statuses in the culture. One of the primary duties of ceremonial leaders is to make feasts and offer hospitality to visiting dignitaries, important trading partners, and the like. The primary duty of elder siblings is similarly to provide for every request of younger brothers and sisters, of which the most common is food-giving. Both of these roles, which stand as moral exemplars in Murik society, are explicitly likened by Murik informants to that of 'mothers'.
This maternal analogy is evident in the expression for the guidance an elder may offer a younger man who is organising his first feast. Such advice is said to give the junior man 'strength' to stage-manage the delicate event. Idiomatically, the elder is said to be giving him 'suckle from his breast', suckling him with his counsel rather than with his fluids. For the Murik, the peace, pleasure and intoxicated satisfaction which they value in the bliss of infantile satiation at the breast of a mother is one of their quintessential images of morality. As a powerful ideal of indulgent nurture, this view of motherhood stresses the elements of aid, dependency, security and solidarity.

Who, on the other hand, are not expected to mother or nurture others? Younger siblings and, to a certain extent, men. Both of these categories of people receive food and both are expected to be aggressive and demanding. When do people forgo food? When a child is adopted, during mourning and after conflict — in other words, when relationships are suspended, broken or lost.

**Conclusion**

I have been trying to suggest that the meaning of a social process, such as conflict resolution, is no less subject to cultural definition than, say, Trobriand kula valuables or the art painted on the gables of Abelam men's houses. But it is harder, I should think, to see and recognise how this kind of dynamic is locally understood than it is to see and recognise the construction of items of material culture. It requires an appreciation of local metaphors and tacit expectations which are difficult to grasp in the absence of long-term, qualitative research. For the Murik, the process of conflict resolution draws upon local understanding of motherhood, which is to say that, although it may be practised by men, or by both men and women, its end is to privilege the feminine, as the feminine is constructed in Murik.

**References**


Understanding the conflict in Solomon Islands as a practical means to peacemaking

Ruth Liloqula, Under Secretary (National Planning), Ministry of Human Resources and Development and National Planning

Introduction

Before Solomon Islands was discovered by the outside world, people with blood ties moved freely within each island. Land ownership, cultural identity, place within the tribe, community and island were very important to livelihood activity and social well-being. Movement outside of blood and land ties took place through arranged marriages by chiefs and elders of the tribe, and as a direct result of wars between tribes and islands where young children were taken by the chiefs as spoils of war. In other cases, people were given away as part of compensation, to make lasting peace and build relationships between neighboring islands. Those involved in these movements were treated with respect and taken into the tribe as one of its own. In many instances, they held the most prestigious positions and had important property rights. At that time, the people who are now known as Solomon Islanders did not see themselves as one people, of one country.

The social and economic development of the islands as one country was initiated with colonisation. People were moved from island to island, within islands and, in some cases, outside the country against their will, by those who traded in labour, to countries like Samoa, Fiji and Australia. They were moved by expatriate plantation owners as labourers, and by the church as labourers in their plantations, and as educators and health workers, outside of blood and land ties and tribal connection.

Most of those who were moved and employed as labourers in large numbers were Malaita people. They were given no educational awareness about the cultural norms and traditions of the islands to which they were moved. They lived in these locations, maintaining their own culture and identity, and kept very much to themselves.

Most development, before and after Independence, was concentrated along the coast, in the capital and in a few other locations. For economic and social reasons, people migrated to these centres to have access to better opportunities for themselves and their children. Families migrated to find a new place to settle, while others were attracted by the job opportunities available in Honiara, the capital. Some were attracted by what they saw as a better standard of living, while others, especially youths, were attracted to the bright lights of the city.

Some settlers maintained two homes: one at their place of origin and one in or around Honiara. Some bought land from Guadalcanal landowners, and others squatted around town boundaries. Many of these people intermarried, and have lived in Guadalcanal and other parts of the country for the last 20–30 years. In most cases, Malaitans, as well as others, especially those who were moved within Solomon Islands, established new homes at their new settlement areas.

Solomon Islands gained independence from Britain in 1978 and the new Constitution allowed for freedom of movement of all peoples. As a direct result, migration increased within and between islands and provinces. The government also resettled the victims of natural disasters (especially after the 1977 earthquake) around Honiara on alienated land.

The population of Honiara grew rapidly, as did the number of squatter settlements. This led to disagreements with Guadalcanal indigenous people, who were not happy with the manner in which some newcomers (in particular, Malaitans) were acquiring their lands legally or illegally. The migrants were more competitive and industrious and continued to dominate businesses in and around the capital.

These ethnic tensions in Guadalcanal Province resulted in massive displacement and an exodus of people back to their home villages or into the interior. For Malaita Province, the total number of returned settlers, during the peak of the tension, was estimated to be over 23,000 people, or about 4,100 families.

The root causes of the ethnic tension

Since Independence, Solomon Islands has experienced many social, economic and political changes. Its development has been characterized by contradictions and disharmony, by confusion and uncertainty, by great gains and giant losses.

Prior to the current situation, there were already signs of breakdown in community relationships, rising levels of crime, alienation, increasing unemployment, and disparities in capabilities and income nationwide. Rapid urbanisation continued to contribute to the degradation of human relations. The drive for material betterment led to the increased exploitation of natural resources and the degradation of the environment, and made us indifferent to our roots in nature, our culture and identity, and our neighbours.

In the last 20 months, these changes have been more dramatic. Conflict erupted between the Malaita settlers and the indigenous people of Guadalcanal. Then the tensions spread to the whole nation and innocent people of other provinces became victims. The Malaita people themselves have also suffered, as
individuals and groups use the current situation to settle old grievances or simply to demand money.

In our quest to find a way to lasting peace, we have made great leaps forward, but this has been balanced by giant steps backward. Great leaps forward were made through the payment of compensation, the signing of the Ceasefire Agreement and the establishment of the Ceasefire Agreement Monitoring Council. These gains were counterbalanced by the killing of militant patients in the hospital, the breaking of the Ceasefire Agreement, the passive role the Monitoring Council has now found itself in, and the victimising of innocent people.

The causes of the conflict are complex and linked to a number of issues that have evolved over time. A deeper understanding of these issues might provide men, women, and the church of Solomon Islands, as well as the international community, with some practical means to contribute meaningfully to peacemaking, national unity and nation building. It is important that, when helping Solomon Islands, mistakes that could jeopardise well-meaning assistance are minimised.

To avoid future ethnic tension, the government needs to address the root causes. It needs to put in place infrastructure and support services that will allow people to remain in their own land and still be economically viable, as well as giving them access to better social and economic opportunities that will help them to improve their living conditions.

Exploitation of natural resources and equitable sharing of benefits

Natural forest and sea resources provide a substantial portion of the basis for subsistence living. They are a source of essential goods and services, such as water, housing and transportation material, food, and medicinal plants. They are therefore central to the economic, cultural and social well-being of all Solomon Islanders.

A large proportion of these valuable resources has now been exhausted, without contributing to sustainable community living and human development. Their exploitation has resulted in social problems and a weakening of the linkages between families, tribes, communities, and provincial and national governments.

Mismanagement of public finances and inappropriate policies towards the private sector in the past decade have contributed substantially to the inability of the country to grow economically. At the family, community and tribal level, the distribution of royalty payments has caused a lot of conflict.

The over-exploitation of natural resources is a contentious issue in all provinces. It has taken place without any regard for people’s rights and wishes, and the government has failed to address this issue. The ethnic tension that occurred in Guadalcanal could have happened anywhere in the country. To get a fair share of the benefits of their resources, they see no other way forward but to take armed action against those they see as responsible – the government and the people of Malaita residing in Guadalcanal Province.

Successive government failures

While it is recognised that the youngsters or militants of Guadalcanal and Malaita have been involved in the displacement of people, to blame them entirely is to misunderstand the causes of the conflict. Most of it can be attributed to the failure of government policies and strategies. Public resources have not been managed effectively and efficiently. People have not been sufficiently involved in consultation processes, resulting in implementation failures.

Local governance has been abandoned in the rush to ‘nation build’, with its emphasis on foreign affairs, agriculture, the provincial government system, health and education (but as service providers, not as investments). Local courts, dealing mainly with land and other civil disputes, are poorly staffed and receive little or no attention from government. Police patrols in villages have ceased. The absence of the very fabric of law and order in rural Solomon Islands accounts for the way young people behave in the villages. No consideration has been given to the creation of economic opportunities and social incentives throughout the country to provide employment prospects for children on leaving school.

A review of the current education system, coupled with incentives in rural areas, would enable decentralisation of government and ensure that it is closer to the people. Better infrastructure, such as roads, houses, classrooms, clinics and hospitals, would help to attract highly trained personnel to rural areas. For this to take place, good governance and democracy must first of all return to the country. Through lessons learned from the current crisis, there is an opportunity to turn the tables and address these issues.

Calls for constitutional change

Social interaction is the essence of human life throughout Solomon Islands. Participation in the life of the community has tremendous social value. It is an important source of well-being, enjoyment, fulfilment and meaning. The way in which development has taken place has not created a conducive environment for this to continue. No due consideration was given to planning for this to happen when different island groups come together or migrate to access economic and better social services opportunities.

The preamble of the ‘organic’ law of Solomon Islands, the National Constitution, states: ‘We the people of Solomon Islands proud of the wisdom and worthy customs of our ancestors, mindful of our common and diverse heritage and conscious of our common destiny, do now under the guiding hand of God, establish the sovereign democratic state of Solomon Islands’. In
this respect, while customs can be amended, reviewed, changed
and transformed, wisdom cannot be changed (Leslie Boseto).
The current crisis calls for a reconsideration of the Preamble
and its interpretation in the minds of all Solomon Islanders.

People with whom the Women for Peace group met did not
discuss land, migration, economic opportunities or incentives
as causes of ethnic tension. From the point of view of
Guadalcanal people, land is not the issue but is used to draw
attention to the real cause of the civil unrest. For them, the
causes are the imposition of settlers’ traditions, customs and
laws on the indigenous people of Guadalcanal, and the use of
the Constitution as a basis for not respecting host provinces’
customs and properties. When they object, they find themselves
ignored, harassed, threatened, and at times murdered. This to
them is the real cause of their disagreement with Malaita settlers.

In general, there might be a need not to amend the
Constitution but to interpret it according to each province’s
customs and traditions. This would ensure that migrants did
not impose their customs on their host. This should be legalised
and enforced to ensure that social integration is achieved. Many
provinces have voiced this sentiment, not just the people of
Guadalcanal.

Solomon Islands as a united country

We have become one country, but Solomon Islanders have yet
to accept each other as one people. Ethnic tension was inevitable.
The desire for state government and the victimising of other
provincial people are directly related to this issue. If our nation
is to remain intact, it must work hard at uniting people for a
common cause that will enable them to accept each other. At
present, this aspect of nation building is missing.

The fundamental issues that need to be addressed in this
respect include the sorting-out of the purpose of being one
country, and the benefits nationwide, and where people fit with
their wide range of cultural value systems, identities, practices,
norms and traditions and how all this relates to their
environment, resources and properties. We also need to establish
through participatory processes where culture and cultural
identity feature in national unity and nation building.

While educated people may understand the benefits of being
one nation, the vast majority of Solomon Islanders see it as a
threat to their resources, their cultural identity and culture, their
environment and the basis of their sustained community living.
We need to sort out whose agenda it is to be one country and,
if it is ours, we must discuss this widely and fully. Peace can
drive people to unite but, without an in-depth analysis of the
fundamental issues, there can be no lasting peace in Solomon
Islands. Everyone has a role in this important work, including
donors and the international community.

We must look beyond the issue of compensation and land.
More time and resources must be spent in understanding each
other’s cultures in interpreting the Preamble of the National
Constitution.

Conclusion

The government tried to resolve the conflict by paying
compensation to allow for the peace process to take place, which
ruined the country’s economy. To register their disagreement
with the situation, several provinces demanded political
independence, and the country is now on the verge of breaking
up.

The major impacts of the ethnic tension have been well
documented and include adverse effects in all areas and at all
levels of Solomon Islands society. In this conflict, women,
children, old people and the innocent are the most affected.

The country has witnessed the powerful contribution of civil
society organisations and institutions in helping the community
deal with the unrest. Their role needs to be supported. While it
is important to deal with the impact of the current crisis, in the
long term it is no longer enough to address the effects. The root
causes of the conflict must now be the focus in the prevention
of further ethnic tension.

Note

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and
not necessarily those of the Ministry of Human Resources and
Development and National Planning.

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43
Resolving conflict in Solomon Islands: The Women for Peace approach

Alice A. Pollard, Leader, Women for Peace

Introduction

Conflict in Solomon Islands is not a new phenomenon. Its regular occurrence has given the people knowledge and skills to resolve conflict in a manner that is fair and responsive to their culture and environment. However, the current so-called ethnic tension conflict is too big and life-threatening and involves modern weapons.

The roles that women have played in the present conflict can be traced back to their hands-on skills and traditional knowledge, to biblical doctrines regarding responses to conflict, and to their love for their nation. In fact, they have expertise in their own right: love, culture and Christianity have equipped women to respond appropriately to tension.

Different cultures in Solomon Islands provide for women’s participation in conflict resolution in different forms. For example, in the Areare culture, women intervene by using their clothes, words or body contact. A woman can stand between two warring parties and challenge them by uttering words such as: 'Enough is enough, stop fighting, if you continue to fight after my words, you have walked over my legs'. Among the Areare, any male contact with or over a woman's body is tambu (forbidden) and would require compensation, especially if they are in-laws or brothers and sisters. The fighting has to stop immediately and negotiations for reconciliation and compensation begin.

The Bible, too, provides examples of women’s role in conflict. Abigail helped to bring peace to her nation through face-to-face dialogue and the sharing of food (1 Samuel 25:1–44).

Also, as mothers of the nation, Solomon Islands women are committed to offering time and gifts in order to ensure a lasting peace.

Love, culture and Christianity demonstrate peaceful and non-violent ways of resolving conflicts. These methods have enabled women in Solomon Islands to play various roles in contributing to the peace process.

Women for Peace group

The ethnic tension and violence in Solomon Islands has affected women and children the most. Because of the inability of the central government to provide security and basic social services to provinces that are not party to the present conflict, it has also threatened and weakened the cords that bind the country together.

Women in Honiara held a roundtable discussion in May 2000, resulting in the Women's Communiqué on Peace. It contains activities that women set for themselves in order to contribute constructively and meaningfully to the peace process. The events of June 2000 constituted the biggest hostage-taking conflict in the history of Solomon Islands. It challenged the current methods and mechanisms designed by and for Solomon Islanders.

Something had to be done, so the Women for Peace (WFP) group was formed. The group consists of women of all ages, religions, walks of life, and provinces, who reside in Honiara, and includes the sisters of the Catholic Church and Church of Melanesia. It is committed to working on a voluntary basis for peace and takes a motherly approach in doing so. The group also recognises the difficulties of Guadalcanal and Malaita women, and encourages them to take an active and leading role in activities.

The group is independent of any political, religious or ethnic movement and welcomes voluntary support from all committed women of Solomon Islands. It works in collaboration with the Malaita Eagle Force (MEF), Isatabu Freedom Movement (IFM), churches, non-government organisations, community leaders, chiefs, government and the international community.

Objectives of Women for Peace

The overall objective of WFP is to actively and effectively support and encourage women's initiatives at all levels, in the search for a peaceful solution to the political crisis. The main message is that having peace within yourself will enhance your ability to give peace to others.

Since it started, the WFP group has encouraged various sectors within the government and the communities to work together and settle differences at the negotiation table. It has also made contact with a number of government officials to brief them on the group’s objectives and planned activities, to discuss matters of concern, and to make positive suggestions.

The major objectives of Women for Peace are:

- to build trust and confidence with the two militant groups, through listening and exchanging views, in an attempt to restore peace and get them to meet;
- to convince the fighting parties to lay down their arms and thus open the way to democracy and good governance in Solomon Islands;
- to make known to the militants, and the government, the impact of the tension on children, mothers, and other vulnerable groups;
• to share women's views on compensation, law and order and security, and the need for politicians to be united and work together;
• to build trust and confidence with the provincial governments of Malaita and Guadalcanal;
• to mobilise women, chiefs, elders, village leaders, parliamentarians, provincial members, church leaders, and foreign governments to unite and speak with one voice—the voice of peace and reconciliation;
• to join in fellowship with the victims of the tension;
• to meet with government leaders and share women's perspectives on the tension and at the same time offer assistance in the peace process; and
• to alert foreign development partners to the need for their continued assistance, especially in building up the confidence of the police force and in supervising the laying down of arms.

Women for Peace activities

In working towards the fulfilment of the group's objectives and purposes, WFP members have been involved in various activities:
• meeting with militants, government and police representatives;
• representation at ceasefire talks;
• weekly prayer meetings, including the Women's Plea for Peace which was broadcast live throughout the nation;
• forums and conferences;
• visits to displaced families, the hospital and provincial communities, particularly to encourage the re-integration of young militants;
• organised exchange of baskets of essential goods; and
• the wearing of a distinctive uniform: scarves of green, yellow and blue, representing the national flag.

Listening to the views expressed during visits has given the group a deeper understanding of the root causes of the current tension.

Women of the group have donated willingly and lovingly from their own pockets and wardrobes. They have dug deep into their baskets. Because of the work they are doing, the communities continue to donate funds to help meet transport and communication expenses.

Women for Peace utilise non-violent and peaceful methods in making their views heard. The challenge is whether this approach can be effective in an armed conflict situation such as the current one. The women believe that these methods have worked in the cultural and biblical context and that they can contribute to the way forward and will be crucial to sustainable community living and human development. But, for this to come about, peace must be achieved and work must start now by all men, women and the church.

Participation in the peace process

Some general observations can be made about the participation of women in the search for a lasting solution to the current social unrest. It is clear that the encouragement of cultural diversity and social integration in Solomon Islands, while difficult, can be achieved with respect, love, care, sharing and understanding.

It is also clear, in the work that WFP has carried out, that people want to maintain their roots and cultural diversity while feeling socially integrated. One of the main reasons for the current conflict is that people feel that the political system is not responsive to their needs, and that the legal system has not afforded equal protection to all people in society. These are fundamental requirements for harmony and security and the means by which the social and cultural capital of a community of different ethnic groups can be enriched.

While there is political support for the efforts of women, this has not been translated into practical action to allow for their participation, which partially results from the stereotyping of men and women and the lack of acceptance of all people and their contribution towards peace being equally deserving.

Donor assistance to the peace process

During the last 20 months Solomon Islanders have wrecked the economy, directly by their involvement in the conflict and indirectly by being silent about the impact of the crisis on the country. In the year 2001 Solomon Islands will be fighting for the survival of its children and future generations. It is estimated that $188 million will be raised by the government in 2001. Of this, $168 million will be required for debt servicing and only about $20 million will be left to fund services. Given this situation for the next three years, aid from donor countries will have to finance all government investment and recurrent expenditure.

Those managing the assistance must ensure that aid does not create any more mistakes that will lead to further conflict. In the past, economic growth has not always been a donor priority. For relief and rehabilitation to work, assistance needs to be carefully aimed at sound economic management at all levels within the government machinery, the private sector and civil society. Aid projects must also be properly appraised and monitored to ensure that they are sustainable and do not duplicate the work of others. More importantly, good economic policies are needed to make aid work for the country and these policies must be soundly administered. Outside assistance therefore needs to address root causes of the ethnic tension, national unity, nation building and the creation of opportunities and incentives throughout the country to enable people to remain in their land/locality and still be economically viable. It needs to expand people's capacity and capabilities. It also needs to take into account that concentration of economic and political power may lead to non-sustainable policies at the expense of natural systems upon which the poor rely.

It is important to acknowledge in all of this work that a sense of belonging is an important source of personal fulfilment, well-being, enjoyment, purpose and meaning.
Conclusion

The current conflict between migrants demonstrates the importance of addressing complex problems of urbanisation. Approximately 48 per cent of the population are under the age of 14 years and about 75 per cent are under 30 years. With only 2.4 per cent of the population over 55 years of age, many children and young people are without the guidance of old people in urban centres.

The transmission of knowledge and wisdom to the younger generation has always been a very important part of community living, culture and general socialisation in Solomon Islands. Many of these urban children have less opportunity to learn customary norms and practices or the language of their parents' place of origin. The smaller number of adults has to cope with a great deal of pressure as income earners who provide the basic needs of their children, young people and extended families. The children of intermarriages are experiencing new family structures. This in itself presents a profound cultural and social problem which young urban people are facing. A growing number of young people and children have less security – less land security and emotional security.

Outside threats, culture, social capital, leadership, ethnicity, language, religion and ideology are the social glue that help the system cohere. Our experience in Solomon Islands has demonstrated that such factors, either combined or by themselves, are not enough in dealing with armed conflict. Because of the internal pressures caused by the failure of government policies and strategies, high unemployment and ethnic conflict, the social disintegration that we now see was inevitable. We have turned on ourselves and are tearing ourselves apart on the basis of ethnicity and perceived privilege. A situation of fractured, multi-polar interests has unfolded which now places great demands on the systems of governance. Because the institutions of governance are weak and less durable, ethnic tensions have erupted through society's thin crust more easily and frequently, now that there is no law and order.

Religion and culture have, in the past, often had a humanising effect on society because of their emphasis on ethical values and concern for the well-being of others. However, it has been demonstrated in the current crisis that ethnic separatism can also gain momentum under these circumstances. When only a small minority benefit from economic growth while more than 80 per cent of the people experience real-wage reductions, the ordinary person has looked for easily identifiable scapegoats. For most of the young people involved in the ethnic tension, ethnicity has served as a convenient means of allocating blame and gathering allies.

We must all reach mutual understanding and agreement on quick and effective means for dealing with the profound threat of the tension to the well-being of our country. In armed conflict, outside assistance is a must and we, the Women for Peace, present our appeal for peace to all, but the situation has deteriorated. There is real concern for the fate of many women and children if outside assistance is not forthcoming for the Solomons Islands' conflict.

Note

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and not necessarily those of Women for Peace.

Useful background documents

Department of Development Planning 2000, 'Analytical report on monitoring and planning for displaced families: Case study – Malaita', Honiara, January.


Peacemaking in Solomon Islands: The experience of the Guadalcanal Women for Peace movement

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Introduction

Guadalcanal is the largest of the nine provinces that make up Solomon Islands. It was famous at one stage in history because of the bloody battle fought there between the Americans and the Japanese during World War II. The province represents 19 per cent of Solomon Island's total land mass and 19 per cent of its total population of 400,000 plus (excluding the population of Honiara city). Approximately 95 per cent of people in the province are Melanesian. This paper briefly describes gender and gender roles in Guadalcanal; the underlying causes of the unrest, according to the people of Guadalcanal; and, finally, the role of Guadalcanal women in the effort to find a lasting solution to the conflict.

Gender and culture

Gender and gender roles in Guadalcanal are culturally structured according to the traditional values and beliefs of each local community. Roles are positively reinforced at a very early age: immediately after a child is born and the gender identified, the child is raised accordingly. Usually, a boy child is valued more than a girl child, despite the fact that lineage and land are inherited through females. Thus, a boy child is taught to hunt and fish and to be aggressive, while girls are taught the basic roles of the domestic sector and are rewarded for being neat, ladylike, and so forth. In most societies on Guadalcanal, traditionally, an adolescent girl's body is regarded as taboo and not to be touched by any male. During the childhood years, she is allowed to play with her father, her brothers and other males. After the age of 10, she is taught to keep away from the opposite sex. When she is married and has children, her name is not used by her immediate and extended family members; instead, she is named with her first child (for example, 'John's mother').

This is a sign of respect and also helps to avoid incest. Usually, when a fight breaks out between her male family members, she can stop it by using words that relate to any part of her body (for example, stepping over her thighs, head) and, because the boys cannot do that, they will stop fighting. If they don't, a large amount of compensation has to be paid to the woman's female family members as a result.

The gender equality preached by women's organisations in Solomon Islands is sneered upon by Guadalcanal men. To them, it is a threat to their dominance and power over women. Any women's organisations, apart from the church women's groups have a negative stigma attached to them. When men were interviewed, they admitted that they believe that a woman's role is in the kitchen and that she should not take over the role of head of the family, as supported by the Bible. Gender equality is thus never promoted in Guadalcanal. Our men are very resistant to changing their outlook on the role of women. Thus, in any big decision making process, such as the sale of family land or other matters, women can attend and contribute but it is the men who have the final say. But, once a conflict arises because of a bad decision, the women are sought to help resolve the crisis. However, thanks to Christianity and education, this is slowly changing.

Causes and effects of the conflict

The Honiara Peace Accord that was signed by the warring parties (Guadalcanal and Malaita), the government and the Commonwealth Special Envoy (Major Sitiveni Rabuka) recognised several root causes of the conflict:

- Land demands - Guadalcanal leaders wanted all alienated land titles, which had been leased to government and to individual developers, to be returned to landowners (including any other land acquired illegally).
- Political demands - Guadalcanal wanted the establishment of a state government in order to have control over: the sale or use of local land; the distribution of wealth derived from local natural resources; and the migration of people in and out of the province.
- Compensation demands - Guadalcanal wanted payment for the lives of its indigenous people, who have been brutally murdered for their lands or for other reasons.

Finally, the Guadalcanal Revolutionary Army (GRA) - now known as Isatabu Freedom Movement (IFM) - was formed as a result of frustrations over the failure of successive governments to address the demands of the people of Guadalcanal Province.

In the last 20 months, this unrest has created a lot of hardships for Guadalcanal people who are not involved in the conflict. Innocent people have been bashed, tortured and killed, starved and deprived of medical help, education, and so forth. International humanitarian assistance was not permitted to give help to Guadalcanal people. The most affected are women (that is, pregnant and lactating mothers), children and young people. Youths were forced at gunpoint to join the militants. Schools (both primary and secondary) have been closed because they have not received any food or school materials from Honiara. Three-quarters of the clinics on Guadalcanal have also closed.
down, due to shortages of medical supplies. Babies are being born in the bush and cannot be vaccinated against deadly diseases like whooping cough, TB, polio, and measles. Food shortages are also being experienced because a lot more people have gone back to the villages. Mothers as primary caregivers forgot their fears and walked miles to town in order to buy or get food and medical supplies for their families and relatives from the Red Cross and other charity organisations.

While the Guadalcanal people's current needs are numerous, psycho-social support is identified as a priority among the population. They have lived in continuous fear for the last 20 months, and many of them, especially women and children, have become disoriented and cannot live normal lives. Young pregnant mothers, admitted to hospital during labour, are unable to care for their newborn babies. However, thanks to the support of the extended family network, the relatives are able to do so.

Guadalcanal Women for Peace

Guadalcanal Women for Peace was established in early August 2000, in close collaboration with the overall Solomon Islands Women for Peace group that was established in May 2000. This group comprises women who are currently residing in town either because they are working or because they are married to men outside of Guadalcanal Province. The group was established because we realised that, since movement in and out of the capital is restricted, we have to engage in some form of activity that will enable us to provide moral support in this time of hardship, especially to our youths, women and children. Although we believe that women need to take a leading role in promoting peace throughout the province, doing so poses a lot of challenges in a male-dominant society. We manage as a team by meeting once a week for prayers and fellowship. It is our ultimate goal to make our men realise that a non-violent solution to this conflict should be a priority.

The group's aims are as follows:

- To make contact with Guadalcanal leaders and women to share experiences and to gain trust and confidence in each other.
- To provide encouragement and comfort to women through fellowship and prayers.
- To listen, share and exchange information and views by women.
- To discuss our roles as mothers in promoting peace throughout the province.
- To assist and strengthen linkages with Women for Peace to carry out peace plans.
- To strengthen and establish links between Women for Peace and Guadalcanal leaders and women to promote peace in families, communities, societies and the nation as a whole.

Since Guadalcanal is made up of four area constituencies (Tasimauri, Tisimate, Bolomona and Geana), the women were divided into four groups, according to the area constituency they are originally from. This is for security purposes and also so that we can communicate with people we meet in our own languages. Letters and verbal messages were sent in advance (prior to the proposed touring dates for each group) to leaders (chiefs, church leaders, women's groups) to inform them of our coming and the purpose of the visits, and to seek permission from them to visit the areas.

On 16 September 2000, the first group boarded the plane for the southeastern part of Guadalcanal. Unfortunately, they never landed, because Harold Keke (an IFM commander) and his members took the Solomon Islands Airlines plane and pilot hostage on the northwestern side of Guadalcanal. For this reason, the groups closest to where the plane was being held decided to postpone their visit until the situation was resolved. The women from Bolomona visited their area between 29 September and 6 October. On their way, they witnessed a woman giving birth in the truck that they were travelling in. She was trying to get to the nearest clinic but could not reach it in time. This group's survey report confirmed that schools and clinics have been closed. They also reported that they were supported by men to carry on the work. However, a compensation demand for $1,000 was forwarded to the group's leader, because two of the members who joined them are from Malaita and have been also displaced from Guadalcanal plains. This demand was met by the parliament members (from the Guadalcanal plains) on behalf of our women.

Also, it is also our intention to make use of women at the grassroots level because we strongly believe that, in sustaining peace, capacity building within the local communities must be developed and maintained.

Further, we propose to work closely with community leaders (chiefs, church leaders and women leaders), who also hold other key functions that play vital roles in strengthening and maintaining the relationship among the local communities and civil societies at large. Also, we want to revitalise traditional values, such as communal working together (such as the rebuilding of schools and clinics), to support any activity that will improve the quality of life of Guadalcanal women, children and youths.

Finally, the group's short-term goals are to give moral support to our women, to talk to IFM members about disbanding and returning home to their families, and to identify areas of need among the local communities. Our long-term goals are to conduct awareness programmes on sexual harassment, rape, incest, domestic violence and gender equality. It is our hope to empower Guadalcanal women from all levels to work cooperatively as a team, and to alleviate the suppression of a male-dominant society and make life more bearable for women, children and youths on Guadalcanal.

Conclusion

While conflict is a gendered activity, sustainable peace in any country cannot be maintained unless there is cooperation between government, NGOs and civil society at large. Further, we should work together to fight the injustices that threaten our people, so that everybody can live and enjoy their lives to the fullest potential.
The churches in Solomon Islands and Fiji: Responses to the crises of 2000

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Introduction

Solomon Islands and Fiji are, like other Pacific Island nations, predominantly Christian. In both countries Christianity is regarded with the utmost seriousness, seen as part of islanders’ identity and an intrinsic part of their culture. It is hardly surprising then that the Christian churches, collectively and individually, are playing a large and influential role in the current crises in the two countries.

The response in Solomon Islands

Solomon Islands were relatively late in receiving missionaries. The Marist Catholics had a brief and particularly unsuccessful mission to Santa Isabel during the 1840s and did not return until the 1890s, after which they became established throughout the group. The Anglican presence began in the 1850s, but the method they used — to teach young men about Christianity on Norfolk Island, then send them back to evangelise their own people — meant that European missionaries’ direct influence was confined to yearly voyages by bishop and priests. In the late nineteenth century more permanent, European-staffed stations were set up in the islands, but the early relative independence of their converts and early indigenous ordinations had left their mark.

The Methodists (now United Church) arrived in 1902, having reached an agreement with the Anglicans to evangelise New Georgia, Choiseul and surrounding islands, and the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) arrived in 1914. The South Seas Evangelical Mission (now Church — SSEC), started by a non-denominational Christian group among indented labourers on the Queensland canefields, transferred to Solomon Islands when the labourers were sent home in 1901–06 and became strong in their areas of origin, primarily Malaita and Guadalcanal. The SSEM (in spite of highly paternalistic rhetoric) had few European staff resident in the islands and gave considerable independence and authority to local teachers and pastors.

This particular history has had two important repercussions. There are far fewer localised denominational strongholds than in the rest of the Pacific. Anglicans are particularly strong on Santa Isabel, and the United Church mostly confined to the Western Province, but in other places denominational allegiance is quite mixed. Catholics and SDA members are spread across the group, and Anglicans across the southern and central islands. On both Malaita and Guadalcanal there are sizeable communities of Catholics, Anglicans, and SSEC and SDA members, as well as followers of traditional religion. This means that denominational allegiance cuts across island identity, providing an alternative forum for interaction, and a role for the churches, acting in concert in the Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA), to be a force for reconciliation.

And, fierce though it may sometimes have been in the past, there is now very little interdenominational rivalry. John Garrett (1997:355) has described SICA, formed in 1968 and now covering 90 per cent of the population, as one of the most inclusive ecumenical bodies anywhere. In spite of differences of denomination emphasis, there is within SICA a united belief in the need for physical peace based on the equal treatment of regions, groups and genders as believers within the body of Christ.

It also seems that the long history of indigenous leadership and authority within two of the main denominations — the Anglicans and the SSEC — has “rubbed off” on SICA as a whole. It has taken the lead in mediating between the factions, using the most appropriate resources available. It sent an SDA pastor to lead its negotiating team on 20 June 2000 on HMAS Tobruk, since the spokesmen from both militant groups — Andrew Nori from the Malaita Eagle Force (MEF) and Henri Tobani from the Isatabu Freedom Movement (IFM) — were SDA members (ABC RA 20 June 2000). SICA sponsored a peace conference in late August, attended by 150 participants from a wide variety of civil society groups, aiming to achieve "a peace that is constructive and sustainable and a process that is broad-based and inclusive" (SIBC 28 August 2000).

SICA has also supported one of the most powerful players in the current attempts at peacemaking: the Melanesian Brotherhood. This is an entirely indigenous Anglican order, founded by Ini Kopuria in 1925 with evangelistic objectives, within which young men take religious vows for a fixed term. It has long been both popular and effective, which gives it authority in crises. Acting with great personal courage, a group of Melanesian Brothers camped for weeks between the MEF and IFM lines, just beyond the Honiara International Airport. They take religious services with both groups, encouraging them not to act with violence (ABC PM 16 June 2000). Once treated with caution by European bishops because their growing mana might challenge that of expatriate priests (Garrett 1992:349),
the Melanesian Brothers' status with Solomon Islanders is such that they have not been harmed, although there is continued concern for their safety (SIBC 16 July 2000).

Other Christian groups have also provided support for, and in many cases have been closely involved with, moves from women's groups to directly appeal to combatants to lay down their arms. Action within church groups has long been an accepted way for Solomon Islands women to make their voices heard. Now the National Women's Council, which includes many church-based women's groups, has spearheaded the women's call for peace and democracy. They have made appeals directly to the militants and have mobilised formal exchanges of food between urban women and with women outside Honiara, where rice, salt, sugar, soap and potatoes are exchanged for bananas and vegetables. These exchanges have been held at the militants' checkpoints. There they have also prayed with and presented food to the militants, which the latter have found confronting (SIBC 11 September, SIBC 12 and 15 July). The SICA peace conference in August requested talks between the militants, but at neither the talks on HMNZS Te Kaha nor at Townsville was that achieved, ostensibly for security reasons (SIBC 11 September). However, the involvement of Christians — individually, denominationally and collectively — in the crisis continues.

The response in Fiji

The Christian scene in Fiji differs from that in Solomon Islands in several important ways. Most obvious is the dominance of one denomination, the Methodist Church, whose missionaries first arrived in the Lau group in 1835 and which now claims the allegiance of around 80 per cent of indigenous Fijians. Roman Catholic missionaries arrived later and have always had an important role in education. Other later groups include Anglicans, SDA, and Assemblies of God, all with small followings, but none has the social, cultural or political importance of the Methodist Church of Fiji (MCF). Methodist culture permeates the islands; therefore, the position that the MCF takes at times of political crisis is important. In the coups of 1987 there was a clear division within the church, with the President, the Rev. Josete Koroilau, condemning the overthrow of the Bavadra government but then himself falling victim to a 'church coup' as the General Secretary locked him out of his office and installed a counter-president (Garrett 1990:100-5). This unedifying episode was eventually resolved, but the ideological divisions remain.

In the current crisis, the Methodist leaders came out first in support of Ratu Mara as President, then of the military, then of the interim government, as events unfolded. MCF President, the Rev. Tomasi Kanalagi, denounced George Speight's actions in seizing parliament but also recognised that many members and ministers were complicit in the coup. He appealed to individual Methodists to leave the parliamentary compound, and to chiefs and parents to encourage rebel youths to do so (Govt press release 17 June 2000). The interim government currently has the backing of the MCF; this includes, one must assume, support for the Blueprint for Fijian Paramountcy, as Prime Minister Qarase (who is a Methodist) was invited to the recent MCF conference to explain the document at some length (Daily Post 5 October 2000). The current position seems to be that the MCF leadership deplores the methods used but is happy to back the results of the coup of May 2000. How is one to explain this?

Several writers have observed that the current Fiji political situation, as in 1987, pits two contrasting ideologies of political legitimacy against each other (for example, Norton 2000). One is the ideology of universal rights and equal political rights for all citizens, regardless of race or gender, generally voiced by Indo-Fijians and some urban Fijians. The other is the indigenous principle of Fijian paramountcy, based on traditional hierarchies and ownership of the land. While there are other dimensions to the current crisis (see Lal 1999, Tuimaleali'ifano forthcoming), particularly intra-Fijian struggles between provinces, families, classes and urban/rural, I concentrate on the Methodist position in relation to these two ideologies of power.

In general, the MCF is understood by Fijians to be part of the traditional domain and subject to its understandings about power. Fijian identity is seen as a union between the Vatu (land), Logai (church) and Matanitu (state), with insoluble links between them (Niukula 1997:63-4; Tiwere 1997:45-8). This union dates back to the early years of Christianity, when Methodist missionaries had to rely on the traditional chiefs and incorporated them into the structure of the church, validating their political power. To this day, chiefs sit at the front of Methodist churches, apart from commoners. The desire, voiced in Methodist submissions to the 1995 Constitutional Review...
November 2000

Commission (CRC), for Fiji to be declared a 'Christian state', along with the preservation of ethnic dominance, comes from this linkage, although only around half of all Fiji citizens are Christian (Norton 2000:100). This ideology sees the Fijian traditional system as normative. It is this position which has also led Catholic journalist Margaret Hebblethwaite (2000:855) to call the demand for a Christian state 'a scandalous example of using religion to justify the dominance of one race over another'.

The demand for Fijian paramountcy has to be seen against the egalitarian demands of other groups, particularly Indo-Fijians, to a share in political power. Indo-Fijians are perceived by those demanding Fijian paramountcy as vulagi (strangers) and as such they should be treated well, both by traditional and Christian-Judaic norms. Several Provincial Council CRC submissions discussed the obligation of Fijians, as taukei (land-owners), to act benevolently towards vulagi 'in the traditional and chiefly way' (Norton 2000:101). These traditional arguments intersect with Old Testament obligations to care for the 'stranger within the gate' (Leviticus 19:33-4; Deuteronomy 1:16, 10:19). Methodist missionary Alan Tippett (nd:47–50), writing around the 1950s, discussed Fijian understandings of these scriptures, suggesting that Fijians had taken seriously the biblical injunctions that the 'resident stranger is to have equal rights, he is entitled to expect justice from the judge and love from the people of the land'.

But there are problems with this analysis. The greatest difficulty is that it assumes that the vulagi remain as such indefinitely, never becoming full members of the society, local or national. The vulagi should be well treated but fundamentally on taukei terms; they should not usurp indigenous privilege. The term implies a subordinate status. This is behind the demands for Fijian paramountcy and a Christian state. It is also the exact point of conflict with universal discourses espoused by Indo-Fijians and more liberal Fijians. These demands, not benevolence shown to vulagi, but equal rights for fellow citizens.

A number of Methodist leaders, including Joseteki Koroi and Sevati Tuwere, have attempted to bring a different Christian discourse, with concern for equal rights, into the MCF. This discourse, also espoused by Anglicans and Catholics, emphasises the essential equality of all Christians and puts Christian identity ahead of, and separate from, ethnic identity. This New Testament emphasis, in contrast to the rather Old Testament tone to much of the MCF, allows an equal position to Indian Methodists, a small group usually marginalised by the church as a whole. The liberal wing within the MCF also prioritises social justice, an area much better developed by both Catholics and Anglicans, especially in relation to their relative strength, than by Methodists. While there has been some work done with Suva's homeless in recent years, the MCF has been criticised (editorial, Fiji Times 5 October 2000) for its lack of concern with urban problems, especially homelessness, AIDS, poor educational standards, and youth unemployment.

This Christian universalist discourse also desires a separation of church and state, seeing political and religious functions as separate, and political rights as universal and not dependent on ethnic/religious identity. It values democratic ideals and deplores their overthrow. The Anglican and Catholic hierarchies came out against both coups in much more forceful terms than the MCF, and Koroi issued a blistering attack on Speight, in which he stated that 'scripture does not recognise indigenous rights except as human rights' (Daily Post 14 and 25 June 2000).

But such sentiments do not carry great weight within the MCF. In a move similar to that of women's groups in the Solomons, a daily interfaith prayer vigil calling for an end to the hostage situation and the restoration of democracy was organised by the National Council of Women; individual Methodist women played a leading part, but they had little official support. The Anglicans offered Holy Trinity Cathedral as the venue. By mid-2000, for a variety of reasons, none of the strong MCF liberal leaders remained in a position of power. Currently, the MCF seems to be reasserting the traditional claim for cultural and religious paramountcy, administered with benevolence.

Conclusion

I suggest that, in Solomon Islands, the shared Christian belief system is being effectively invoked to maintain the search for peace, by women and men. There, the cross-cutting allegiances of denomination and place, and the tradition of indigenous action, enable Christian men and women to constructively address the current tensions and promote reconciliation. In Fiji, however, the identification of most Methodists with the discourse and cause of Fijian paramountcy puts the MCF firmly in one camp, with little ability to reach other communities or to act as an effective agent of reconciliation, while other churches are too small to influence political events.

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The complexity of ethnic conflict in Fiji: Finding effective interventions

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Introduction

Do simplistic, bipolar analyses of ethnic conflicts make resolution more difficult? Can models of conflict resolution developed in one culture work effectively in other cultures?

Since the 1987 military coups in Fiji, I have been contemplating these questions both as a cross-culturalist and as a long-time Fiji resident. As such, I felt confused whenever I heard or read about 'the Fijian–Indian conflict', since it did not fit with what I understood about Fiji. I decided to analyse this situation by looking for all the factors that were escalating tensions in Fiji. Later, in reviewing my list of factors, I noticed that some of them could also become leverage points for reducing tension.

Fiji

Names can create clarity or confusion. A name for the country commonly called Fiji, and especially a name for its citizens, have been factors escalating tension in Fiji. I will use 'Fijian' for ethnic Fijians, and 'Indo-Fijian' for descendants of Indian indentured labourers who were brought to Fiji in the late 1800s. The phrases 'Fiji citizens' and 'the people of the Fiji Islands' will describe the population as a whole. 'Fiji' is the familiar name for the country, although the official name is now the 'Republic of the Fiji Islands'.

The 1996 census showed a total population of 772,655 and the following trends: an increase in the Fijian population to 51.1 per cent, and a corresponding decrease in the Indo-Fijian population (43.6 per cent); increased urbanisation, especially by Fijians (46.6 per cent); and the lowest population growth since 1901 (Bureau of Statistics 1997). Both the reduced Indo-Fijian population and the low growth rate were due to high out-migration numbers since 1986.

Fiji became an independent nation, proclaiming multicultural, 'Pacific way' values, in 1970. On 14 May 1987, a military coup changed Fiji to a country where a small group of Fijians occupied positions of power. By May 1999, a new Constitution and recent elections saw the proliferation of political parties, the splintering and fragmentation of old alliances, the development of new coalitions, and the first Indo-Fijian prime minister. A year later, peace was shattered again with the hostage-taking of the government on 19 May 2000. Although this event was filled with anti-Indian rhetoric, a power struggle within the Fijian community became visible as the hostage situation continued.

Factors aggravating tension

Archaeological evidence points to the first Fijians arriving approximately 3,000 years ago. Multiple waves of immigration from the west resulted in 13 distinct Fijian dialects as well as Melanesian components in Fijian culture. Later, trading and social exchanges with Tonga and Samoa added Polynesian cultural elements, especially in the eastern part of Fiji. Fijian society is divided into two groups – chiefs and commoners – with each group having specific roles and obligations. This historical diversity within Fijian culture, represented by language differences, the provincial structure and the chiefly system, produces tension between its different components.

Under 96 years of British colonial rule, Fiji's population became increasingly multi-ethnic. Rotuma, a Polynesian outlier, became part of Fiji when both areas were ceded to Britain in 1874. Indentured labourers were brought from India to work in the sugar fields alongside 'blackbirded' Solomon Islanders, and ethnic Chinese, 'Europeans', and Pacific Islanders from many island groups came to live in Fiji. Multi-ethnic children were born. Consequently, agreeing on a name for Fiji's citizens has been difficult since many believe the term 'Fijian' should be reserved for the indigenous population.

Within this multicultural potpourri, diversity exists in each ethnic group. For example, the indentured workers came from north and south India and included Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. In the 1930s, immigrants from Gujarat set up small shops in the urban areas. Early Chinese immigrants were from south China, while Pacific Islanders came from Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia, bringing with them their distinct languages and cultures. Differences within each group created intra-ethnic tension. The repeated usage of the phrase 'Fijian–Indian conflict' focuses attention away from the tensions within each group and allows them to fester.

Colonisation led to a Fijian culture frozen in time. British indirect rule and benevolent protectionism recognised and institutionalised the Fijian hierarchy the colonisers encountered in the 1870s. The British created a separate Fijian administration, with a Council of Chiefs and three Fijian confederacies. This administration does not recognise the Fijians living on the western side of Viti Levu who are requesting a separate western confederacy, Yasayasa Vaka Ra.

The 'west' (western half of the main island of Viti Levu) has been an economic centre of the country since early colonial
days, while the capital, Suva, with its national administrative centres and international organisations, is located in the southeastern corner of Viti Levu. The tension between these two regions is reflected in the western based political parties that have participated in every election since Independence.

Of all the factors that can lead to conflict in Fiji, land usually heads the list because traditionally it has held different meanings, with strong emotional connotations, for the various ethnic groups. For example, Fijians tend to view it as a component of their identity. Indo-Fijians, who worked on the land under indenture and later leased and farmed it, often see it as a way to make a living. By contrast, ‘Europeans’, who have bought or inherited land, view it as capital. In Fiji, 83 per cent of the land is communally owned by the Fijian matagalis (clans) either as Lease or Reserve (cannot be leased). The remainder is divided between Crown (9 per cent) and Freehold (8 per cent). Crown land is government owned and can be leased. Freehold land can be bought and sold.

These land ownership patterns have led to seemingly different socioeconomic priorities for Fiji’s people. Indo-Fijians, faced with insecure land tenancy, stress education and the professions for their children. Fijians, with land security, emphasise the importance of an idealised village lifestyle. ‘Europeans’ and others who have inherited and acquired freehold land use it as an asset to achieve their goals.

Global and local changes affect how land and its uses are perceived in Fiji today. Western capitalism, international agencies and banks, as well as international aid programmes, stress the need to convert land ownership to the freehold system as a prerequisite for economic development. Within Fiji, the renewal and non-renewal of sugarcane leases under the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Act is a high source of tension because many families, including Fijian families, are being displaced when leases are not renewed. Lease renewals and access to and control of natural resources, such as mahogany, are triggers to the hostage-taking with its pro-Fijian rhetoric.

Economic development has created jobs outside the traditional sugar and agricultural sectors. This has led to movement away from a subsistence economy and a corresponding move to urban centres for work and educational opportunities for all ethnic groups. Parallel with global trends, urban living appears to bring with it an increase in crime and violence.

Rural-to-urban migration originally involved Indo-Fijians, Chinese and Rotumans. More recently, Fijians have joined this trend in increasing numbers. Work, education and travel have led to a different cultural perspective, one where Fijian commoners can achieve status through their hard work and education. In addition, urban living reduces ties to the village with its emphasis on the traditional chiefly system. At the same time, inter-ethnic marriages are adding new relationships outside the traditional patterns.

Fijian nationalism (Fiji for the Fijians) is one response to these economic and social changes. Within this movement there is an emphasis on ensuring Fijian dominance and the chiefly system as well as on anti-Indian rhetoric. The Taukei (indigenous) Movement and the Fijian Nationalist Party began in the 1970s and became a rallying point after the 1987 election and the military coups. Fijian nationalism was also an issue in the 1999 elections and the May 2000 hostage-taking.

The Taukei Movement ties indigenous rights with Christianity, especially the Methodist Christianity of most Fijians. Fijian and Methodist traditions have become so intertwined that ‘Sunday laws’ restricting travel and other activities on Sundays were promulgated following the September 1987 coup. Religious beliefs cross over into the political realm in religious based political parties, such as the Fijian Christian party (Veitokani Ni Leweniavanua Vakarisi).

The two major political parties that contested elections until 1987 (the Alliance and the National Federation) represented different geographical areas and constituencies, with each party attempting to develop a broad base of supporters. The Alliance Party formed the government from Independence until 1987. Labour unions became more political and formed a party in 1985. The 1999 elections saw increasing fragmentation of the political and social fabric of the country, which was reflected by the 16 parties and a large number of independent candidates.

The British established communal (ethnic) voting and representation in the colonial Legislative Council and this pattern continued after 1970. The 1998 Constitution required all citizens to register and vote in elections. Each citizen had two votes: one for a Communal (ethnic) seat and the other for an Open (general) seat. This system results in both ethnic and national representation in parliament. That Constitution also introduced the Alternative Vote system (Citizens Constitutional Forum 1998:25–7). Designed to avoid ‘run off elections’, it produced widespread block voting in the 1999 election since voters did not understand how to use this preferential voting option. This one element may have led to the abolition of the 1998 Constitution during the hostage-taking, even though the Constitution had many pro-Fijian elements.

Constituency boundaries still favour rural Fijian voters, in spite of the fact that nearly half of ethnic Fijians currently live in urban centres. The allocation of a Fijian communal seat for each province has led to an emphasis on provincial issues during the 1999 election and the current crisis.

In addition to provincial splits, educational and economic changes have produced class divisions. At Independence, Fiji had neither extreme wealth nor extreme poverty. Today it has both and many believe that corruption has increased the wealth of some. The cost of one car owned by a wealthy citizen could educate all the children in a village. Since education is still costly in terms of required educational fees, this class division will continue.

International aid that could alleviate some of these problems often appears to end up helping only small segments of the population. In addition, aid agency employees earn high salaries,
live in the capital and are focused on their career tracks. The result is another privileged class.

External aid extends to the military, with the Fiji army receiving direct aid from some nations and indirect support since 1977 as United Nations peacekeeping troops. This has resulted in the expansion of the army in an island nation with a minuscule navy. This army is composed almost entirely of ethnic Fijians. It is ironic that peacekeeping, which provides military training and employment for young Fijian men, brought guns into a nearly gun-free country. It was a military leader, Sitiveni Rabuka, who overthrew the civilian government, arrested the elected 1987 Parliament and named himself the nation's leader.

**Leverage points and channels to peace**

In keeping with the holistic worldview of many Pacific Islanders, factors that might intensify ethnic tension can also act as channels to peace. For example, within the same churches that actively support a pro-Fijian position, there are Christians working towards a multicultural and peaceful Fiji. While educational opportunities, or the lack of them, can divide citizens into economic classes, a multicultural educational system could build understanding and relationships among Fiji's young. Fiji's citizens speak many first languages. The three official languages – Bauan Fijian, Hindustani and English – acknowledge this diversity and support multilingualism. One of the most interesting paradoxes and leverage points in Fiji revolved around the negative aspects of the pro-Fijian 1990 Constitution. That tension eventually led to a constitutional review and the passage of the Fiji Constitution Amendment Act 1997. Lastly, the military has acted as both an initiator of conflict and as a peacemaker.

The military coups, post-coup economic policies, and the hostage crisis and its aftermath have all had long-term negative effects on the economy. Unemployment is high and the Fiji dollar has lost strength. The negative effects of reduced tourism, investment and other economic indicators have, in the past, created pressure for change and might exert similar pressure in the future.

In 1987 and 2000, the Commonwealth Heads of Government voted for Fiji's Commonwealth membership to lapse. This affects Fiji citizens who want the country to be reinstated for the economic benefits tied to the European Union as well as the ties to the British monarchy. In 2000, various nations added 'smart sanctions', specifically targeted at the hostage-takers and their supporters.

The many cultures of Fiji share critical similarities, especially their emphasis on relationships and conflict avoidance. These two elements have prevented widespread violence. In addition, hierarchical and authoritarian social structures mean that leaders can agree to changes that are accepted by the citizens. In the power vacuum that developed in May 2000, the Great Council of Chiefs became the key player, with support from the military.

Tension could be reduced by the formation of a western confederacy within the Fijian administration. Religious groups could focus on peaceful coexistence and shared values. The sharing of food is a channel to peace available to everyone in Fiji since the use of food as a means of strengthening relationships is shared by all cultures. Fijian traditional rituals such as the kava ceremony are meaningful and often used to create new relationships and mend broken ones.

Population shifts, especially the movement to urban centres and an increasing number of multi-ethnic marriages and children, are changing the social fabric. An important channel towards positive conflict transformation involves citizen groups. On a day-to-day basis, these citizens work to mend broken relationships and untangle the complex problems created by the coups and the hostage-taking. The media could use its skills and power with words and images to create shared meaning rather than divisiveness. Care in choosing words can mean the difference between peace and violence.

In summary, tension and conflict in Fiji can exist between members of different ethnic groups and members of the same ethnic group, landowners and land users, employers and employees, urban and rural dwellers, as well as different provinces and religions. The events in 2000 have shown that, although a conflict might be presented as an ethnic conflict, multiple layers of difference and power seeking exist and need to be discussed. In the same way that all the knots and threads in a fishing net are interconnected, so too are the many factors that can escalate tension or lead to peaceful coexistence. In 2000, religion, traditional leadership (chiefs) and the military were active in both generating conflict and reducing tension.

**Discussion**

Do simplistic, bipolar analyses of ethnic conflicts make resolution more difficult?

If, as Paulo Freire (1970) writes, naming the world changes it – and the use of a specific name legitimises a particular view of the world (Freire 1970, Lederach 1995, Smith 1999) – then naming a specific conflict as bipolar or complex will affect that conflict. When only two names (Fijian/Indian, Black/White) are used to describe an issue, the people involved become divided between those two categories and soon the conflict revolves around being 'right' and 'winning'. On the other hand, a more complex analysis of a situation can show the interconnectedness of a multitude of factors. It then becomes possible for one or more of the factors to become channels for peace.

Two articles in *Pacific Islands Monthly* demonstrate how the use of words can give different pictures and interpretations of the Fiji situation. In the article '10 years later ...' (Anon. 1997), the writer, by using the term 'Hindu-dominated Labour Party', implied that a specific religion had influence on a political party. He or she may have used the phrase to describe the religious affiliation of some leaders and members of this multi-ethnic
party. However, the term could be (mis)interpreted to mean that the Labour Party had a religious base and agenda similar to some political parties in India. The latter is not the case in Fiji.

On the other hand, Bernadette Hussein (1997) wrote in the same issue, 'This saw what was perceived as a Fijian-dominated government being replaced by what many called an Indo-Fijian-dominated coalition, although the new prime minister was an indigenous Fijian, Dr. Timoci Bavandra'. The use of the words 'perceived' and 'called' is a reminder of the possibility of multiple interpretations.

If a conflict is 'named' as complex, rather than as 'bi-ethnic', and the connections between the many elements are acknowledged, then more options for positive transformation become visible. If a conflict is named as 'intra-ethnic' rather than 'inter-ethnic' or an event is called a hostage-taking rather than a military coup, then one or more issues might become untangled so that they no longer act as a focus for tension. For example, the names for Fiji and its citizens were a tangled knot that became untangled in the 1998 Constitution. Another possibility is that broken and torn relationships could be repaired and mended so that shared meaning can become a basis for understanding in the future.

The power of 'naming the world' is so great that it can skew the 'naming of the world'. Care needs to be taken when we name the world so that our perceptions, assumptions and worldview do not (mis)name a conflict and make resolution more difficult. 'Changing language is part of changing the world' (Freire 1996:67–8).

Can models of conflict resolution developed in one culture work effectively in other cultures?

Conflict resolution is seen in many cultures as the restoration of relationships, relationships that are critical if people are to continue to live and work together. In other cultures, resolution is seen as solving a specific problem between individuals.

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John Paul Lederach (1995), a North American, recalls how he started making lists while listening to a description of a conflict in Central America. His list separated the various elements of the conflict. Lederach adds that when he asked a question about a specific issue in the conflict he was told another story. Storytelling describes the whole context of a conflict; questions focus on a specific problem, issue or event.

It is important to understand the underlying cultural assumptions of Western conflict resolution models before deciding if they can be helpful in another culture. For instance, is there a cultural fit between a specific model and a group-oriented (collectivist) culture. Collectivist cultures focus more on responsibilities to the group, while Western cultures emphasise individual rights.

The North American mediation model uses neutral third-party mediators in face-to-face scheduled sessions between individuals. The mediator's goal is to assist the disputants in reaching a written agreement that can solve the problem. In contrast, collectivist cultures utilise highly respected persons from within the culture as mediators. Disputants may be unwilling to meet and the mediator becomes a go-between who talks with the various parties, often in a social environment that includes extended family members, neighbours and colleagues. Discussions have no predetermined time limit and there is no limit on the number of sessions. These mediators usually have high status or the power to see that any agreement is carried out. In this situation, neutrality would be seen as a weakness.

Augisburger (1992:8) focuses on differences between traditional and urbanised cultures. He writes that traditional cultures prefer mediation patterns that are indirect, lateral and systemic, while urbanised (Westernised) cultures prefer direct, one-to-one encounters. In addition, traditional cultures use culturally prescribed methods, while urbanised cultures view conflict as situationaly defined with open options for resolution.

Jandt and Pedersen (1996) looked at how high- and low-context communication styles affect conflict management patterns. A high-context message is one where most of the information is embedded in the physical context or internalised in the person. A low-context message includes the contextual information within the message (Hall 1976:91). Low-context cultures favour direct conflict management styles that view conflict as a problem, separate issues from persons, stress personal rights, and seek immediate and fair solutions. High-context cultures prefer indirect conflict management styles that focus on relationships, avoid open conflict, see the issues and persons as interrelated, look for long-term outcomes, and value inclusion, approval and association (Jandt and Pedersen 1996:11–13).

In addition, cultures view time differently and this feature affects conflicts and conflict resolution models. In monochronic cultures, events are scheduled one at a time in linear sequence. In contrast, polychronic cultures prefer to do many things simultaneously. Polychronic time focuses on relationships and completing transactions, while monochronic time emphasises present schedules (Hall 1983:42–3). The tight scheduling focus in the North American mediation model makes it impossible to transfer it intact to polychronic cultures.

Watson-Gegeo and White (1990) describe Pacific Island views of conflict management and include many of the above areas of cultural difference:

We prefer the label 'disentangling' over 'conflict resolution' or 'dispute management' because disentangling points to elements of local meaning that organise and guide the activities we examine. To begin with, the notion of disentangling signals a process rather than an end product, indicating that engagement in moral negotiation itself may be more significant than specific decisions or outcomes. Secondly, the image of a tangled net or a knotted line suggests a blockage of purposeful activity, reminding the members of a community that the problem at hand requires attention lest it impede 'normal' social life. (Watson-Gegeo and White 1990:35–6)

It is interesting to note that during the hostage-taking it was made clear that all negotiations would be done by Fijians, even though internationally skilled negotiators and mediators
offered their services. This may have been a wise decision since all hostages were eventually released.

Tied to many Western mediation models are beliefs that these models can and should be transferred intact to other cultures. Training in these models assumes that there is one set of skills and techniques that are universally effective and that these skills need to be learned and practised so they can be replicated. These techniques come out of cultures that are individualist, problem solving, and verbally direct – cultures that are very different from collectivist, indirect cultures. Thus, it is possible that culturally inappropriate conflict resolution techniques and strategies might escalate a conflict.

Conclusion
Conflict and tension among individuals and groups are an inevitable part of living. Often intergroup conflicts are labelled in ethnic terms using either/or vocabulary. These group conflicts, like individual conflicts, occur for a wide variety of reasons and are affected by both internal and external factors. In Fiji, a large number of issues are constantly interacting and they can either escalate or reduce tension. To describe the Fiji situation as a ‘Fijian–Indian conflict’ both oversimplifies the context and renders many critical factors invisible. In addition, the named groups can serve as lightning rods in conflict rhetoric and the tension intensifies.

In order to work effectively towards positive conflict transformation, it is essential to acknowledge and understand the complexity of the conflict as well as the cultural environment in which it occurs. Conflicts and resolution strategies are embedded in the culture(s) from which they evolve. Cross-culturalists can assist individuals and communities to understand, acknowledge, describe and effectively work with all of the cultural components influencing a conflict. Given an understanding of the cultural context, effective strategies can be developed to reduce tension and work towards shared meaning and peaceful coexistence. As in untangling or mending a fishing net, this process takes time and patience.

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Approaches to conflict resolution in Fiji

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Introduction

The three coups in Fiji are symptomatic of the unresolved conflicts within its society, especially between the two major ethnic groups (indigenous Fijians, and those of Indian descent). This is the product of a cadre of leadership that, over the years, seemed to lose the plot in preparing their communities for global change, or in providing visionary leadership that might give unifying meaning and purpose to the people of Fiji in their search for a place in the global village.

The structure of Fiji society

To understand status in the Fiji context, we need to look at the main cultural components and social structure that give status its content and orientation, and which give gender its effectiveness.

Kinship system

Relationships in Fiji are predominantly based on kinship and its extended family orientation. Your place in society is thus often prescribed at a very early age. Although formal education and choice of profession may contribute to their status in the long term, people are fundamentally unchanged in their preconceptions of themselves and others, as defined by their kinship biases and preferences. While the wider ethnic prescription of identity is significant, maintaining and protecting kinship relations is often equated with permanence, stability and purpose. Coupled with this is the hierarchical and gender-biased nature of kinship relationships that dictates control. Those who are on the top of the heap usually do not give opportunities for personal growth to those who are younger, or who are disadvantaged (for example, females). In a conservative society that has to survive in a modern world of access to opportunities, local communities and their leaders in Fiji are constantly challenged with the need to adapt their ways to new realities. While the relational problems in these contexts multiply in number and complexity, and ideas for solutions are numerous, solutions that actually work seem to evade many in practice.

Kinship is considered sacred. Crimes and misdemeanours are committed within this 'comfort zone', and there seems to be little or no impetus towards improving the quality of relationships so that there is dignity and growth.

The custom regarding legitimacy, control of resources, and succession in Fiji is based on the premise that the kinship based family (nuclear and extended) is the centre for transmission of economic, political, religious and other powers. Groups like women, children and youth do not usually factor much. It is often assumed that those at the top of the hierarchy will cater for their needs. Over time, after generations, local communities lose many who find opportunities outside their immediate extended family setting that give them real choices for a better quality of life.

Other groups and associations

Fiji also has a variety of community based groups and civil societies that have attempted to mobilise local human resources to meet community-felt needs. These associations, formed outside the kinship arena, can be work-related, specialised services, based on human rights or general interests. Apart from meeting other needs, such groups provide alternative forums for building one's status and affirming one's gender. While they have growth in numbers, they are still not as pervasive in their influence as the traditional social groups based on religion and ethnicity.

Economic system

The existence of a fully-fledged market sector (formal') alongside a subsistence sector (informal') reflects the two worlds in which people find themselves. Fiji's economic system is already straining at the seams in the effort to effectively utilise resources for the production of goods and services and for their distribution to meet the wider needs of the community. The pressing and sometimes desperate need for paid employment, for access to quality education, health and food, and for disaster preparedness has been the subject of deliberation by many national, regional and international groups/organisations. No solution seems to be able to provide a win-win situation for people in the different sectors of the economy. Over time, more and more people become poor and disadvantaged because they fall through the social networks with their inherent prejudices. These often include women, children and the aged.

Other cultural elements

There are other elements that are common to all local cultures but which differ in expression or practice.

Formal and informal enculturation (education and socialisation) is very prescriptive and does not encourage people
to be thinkers. Human resources are often narrowly defined as literacy and numeracy capabilities, with little or no regard to virtues like human dignity, creativity, honesty, purity or unconditional love, which guide our motives. There is an overemphasis on 'having', with little regard for the sense of 'being' of our current and future generations.

Religious beliefs are important in that they are sources of values and give meaning to people’s relation to the world in which they live. However, a combination of religious and ethno-nationalistic posturing can make religion a tool for oppression. Here there is little or no room for accepting diversity. There is often a forced unity dictated from the top, and consent is manufactured by working on the fears and prejudices of a group. So, in place of acceptance of others who are 'different from us', we socially engineer their ultimate exclusion.

Language is important in so far as it encapsulates the worldview of a person, and ideas that emanate from that personal perspective, and its cultural setting. It is an essential tool in the provision of meaning. Being able to speak each other's language is fundamental to being able to understand each other. Fiji has not decided whether real communication and understanding are necessary. Hence, it has always shelved the idea of giving permission to its children and future generations to come together through discourse.

The interaction of social structure and social change

The subject of social control is an important one in the current Fiji situation, where an interim administration is based on the racial prejudice of superiority, which is at odds with universal measures of equality and human dignity.

Our process of socialisation has inculcated many patterns of normative behaviour that, on the whole, remain unchallenged. The spheres of learning and affirmation in the family, church, school, workplace and chosen social circles are largely ethnically and gender biased, and thus loaded with the shortcomings associated with such a narrow social exposure. A tradition of prescription based on a hierarchical social system does not allow much room for openness, dialogue and the pursuit of otherness. The culture of dissent on matters that hit hard on core beliefs is promptly responded to with a combination of mild to very strong persuasion to comply with the norms, of verbal abuse and physical harm, and even of alienation from the group. When one’s social status and gender become the target of that barrage of social control that denies the right to choice, very few who go through that experience remain true to a liberating cause.

While the modern economy provides an opportunity for people to cross traditional boundaries and comfort zones in pursuance of their careers, when it comes to political convictions and civic duties they are still largely uncritical in terms of ethnicity, religion or both, and have little awareness of what professionalism entails. Middle and upper management since Independence in 1970 have increasingly become filled with graduates with Masters and PhD degrees (thanks to foreign development assistance through scholarships). This has not led to real productivity in the workplace or to the acceptance of civic responsibilities outside the office as an educated person.

The social orientation of the wider society condones and nurtures bureaucratic systems that do not encourage critical thinking. Every problem has to be passed up, or horizontally, through kinship-style pressure groups, with little or no chance of personal responsibility and accountability. The buck stops somewhere else.

Factors operative in social change

Ideology, contact with other cultures, demographic factors, the relationship between economic factors and social stability, collective behaviour and public opinion all affect social change.

One would think that access to the global system of cultures, ideas and their different proponents would bring about a healthy attitude of inquisitiveness to know what others have gone through and what they have to offer for local application. Fiji has not been successful in nurturing a cadre of critical thinkers who can take an honest look at our society and bring to the fore summations that can then be debated and discussed with the purpose of helping Fiji to critically assess its past and come up with a vision for the future. Intellectuals have a social duty to think, to be critical of their own thinking, and to disseminate their thoughts. Our culture of silence needs to be broken. While the print media have been successful in providing a certain latitude in freedom of expression, society as a whole still does not encourage open forums at a more grassroots level. The outcomes of traditional forums/meetings are largely predictable.

Fiji has a much younger population than it did 15 years ago. This puts access to quality education and health services, and to real opportunities for economic well-being, higher on the list of public demands. At the same time, the three coups have led to the migration of a significant proportion of highly skilled people to Australia, New Zealand and the North American continent. This has affected the capacity of both the private and the public sector to sustain effective changes in rendering quality service. The meagre economic growth since the 1987 coup has been further frustrated by the May 19 coup, leading to a situation of an increasingly small ratio of regular income earners in relation to numbers of dependents.

Survival within a modern user-pays society requires having real possibilities to earn an income for meeting basic needs, in a way that affirms one’s dignity and self-worth. Having a paid job provides status. Failure to achieve this leads to personal instability. The coup this year, and the events that led to the formation of the interim administration, produced social and political instability. The main perpetrators had perceived major economic benefits in acquiring power and thus dictating the distribution and use of the country’s limited resources. Some of them had incurred substantial financial losses through the policies of the democratically elected Chaudhry government.
The signs seem to be clear that the people of Fiji will not know what they really want out of this crisis. Even if they did, there is not the collective determination and resilience to pursue the dream for the long haul. This pathetic situation has given strength to the very few who have illegally and inhumanely acquired leadership. It has bred boldness in these self-appointed few in manufacturing consent on decisions of great import that affect the people and future generations of Fiji.

Possibilities for conflict resolution and peacemaking

The realities outlined above do not exist in a void. They are experienced in the wider flow of social dynamics within Fiji as an increasingly exposed island state within a fast-changing world. At the end of the day, the people of Fiji have to decide their own destiny. In the regional and global setting, the reality is that this chosen destiny has to find resonance in the minds and hearts of its international partners if that dream is to be achievable.

What opportunities for peacemaking?

What are the possibilities for conflict resolution and peacemaking in Fiji?

I believe that civil societies are in a unique position to start the process of reconciliation between the different communities for the greater good of the nation as a whole. There are key leaders in the local communities who could be positive agents of change in their areas of influence. At the same time, the NGO Coalition is the only effective forum that provides a real alternative to the interim administration, grounded as it is on the universal principles of freedom, equality and brotherhood/sisterhood.

Civil societies could contribute to the development of concepts and options on the formation of a Government of National Unity. They could help politicians to address the many problems of the relationship between communities. They could also suggest ways to promote dialogue and reconciliation at the parliamentary and civil service levels, as well as in civil society organisations, trade unions and businesses, cities, towns, provinces and local communities, schools, churches and religious organisations.

But, first, it is vital to create a Government of National Unity. To the people of Fiji, symbolism is everything. For matters of national import, it gives ultimate legitimacy to status and meaning to what is acceptable. Such a government would establish the environment for more effective initiatives in other areas. Reconciliation at the state level would encourage people to develop attitudes that are more receptive to dialogue and the resolution of conflicts, grievances and hurts. The NGO Coalition on Human Rights could consider, for example, leading an initiative to reconcile the Fijian communities and the evicted Indo-Fijian tenants at Muanivni who are now camped at the Girmit Centre in Lautoka. A widely publicised achievement of communal reconciliation could have a positive effect in encouraging others to pursue similar initiatives elsewhere.

The NGO Coalition, in co-partnership with selected representatives of local communities, could embark on an education programme on multiculturalism and human rights. It could act as a think-tank and facilitator, in concert with other better resourced and effective organisations, including the interim administration and foreign governments. All people need to know that there are universally accepted principles for relating to one another, despite diverse differences. We can no longer assume that people know what is right. We should at least give them the opportunity to be aware of their prejudices and to develop healthy attitudes towards others.

Some form of demilitarisation is also necessary. The Fiji Military Force has a long history of international involvement, first during the world wars and then later in peacekeeping duties in some of the most volatile regions of the world. It is more than 90 per cent ethnically Fijian and male dominated, and all too often it is influenced by kinship tradition. Given its involvement in the past coups, there is need to review its role in the wider context of a gender sensitive, multicultural and more democratic desired future. We need to move away from the very narrow definition of conflict resolution through militarism, and to explore options that empower people through peaceful means.

It is important to look anew at the role of the Great Council of Chiefs in the context of the need for quality leadership and for nation building. Membership of the Council could be made more representative to enable more effective participation by a wider cross-section of the indigenous communities. This could be done without compromising the Council's traditional role of symbolic indigenous leadership. This would make it more accountable to the people, and less vulnerable to manipulation by groups that do not represent the majority.

The overwhelming majority of the people of Fiji subscribe to a religion or some philosophy of life. There is, however, a distinct absence of inclusiveness in the practice of these religious and philosophical convictions. Local religious leaders, intellectuals and media leaders need to join forces to raise awareness of the universal principles of unity in diversity and of the inclusive nature of truth, and to give permission for the demonstration of these principles privately and publicly. The very meaning of 'university' means unity in diversity. Very often, one finds that graduates come out more confused about life than with a unified vision of their place in the world, one that is respectful of others' rights and dignity.

Conclusion

History has shown that we can achieve the seemingly impossible. The process of dialogue, debate, discussion and consensus
building that led to the acceptance of the 1997 Constitution was a historical achievement well beyond the expectations of the overwhelming majority of the people of Fiji. Perhaps all parties were so hasty in withdrawing afterwards to their old comfort zones of exclusive political and religious persuasions that they forgot one very important thing. What they had agreed upon were still only ideas on paper. Although the symbolism was significant, local constituencies needed then to be educated about these desired principles of good governance. Instead, political expediency by all parties followed. Hastily formed coalitions competed for political ascendancy to the throne of leadership under the new guidelines. New governance was doomed from the beginning.

We can begin again in nation building. This time, the civil societies can play a central role in bringing together community leaders to help find a more sure way of resolving conflicts and sustaining peace in Fiji. At the forefront in these coalitions of NGOs and civil societies are women and a few men who have generally secured their status under more inclusive worldviews and who have a common desire to work together in understanding the issues and looking for solutions. This can be the beginning of a wider democratic movement that focuses on making sure that the democratic ideal of government – by the people, for the people and with the people – becomes a living reality, one that will permeate the very fabric of Fiji’s society and become part of the psyche of its people.
Gender and the role of the media in conflict and peacemaking: The Fiji experience

Sharon Bhagwan Rolls, Coordinator/Executive Producer, fem’LINKpacific and Secretary, National Council of Women Fiji

Introduction

An environment that maintains peace and promotes and protects human rights, democracy and peaceful reconciliation is an important factor for the advancement of women. Peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men, and with development. As we have experienced recently in Fiji, the equal access to and full participation of women in power structures and in the prevention and resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Despite the progress made since the proclamation of the decade for women in 1975, gender disparities and unacceptable inequalities still remain. What is more, these negative conditions are further exacerbated by conflict.

Although women have begun to play an important role in conflict resolution, peacekeeping, and defence and foreign affairs mechanisms, they are still underrepresented in decision making processes. Therefore, if women are to play an equal part in securing and maintaining peace, they must not be showered with ‘political rhetoric’ but be encouraged to find empowerment through workable, culturally appropriate economic activity, to be able to afford to take the responsibilities of participation in decision making. People will respond to strategies which offer tangible, life-changing opportunities. (I equate the process with some of the simplest, most cost-effective yet successful advertising campaigns.)

The media is our affair

As a response to the lack of women-centred stories in the mainstream media, fem’LINKpacific: Media Initiatives for Women has been established. It is a stand-alone women’s non-government organisation (NGO) that will work specifically to ensure that women’s voices are heard, by trying to balance the scales in pursuit of equality and social justice and by critically looking, through the eyes of women, at the current developments in our country.

We are empowered by the call to action for NGOs through the strategic objectives outlined in Section J of the Beijing Platform for Action: to increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision making and through the media and new technologies; and to promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media. Thus, fem’LINKpacific has undertaken to:

• advocate/facilitate the increased participation of women in media decision making to promote a gender-sensitive media content;
• work for increased access by women in new communications technologies;
• promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media;
• facilitate media ownership by women through the fem’LINKpacific Trust; and
• ensure women have access to a wide range of media products, as both producers and consumers.

There is an urgent need for a democratic people to think clearly, without the distortions due to unconscious and unrecognised bias. It is a concern that remains with many women’s NGOs today because we work to strengthen democratic structures and to increase representative, participatory decision making, particularly where it is lacking for women and minorities. We are called upon, more and more, to pay attention to the huge influence that media has on our societies and the world. We need to be able to decode messages, interpret issues, and understand how they hinder or help our goals of achieving gender equity and social and economic justice.

During the past decade, advances in information technology have facilitated a global communications network that transcends national boundaries and has an impact on public policy, private attitudes and behaviour, especially of children and young adults. Everywhere the potential exists for the media to make a far greater contribution to the advancement of women, but despite the increasing number of women employed in the media industry few have attained positions at the decision making level to have the capacity or opportunity to influence media policy. The lack of gender sensitivity in the media is evidenced by the failure to eliminate the gender based stereotyping found in public and private local, national and international media organisations.

The Fiji experience

The National Council of Women Fiji (NCWF) was established in 1968 to address the desire of women in Fiji to have a national coordinating body for the various multi-ethnic women’s groups that were being established to address the social, economic and political issues emerging during the period of pre-independence.
Since then, the NCWF has spearheaded a range of activities designed to improve the status of women at all community levels. Forming a strong partnership with government (even prior to the establishment of the Ministry of Women and Culture in 1987) and working with a large network of affiliate members, the NCWF has been an effective go-between for both the government and civil society, providing an avenue to protect women's interests and ensuring their participation in development.

The movement for gender equality the world over has been one of the defining developments of our time. The Women's Agenda has been at the forefront of many national achievements in the last 30 years of independence in Fiji. The NCWF can look proudly at the development and progress of our country 'through women's eyes' and continue in its initial role as an umbrella organisation, bringing together affiliates with common concerns while also addressing specific needs and interests.

On 20 May 2000, the NCWF issued its first media statement denouncing the 19 May coup and began mobilising members for a peace and prayer vigil, which began on 21 May. This vigil became our key Women in Community action in response to the coup and the illegal detention of the members of parliament. The vigil, held in Holy Trinity Anglican Cathedral, brought together women, men and children in a peaceful demonstration and with a collective and unified voice:

- to denounce the actions of 19 May 2000;
- to call for the immediate and safe release of the hostages;
- to call for the restoration of the democratic process, as outlined in the 1997 Constitution; and
- to reaffirm the need for all Fiji Islanders to unify in peaceful solidarity for the future of our country.

Why a peace and prayer vigil? Significantly, this was the most appropriate form of demonstration at the time. The ongoing violence and the threat of violence meant that public protest demonstrations were impossible. There was also a general feeling of shock and dismay that everyone needed to deal with before we tackled the situation from any other angle.

The vigil brought together not only members of the NCWF affiliates but also the women's movement generally, as well as the greater community. The response was very positive, considering the situation - we had not expected that the vigil would gather such momentum.

We began the Women in Black campaign and the Candlelight of Hope initiative that first weekend - and we found, with each day, that we were able to collectively face what was happening to our country. As we began to meet the family members of the hostages, we realised that they too were drawing strength from the vigil. This motivated us further and saw the happening to our country. As we began to meet the family

We also recognised that this was a very important time to continue the work of the NCWF, particularly to integrate a gender advocacy perspective into the media coverage of and since 19 May, and to communicate NCWF concerns to international partners and associates to seek support for the Women's Action for Democracy and Peace/Vigil Action.

Strategies for the future

Women's Action for Democracy and Peace

In the midst of the May crisis, the NCWF established the Women's Action for Democracy and Peace (WAD'aP) campaign/steering committee to continue to address the long-term impact and consequences of the crisis and to maintain a gender perspective in the future developments of the period of reconciliation and reconstruction.

WAD'aP recognised the need to focus attention in a number of specific areas for the long term. The working groups hope to be able to address, wherever possible, the particular needs of members and affiliates around the country, in partnership with other women NGOs and civil society partners. The overall objectives of WAD'aP are:

- to identify actions that will promote the fundamental freedom and human rights of every citizen of Fiji;
- to promote multiculturalism throughout the community, and especially through the existing networks of affiliates and other civil societies;
- to inform the international community of (a) actions and initiatives undertaken by the council and other affiliates in response to the current crisis, and (b) seek their support of identified actions;
- to continue to inform the authorities and relevant bodies of the official position of the council and other affiliates in response to the current crisis;
- to undertake post-conflict rehabilitation programmes through existing networks of affiliates and other civil societies; and
- to publicise through the media the initiatives taken by affiliates and civil societies in promoting multiculturalism, reconciliation and healing.

As the national umbrella body for women's organisations, in partnership with many other women's NGOs and civil society partners, the NCWF will remain proactive and responsive to the social, political, economic and spiritual needs of women and children in Fiji, through programmes and activities identified and designed by members of the Human Rights and Peace, Multiculturalism, Good Governance and Women's Economic Rights working groups.

The WAD'aP Kids: Fiji of the Future creative expression project, assisted by the Canada Fund, will be a pilot project based on promoting peace and multiculturalism through 'art'
in 40 primary schools. This activity, like future WAD’aP projects, will also involve concerned young women and mothers from our membership to ensure effective implementation.

**fem’LINKpacific: Media Initiatives for Women**

Many women’s NGOs outside the Pacific region have already successfully established a range of feminist media initiatives to assist in the further advancement of women, such as Radio Sagarmatha, Nepal; Sister Namibia; Milenia, the feminist collective radio station in Lima, Peru; FemNet in Africa; and FemPress in Latin America. There was no such media initiative in the Pacific prior to 19 May.

Fem’LINKpacific will be a permanent Communications/Documentation NGO, ’linking women’s organisations with the media’ through the documentation and production of specific media outputs, including:

- a quarterly women’s newspaper supplement in the Fijian, Hindi and English languages;
- monthly women’s radio programmes in the English, Fijian and Hindustani languages;
- a quarterly women’s ‘life’ video magazine for distribution to NGOs to generate discussion and dialogue at all levels of society; and
- ongoing documentation of women’s programmes: not only those developed in response to 19 May but also historical accounts of the women’s movement in Fiji.

**Conclusion**

The World Association of Christian Communicators Global Media Monitoring Report highlighted the fact that the particular significance of women’s absence from news lies in the increasingly central role played by the news media in setting the agenda for public debate. By prioritising certain topics and ignoring others completely, and by giving a voice to certain social or political actors and not to others, the dominant news agenda tells us who and what is important. It creates pictures from which entire areas of experience are effectively blanked out. Studies in a limited number of countries have shown that the picture of the world provided by today’s news media is one in which women barely exist. It is a world structured and inhabited overwhelmingly by men.

So, even though women are a major demographic in advertising promotions by the media industry, which casts them in limited roles and objectifies them to influence the community to choose one product or service over another, they are not yet sufficiently represented in the media hierarchy to influence the industry, which recognises woman-power but hesitates to use it at decision making levels.

While Fiji boasts a high proportion of women in newsrooms and in radio and television production, pertinent issues in feminist media scholarship remain extremely relevant today. This revolves around the relationship between the gender of journalists or media practitioners, and the gender of news actors. Underlying a great deal of debate about women’s participation in the news has been the assumption that, if more women were employed in the media, media content might change. The hypothesis that a greater number of female journalists or practitioners would lead to a differing ordering of priorities in news selection, or to a larger proportion of female news actors and interviewees, has yet to be proven. Current data are still unable to answer the question of whether female journalists consciously seek out women as interviewees, or whether they deliberately make an effort to cover stories of special concern to women.

Furthermore, many research studies have also shown that women are rarely called upon to give ‘expert’ opinion. The provision of expert opinion in the news is a relatively male prerogative. When women’s opinion is sought on a particular issue, it tends to be in terms of their role as ‘ordinary people’ or ‘persons in the street’ whose occupation may be considered unimportant to the opinion they are asked to express. Because men are more frequently consulted as authorities, their occupations are more frequently specified. And, even when these occupations are not actually relevant to the issue being discussed, studies of media content have found that job titles are more likely to be provided in the case of male than of female contributors.

In order to make the media work for us, we must continue to lobby the media industry to develop people-centred and gender-mainstream policies and to become more accountable to their target audience — upon whom their ‘return on investment’ is based. At the same time, we must continue to develop our own media initiatives to:

- accelerate the promotion of peaceful conflict resolution, reconciliation and tolerance;
- promote ‘best practice’ education, training, community actions and youth programmes which can be shared by likeminded NGOs;
- encourage the further development of peace research, involving the participation of women;
- examine the impact of conflict on women and children;
- document the nature and contribution of women’s participation in national, regional and international peace movements; and
- engage in research and identify innovative mechanisms for containing violence.
Conceptualising and addressing the mental health impacts of gender roles in conflict and peacemaking

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Introduction

There is no doubt that women experience conflict and peace in ways that relate directly to the social construction of their gender in any given context (Cooke and Woolcott 1993, Zalewski 1995). While these experiences will obviously vary according to situated cultural constructions, a common gender role in conflict that emerges consistently in the literature and in Pacific women's stated experiences of conflict in Solomon Islands, Bougainville and Papua New Guinea is that of vulnerability to gender-related violence (GRV).

In this paper, a model of healing, drawn from the author's recent fieldwork with women survivors of conflict in El Salvador and from seminal literature on gender and development practice, will be presented as a way of conceptualising and addressing the mental health impacts of GRV inflicted upon women in recent Melanesian conflicts. This model of healing recognises the inherently disempowering effects of GRV for women and draws on the theory of empowerment to aid women in the reconstruction of their shattered identities and societies.

The mental health impacts

GRV, or violence that is enacted against women because they are women and because of what they represent as women (Richters 1994), embodies the power imbalances that exist in patriarchal societies (El-Bushra and Piza Lopez 1993:1–2). As GRV in conflict is most often of a sexual nature, it is consciously designed to violate a woman's dignity and identity (Busster-Burotto 1994:158). GRV acts to disempower women not only by terrorising them into submission, but also by instilling in them the impossibility of struggling for social change.

In the recent armed conflicts that have taken place in Solomon Islands and Bougainville, women have been specific targets of GRV. Rape is a common form of 'payback' in many conflict situations in Melanesia. As a result, countless women and girls were raped and sexually assaulted as rival factions fought for supremacy in the Solomons and as the Papua New Guinean army acted to suppress the sovereignty claims of the Bougainvillean people with increasingly brutal repression.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 1995) contends that psychological trauma is a universal experience for victims of GRV. They experience intense feelings of worthlessness, self-disgust and powerlessness, which can lead in some cases to more chronic psychological disturbances such as depression and suicidal behaviour. The trauma may also be expressed through psychosomatics — that is, through constant physical ailments, such as headaches, sore backs and gastrointestinal disturbances, that often plague victims of GRV. Allodi and Stiansny's (1990) study of 28 tortured women from Central and South America, for example, revealed that these women were suffering from physical symptoms such as insomnia, headaches, body pains, stomach discomfort and lack of appetite, in addition to their affective symptoms of depression, fear, feelings of hopelessness, loss of self-esteem, crying, irritability, and sexual anxiety/avoidance.

In attempting to understand the dynamics of trauma following torture in Chile, Agger and Jensen (1996) identified the psychological dynamics of dissociation and victimisation as concepts useful in understanding not only the experience of torture but also a person's subsequent reactions to it. Dissociation, or 'turning yourself off', during the torture process is a common psychological survival mechanism necessary to avoid an 'overwhelming anxiety which would lead to total disintegration' (Weinstein and Lira 1987:49 in Agger and Jensen 1996:92).

Victimisation, as conceived by Agger and Jensen (1996), refers to the consequences of the power relationship established between the torturer and the tortured. Through physical and psychological methods, the tortured are made to betray their families and friends, thus transforming themselves into the position of the torturer by delivering their families and friends into the hands of certain torture and perhaps even death. Having made this choice of physical over psychological survival, the tortured then suffer a kind of moral death resulting from the privileging of themselves or their families over the strength of their political beliefs.

The trauma resulting from GRV thus extends beyond the individual (Herman 1997). As Martín-Baró (1988) stresses, the nature of repression that took place in the political conflicts of Latin America, for example (silencing of opposition, rape, torture, disappearance, massacres, displacement, isolation, economic pauperisation), was also responsible for the traumatisation of families and of society in general. It is then a 'psychosocial' trauma — that is, the 'traumatic crystallisation in persons and groups of inhuman social relations' (Martín-Baró 1988:138).

Judith Zur (1993), in her study of the psychosocial effects of 'La Violencia' (a period of government-sponsored terrorism,
in 1980–83, directed against the civilian population during the 30-year civil war) on widows in El Quiché, Guatemala, attests further to the wider implications of GRV for society:

What the violence and less meant for widows was a virtual reformulation of family life. This took place at various levels, from the roles taken up by women and children to replace those of missing male kin, to attitudinal changes regarding the security that one could expect from the family. The threat to the family meant that members had to disperse spatially in order to survive ... as a result of witnessing relatives being massacred, and being unable to respond, women's images of themselves as mothers and wives and of carers and complementary partners, respectively, were destroyed. (Zur 1993:29)

As women in Latin American often derive their identity from their roles as mothers and protectors of the family unit (Bunster-Burotto 1994), the inability to provide adequately for their families led widows, and other women who had been abandoned by their partners, to experience feelings of anxiety and powerlessness. Given the ideological campaign of appropriate motherhood that was waged throughout Latin America during the era of authoritarian rule, these feelings were further compounded by the guilt women were made to feel for transgressing society's role of a good mother – that is, one who is able to protect her loved ones from death and disappearance (Hollander 1996:67–8).

The physical consequences of GRV impact, in addition, on women's psychological states. Through rape and other forms of GRV, women are exposed to HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. They are also, quite obviously, exposed to unwanted and often highly traumatic pregnancies (given the damage to their reproductive tract because of GRV) and as a result may attempt dangerous abortions (Byrne 1996). It is hard to imagine how such consequences of GRV could not result in psychological traumatisation. Even for those women who are successful in dissociating themselves from their experiences, the cultural constructions of women in many societies result in their being held responsible for GRV and thus ostracised from society (Byrne 1996, El-Bushra and Piza Lopez 1994).

Since the early 1980s, with the publication of the American Psychiatric Association’s third edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders (DSM-III) (MacDonald 1996), psychiatrists have often identified the types of psychological effects discussed above as post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD):

- a response, sometimes delayed, to an overwhelming event or events which takes the form of repeated, intrusive hallucinations, dreams, thoughts or behaviours stemming from the event, along with numbing that may have been begun during or after the experience, and possibly also increased arousal to (and avoidance of) stimuli recalling the event. (Caruth 1995:4)

A diagnosis of PTSD is made when an individual is shown to experience a certain number of standardised symptoms, listed under the categories: re-experiencing the trauma, avoidance of behaviour and numbing of responsiveness, increased arousal, duration of the disorders, and functional impairment (American Psychiatric Association 1994).

Defining the psychological trauma of GRV in such a universal way, however, has major problems. Experts in the fields of psychology, psychiatry and social sciences have argued that the effects of violence, its manifestion, and the recovery from its psychological impacts are largely determined by factors that are context-specific (Bracken and Petty 1998). It is not always appropriate, then, to view the psychological impacts of conflict in medicalised terms, when they are ‘more than and different from a disease condition even though [they have] physiological effects ... The experience itself is characteristically cultural, elaborated in ways that differ from its development in other societies’ (Kleinman 1995:185).

Viewing the impacts of GRV as a ‘disease’ or ‘disorder’ also acts to remove the political, social and economic forces from which trauma has arisen. Women who experience psychological trauma in conflict situations are the victims of a political project intentionally aimed at harming them. Hence, while women victims of GRV do often suffer traumatic symptoms as a result of this systematic harming, it would be dangerously remiss to say that they are suffering from a disease condition.

There are, therefore, many issues related to the labelling and subsequent treatment of victims who are suffering the psychological effects of GRV. What must not be lost in the complexities of these issues, however, is that these effects are a major challenge for conflict resolution and peacemaking. Because women’s active participation in reconciliation and reconstruction is essential for sustainable development in post-conflict societies, efforts must be made to heal the women so that they have both the motivation and the capacity to participate in these activities.

These factors are of utmost significance to the efforts taking place in the Pacific to negotiate and sustain peaceful solutions to the recent conflicts in Solomon Islands and Bougainville. As Pacific women have long been recognised for their roles as peacemakers, it is important that there be purpose-built programmes put in place to alleviate the psychological trauma that they have suffered, so that they are able to participate more fully in efforts to reconcile and reconstruct their own identities and those of their peoples.

Healing the impacts of gender-related violence

The model in Figure 1 summarises the aforementioned effects of GRV and presents a way of addressing some of its impacts that may affect Pacific women as their societies struggle to emerge from protracted armed conflict. The model adapts Friedmann (1992) and Rowlands (1997) views of empowerment in context with the author’s research with women in El Salvador.
**Figure 1: Impacts of gender-related violence on women**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical</th>
<th>Environmental</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Psychological</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>gynaec. problems</em></td>
<td><em>infrastructural damage</em></td>
<td><em>dislocation in society</em></td>
<td><em>low self esteem/guilt</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>AIDS/STDs</em></td>
<td><em>impassionment</em></td>
<td><em>breakdown of traditional gender roles/identities</em></td>
<td><em>denial/victimisation</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>physical symptoms related to trauma:</em></td>
<td><em>lack of resources</em></td>
<td><em>widowhood/female headed households</em></td>
<td><em>anger/hatred</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gastritis/headaches</em></td>
<td><em>environmental degradation</em></td>
<td><em>sexual anxiety/avoidance</em></td>
<td><em>disassociation</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>backpain/insomnia</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>loss of spirituality</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Trauma**
  - Disempowerment
    - **Gender Specific Strategies for Healing in Women**
      - **Conscientisation**
        - reflection on trauma
        - deprivatisation of trauma
        - reconstitution of trauma to reveal situated constructions of masculinity and femininity
        - legitimisation of feelings (what I feel is important)
      - **Reconstructing Gender Roles/Identity**
        - valorisation of participation in social change movements
        - healing through ritual/group therapy
        - identifying oppressive gender roles/identities/ reconstructing these building on power within

- **Empowerment**
  - **Personal** (in relation to self)
    - self-esteem
    - courage
    - strength
    - happiness
    - solidarity/spirituality
    - sense of control
    - confidence
    - able to make plans/decisions
    - energy
    - hope/vision for the future
  - **Social/Political** (in relation to family/society)
    - access to resources
    - ability to make decisions in family/community settings
    - sense of control in relationships with others
    - fulfilling friendships
    - critical consciousness of subordination in family/society
    - participation in grass-roots organisations
    - interest in political processes

*November 2000*
This model of healing explicitly identifies the linkages between the disempowering impacts of GRV during conflict, and the empowering outcomes of gender-specific approaches to healing the traumatic impacts of this violence. These approaches recognise the importance of deprivatising political trauma through conscientisation, or reflection, and the reconstruction of shattered gendered identities. Such gender-specific methods enable women survivors to heal themselves and their communities in ways that will contribute to the breaking down of the very same patriarchal structures (militarisation, authoritarianism, and machismo) from which their disempowerment has arisen.

As empowerment is not a linear process whereby a disempowered individual necessarily experiences empowerment through gender-specific healing strategies, a dashed line has been used in the model to show the relationship between the impacts of GRV and empowerment. This highlights the fact that empowering outcomes often contribute to the further perpetuation of GRV against women because of the conflict engendered by those empowered women who challenge the status quo.

Consonant with the impacts of GRV, the levels of empowerment shown in the model are also fluid and interrelated. While, for sake of clarity, empowerment has been delineated into personal and social/political levels, the reality for many women throughout the world is that changes relating to the self are simultaneously social and political. Personal empowerment outcomes such as self-esteem and happiness have spinoff effects into the realms of the social and political. Women who have a sense of personal potency are, for example, more likely to participate in development initiatives aimed at promoting structural change in society, while women who feel in control of their own lives are more likely to develop a critical consciousness of their subordination within their families and society at large.

Conclusion

The implementation of a model of healing that is rooted in the empowerment approach is of clear importance to conflict resolution and reconciliation, not only in Latin America, where the author's research took place, but also in the current conflict and post-conflict environments of the Pacific. As GRV is a universal phenomenon which causes significant psychological impacts, women in the Pacific must be given the opportunity to heal their trauma in ways that recognise its inherently social nature. Such approaches have been successful in healing the trauma of Salvadoran women and empowering them to participate in post-conflict reconstruction activities. Pacific women, and Pacific societies, also deserve this opportunity.

Note

1. It can be argued that women are targeted in conflict situations because of their position in the community as bearers of cultural identity (Byrne 1996:34, Moghadam 1995:137, Seifert 1993:10-12). Consequently, as Byrne stresses, 'the rape of women in conflict situations is intended not only as violence against women, but as an act of aggression against a nation or community'.

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Recognising ‘victim mentality’: A lesson from Kosovo

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Introduction

This article attempts to address the question posed by I. William Zartman 'why internal conflict is so obdurately resistant to negotiations' (Zartman 1995:3). I maintain that a pathological form of self-understanding – which I term 'victim mentality' – is a little recognised but pernicious influence on the good intentions brought to peace negotiations.

My primary source is Julie Mertus’s case study of ethnic Serbs’ and Albanians’ respective self-understandings in pre-war Kosovo (Mertus 1999). Mertus offers a compelling case for recognising that the self-understandings of the rival ethnic groups in Kosovo are such as to be resistant to face-to-face negotiations. The Kosovo conflict illustrates what I mean by victim mentality. As a contribution to understanding this situation, I present a simplified analysis of the dominant psychological mechanism which organises such self-understandings.

My central contention is that victim mentality is a product of social and economic factors and a reaction to conflict. I fervently deny any suggestion that it is part of the Serbian character to harbour a hatred of Kosovar Albanians, just as I deny characterising the Kosovar Albanians as secessionists who sought to terrorise Serbs into leaving Kosovo. It seems unfortunately the case that no society has existed which was free from individuals who sought to politicise the demonisation of others on the basis of identifying them with a particular group. There may be some sympathy among the wider community for these stereotypes but, in a relatively healthy society, these individuals are generally treated either as eccentric outsiders or as troublemaking radicals. Historically, Kosovo was no different. What happened there, and what I describe as a more general process, is the pathology of such views coming to dominate the self-understanding of the community as a whole.

The post-Tito Federal Republic of Yugoslavia serves as a paradigm of the background conditions which permit the emergence of modern intrastate conflicts. Josip Broz Tito, the autocratic leader of the republic, died in 1980, leaving behind a Yugoslavia whose prosperity was only superficial. Below the surface was a burgeoning economic crisis. This led to retardation of the developmental possibilities of the population, which is an almost ubiquitous state of affairs attending modern intrastate conflicts. These effects were strongly felt in Kosovo, which was already a relatively underdeveloped province of Yugoslavia: as of 1981, it had nationally the lowest per capita income (cited in Mertus 1999:24) and the highest unemployment rate (Prifti 1984:143).

More dramatically, the post-Tito Yugoslavia was de facto a politically decentralised state, comprising six republics and two provinces each governed by a regionally based and separate parliament and Communist Party (Silber and Little 1995:29). These multiple centres of authority roughly coincided with the different ethnic groups that were brought together after World War I into what we came to call ‘Yugoslavia’. This created the irresistible incentive for political leaders to campaign against the center, to appeal to ethnic nationalism, and to promote the independence of their republics (Huntington 1996:262).

Slobodan Milosevic, who during this period came to ‘enjoy a popularity greater than any Serbian political figure in this century’ (Djilas 1993:83), is not by ideological background a nationalist. He was, rather, the leader of the then Serbian Communist Party who appreciated the potential of nationalist politics in the post-Tito decentralised state.

Lastly, it can be argued that the confluence of these elements becomes critical when it also involves a ‘youth bulge’, that is a relative increase in the 15–24 year old population bracket (Huntington 259–61 passim). Ignoring the debate over why, it is a matter of fact that, by the 1980s, the Kosovar Albanian birth rate was the highest in Europe, with close to 50 per cent of the population less than 20 years of age (Prifti 1984:127). This tripod state of affairs was a paradigm instance of the conditions which promote the spread of victim mentality.

Those who assume a victim mentality are relieved of the necessity to confront the unsatisfactory reality that their feelings of deprivation and powerlessness are a result of background economic and social conditions. Instead, this pathological condition permits an interpretation of events which casts blame and absolves one of any personal responsibility. Firstly and primarily, an other is posited as that which is to blame. In order for the accusation of blame to be considered credible, it is next necessary to mythologise the character of this other. There is, finally, a need for a self-understanding which is coherent with the mythologised primary positioning. This is, however, already articulated within the logic of victim mentality. It forces upon its host a self-understanding of itself as the victim of this blameful other.
Posit an other as the source of blame

To illustrate this mechanism, consider how, within the Serb self-understanding, the storytelling and mythologisation of select events came to symbolise their persecution. On 11 March 1981, Kosovar Albanian students demonstrated at Pristina University in Kosovo. These students remember, and it was reported in the local media, that the demonstration was initially a spontaneous display of dissatisfaction with the cafeteria food. As the protest gathered momentum, the expressed grievance grew to include the broader economic conditions in Kosovo. A fortnight later, the demonstrations were repeated in Prizren and then Pristina, and by April had become a province-wide revolt that included miners, labourers, teachers and civil servants.

The government's reaction was to call a state of emergency and to suppress violently. It is estimated by Amnesty International (1985:12) that up to 300 demonstrators were killed. This figure is challenged by official estimates, which put the number at nine; however, officially, 3,000 demonstrators were given prison sentences of up to three months, 1,200 of up to 15 years, and 500 Kosovar party officials were expelled (Malcolm 1998:335–6).

It is not, however, as an expression of discontent with economic conditions that the demonstrations are remembered in Serb self-understanding. The growing size of the protests had opened them as a forum for more extreme political calls for secession. Disregarding questions about the extent of popular support for these views, 'Serb' local journalists would zero in on these more controversial signs, presenting them as the demonstrators' key political demands (Mertus 1999:31).

At that time, the anti-nationalist policies of communist Yugoslavia did not permit the media to opine that the object of the Albanians' aggression was the Serb community. For them, however, the truth was obvious. The reporting barely veiled this threatening reality, declaring that 'the demonstrations and the disturbances, organized by hostile, anti-self-managing and irredentist elements, are aimed at causing instability in Kosovo' (cited in Merrus 1999:32). Here, the 'hostile, anti-self-managing and irredentist elements' meant secessionists who sought the unification of Kosovo with Albania. The 'demonstrations and disturbances' mentioned by means the leaders of the Kosovar Albanian community and the direct support of the Albanian authorities in Tirana (Malcolm 1998:335–6, Mertus 1999:35–41). More evocatively, the 'instability in Kosovo' was clearly an attack on the Serb community.

Regardless of the reality, stories of the 1981 student protests came to symbolise a widespread feeling among the Serb community of an organised campaign of victimisation. It is true that there is 'at least anecdotal evidence, widely circulated from the early 1980s onwards, of people [Serbs] leaving because they were threatened or felt threatened' (Malcolm 1998:330). Moreover, that some claims of victimisation were justified is confirmed by the Kosovar Albanian politician Ibrahim Rugova who, in an interview in 1995, admitted that 'Albanians did not 'behave as they should have' and that 'some people were out of control' during this period (Mertus 1999:22). Rugova is, however, clearly appealing for a balanced view: not all Kosovar Albanians were without political motivation or blameless.

Admiration of these truths does not force the conclusion that there existed a nationwide, aggressive Albanian movement. Nonetheless, in the Serbs' self-understanding, the Kosovar Albanians were posited, on the basis of a mythologised account of events, as the blameful other.

Mythologise the other

This is the step in the logic of victim mentality where the relation to reality becomes tenuous and the self-understanding pathological. It is important that the concept of this other be simplified and demonised so as to entertain only those characteristics necessary to accept the mantle of blame. There can be few or no details that describe redeeming human qualities in the concept of this other. Its essential character is that of aggressor: it is 'their' actions, not 'mine' or 'ours', that are the cause of the troubles. In particular, this is aggression in its purest form. It is violent and bloody and does not originate from rational motives or from a response to the social or economic situation. The source of this aggression is, rather, primal: it originates in the native character of the other.

It is a clear signal of the operation of victim mentality that stories exemplifying the one-dimensional inhumanity of an other come to dominate the conversational tradition of the community. These stories attain, moreover, the character of independent and authoritative verification through their reporting in local media. A potential warning sign of impending intercommunal violence is, consequently, an increase in the local media of stories vilifying a specific community.

It should surprise us little that the conception which the Kosovar Albanians came to occupy in the Serbian mentality displayed all of these single-minded attributes. Consider the symbol of Martinovic: on 1 May 1985, a Serb named Djordje Martinovic was admitted to the hospital in Gnjilane, Kosovo, with a bottle inserted in his rectum. What actually happened will probably never be known because Martinovic's case was immediately seized upon by the Serbian media which, 'through the gradual erosion of both press control and traditional taboos', became more 'polemical' and 'sensational' (Malcolm 1998:338).

The furor created by this story over the ensuing months took precedence over the procedures of an objective police and forensic investigation. What was claimed as the truth was that Martinovic had been viciously attacked, while labouring in his field, by two unknown ethnic Albanian assailants who had beaten him and forced the bottle into his rectum. It was 'obvious' that the motive for the assault was to drive him out of the district in order to appropriate his land. A book by a Serbian author promoting this version of events sold 50,000 copies in its first printing (Mertus 1999:110). By means of such storytelling, the 'truth' of the Martinovic case became fixed for the Serb community.

November 2000
Through the mythology of this story, Martinovic became a powerful symbol of the Serb community's persecution in Kosovo. The nature of his wound clearly suggested the brutal Turkish practice of impaling and the suffering of Serbia under 500 years of Turkish occupation. The unprovoked character of the attack against an innocent Serb evoked the horror of the wartime Croatian concentration camp, Jasenovac, in which up to one million Serbs were murdered. In the words of Samuel Huntington (1996:271), 'the devils of the past are resurrected in the present'.

The actual situation in Kosovo in the 1980s was apparently irrelevant: From 1981 to 1987, the crime rate in Kosovo was the lowest in Yugoslavia. There were five interethnic murders in all of Kosovo during this period, two cases in which Albanians murdered Serbs and three in which Serb murdered Albanians. (Mertus 1999:112)

Regardless of these statistics, the symbol of Martinovic became loaded with a greater suffering. A petition, signed by a group of 216 Serbian nationalist intellectuals and presented to the Yugoslav assembly, claimed that 'the case of Djordje Martinovic has become that of the whole Serb nation in Kosovo' (cited in Malcolm 1998:340). Symbolically, the name of Martinovic came to represent a case of 'genocide' against the Serbs in Kosovo.

Within the developing myth, the motive for this genocide was also clear. To the Serbs, 'Kosovo' is a powerfully evocative name that was already 'an abstraction, a set of national myths in the popular imagination' (Mertus 1999:8). For them, it signified more than a case of disputed territory. Kosovo is the site of the heroic Serbian defeat by the Turks in 1389 which led to the Turkish occupation of Serbia and which is still to this day popularly recounted in epic poetry.

Kosovar Albanians collectively were by religious association engaged in an aggressive 'holy war' as Muslims against the Orthodox Serbs. This was an identification which gained greater intensification with the launching of Serbia's war in Bosnia against the Muslim Slavs (Malcolm 1998:351). The Kosovar Albanians were now remembered as 'Arnauts', the old Serbian term for a Muslim Albanian which has the connotation of conspirator with the Turks (Mertus 1999:109). Thus, the veracity of these stories gained greater authority through their annexation to historical precedents. During the 1980s, numerous books were published by respected Serbian academics and historians who presented 'the whole history of the Serbs in Kosovo as an unending chronicle of ethnic martyrdom' (Malcolm 1998:338).

**Self-understanding as the victim**

The essential pathology of victim mentality is that one's self-understanding is not determined by an active relation to oneself but, rather, by one's reactive relation to an other. The self-understanding develops implicitly and derivatively through the positing and mythologisation of the other.

Thus, the Serb community posited the Kosovar Albanians as the active aggressor and, in doing so, had already cast themselves as the passive victim. Similarly, the process of mythologising the Kosovar Albanians through storytelling and the resurrection of historical precedents gave content to their self-understanding: the Albanians are 'evil', 'demonic', 'primitive', 'determined on genocide', 'conducting a holy war' - therefore, the Serbs are 'good', 'just', 'cultured' and 'passive martyrs'.

It is an ironic aspect of victim mentality that the passive self-understanding which it engenders is potentially volatile and dangerous. In an account of his travels through Yugoslavia in the early days of its disintegration, Brian Hall writes (1994:268) that he often heard Serbs tell a story about 'young Albanian hooligans who took a Serb baby into a cemetery and tossed it back and forth until it died'. The story is obviously false; it is a tale from the early Christian centuries that became woven into the myth about Kosovar Albanians. Hall wondered, however, whether such an act had ever actually been perpetrated in the Balkans, and I believe his conclusion is correct:

> If it happened, surely it was the result of an application of *lex talionis*, the horrified participants steered to it by the conviction that it previously had been done to others of theirs. Thus do the ghouls of the imagination rise up and walk the earth. (Hall 1994:268)

Mertus wrote her book on the self-understandings of the conflicting ethnic groups in Kosovo the year before full-scale conflict broke out, and her warning is prescient: 'Once Serbs saw themselves as victims they were one step away from being perpetrators' (1999:xi). In March 1999, this final step was taken.

**Recognising victim mentality**

The recognition of victim mentality leaves us with an understanding of the negotiation process which is dauntingly greater in its complexity. As my analysis has shown, participants in the conflict will understand themselves as victims and they will bring this self-understanding to the negotiations. This is, however, a well-recognised barrier to successful negotiations. The pernicious process of positing a mythologised view of the other occurs on both sides of the conflict. Through recognising the logic of victim mentality, we should no longer be surprised that the self-understandings of the parties to negotiations are not commensurate.

Attempts on the part of the negotiator to promote a reassessment of these self-understandings will meet with solid resistance. It is the case with any community's sense of identity that it is deeply constitutive of its members' sense of belonging in the world. It may even be true that the self-understandings of those who have suffered conflict are even more protected
because they have developed and functioned over time as a protective shield. They are not a bartering chip that will be easily conceded in negotiations.

On the positive side, recognition of victim mentality ensures that the well-meaning negotiator will not doom the peace negotiations from the outset by presuming and promoting an understanding of events which neither side accepts. Also, such recognition points the way to how the negotiator can best prepare themselves for the process. It teaches the negotiator how to look for and recognise the mythologised symbols which are the symptoms of victim mentality.

Julie Mertus came to realise that 'understanding this process entails talking to local people about what they believe to be true and reading the local media, not the New York Times, Le Monde or The Guardian' (1999, 10). It is also important to understand the underlying mechanisms which structure the development of victim mentality.

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The UN Transitional Administration in East Timor: Gender affairs

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United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor

Introduction
When the United Nations Security Council established the Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) in late October 1999, following the intervention by Interfet to secure peace and stability, its main objectives were, and still remain:

... to provide security and maintain law and order throughout the territory of East Timor; and to establish an effective administration. It was also to assist in the development of civil and social services; and to ensure the coordination and delivery of humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation and development assistance; to support capacity-building for self-government; as well as assisting in the establishment of conditions for sustainable development. (UNTAET, Security Council Resolution 1271, 25 October 1999)

In the regulation establishing the authority of UNTAET, it was stipulated that:

... in exercising their functions, all persons undertaking public duties or holding public office in East Timor shall observe internationally recognized human rights standards, as reflected in particular in: The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women. They shall not discriminate against any person on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion. (Regulation No.1999/1: Authority of UNTAET)

Such objectives have very much set the direction of this UN peacekeeping mission which, coming under the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in the UN Secretariat, is also subject to the international standards, human rights conventions, and outcomes of UN conferences that apply system-wide throughout the United Nations.

Gender mainstreaming
The first directive, regarding a systematic approach to integration of gender, was contained in the Platform for Action agreed on at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. This was the first UN document to call for a political commitment to work towards equality between women and men and to pursue 'gender mainstreaming' as a strategy for achieving it. It said:

... to ensure effective implementation of the Platform for Action and to enhance the work of the advancement of women. The United Nations system and all other relevant organizations should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective, inter alia, in the monitoring and evaluation of all policies and programmes, so that before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively. (Para.292)

The Agreed Conclusions 1997/2, adopted at the meeting of the UN Economic and Social Council in 1997, addressed mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programmes in the UN system. It defined 'mainstreaming a gender perspective' as:

... the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

The Gender Affairs Unit
When the original structure of UNTAET was being considered, a Gender Affairs office was to be established in the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG), with a mandate to mainstream gender throughout all areas of the administration. To have been located at the apex of decision making would have provided UNTAET from the beginning with a rare opportunity for peacekeeping missions to design public institutions which mainstream a gender based rights approach in institutional and human resource planning, policies and programming.

However, the proposed office was not retained. The SRSG decided, instead, to appoint two senior gender advisers: one to be located in Civil Affairs (the Governance and Public Administration pillar), and the other in the Human Rights Unit. When the former post was filled at the end of March, it came under the Deputy SRSG for Governance and Public Administration (GPA), and it was recommended that the three staff in Gender Affairs set up an office reporting to the Deputy SRSG.

At this stage GPA was establishing a functioning administration, consisting of Judicial Affairs (judicial reform and administration, penal management, and legal training); Civilian Police (operations and administration); Social Services (health, education, youth, sport, culture, social affairs, labour); Infrastructure (telecommunications, post, electricity, water and
sanitation, transport, port management and civil aviation); Financial Development and Economic Affairs (budget, treasury, tax, customs and immigration, internal audit, trade and commerce); Agricultural Affairs (fisheries and forestry, food and agriculture, agricultural research and extension); Civil Service Commission; Environmental Protection Unit; Research and Census; Land and Property Commission; and District Administration.

According to the Report of the Secretary-General on the Situation of East Timor to the Security Council (S/1999/1024) of 4 October 1999, GPA was charged with overseeing the development of governance, administrative and rule of law institutions to serve East Timor. One of its main objectives was to lay the foundations for sustainable institutions and to design an agenda for sustainable economic and social development.

As stated in the report, 'in all elements of the functioning of the governance and public administration elements of UNTAET, the United Nations will work on the basis of the principles of participation and capacity-building', which has involved assigning 'East Timorese to serve in positions inside the administrative structures together with international counterparts and deliver sufficient training and capacity-building to enable these persons gradually to replace international staff'. Such an approach 'will allow a cadre of well-trained East Timorese capable of performing the administrative and public service functions necessary to support an independent East Timor' to be developed.

**Objectives of the Gender Affairs Unit**

Given the relocation of the Gender Affairs Unit, in light of the above functions of the GPA pillar, its objectives became twofold: notably, to advocate for gender equity and equality, as upheld by the United Nations and as expressed in the East Timorese women's Platform for Action. The Platform for Action for the Advancement of Women of Timor Loro Sae was adopted by the First Congress of Women of Timor Loro Sae, held in Dili on 14-17 June 2000. It is the first attempt to analyse the situation of East Timorese women and to devise policy and strategies for their empowerment.

The congress was held at a time of great challenges for Timor Loro Sae as it undertakes the road from transition to independence after more than 24 years of occupation and armed conflict. It is a time when the only constant is change and when difficult choices are being made regarding nation building, reconciliation, justice, democracy, and reconstruction and development.

The issues which the women prioritised have also become areas of special focus for the Gender Affairs Unit: participation in decision making; the establishment of a gender-sensitive legal and justice system with compensation and reparations for women victims of violence experienced in the last 24 years of Indonesian military occupation; the development of an inclusive constitution; a special focus on vulnerable groups; and the implementation of health programmes to cover all aspects of women's health throughout life. Other needs highlighted were education and literacy programmes for women and girls; a people-based economic system, strengthened from the bottom up, in which women have equal rights to land, employment and investment opportunities; and increased participation in and access to expression and decision making in and throughout the media and new communication technologies.

With both the UN mandates and the outcomes of the women's national congress providing the underpinning, the mission of the Gender Affairs Unit is to ensure the participation of women as equal partners with men, by promoting women as equal participants in and beneficiaries of sustainable development, peace and security, governance and human rights. The Unit undertakes advocacy, communication, coordination and monitoring of policy and programme implementation. It strives to stimulate the mainstreaming of a gender perspective both within and outside UNTAET. In so doing, the institutions, policies and programmes created, and later administered, by the Timorese government will be more viable, sustainable and able to serve the better the Timorese population in a non-discriminatory, just and equitable fashion. Outreach is also made to stakeholders and partners, such as international agencies, non-government organisations (NGOs), East Timorese civil society and community organisations.

**Capacity building**

The Gender Affairs Unit, in conjunction with key partners in UNTAET, is facilitating capacity-building for gender mainstreaming within the Transitional Administration. Mechanisms have been established at headquarters and district levels, and workshops held to introduce both international and national staff to concepts of gender and gender mainstreaming. Training resources, tools and guidelines are being developed to influence gender-responsiveness programming throughout all areas of the Transitional Administration. Civilian Police and Gender Affairs have established a working relationship to promote gender awareness in policing policies, services and training. This is being undertaken through a process of consultation, information exchange, technical assistance and joint missions.

One of the aims of the Unit is to facilitate the formulation and implementation of government policies on equality between women and men in the Transitional Administration, to develop appropriate strategies and methodologies, and promoting coordination and cooperation within the central and district Transitional Administration in order to ensure mainstreaming of a gender perspective. This is being undertaken by the promotion and establishment of cooperative relationships with departments and units within GPA at the headquarters and district levels, and by enabling NGOs, especially women's organisations, to work closely with the Transitional Administration.

*November 2000*
Gender Affairs is also undertaking gender analysis of proposed/existing policies/laws to ensure early and effective intervention in policy making and preparing policy papers on issues of concern to women and thus the development of position and policy alternatives. Given that UNTAET is establishing new structures to enhance Timorese participation in decision making, the Unit is directly involving the East Timorese Women's Network (REDE) in consultations regarding the development of draft legal instruments with regard, inter alia, to the Constitution, criminal law, prisons, police procedures, conditions of employment, health, property, and equal opportunity in education.

In order to be able to provide informed advice, Gender Affairs is also developing the capacity to ensure the availability and accessibility of data/information for gender-responsive policy making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. This is being achieved by creating a more gender-responsive statistical system to improve statistics on gender issues, with an initial focus on education and returning refugees.

Conclusion

What is being established here in the East Timorese Transitional Administration is a unique experiment in UN peacekeeping missions, and one that has become increasingly essential with the growing complexity of such operations. Both here in East Timor and in Kosovo, national governments are being established, and the creation of a sustainable Gender Affairs office has the potential to become the national machinery for women.

In last October's first historic debate in the Security Council which addressed the issue of women, peace and security, Noeleen Heyzer, the Executive Director of UNIFEM (UN Development Fund for Women) stated:

... the placement of gender advisers in Sierra Leone, Kosovo and East Timor may present a new model, if they are adequately supported. But all such arrangements must involve women and provide gender experts in their design and implementation ... Unless a country's constitutional, legal, judicial and electoral frameworks deal with gender equality, then no matter what happens after conflict, no matter how peaceful a transition, the entire country will never have a fair chance at development. During the transition to peace, a unique opportunity exists to put in place a gender responsive framework for a country's reconstruction. Nowhere is this more possible than in East Timor. Last week during my visit there, I saw a country struggling to rebuild. I was inspired by the efforts of East Timorese women, together with UNTAET, working to improve legislation and to strengthen local capacity to advocate for gender sensitive laws and policies. (UN Security Council Open Debate on Women and Peace and Security, 24 October 2000)
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Women and peacemaking

Prue A. Bates, Australian National University

Theoretical approaches to women and peace

The traditional association between women and peace asserts that women are more peaceful than men and therefore, within the objectives of peace research and activism, women – or at the very least ‘feminine’ values and behaviours – are more suited to enacting peace.1 Indeed, precisely this perspective can be seen to have informed much of the collective organisation of women’s peace activism.2 The association between women and peace draws on larger stereotypes of men and women and ideas of masculinity and femininity in order to create an image of ‘women’ as mothers, nurturing, caring, egalitarian and cooperative, and ‘men’ as competitive, aggressive, hierarchical and risk-taking (Marshall 2000:7–8). Men and men’s activities are therefore viewed as the ‘root causes of war’, whereas women ‘can bring peace, if only men will let them’ (Burguieres 1990:4).

However, a ‘women’s perspective’ on peacemaking need not be based on such a ready acceptance of this traditional association between women and peace. Indeed, certain strands of feminist analysis suggest that the acceptance of this stereotypical portrayal of men and women is not desirable, nor are the limited strategies for peacemaking that it entails. An anti-militarist feminist approach to peace insists that traditional images of masculinity and femininity reinforce both militarism and sexism (Burguieres 1990:6). The traditional perspective that places value in the imagery of women as ‘peaceful’ caretakers, nurturers or mothers in fact fails to challenge the very conceptions of femininity and masculinity that perpetuate patriarchal militarism.3 In particular, it obscures ‘the role caretakers often play in supporting war and warriors, thereby discouraging women from examining the part they play in maintaining and reproducing warist society’ (Kaplan 1994:124).

According to anti-militarist feminism, therefore, the model of ‘caring women’ represents an insufficient strategy for peacemaking. Acceptance of the women-and-peace connection implied that the incorporation of ‘women’ – or at least ‘feminine’ values, traits and attributes – into peacemaking processes should be the primary strategy towards peacebuilding. Anti-militarist feminism, however, insists that the primary strategy lies with ‘a dismantling of all systems and structures of domination and oppression’ and the conceptions of masculinity and femininity that sustain them (Kaplan 1994:129). Clearly, therefore, this perspective implies significantly more than merely embracing a ‘women’s perspective’ on peacemaking, or incorporating either women or women’s organisations into peacemaking processes. Burguieres (1990:8) provides a useful summary of anti-militarist feminism and its implications for the roles of women in peacemaking:

The ‘feminism versus militarism’ approach to peace rejects both masculine and feminine stereotypes. Instead, it argues for the role of feminism in dismantling the imagery which underlies patriarchy and militarism. In practical terms, this means that both men and women are responsible for changing existing structures in which warfare is a central component and for opening paths to nonviolent interaction between peoples and states. Women have no superior moral claim to being bearers of peace. They can, however, begin to set the mechanisms of transformation in motion by refusing to fall into well established patterns of either feminine or masculine behaviour. The process toward a post-patriarchal, post-military society is according to these feminists, a joint male and female effort.

Peacemaking in practice: women’s views

In order to contextualise these theoretical approaches, it is necessary to ascertain the standing of a ‘women’s perspective’ on peacemaking and to relate this to the theoretical debates over the women-and-peace connection. The women’s views presented here were mainly sourced from the postings to the Women and Armed Conflict Working Group (see Women and Armed Conflict List Archives).4 This group was an on-line discussion group, convened by WomenWatch, United Nations, in the lead-up to the Beijing Plus 5 conference.

The working group sought to share ideas on a number of themes related to women and armed conflict, including the ‘participation of women and women’s organisations in peace processes and peace-building and strengthening of women’s organisations working for peace’ (Women and Armed Conflict List moderator, 11 October 1999). Participation in the group was open to anyone who subscribed to the e-mail listserver. In general, the contributors ranged from representatives of non-government organisations, community policy-making bodies, grassroots peace movements or activist groups, peace research academics, and journalists.5

The range of views expressed on the question of whether women peacemakers have a distinctive approach to the peace process largely echo the theoretical debate over the question of a unique ‘women’s perspective’. In one contribution, the women-

November 2000
and-peace connection was revived once more through the hypnotic imagery of women as nurturing mothers:

I think women develop peace as they nurture a rose in their garden, it comes from the ground up and like with their children they give the process gentle nurturing, they use poetical words in politics like tenderness, love, sadness, joy. (Haber, 26 October 1999)

Another contributor attempted to avoid this essentialising of 'every woman' and 'every man' while, at the same time, generalising the stances of women's political groups as 'more concerned with survival issues overall' than men's groups (Pinto, 9 November 1999).

Overall, the remaining contributors on this question tended to veer away from any essentialising of the nature of 'women' and towards the idea that a women's perspective, if indeed it exists at all, is drawn from the position of women as 'oppressed members of society' (for example, Cockburn, 22 October 1999; Kraham, 26 October 1999; Sharoni, 25 October 1999). What is distinctive about this approach is its emphasis on structures of oppression, unequal power relations and the constructions of masculinity and femininity in processes of conflict and peacemaking. As one contributor stressed, it is not being a 'woman' but, rather, 'feminism' that provides a distinctive approach to peace (Sharoni, 25 October 1999).

Another contributor offered this summary of the working group's discussion, a summary which largely reflects the feminist anti-militarist perspective described above:

The recent posts on women's differing voices point out the paramount importance of exploring and documenting not only the roles of women in conflict and peacebuilding, but the role played by the constructions of gender, both masculinity and femininity, in conflict and peacebuilding. Katha Pollitt's evocation of the 'macho gun mystique' underscores the importance of conceptualisations of masculinity in the creation of militaristic societies; we also need to look at how conceptualisations of masculinity and femininity affect multiple aspects of women in armed conflict. For example, in our discussions of violence against women, we have neglected to discuss the role played by hyper-militarised masculinities in both enabling this to happen, and allowing non-prosecution of crimes afterwards. (Hamilton, 29 October 1999)

**Involving women in peacebuilding**

Despite the debates over whether women bring a unique perspective to peacemaking, there is a clear consensus among the contributors that women should become increasingly involved in the peacebuilding process (for example, Cockburn, 22 October 1999; Haber, 27 October 1999; Kraham, 26 October 1999). The general assertion is that such involvement would, at the very least, create a more inclusive and reflective society - 'less biased toward the perspectives or behaviours of only one segment'. Interestingly, the contributors critically questioned the idea that 'peace would necessarily result if men were replaced by women as leaders'. However, some were willing to indicate a hope that women's involvement would lead to a positive redefinition of what constitutes politics and about how best to conduct genuine peacemaking (Cockburn, 22 October 1999).

These views indicate that women and their organisations make use of innovative strategies for peace negotiation, peacemaking and peacebuilding. Indeed, their main strategies suggest not only alternative means of doing politics and peacemaking, but also alternative understandings of politics and peacemaking. For example, their activities are frequently at the grassroots or community movement and organisation level. Cynthia Cockburn (22 October 1999) hopes that such involvement may change the notion of 'peace negotiations' in such a way that it is no longer seen as something top people do in top places. But rather it comes to be seen as a continuum, that parallels the continuum of violence. In other words, that more people might come to see peace as a way of doing daily life, economic life, political life, even military life. And if we learn well within our own organisations, form our own successes and failures working together, we could transmit the idea that democracy, the way we cross the space between us, the choices we make about speaking, listening, waiting, acting, deciding, is peace in process.

Women's peace activism through 'bottom-up' community processes is not merely the result of obstacles to their access to formal political processes and official peace negotiations. It reflects also the inadequacy of traditional approaches to conflict resolution that are grounded in a narrow definition of peace and a militarised, state-centric notion of security:

Genuine peace is not a mere absence of war ('negative peace') . . . It is the process and reality where life-affirming, self-determined, environmentally sustainable ends are sought and accomplished through co-creative means. (Warren and Cady 1994:6)

Therefore, genuine peace is sought at all levels of society and needs to involve the 'people whose lives are affected by conflict and the mutual animosity and conflicting goals that drive it' (Marshall 2000:4). Further, peace is a process. Genuine peace requires the continually active pursuit of human security and a disbanding of structures of oppression and inequalities in people's access to power.

**Conclusion**

The views of women active in both the theoretical and practical processes of peacemaking suggest the need to move beyond simply incorporating a 'women's perspective' and towards a transformation of the processes and strategies employed for genuine peacemaking. While anti-militarist feminism rejects the idea of a women-and-peace connection, it nonetheless recognises and encourages the role of women's and feminist activism in attempting to transform existing structures and processes of war and peace. In fact, anti-militarist feminist Micaela Di Leonardo (1985:614) argues that women are in a somewhat unique position when it comes to understanding the threat of militarism:
Because gender analysis exposes the contradictions of militarism, it makes sense for women to organise separately in order to understand how militarism affects their daily lives. Militarism's impact on women is distinct. Because they are both ideologically defined as outside of the military, and yet so palpably affected by it, they are more likely to experience the nuclear/militarist threat and to be willing to protest against it. This explanation of both the rise and effectiveness of separate women's antimilitarist organisations focuses on women's social positions rather than on their presumed characteristics.

The position of women in relation to war and peace varies and thus problematises the traditional conception of women as connected to the project of peace. Nonetheless, the actual roles and involvement of women in processes of peacemaking highlight and reinforce the importance of a gendered analysis of war and peace — but not to ask whether women are more peaceful than men but, rather, to question the role of constructions of masculinity and femininity in sustaining militarism and obstructing genuine peacemaking.

Notes

1. This approach to theorising the relationship between women, peace and strategies for peacemaking can be found in a number of works, for example: B. Brock-Utne, *Educating for peace* (Pergamon, New York, 1985); D. Thompson (ed.), *Over our dead bodies: Women against the bomb* (Virago Press, London, 1983); P. McAllister (ed.), *Reweaving the web of life: Feminism and nonviolence* (New Society Publishing, Philadelphia, 1982); and B. Reardon, *Sexism and the war system* (Columbia University, New York, 1985).

2. Some examples of women's collective peace activist groups are: Women's Pentagon Action, Greenham Common Women, Women's Peace Union, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

3. I have used the term 'patriarchal militarism' to highlight the centrality of conceptions of masculinity and femininity to militarism. In this I am following Kaplan (1994:124).

4. In the following discussion, where source material is derived from the contributions to this list, the material is referenced only by the contributor's name and the date of posting to the list. These references are mostly given in parentheses in the text with the format (author, date).

5. Two international symposiums on closely related themes and with a similar range of participants and contributors were also convened in 1999 (for reports on them, see Marshall 2000 and Manchanda 1999).

6. See also Marshall (2000:7-10); Manchanda (1999); and *Women and Armed Conflict List Archives: Krahm (26 October 1999), Haber (27 October 1999) and Lee (1 November 1999)*.

7. For examples, see Manchanda (1999), Marshall (2000, esp. chs 2 and 4), and *Women and Armed Conflict List Archives: moderator (28 October 1999)*.

References


The needs of representation of minority ethnic, clan and tribal groups in development in Sub-Saharan Africa

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Ethnicity and tribal groupings are important factors in tension and conflict. In many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) the identities of minority ethnic, language or tribal groups are influenced by the state government. They are dominated by large and popular cultures that have controlled the political leadership (UNDP, 1996:26). Struggles for freedom shape identity and eventually ethnicity. Redefining minority ethnic/tribal groups can become a major source of conflict, because conflict is inevitable when a country is inhabited by more than one ethnic group (Bangura, 1994:4).

The concept of tribalism

Tribal systems are very significant in the SSA context in shaping ethnicity. The clan or tribe is based on family roots. Family members and individuals learn to be loyal to their clan or tribal leaders. For instance, the Somali community organisations in Melbourne are formed on the basis of clan. The provision of assistance and settlement information, as well as external contacts, are very often channelled through clan leaders regardless of individual country of origin. Somali people migrated to Australia from Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya and Ethiopia, but they always refer to their clan rather than to their county of origin because clan functions are not limited by boundaries. Similarly, the Gypsies and the Jews (before 1948) claimed their identity without territory indicating the fact that no concrete boundary is needed to define ethnicity (Bangura 1994:6).

Some writers are trying to abandon the term 'tribe' because they argue that 'it reinforces stereotypical ideas of how Africans behave' (Fukui and Markakis 1994:122). Yet tribalism is endemic in SSA and has a great potential for the region's development because of the strong bonds and cooperation within tribes. This means that the great potential of tribalism in development must be utilized to mobilise the community in SSA. But any development in SSA that relates to tribal groups must be cautious and give consideration to the volatile nature of existing tribal rivalries.

Tribal rivalries

Tribal rivalries are very common in many parts of SSA countries. They are caused by circumstances such as taking away or undervaluing others' rights to practise their cultures. These rivalries have a long history and have created deep hatred among ethnic and tribal groups. For instance the southern Sudanese in Sudan have resented the ruling ethnic group which has suppressed their language and religion and have engaged in ongoing conflicts. According to Nafziger (1983:12) tribal loyalty that demands total commitment is the root of regional conflict in SSA and ethnic and tribal rivalries are among the root causes of conflicts that undermine the region's social development.

Main factors for suppressing minority groups in SSA

Colonisation

The careless partition of Africa without attention to ethnic boundaries sustains ongoing border conflict. Moreover, colonial experiences have shaped the current political and government structures of SSA. When colonial powers have favoured one ethnic group to enhance their own advantages, the result has been deep animosity between various ethnic and tribal groups in SSA. This historical animosity erupts from time to time and destroys local economic sectors as well as creates major social unrest in the region. The Hutu and Tutsi case in Rwanda–Burundi is one of the best recent examples.

Zolberg (1989:45) argues that 'Rwanda's explosive social structure was the legacy of its African past, compounded by the policies of German and then Belgian colonial authorities'. It reinforced the master and servant relationship between 'Tutsi lords' and 'Hutu serfs'. The colonial rule demolished the nations' social structures and gave them an alienated identity. Zolberg argues that 'colonial policies thus helped sharpen lines that had been more diffuse and, in so doing, eliminated elements of social structure that might have acted as buffers in future conflicts'. The 1960 elections gave the Hutu majority the opportunity to control power and eliminate Tutsi minorities from all government posts, creating a major refugee crisis. Today this crisis has expanded and involved more countries, particularly Burundi, Zaire (Congo), Uganda and Tanzania, because of the presence of Hutu and Tutsi populations in these countries.

Ethnic and tribal complexity and emergence of ethnocracies post colonisation

The exclusion of minority groups and their isolation from participation in social, political and economic development also create conflict. As long as there are ethnic differences competition is inevitable, but in many cases in SSA domination by a large
tribe over a minority is a cause of conflict. Minorities act to restore their identity by preserving their languages, culture and customs. The inferior-superior syndrome, as Bangura argues, leads countries to serious conflicts. For example, the domination of the former Somalian President's tribe has brought bloodshed in Somalia; the Hutu and Tutsi crisis in Burundi and Rwanda is another example. Discrimination and exclusion of certain groups from the economic and political sectors contribute to the expansion of violence and criminal activities in the Republic of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Uganda and Kenya. By comparison with the 1970s, when 700,000 refugees were officially registered in Africa, the 7,000,000 current refugees typifies the deterioration of the continent's situation (Udo-Ekpo 1999: 173).

Dispossession and uneven distribution of land and government resources have become major factors in SSA conflicts. In contemporary times the land that indigenous groups still possess has come under threat from the state and transnational companies. These problems affect all societies regardless of their political and ethnic background, but Dawyer argues that 'in multiethnic societies they are more severe and tend to become permanent' (Dawyer 1994: 22). Some of these problems were inherited from the colonial powers in the sense that they spent their resources in areas where suitable land, labour and water were available for cash crops.

'Investment in infrastructure and social services was concentrated in areas of modern economic development, and only nominal development in this regard appeared elsewhere' (Fukui and Markakis 1994: 224). Kenya and Zimbabwe are the best examples of this. Almost all fertile land has been controlled by a few white settlers who export tobacco, coffee, cotton and other crops (Dwyer and Drakakis-Smith 1996: 121). Their settlement areas have great facilities and they are given more government infrastructure in the name of encouraging foreign investment.

The ethnic groups who are living near the colonisers' investments have benefited in the post-Independence period. Their children get a chance to go to school, receive better health services, and control economic and political power. This is exactly what has happened in Kenya with the Kikuyu tribe (Dwyer and Drakakis-Smith 1996: 124-125). Deliberate favouring of one region by African leaders over other regions in a country, due to ethnic affiliations, has been widely noticed in post-Independence SSA. The African elite followed their colonial masters and discriminated against regions based on languages, religion, culture and so on. For instance, this phenomenon has existed in southern and western Sudan, northern Kenya, northern Somalia, eastern Ethiopia and western Eritrea.

Pressure for secession that involves conflict very often occurs when groups want a separate state. The 30-year Eritrean conflict with Ethiopia is one of the best examples. Currently the conflict for self-determination in SSA has been widely noticed in many countries. Shehadi (1993: 46) argues that the settlement of self-determination conflicts is necessary not simply to end fighting but also to legitimise a new status quo or the return to the ante-bellum status quo. However, in most cases when the central government fails to meet a people's basic needs as well as discriminating against their cultures and languages, rebellion against the regime is inevitable. Very often, internal colonisation (domination of one ethnic group by the other groups) within states in SSA is one of the major sources for ethnic conflict. Minority groups in countries such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Congo, Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi are threatened when their languages, religions and cultures are suppressed. In this case separatist movements start armed conflicts to gain either a separate state or internal autonomy (Bangura 1994: 10).

Lack of good governance

Military regimes and political dictatorships in post-colonial SSA have created more hostile environments due to rejecting freedom of participation in building a society. Citizens are denied their basic right to elect their own leaders, with the leading party exercising their military power to crush any movements. In SSA, 'authoritarian regimes' are also characterised by single party organisations, in which leadership is strongly centralised, and often personalised...there is little scope for expressing public opinion and the media tend to be highly regulated. Such regimes enforce their legitimacy through repressive measures' (Healey and Robinson 1994: 34-35). Furthermore, the demands of minority groups to participate in the day-to-day social, political and economic activities of a country have increased, but demands have not been met or properly handled by the current governments because political leaders feel insecure. Generally, because the ruling parties are constituted from one ethnic group, opposition ethnic groups become involved in conflict against the tribe or ethnic group to which their leaders belong (Yansane 1996: 97-98). Thus favouring one group in controlling power and wealth has led SSA into political chaos.

Role of external agents.

The ongoing interference of Western countries, mainly former colonisers, in African affairs has created more hostilities and ongoing wars. On the one hand, indirect military support due to their political and economic interest, without measuring or taking into account the prices paid by SSA countries, has been very obvious in many instances. On the other hand, harsh economic policies and conditions imposed by financial institutions have badly hit the region's economies and exacerbated conflicts. Third World countries cannot operate without the assistance of industrialised countries. This assistance is very often associated with conditions. Poor nations, such as the SSA countries, penalise their people in order to satisfy the industrialised countries' conditions. For instance, due to the demand for export crops such as tobacco and flowers, SSA countries such as Zimbabwe, Kenya and Tanzania have dispossessed their indigenous citizens from their land. This action is not necessarily the will of SSA leaders, for in most cases they operate without any sense of choice (Cammack et al. 1993: 248).
Sadly, indigenous and minority ethnic groups in SSA are double disadvantaged because, on one hand, they are disposessed from their land and, on the other, the cash money from crops goes directly to debt servicing.

The West's economic destabilisation of SSA in order to minimise the indigenous people's capacity for self-sufficiency has been very well studied. In regard to Zimbabwe, a former British colony, Cammack has argued:

In the early years of the twentieth century, over 90 percent of marketed food came from independent Shona producers... however, a series of measures was taken to weaken African farming and to provide opportunities for white settlers. African farmers were forced off good land and denied access to markets (Cammack 1993:258).

This policy was imposed by the IMF and World Bank in a different format. This included market competition and currency liberalisation that marginalised poor nations and cost them billions of dollars a year under the cover of structural development programs. These policies severely accelerated poverty because of the reduction in government spending on social services and food subsidies, and have also generated violence (Nyango’oro and Shaw 1992:19). Moreover, less disadvantaged groups within countries blame their leaders, and perhaps the ethnic group their leaders belong to, and start conflicts to liberate themselves.

Conclusions

SSA is in crisis mainly for the reasons outlined above. The ongoing ethnic conflict arising from basic demands for social, economic, political and ecological improvements is the main cause for instability and the one requiring an urgent response. Although in the presence of ethnic pluralism some conflict is inevitable, the extent of violence and ethnic war is very often escalated by the socio-economic and political situations of countries. This means that the causes of ethnic conflict and the socio-political and economic situations of countries are almost inseparable.

Political solutions that are based upon political freedom must be established to minimise conflicts. Minority ethnic/language groups must be included in the nation building process from the local to the national level. New political strategies have to be invented to include the participation of all citizens in the country's socio-political life in order for all to feel that it is their country rather than that of only the 'elite'. Strengthening civil societies, as well as maximising their capacity to educate grassroots communities to raise their awareness, should be given priority in SSA because '...the existence of a vibrant civil society is essential to the growth and persistence of democratic politics and provides by definition a countervailing force to that of the state' (Healey and Robinson 1994:142). Citizens must know their rights, and should be encouraged to participate in the democratisation process.

Although it is not unusual to discuss SSA problems, it was the 'hottest' issue when African leaders came together to discuss their common failures at a recent meeting. The OAU leaders summit that took place in July 1999 acknowledged their direction but stressed their lack of action to address the need for democratic reform. South African President Thabo Mbeki said, 'the words have been spoken. We must now act'. Furthermore during the summit the call for democracy was top of the agenda because the majority of SSA leaders are not democratically elected.

Although the role of regional and international cooperation is very important to promote social developments that encompass good governance, human rights, and then protection of minority ethnic groups, the international community has given less attention to the region's crises than anywhere else in the world.

SSA citizens need confidence in their own governments. Good governance cannot be achieved without democratic elections as well as representation of ethnic/clan groups within the government structure. To this end, many of the SSA leaders are way behind raising awareness and extensive public education campaigns will eventually help the nations overcome their differences and resolve their conflicts. Strengthening the active role of civil societies and their mutual cooperation is one of the key solutions for every aspect of the crises in SSA (UNDP 1998:12). This is not only the hope for SSA countries but should be the ultimate goal of social development in SSA.

If individuals as well as community organisations at the grassroots level understood their common enemies through education, they would not spend their time fighting over tribal rivalries. Instead, they would spend their energy tackling their common problems, such as poverty, in order to secure basic necessities. The needs are for public education and the strengthening of the role of civil societies so as to strengthen bottom-up development, as complementary to top-down development. SSA requires both, but currently the priority focus should be on bottom-up development.

Recommendations

- Through the active innovation of the United Nations a permanent Commission for Reconciliation should be established to monitor tensions and act immediately through the appropriate channels to prevent the outbreak of major conflicts in Africa.
- Resources and facilities are needed to strengthen civil societies to promote their public education campaign to
raise individual and minority ethnic groups' awareness. Since this is the key for any development in the region, particularly to promote peace and stability, mechanisms should be created to link them with regional and international organisations to get support and encouragement to fulfil their duties. Provision of development aid to SSA countries should be subject to conditions that promote the free participation of civil societies and minority ethnic groups in democratic reform.

- Providing ongoing training to local communities and preparing them to replace volunteers and Western experts should be undertaken in conjunction with other construction. To do this, the IMF and the World Bank should organise interest free loans under special rehabilitation programs through the regional development body, ECA, to SSA countries. This program needs to focus particularly on the agricultural sector because it is the backbone of the SSA economy that will strengthen the participation of minority groups in the economic sector.

- To minimise the major factors in the region's conflicts, state governments should have clear policies about the right of access to local natural resources for all ethnic and clan groups. Politically, giving regional autonomy to local ethnic communities to use their languages, as well as to enjoy their cultural values, is one of the best ways to defuse tensions. Making sure of the representation of minority ethnic groups in government structures and their participation in managing local councils will build up their confidence in the system. To do this, state government should be encouraged and resourced by the regional and international communities. As noticed in Indonesia, development aid should be tied to political improvement to pressurise SSA leaders to reform their political policy.

- Regional bodies should create venues for countries that share the same natural resources, such as rivers, to discuss their use of the resources, and to respect the international law over using natural resources. OAU should monitor its implementation, and encourage and facilitate the program.

- A monitoring system should be invented to control the supply of weapons to the region, as well as to oversee the actions of other countries. The UN Security Council, in conjunction with regional bodies, should investigate countries that are supplying weapons for the region and place sanctions on them. Similarly, SSA should be requested to reduce its spending on armaments and to declare its annual expenditure on military hardware.

- Local ethnic/clan groups should be reassured about their ownership of the area, and should be given full responsibility to protect their land and forests.

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November 2000
Threats and opportunities in Solomon Islands: Sinking or swimming in uncharted waters

Christopher Chevalier

Introduction

This paper assesses the threats and an opportunity created by the conflict in Solomon Islands which has caused political and economic meltdown. The conflict in Solomon Islands is commonly referred to as a 'crisis', a word that in Chinese can mean both 'danger' and 'opportunity'. Following the Townsville Peace Agreement in October 2000, there are serious dangers of further disintegration but also opportunities for positive transformations. Whether the Solomons sinks or swims will depend on skilful navigation away from the waves of violent ethnic conflict and towards political, social and economic recovery.

Guns, law and order

The militarisation of men, and particularly youth, is the deepest threat created by the crisis and will be the most difficult to resolve. Guns have become the means to gain significant political and economic advantages. Compensation payments paid to militants, plus profits from looting and robbery, have made 'security' a lucrative business. It will be difficult to counter such advantages for militants without providing alternative economic inducements and educational opportunities. Purely criminal elements will continue to take advantage of the availability of weapons and the absence of effective legal control. The release of all prisoners from Rove prison after the coup in June has created an additional threat from convicted criminals who have everything to gain from remaining outlaws. A gun culture has developed that is both glamorous and profitable for those who hitherto were marginalised and disadvantaged. Young militants are also causing fear and insecurity in Malaita, Western and Choiseul provinces. Disarmament will need to be both physical and psychological, getting rid of not only the guns in people's hands but also the guns in their heads (Kabutaulaka 2000).

Widespread theft, looting, hijacking, extortion, and human rights abuses have occurred since 1998, including executions and torture by both militant forces (Amnesty International 2000). Restoration of law and order remains the indispensable condition for social, political and economic recovery. Honiara is not considered safe for return without an international peacekeeping force and a neutral police force. Many people argue that it is both unsafe and unacceptable that militants will be integrated into the regular police force, as envisaged in the peace agreement.

Economic effects of the conflict

The peace agreement and the restoration of government services require the rebuilding of a shattered economy. The government is bankrupt and unable to fund services or to repay national and foreign debt. The economy is in a disastrous condition due to the multiple effects of the crisis, including:

- closure of major revenue-earning businesses, such as Solomon Taiyo, Gold Ridge mine, Solomon Islands Plantation Ltd., some logging operations, and tourism;
solitary islands such as Renne!, Bellona, the Reef Islands, and coastal areas of north Malaita. The threats to food security, and generate government revenue for services.

The large scale displacement of people, particularly but not exclusively from Guadalcanal and Malaita, poses both risks and opportunities for the future. Up to 40–50,000 people have been displaced from their former homes and occupations (Kudu 2000). This is a radical reversal of the urban drift which had created growth rates of 10 per cent a year in Honiara and 5 per cent in parts of Guadalcanal. People have not always moved back to their original roots, preferring to settle in coastal areas rather than in isolated and bush areas with no services. Pressure has increased on services, land and food security, particularly in smaller islands such as Rennel, Bellona, the Reef Islands, and coastal areas of north Malaita. The threats to food security, and health and education services may be temporary or long-term, depending on whether economic recovery is sufficient to generate government revenue for services.

Land disputes are increasing and are likely to escalate further due to the need to accommodate newcomers and the contesting of existing land use by returning landowners. Localised conflicts could well increase and be settled by weapons. The impact of displacement has been very diverse within and between provinces. Some provinces are benefiting from the return of skilled people, particularly in public service, business and medicine. Whether this is a temporary phenomenon will depend on successfully restoring law and order in Honiara, and regenerating economic opportunities throughout the country.

Education services

Displaced children and youth are placing enormous pressures on existing school places and many are unable to find places, particularly secondary and tertiary students who were receiving education in Honiara. These new pressures occur in the context of chronic shortages of school places and teachers. Provinces need new secondary schools, tertiary institutions, distance education centres, and rural training centres. Otherwise, students from provinces and the provinces themselves will be permanently disadvantaged, which will create constraints to long-term development as well as increase the risk of future conflict due to disaffected youth. Opportunities exist to reform the secondary education system, away from one which develops a small successful elite at the expense of many drop-out students, and towards providing the majority of students with social, cultural and practical life skills useful in both urban and rural areas.

Health issues

There are immediate threats to health and health services. National pharmacy services have large unpaid bills, which are creating treatment shortages. There are chronic problems for provincial health services due to shortages of radios, canoes and outboard motors, which make advice and referral of cases from clinics to provincial centres more difficult. Immunisation coverage rates have dropped rapidly, particularly in Guadalcanal and more isolated areas, which will increase the likelihood of epidemics of measles and whooping cough in the future. The seeds of a silent but lethal public health disaster from HIV/AIDS are growing rapidly, which could kill far more youths in the coming years than will weapons. There is an urgent need to address the problem revealed by recent research in Malaita, which shows alarming levels of unprotected sex, 'long line' and rape (Buchanan-Aruwafu and Maebiru 2000).

Land and food security

Land and land ownership lie at the heart of the conflict in Solomon Islands. Alienation of land and dispossession of land for plantations and the establishment of Honiara in Guadalcanal created the seeds of the present troubles. The crisis has provided an impetus for fairer returns to, and better control of, land by indigenous landowners. In the future, the precedent set by Guadalcanal is likely to lead elsewhere to stricter control of land
sales. This could constrain development and freedom of migration throughout the Solomons.

Prior to the conflict, food security was virtually guaranteed except during times of cyclone and flooding. The influx of displaced people has added pressure on agricultural land in the provinces. Productivity of land will be reduced by increased use of fallow land, which has historically become shorter as populations have increased. Threats to food security vary, depending on the availability of land, its productivity, how long and how much expertise displaced people have had to plant new gardens, plus the capacity and willingness of relatives to provide food. The economic downturn also affects the ability to pay for food if subsistence produce is insufficient. Emergency food distribution is likely to be needed in Renne!, Bellona and Reef Islands because of the large number of displaced people and the poor supply of local foods.

Youth

The youthful age structure of the population is a critical demographic force which has contributed to the present crisis. Many young people have experienced an individual and collective demoralisation due to their perceived 'failure' at school and their failure to find work (Mitchell et al. 1999). Masta Liu has become an important new cultural concept characterising the young and frequently unemployed young people who come to Honiara. Short-term migration (wokabaot) to town in search of work and new experiences has long been a feature of young people's lives in Solomon Islands. Alienation and marginalisation have been reinforced by an urban youth culture with opportunities for freedom from traditional authority, recreational sex, and in recent years use of marijuana and homebrew. One benefit of the conflict may be lessening of the centrifugal attractions of Honiara, which will reduce masta liu, wokabaot, and urban alienation.

Militarisation has revived young people's traditional role as warriors, while simultaneously providing them with a cause, status, power and income denied them before. It will be very difficult to persuade them to surrender weapons unless there are significant opportunities for income and recreational activities. This will require effective reorientation of government and donor development policies and resources. Otherwise, the future for youth and peaceful development is indeed bleak.

Ethnic identity and cultural difference

Solomon Islands is a nation of villages, islands and cultural identities based on language and clan groupings (Roughan 2000). National identity is a recent phenomenon created by colonialism and maintained through post-independence institutions. The cement holding the country together has clearly fractured along the lines of island and cultural identity. The ethnic conflict of the past two years will be the subject of debate, resentment and possibly revenge for many years to come. As in Bougainville, a mixture of Christian and traditional reconciliation solutions will be needed to restore ethnic tolerance. Political and institutional solutions to the crisis will undoubtedly need to acknowledge and cater for ethnic identity and differences, particularly in sensitive areas such as the police, prisons and the legal apparatus. Ethnicity may become a prerequisite for employment and right of residence. While some would regard this as a retrograde step, others view it as an opportunity to lessen Malaitan hegemony.

State government

Demands by provinces for federal or independent statehood reflect both loss of trust in the national government and longstanding aspirations for increased provincial autonomy. Successive national governments have consistently ignored the needs of provinces and given them meagre returns for exploitation of their resources. There is resentment with largescale development projects benefiting Honiara and national government, while provinces remain underdeveloped. There are real opportunities for authentic decentralisation of government, but the cost of setting up and maintaining state governments could be prohibitive, while the viability of smaller provinces such as Renbel, Central, and Temotu is questionable given their size and resource base.

Reconciliation and the peace process

Representatives and organisations of civil society are critical forces for promoting peace and reconciliation. There are real opportunities for strengthening the traditional roles of community, women and family through reconciliation and rehabilitation. They are currently marginalised from the political peace process and this threatens the viability and fairness of the process. The churches and Solomon Islands Churches Association (SICA), through its Peace Office, Women for Peace and NGOs have been an important voice of moderation and peace during the crisis. Churches and NGOs have an essential role to play through trauma counselling, community restoration, and peace and religious ceremonies, which will be essential activities in the months and years to come. Church organisations are probably the most important ones for reconciliation because of their widespread presence in all villages and the Christian doctrine of forgiveness.

Reconstruction and rehabilitation

There is a very strong demand for more decentralised development which would bring more projects down to provincial and village level. Given the number and scatter of communities in the Solomons, there never has been, nor ever will be, sufficient paid employment or educational opportunities to meet all needs. This increases the imperative for village based development initiatives and for strengthening the capacity of
community based organisations, which will require major readjustments of development assistance policies. There is deep mistrust of Honiara and national-level institutions that have failed the provinces in the past. Even if peace is restored in Honiara, people's confidence to return there may take several years. The costs of compensating or rehabilitating people who have lost possessions and property in Honiara and Guadalcanal will be very high and in all likelihood impossible for national and international governments to afford. Damage to investment confidence will make legitimate investors very reluctant to restore or undertake new investments for years to come.

**Development and development projects**

The post-conflict process provides both opportunities and imperatives for more decentralised development. At provincial level, the demands for development include infrastructure such as roads, markets, wharves, business areas, study centres, schools and clinics. All provinces, not just Malaita, need special development assistance to allow them to create employment and income for their people. Communities want direct assistance which avoids middlemen and bottlenecks in Honiara, plus less complicated project procedures. There is a need for local mechanisms to assess and develop project plans, which could be provided by a number of organisations present in different provinces, as well as provincial government planners. Better project identification and monitoring could be achieved through provincial coordinating teams, with appropriate assistance from agencies and overseas volunteers. Better coordination between NGOs, high commissions and donor agencies is needed so that projects of different type and scale can be directed to the most appropriate agencies and donors. Churches are also an important means for implementation of projects because of their widespread network and access to independent funding through overseas affiliates. Most of the churches have women's and youth groups that provide social and community activities that could link peace building with development activities.

**Conclusion**

The conflict in Solomon Islands has created shock waves that will reverberate for years to come. The country could sink into further conflict and disintegration if the forces of militarisation and ethnicity dominate political and legal processes. These forces have created new pathways to power and wealth that could become entrenched if post-conflict political and economic measures are insufficient or not fast enough. The opportunities and imperatives for decentralised economic and political development must be grasped quickly if the swim to recovery is to succeed.

**Note**

1. This paper draws on the findings of a report by an Australian NGO mission which has provided an analysis to help guide the NGO response. The mission was organised by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid and Development Services Exchange in August-September 2000. The purpose of the mission was to listen and to discuss reconciliation and rehabilitation issues throughout the provinces and to make a rapid assessment of the need for Australian and international support. The team of four visited all nine provinces and held meetings with community groups, women and youth, church leaders and government representatives, as well as representatives of displaced people. A full report of the mission will be available from ACFOA in November 2000.

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Peace building and money in Bougainville and Solomon Islands

Phillip Miller, PEACE Foundation

The Bougainville ‘peace dividend’ – a queer marriage with a price?

In the flurry that occurred in the months that followed the signing of the Burnham Declaration in September 1997 and the subsequent Lincoln Agreement, a remarkable marriage took place. Peace became coupled with cargo and, in the consummation of this peculiar union, a new term – ‘the peace dividend’ – was born.

The union seemed to satisfy everyone. Bougainvilleans from all factions welcomed, indeed demanded, the dividend. Some who had witnessed the destruction of infrastructure and lifestyle as a result of the eight-year war, and others who had been denied services for so long, were all keen to recover what had been lost. Hilary Misiria, Resistance Chairman, illustrates the connection (and perhaps confusion) between cargo and peace with his statements quoted in the PMG’s ‘The Road To Peace’ (edition 8):

The Resistance is very happy with the Peace Process and appreciates it very much. We are proud of the fact that people can now build houses, find a job and go to work, children are able to go to school, and people are able to get medicine and go to banks ... The infrastructure in Buka over the past few years is a model for the main island. The people of Buka are experiencing true peace.

The wedding gift

Conveniently, overseas governments were also keen to show their approval of the peace agreement, promising large amounts of money. Non government organisations (NGOs), overwhelmingly from New Zealand and Australia, followed quickly. After all, this was the only conflict that we had in this part of the world and the NGOs were long overdue to help in a local peace process.

It is a shame that, at the time, no one bothered to question the need for such a union between peace and dividend. Isn’t peace in itself a dividend? Was the Bougainvillean desire for peace perceived as being so shallow that they needed to be bribed with cargo to stop killing each other? On the contrary, the unequivocal success of the peace process to date has only been achieved through a deep commitment to peace by all sides. Whatever the circumstances surrounding the conception of the ‘peace dividend’, it seems apparent that it never really had to come into being.

Its actual delivery was preceded by a difficult and trying pregnancy, as foreign governments and NGOs got on with the job of finding out what sort of dividend the people of Bougainville should receive. Seemingly endless reconnoitres, fact-finding missions, and needs assessments were (and continue to be) carried out by individual organisations and an array of ‘consultants’. I can only marvel at the skillfulness and alacrity of such ‘consultants’, who manage to discover the needs of the people through a two- or three-day visit by chopper. After more than two years of living and working in communities throughout Bougainville, I am still constantly learning how PEACE Foundation can best work with the people.
The period of consultation caused a degree of frustration on all sides. First, communities were given cargo — no questions asked — second-hand clothes, tools, school starter kits, rice. Then they were told to help themselves and not to expect free handouts. So, while some NGOs continued to hand out cargo, others began to ask the communities what they wanted. Although confused, some replied that they needed a chainsaw. So the NGOs handed out some chainsaws. Then the communities were asked what they needed, and they replied again that they needed a chainsaw. But the NGOs did not want to give chainsaws to everyone on Bougainville, so they refused and told communities what they could get. But some communities became angry: 'That community got a chainsaw. Why can't we have one?' And others began to tell the NGOs: 'If you're not going to give us what we ask for, don't waste our time asking us what we want!' Then everyone felt frustrated. So some NGOs started doing water supply projects...

**Coordinating the peace dividend**

A number of district level government officers have expressed disapproval of how NGOs and foreign governments are operating in Bougainville. The most common complaint is that these organisations are acting independently, with very little coordination, and not in consultation with local authorities. Further, the aid being dispensed is encouraging Bougainvilleans to become dependent and to develop a cargo mentality. Ironically, all NGOs also complain about the 'handout' mentality. Few, however, seem to question their own role in this process to the extent that they might devise alternative strategies.

Indeed, when these complaints are made against some NGOs and funding organisations, their reply is often as simple as, 'Well, if you don't like what we're doing here, we'll happily leave'. Such attitudes are hardly helpful and can easily be interpreted as paternalistic, if not downright arrogant. Moreover, such responses reflect a deplorable reluctance to critically analyse how activities are impacting on the culture, perceptions and way of thinking of the people of Bougainville. In the absence of such evaluation, modifying modes of operation becomes impossible.

In justification, NGOs may claim that we merely provide opportunities for communities. But the opportunity is not the creation of the community. The community is dependent on us for the opportunity. We are the custodians of the opportunities and the cargo that comes from the opportunities. Outside of the areas loyal to Francis Ona, there are very few communities in Bougainville that reject such opportunities from the NGOs and funding organisations. Ironically, it is often those loyal to Francis Ona who are labelled 'cargo cultists'.

A man wearing a blindfold might well agree to you giving him a cane. 'What a good opportunity', he may even exclaim.

In contrast, other NGOs recognise the dilemma posed by preconceived agendas and goals. Given that a prerequisite for a community project is a sense of community, and the fact that the social fabric of the vast majority of communities was broken down during the war, some NGOs are questioning whether their goals, and indeed their presence, are appropriate and timely. Meas Nee, a Cambodian community development worker who has learned a great deal from the Cambodian experience of war and aid, believes that 'the first thing is to make relationships, not to make projects. The major goal of the redevelopment of the community is to help village people to regain dignity and unity' (Meas Nee, *Towards Restoring Life*, OSB, 1996).

It must surprise no one that the 'peace dividend' brought with it a completely unreal level of expectation in the minds of Bougainvilleans and a hasty uncoordinated approach to delivering the dividend by the overseas governments and NGOs. The result of this mix was originally a scramble, then a state of confusion; and now, with occasional bursts of frustration, we are approaching a general level of resignation.

The long-term effect of the 'aid industry' on Bougainville is, of course, uncertain. However, it is clear that, in this unlikely marriage, the expectations of NGOs, governments and the people will not be met. The current situation tempts one to ask: after the NGOs and assorted funders have lost interest and moved on to a more 'needy' part of the world, will Bougainville be better or worse off?

Thankfully, as the 'peace dividend' sideshow parades around (and above) the island, a lot of ordinary Bougainvilleans in hamlets, villages, bush camps and what were once care centres are getting on with trying to resolve their differences. Outside organisations need to value and acknowledge the huge effort, self-sacrifice and atonement that take place on a very personal level with each reconciliation ceremony. I would suggest that equating this process with grading a road, building a classroom or acquiring a few guitars grossly diminishes the value of peace. In each community it is every reconciliation, and every activity or acquiring a few guitars grossly diminishes the value of peace. Indeed, it is all these Bougainvilleans that are the peace process. And, as the clumsy midwife fumbles with the baby Peace Dividend, I am relieved that the true peace of Bougainville is not in her hands.

**Peace in Solomon Islands—learning from Bougainville**

It is important that certain factors be considered before the Australian Government, or any other party for that matter, decides to bankroll the peace process in Solomon Islands. There are certain parallels between the war in Bougainville and the current conflict in Solomon Islands, in terms of both root causes and how the conflicts are being enacted, and the response by the Australian Government. The conflicts are not of course identical and the circumstances of each need to be distinguished.

The current Australian position seems poised to provide considerable funding to bolster and encourage a peace process in Solomon Islands. There is an inherent danger in doing this,
as it is likely that the peace will hinge upon this funding. Monetary gain or compensation is not a firm base for peace.

It is clear that the tragedy in Solomon Islands is affecting people profoundly. It has torn families and communities apart and this is naturally a very emotional experience. The women's peace initiatives are about the re-establishment of these families and communities: 'bringing the children home', using maternal ties (even extraordinary maternal ties) to stop the fighting.

The present peace initiatives are based upon very personal, real efforts, which appear to have been successful to some degree. This is not dissimilar to the origins of the present peace process in Bougainville. Not surprisingly, this was followed and complemented by a series of equally real and emotional reconciliations (in essence, a public forgiveness) which laid the wrongs of the war to rest. While Western observers may be sceptical of the validity of such a process, I am convinced that its success is due to the cumulative impact of all these reconciliations and the courageous expressions of the commitments to peace that preceded them.

In Bougainville, this took place before foreign governments decided to open the taps of aid funding. It took place before Australian Foreign Minister Downer promised $100 million over five years to Bougainville. The firm basis for and commitment to an enduring peace had been put in place by the Bougainvilleanse themselves before a 'peace dividend' was discussed. In other words, there was no monetary incentive for people to desire peace. Quite simply, many (civilians and combatants) were tired of war and, in this environment, they could (and did) honestly commit themselves to peace.

It should be pointed out that the reconciliations that are still taking place in Bougainville do not usually involve compensation and certainly no punitive measures. At most, the reconciliation could involve the exchange of traditional money, a small amount of cash and the provision of a feast. In local languages, the exchange of money is a sign of respect, or to help wipe away the tears, as distinct from compensation.

Peace for monetary gain

A peace process that is not founded upon such a collection of demonstrated personal commitments is likely to fail. Indeed, I suggest that if the motivation for the combatants to engage in peace is primarily monetary gain (through compensation claims, weapon buyback arrangements, promised development activities, and so on), then the process is inherently flawed and unsustainable. It is flawed because it is based upon something that is incommensurate with the essence of peace. The source of materialism, consumerism and capitalism is not the same as the source of compassion, forgiveness, kinship and peace. Both are necessary in the current world environment, but what is required for peace comes from one's deepest beliefs and faith. Put simply, peace comes from the heart and not the hip pocket.

Further, it is unsustainable because (to my knowledge) there is no experience where governments have been able to maintain funding for an indefinite period or until all the root causes have been completely addressed. This is in reality a most unlikely possibility. Notwithstanding the complexity of the immediate issues in Solomon Islands that caused the conflict, these are encased in the post-colonial environment of inappropriate and uneven development and the rapid erosion of an ancient culture. This has been a common experience in all Pacific nations.

Providing a firm foundation for peace

While a brief cessation or even reduction in hostilities and violence is obviously desirable, it is dangerous to view this as an end in itself. It should be seen as part of an enduring and problematic peace process that will take many years. It should aim to establish a foundation from which a peace process can grow and strengthen. The framework is also important but not more so than the foundation. When, or if, a ceasefire breaks down or the peace process stalls, then the framework too will disintegrate. If the foundation is based purely on financial gain or monetary incentive, it too will crumble, resulting in not only the continuation of violent conflict but also a shared feeling of failure and despair. This makes it all the more difficult to summon the energy, strength and courage necessary to recommence the task of peacebuilding.

However, despite all the obstacles that emerge in any peace process, the foundation will remain if it is conceived in the way I have suggested. From this foundation, the trust that is necessary to maintain the process can be rebuilt. Suspicion and fear can gradually recede within an environment of trust. This becomes the framework and this framework is extremely accommodating of acts of aggression without destroying the peace process. It provides the framework within which these issues can be dealt with and the process can move forward and grow in strength.

I realise that many of the points I am raising may be seen as anomalous to policy in this area, simply by being too grounded in the reality of the emotions of ordinary people. Indeed, I am unsure how any government policy can accommodate and support the sort of process I have outlined, because it does, of course, need to be initiated, driven and perpetuated by those involved, including the combatants and civil society. Furthermore, I suspect that what I have suggested is as obvious and commonsense to any Solomon Islander as it was to the Bougainvilleanse on whom these observations are based.
Summary of recommendations and strategies for action from the Commonwealth Pacific Symposium on Gender, Politics and Conflict/Peace

The fourth Commonwealth regional symposium on gender, politics and conflict/peace was held in Wellington, New Zealand, June 2000. It aimed to increase women's representation in political decision-making and peace processes at the highest levels in the Commonwealth, as part of the larger objective of achieving gender equality.

Issues of concern

The major issues of concern include: the increase in conflict in the Pacific; the role of gender in conflict; lack of women's representation in politics; the role of political parties, governments, parliaments and electoral bodies in women's representation and opportunity to influence peace or conflict decisions; action by commonwealth and other agencies, the media, NGOs and donors in supporting women's representation.

Recommendations for action

- The fundamental importance of land and natural resources to Pacific people requires: recognition of indigenous land tenure systems; protection of matrilineal land inheritance where it exists; addressing indigenous claims and involving men and women in negotiations over dispossession.
- Women's participation in peace building processes needs to be increased at all levels of government and policy development. Community women leaders need to participate in peace negotiations and procedures as women are the main peace leaders in the Pacific and are disproportionately affected by armed conflict and civil unrest. Women's specific health needs in times of conflict should be addressed (eg: treatment for injuries sustained from conflict or domestic violence, psychological effects of trauma and violation of reproductive rights).
- Early warning signs of conflict should be monitored by Commonwealth and other agencies.
- The Commonwealth Secretariat, governments and agencies should ensure a gender perspective in conflict and postconflict reconstruction; that women are members of peace and mediation teams, that consultations are held with women leaders and organisations and that there is gender analysis and a gender perspective in mainstream Commonwealth work on democracy and good governance.
- The Commonwealth should develop appropriate publications and distance learning materials on gender and conflict, including a regional plan of action for the training of local conciliators and mediators and promotion of good practices on gender and conflict using the Internet, audiovisual materials and print-based materials.
- The target of 30 per cent of women in politics was endorsed and positive representation of women via the media, in all government departments and
NGOs was called for. Initiatives to target youth and equal representation of young women were also recommended. In countries that have ratified CEDAW or have constitutional guarantees of equality for women and men, parties should not be supported unless they ensure that women have equal access to political office. Parliamentary Bills should include a gender impact analysis.

- A review of the electoral system was recommended for greater representation of women. Bridge-building by women parliamentarians to women party members and outside groups would provide support in tabling of Bills and a mentoring program for younger women. Training for women parliamentarians and other leaders was recommended for political and legislative processes, development issues, humanitarian policies, budgeting, foreign affairs, Pacific history, leadership, gender analysis and planning.

- NGOs should apply pressure to increase women's participation in politics. Greater coordination among donor and other agencies is needed in relation to gender training activities and equality support programs. Representation of women is needed in both recipient and donor agencies for participation in program planning, delivery, and monitoring.

**Recommendations for Commonwealth assistance in empowering women in Melanesian conflict resolution/peace**

It is recommended that Commonwealth associations seriously consider convening a Melanesian sub-regional seminar for women leaders, decision-makers and programme managers to develop:

- concrete proposals on their role as peace educators and promoters;
- skills in preventing conflict, identifying and responding to the early signs of tension/conflict, and researching the root causes of conflict;
- skills in negotiating peace with all partners, when a conflict has occurred.

This seminar should be attended by government decision-makers, senior officials and educators, and representatives of the private sector and NGOs from Melanesian countries, and should be followed up by a seminar for men and women decision-makers in government.

**Note**

1 This is a brief summary taken from the document "Commonwealth Pacific Symposium and Gender, Politics and Conflict/Peace, Recommendations and Strategies for Action" Wellington, New Zealand, June, 2000. Further information is available from the Gender and Youth Affairs Division, Commonwealth Secretariat, London. Email: r.baksh-soodeen@commonwealth.int
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Summary of OECD/DAC Task Force on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation

Bangkok, October 25-27, 2000

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Informal Asia/Pacific Regional Consultation on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation was held in Bangkok from 25-27 October 2000. The objective of the consultation was to gather the opinion of the participants on what external actors are doing, or should be doing, in partnership with developing countries to prevent violent conflict and deal with its aftermath through the instruments of development cooperation. The information will be used to contribute to the updating of the DAC Guidelines on Conflict Peace and Development Cooperation on the Threshold of the 21st Century. Task Force members represented were: Australia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Sweden (Chair), UK, UNDP, UNHCR, and the DAC Secretariat. The Asia Development Bank, the Asia and Pacific Development Centre and UNOCHA were also represented. There was no representation from non-OECD Asia Pacific Governments but there were NGOs and academics participated from Bangladesh, Burma/Myanmar, Cambodia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, PNG, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand. The lack of partner government representation resulted in a disagreement during discussions on how donors could improve their performance as few participants had direct contacts with donors in the field. There was a strong emphasis on support for civil society throughout the meeting.

Key issues from the consultation:

- Principles and criteria for development assistance should be transparent and accountable.

- How do donors deal with a weak or failed state without legitimising regimes that act against the will of the population?

- How do donors avoid humanitarian assistance being used to indirectly prop up a state against the will of the population?

- Donors should nurture civil society, rather than implanting alternatives to existing capacities. The relationship should be one of partnership and both sides need to be transparent in their objectives. This includes the need for information to be disseminated in the local language.

- There is a need to better understand the perspective of stakeholders on root causes of conflict. Perceptions of causes are important and ‘factual’ information (accepted by all parties) on the conflict may be impossible to obtain.

- Conflicts are complex. Donors need to invest in analysis of situations, developing forward plans for various scenarios. A long term approach is required, in order to promote confidence and trust.

- It may be possible to create a neutral (informal) space to promote confidence for peace building through humanitarian assistance. For example, HIV/AIDS prevention in Myanmar.

- The ‘peace process’ starts before the ‘peace agreement’. There is a role for non-formal actors, civil society and women in the peace process. These actors need to be empowered to engage in the process.

- Recognition that all aid has political consequences. Analysis of the consequences of aid should be in consultation with a range of local actors.

Gaby Brown
Development Cooperation Division
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
WELLINGTON

Asia Pacific Community Development Courses

Victoria University offers BA, Grad Dip and MA community development courses for people interested in working, or already working, in community development in Asia and the Pacific, or in development organisations active in the region.

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Heather Wallace (Course Coordinator) or Associate Professor Michael Hamel-Green, Arts Faculty, St Albert Campus, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne MCMC, 8001, Australia. Phone: 613-93525735 Mobile: 0417-554556 Email: heather.wallace@vu.edu.au or michael.hamel-green@vu.edu.au Details on the above courses are also available on the Social Inquiry and Community Studies Department website within the Victoria University website: http://www.vu.edu.au
United Nations Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security

New York, October 31, 2000

A resolution on Women, Peace and Security was passed unanimously by the UN Security Council on October 31, 2000.

A coalition of five organizations, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), International Alert, Amnesty International, Women's Commission for Women Refugees and Girls and the Hague Appeal for Peace, joined with UNIFEM to draft a resolution that would call for gender sensitivity in all UN missions including peace-keeping, for women to equally participate at all negotiating tables and for the protection of women and girls during armed conflict.

The full text of the resolution reads as follows:

“The Security Council,


Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled “Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the twenty-first century” (A/53/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1 Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2 Encourages the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3 Urges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4 Further urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5 Expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6 Requests the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all
peacekeeping and peacebuilding measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7 Urges Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8 Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:
   a The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;
   b Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;
   c Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;


10 Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11 Emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes including those relating to sexual violence against women and girls, and in this regard, stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12 Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolution 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998;

13 Encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14 Reaffirms its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15 Expresses its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16 Invites the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and further invites him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17 Requests the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council, progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18 Decides to remain actively seized of the matter."
Final Statement of the International Women’s Summit to Redefine Security

Okinawa, Japan, June 22-25, 2000

This statement was produced by the International Women’s Summit to Redefine Security on the occasion of the G-8 Summit in Okinawa, Japan, June 22-25, 2000. The ratification of the International Criminal Court is included as one of its demands.

On the eve of the annual meeting of the G-8 leaders, held in Okinawa, July 21-23, 2000, ninety-one members of the East Asia-US Women’s Network Against Militarism, coming from the Philippines, Puerto Rico, South Korea, Japan, U.S., mainland Japan, and Okinawa, convened the International Women’s Summit to Redefine Security. We are activists, teachers, students, researchers, elected officials, survivors of physical, sexual, and emotional violence; we are daughters, mothers, and wives. The purpose of this meeting was to challenge the principle of “national security” on which the economic policies of the G-8 are based. These economic policies can never achieve genuine security. Rather, they generate gross insecurity for most peoples of the world and devastate the natural environment. These economic policies are inextricably linked to increasing militarization throughout the world. Militaries reap enormous profits for multinational corporations and stockholders through the development, production, and sale of weapons of destruction. Moreover, militaries maintain control of local populations and repress those who oppose the fundamental principles on which the world economic system is based. The current economic system depends on deep-seated attitudes and relationships characterized by greed, fear, domination and the objectification of “others” expressed through racism, sexism, imperialism, and the desire to control the physical environment. Vested interests, routine ways of thinking, prejudice, ignorance, and inertia also play their part in maintaining entrenched systems of economic, social, and political inequality.

This Women’s Summit builds on the earlier meetings of the East Asia-US Women’s Network in Naha, Okinawa (1997) and Washington, DC (1998) which sought to build a strong international network of women who oppose militarism and are working to define an agenda for true global security and peace. Throughout our four-day gathering, we affirmed that genuine security is based on the following four key tenets:

- the environment in which we live must be able to sustain human and natural life;
- people’s basic survival needs for food, clothing, shelter, health care, and education must be met;
- people’s fundamental human dignity and respect for cultural identities must be honored;
- people and the natural environment must be protected from avoidable harm.

By these standards, there are no truly secure societies in the world and none that are fully committed to achieving genuine security. Yet many detailed alternative proposals to creating and maintaining true security have been developed by international peace and human rights organizations. These include specific proposals for non-violent conflict resolution, early-warning procedures, mediation services, and the restoration and rebuilding of devastated lands and communities. Development for genuine security must be economically and environmentally sustainable.

Participants in the International Women’s Summit shared experiences of the impact of this militarized economy on lives. We see demilitarization as a process of incremental steps by which governments must reduce military operations, expenditures, and cultures while simultaneously expanding non-military alternatives. Toward our goal of achieving true security, we issue the following demands to the leaders of G-8 nations and to the leaders of nations that we represent:

- Stop the bombing on Vieques, Puerto Rico; cease the war in Mindanao, Philippines; end the Korean War and support efforts to reunify Korea; stop plans for new or replacement bases in Okinawa, e.g. the proposed heliport at Henoko. These immediate steps would be the basis for ultimate removal of military presence from these communities and return the land to local control.
- Revise the unequal Status of Forces Agreements (SOFA) and Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), a first step toward the total removal of US bases from Okinawa, mainland Japan, Korea, and the Philippines.
- Oppose the new US-Japan Defense Guidelines that require Japan to provide facilities and personnel to support US military activities in the region. The Guidelines constitute a violation of Article 9 of the Japanese constitution.
- Ratify the International Criminal Court, which will provide a mechanism for ordinary people to take action against military crimes.
- Compensate host countries and individual victims and survivors of military toxic waste and of violent acts against women and children that are results of the US military presence specifically:
  1. adopt the Host Country Bill of Rights as ratified in the International Grassroots Summit for Military Toxics (October 1999, Washington, DC);
  2. provide full accountability and compensation for violence against women that includes violence.
against women in host communities, sexual harassment of women in the military and domestic violence in military families.

- Take responsibility for social, economic and political development of Amerasian children by the US and governments of host countries.

- Immediately decrease military spending by developing specific plans and timelines for overall demilitarization, specifically:
  1. eliminate Japan's "Sympathy Budget" that supports US presence in Japan;
  2. commit to ongoing cumulative reduction of military spending (for example, 5% per year) and reallocate these resources toward compensation and redress for victims and survivors of military operations;
  3. develop alternatives to military conflict resolution;
  4. provide housing, food, shelter, health care and education, which are basic survival needs;

- Stop new weapons design development, and testing; end sales of weapons.

- The perspectives, leadership and issues of women be central to all matters of peace and security, including planning and decision-making of base closures and conversion.

- Women's organizations must be included at all levels of peace negotiations and national reconstruction. A pressing case is the dialogues beginning between North and South Korea.

- Conversion of military systems and military land must promote and reflect programs and projects that meet local community needs and are culturally relevant.

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November 2000
Women and women's organizations in post-conflict societies: the role of international assistance

Krishna Kumar, Center for Development Information and Evaluation, United States Agency for International Development

Introduction

This paper discusses the impacts of conflicts on women and gender relations and the emergence and contributions of women's voluntary organizations in post conflict societies. It is based on the results of field studies conducted by CDIE in Cambodia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, El Salvador, Guatemala and Rwanda.

Characteristics of conflict

Common characteristics of conflict in all countries studied included:

- violence was deliberately inflicted on civilians;
- large numbers of people were displaced, mostly women and children, which had a major effect on gender relations;
- traditional roles of women in war and their identity changed, women being both perpetrators and victims of violence;
- poverty and starvation increased as a result of attempts to destroy infrastructure supported by civilians;
- a 'legacy of hatred, bitterness and anger' within countries.

Social and psychological impacts

Insecurity and fear of violence and sexual abuse restricted women's social and economic activities and their freedom to move about. This problem was compounded by continuing distrust and animosity between ethnic groups.

Women were violated by soldiers - raped, often in front of family members - to humiliate and terrorise ethnic groups. In Bosnia and Herzegovina and Rwanda these violations against women were used for ethnic cleansing purposes. In Africa, HIV/AIDS was used as a tool. Young women were also kidnapped in Angola and Mozambique.

Increased prostitution was another result of poverty, migration and social disorganisation in post conflict societies, as well as increased domestic violence against women by men. Household burdens of women increased as a result of conflicts; female-headed households growing with the absence of men who were fighting, killed or incapacitated. Greater economic and social responsibilities were taken on by women without a lessening of their household burdens, including responsibilities of raising orphans and abandoned children.

The trauma many women experienced from conflict was manifested in their daily lives with typical signs of depression: anguish, lethargy, psychological disturbances and recurring recollections of trauma - most notable in Rwanda, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Economic impacts

Results of increased poverty were worse for women in countries where poverty had already risen, including poorer nutrient intakes and a lower priority for health and education needs of girls over boys. Women heading households were denied property rights to dead spouses' or parents' land and often worked as landless labourers in rural areas and in the informal sector in urban areas. Working women were the first to lose their jobs in transitional post conflict economies.

Political impacts

Women's public roles and responsibilities increased, with more voluntary involvement in churches, schools, hospitals, self-help and other private groups. A greater role in public life saw women organising meetings, mobilising public opinion, joining militias and peace accords to promote peace. Organisations were founded by some women for peaceful resolutions to conflict. Women's political expectations and skills were raised and their representation in national governments slowly improved in case study countries (except Guatemala).

Contribution and sustainability of (voluntary) women's organisations

Women's organisations grew in post conflict countries due to various factors such as social, political and economic changes and reforms, including women's greater representation in public affairs. Another major contributing factor to the emergence of women's organisations was aid provided by the international community to NGOs. Activities of women's organisations cover most sectors including health, education, social, economic and political and range from income generating and employment programs for women to dealing with domestic violence and prostitution, returning refugees and displaced women. Reconciliation between former enemies and gender equality was promoted and advocacy activities undertaken against discrimination.

Empowerment of women as a result of the formation and activities of women's organisations included: timely assistance...
to victims of conflict; income generating activities easing women from poverty; political empowerment; raising of gender awareness for members, populations and gender issues at national levels.

Many constraints affect the sustainability of women's organisations, both internal and external. Internal limitations include duplication of activities, lack of communication, cooperation and sharing of skills. The question of financial sustainability is dependent to a large extent on international assistance which also has limitations. These include: short-term priorities and little coordination of donor organisations; bulky reporting and accounting requirements; lack of dissemination of information to other women's organisations and a framework for supporting women and gender equality.

To assist women's organisations, Kumar recommends that minimal funding requirements be imposed, long-term funding be considered and women's organisations be integrated into large-scale development initiatives. A strategic framework for international assistance to women is recommended, encompassing physical security, increasing access to and control over assets essential for their social and economic livelihoods and political empowerment to advance gender equality and empowerment.

General recommendations

1. Build on economic and political gains made by women during conflict to ameliorate their conditions and to help promote gender equality.

2. Add focus on civilian security for women through security sector reforms, greater representation of women in police forces and judicial processes, establishment of peace committees and special interventions for vulnerable youth.

3. Emphasize cost-effective, indigenous approaches to treat traumatized women and men.

4. Prevent sexual abuse of women by promoting more women to international judicial posts, protecting witnesses and realizing the awareness of and punishment for international trafficking in women.

5. Promote microcredit with caution. While support microcredit programs, USAID should not ignore structural barriers to the economic advancement of women.


7. Promote greater women's participation in postconflict elections by encouraging political parties to field women candidates on a nonpartisan basis.

8. Promote political participation of women by providing technical and material assistance to nonpartisan women's advocacy organizations.

Recommendations for assistance to women's organizations

1. Continue to foster women's organizations.

2. Impose minimal funding requirements and provide some funds to cover the costs of essential data collection and analysis.

3. Consider multiyear funding for projects being implemented by women's organizations.

4. Promote sustainability of women's organizations by (a) funding a portion of core costs for a limited period of time; (b) providing technical assistance to improve management; and (c) helping them become self-reliant by improving skills in networking, fund-raising and coalition building.

5. Integrate women's organizations in large-scale development initiatives, which could involve (1) awarding them contracts for development initiatives and (2) encouraging large development organizations to include them as partners in bidding for contracts for international projects.

Framework for international assistance to women

The assessment proposes the outline of a strategic framework for international assistance for women, which has three essential components. The first is enhancing physical security for women i.e. protection from violence and hunger. The second element is increasing women's access to and control over productive assets without which they can neither become productive members of their societies nor improve their social and economic status. The last element of the framework is political empowerment i.e. increased political participation. These three elements of the framework are important to advance gender equality and empowerment after major social upheaval.

Note

This is a summary of a draft paper.

http://www.ids.ac.uk/cldis/aftermath.htm

November 2000
Books

Fiji: Paradise in pieces

This new book by writer and poet, Satendra Nandan, is a collection of articles, essays and stories, enlightening the often stormy experiences of the Indian-Fijians. A descendant of the girmiyas - indentured workers - Nandan elucidates the modern predicament of the Indian-Fijians, the attachment they have to their Pacific nation, the heartbreak of the coups, and the tragedy of an immigrant population who have to re-emigrate in order to build their lives anew. But it is also a book of hope and humour, humanity and human rights. It offers all readers a greater understanding of the complexity of the situation in modern Fiji, particularly in the context of Australia's role in the Pacific. Born in Fiji, Satendra was educated in Nadi, Lautoka, Leeds, London and Canberra. He taught at the University of the South Pacific in Suva, and subsequently became a minister in the Bavadra Coalition government of Fiji, being elected to Parliament in 1982 and 1987. He is currently Director of the Canberra Centre for Writing, Media and Culture Studies at the University of Canberra. Fiji: Paradise in pieces is edited by Anthony Mason, with an afterword by Syd Harrex. For more information or review copies, contact Satendra Nandan on +61 (0)2 62012007 or the editor, Anthony Mason on +61 (0)2 6201 2681.

East Timor: Making Amends?
Australia's role in reconstructing East Timor
Lanell Taudevin and Jefferson Lee, editors, 2000, Published by Oxford Press for the Australia East Timor Association (AETA), ISBN 1 87692800X, RRP: A$30.00 includes p&h, 250p, and 12 pages of photos. For further information contact: Australia-East Timor Association, Cl-P O Box 751, Darlinghurst, NSW, 2010 or PO Box 93, Fitzroy, Victoria, 3065 or Oxford Press, 49 Station Road, Oxford, NSW, 2508. Ph: +61 (0)2 42948800, Fax: +61 (0)2 42948801 Email: anse@bigpond.com.au bdd@one.net.au

This publication contains papers prepared for a seminar organised by the Sydney branch of the Australia-East Timor Association (AETA) on 30 August 2000 in Leichhardt Town Hall, Sydney, NSW, Australia, to mark the first anniversary of East Timor's vote for independence. The book provides answers to questions like: Do Australians care about East Timor? Why are our troops still in East Timor? How is the Australian Government and the international community helping? What are Australians doing to help? What does the future hold for East Timor and Australia as a neighbour? Contributors include Keith Suter, Stephanie Fahey, Bruce Haigh, Robin-Scott-Charlton, Bill Buckley and Sister Susan Connelly among others including nurses, doctors, academics, soldiers, nuns, activists, journalists and lawyers. All share first-hand knowledge of East Timor.

Out of the Ashes: Destruction and Reconstruction of East Timor
Edited by James J. Fox and Dionisio Babo Soares, 2000, Published by Crawford House, ISBN 1 86333 189 1, RRP $34.95

In August 1999, after almost 25 years of Indonesian rule, the people of East Timor voted overwhelmingly to reject an offer of autonomy and opted instead for independence from the Indonesian Republic. This book provides an account and analysis of the events preceding and following the popular vote, from a wide range of informed commentators. It looks at the culture and society of East Timor and describes the political, diplomatic and
military background to events and efforts at reconciliation prior to August 1999; it provides a description of events based on first-hand accounts, mainly by East Timorese, and some commentary on those events; and it looks ahead to plans for the reconstruction of East Timor.

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**East Timor: Too Little Too Late,**

This book provides a history of East Timor with the focus on the Indonesian invasion of 1975 and Australia's troubled relationship with the country ever since. It gives an often eye witness account of the rise of the militia, their close links to the military and the tide of violence that broke following the historic referendum of August 1999. The author is in a unique position to tell this story. He was in charge of Australia's aid projects in East Timor from 1996 to 1999. He travelled widely around the island and his many local staff told him what was really happening. Taudevin was asked by the Australian Government officials to report to them on what he saw. Initially sympathetic to the Indonesian position, he became revolted by the extensive brutality he found. The Australian government claimed his reports of atrocities were endangering its relationships with Indonesia. The militia threatened his life. Accused of spying by the Indonesian army he was ordered out of east Timor in April 1999. The book ends with Taudevin's return to Dili in October 1999.

**Chalo Jahaji: On a Journey Through Indenture in Fiji**

This book is an intensively personal journey through the life of the author and that of the 60,000 Indians who became girmitiyas indentured laborers in Fiji. The intricate history is measured, but the author reveals himself and his family in a way that historians seldom do. This proud grandson of a girmitiya is equally a proud son of Fiji. _Chalo Jahaji_ is Pacific History at its best: rigorous and critical, informative and involved.

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**Intercultural Exercises for the Classroom**
Frank Hoare S.S.C. (Columbian priest) Published by People for Intercultural Awareness, 11 Helsen Street, Box 3578 Samabula, Fiji, 27 pages.

A text that is used in Fiji on ethnic differences which provides some means of helping students appreciate cultures other than their own. May be freely reproduced by non profit organisations.

**Mangrove man**

Review by Nancy McDowell

**After the Conflict: A Review of Selected Sources on Rebuilding War-torn Societies,**
Patricia Weiss Fagen and Paula Uimonen, UNRISD/IPSIS, War-torn Societies Project,
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* indicates books with specific relevance to the Asia-Pacific region. All prices include GST.

After the Guns Fall Silent: The enduring legacy of landmines
Shawn Roberts and Jody Williams, Oxfam, 0-85598-337-X, 538pp., 1995, $49.95

The report, commissioned by the VVAF, examines the consequences of landmine use for post-conflict reconstruction and development, for refugee movement and resettlement, and for the environment. It also investigates mine clearance and mine awareness, and medical, rehabilitative and psychological costs.

Breaking Cycles of Violence: Conflict Prevention in Intrastate Crises
Janie Leatherman, William DeMars, Patrick Gaffney and Raimo Väyrynen, Kumarian Press, 1-56549-091-6, 272pp., bibliography, index, 1999, $54.95

This book studies how to target and prioritise resources in societies at immediate risk of violent conflict. It develops guidelines, illustrated in the cases of Burundi and Macedonia, for assessing the causes of conflict through early warning indicators, while presenting multidimensional strategies to transform them. Preventative action is seen as a means to contain conflicts and rehabilitate societies throughout the escalation, violence and post-conflict cycle.

Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies
John Paul Lederach, United States Institute for Peace, 1-878379-73-9, 197pp., 1998, $34.95.

A major work from a seminal figure in the field of conflict resolution, this volume is Lederach's definitive statement on peace building. Explores the dynamics of conflict and presents a holistic, integrated framework for peace building in which structure, process, resources, training, and evaluation are coordinated in an attempt to transform the conflict and effect reconciliation.

* Building Peace in Bougainville
Geoff Harris, Naithuwo Ahai and Rebecca Spence, Centre for Peace Studies, University of New England/National Research Institute, PNG, 1 86389 5914, 167pp., 1999, $19.95.

The conflict on Bougainville has cost at least 20,000 lives and immeasurable suffering. The result of a 1998 seminar in Sydney, this collection of papers analyses the causes of the Bougainville conflict, describes the elements of current peace initiatives, and maps out both the short-term and long-term tasks of recovery. A major contribution to the literature on recovery from conflict.

Civil Wars, Civil Peace: An introduction to conflict resolution

Offers a radical new approach to conflict prevention, resolution and diplomacy, covering key topics such as identifying early warnings of conflict and the need to take early action; information gathering and analysis; and the need for preventive diplomacy. In particular, it considers the role of the UN, non-governmental organisations and other third-party mediators in conflict resolution.

Community Based Sustainable Development: Consensus or conflict?
Edited by Melissa Leach, Robin Mearns and Ian Soinies, Institute of Development Studies, 1 85864 200 0, 98pp., 1997, $36.25.

‘Community-based sustainable development’ has become a central approach to rural development and natural resource management. But this emerging consensus tends to overlook both ecological variability, and the potential for conflict within local communities. This Bulletin shows how an approach based on the notion of ‘environmental entitlements’ can help achieve community-based sustainable development.

*Conflict Management in Community-based Natural Resource Projects: Experiences from Fiji and Papua New Guinea

Discusses the problem of non-violent conflicts and disputes as a constraint to sustainable natural resource management at the community level, and presents a methodology designed to contribute to the removal of conflict as an obstacle to sustainability. The methodology was developed to guide a programme of conflict management within NGO-sponsored community-based natural resource projects in the South Pacific.

*Constructive Conflict Management: Asia-Pacific cases
Fred E. Jandi & Paul B. Pedersen, Sage USA, 0803959494, 312pp., 1996, $61.55.

This unique volume uses cases drawn from the Asian and Pacific Island areas to illustrate culture’s role in conflict mediation. The contributors focus in particular on how conflict within and between cultures can be successfully mediated on the micro-level and how this success can be applied on the macro-level.
This timely A-Z guide features 140 articles by 90 authors: journalists, academics, legal experts, defining the major war crimes and key terms of law and taking a fresh look at nine recent wars, using the framework of international humanitarian law. With over 70 graphic and disturbing photographs.

_Cultivating Peace: Conflict and Collaboration in Natural Resource Management_

One of the leading practical discussions of conflict resolution over natural resources. Presents original case studies from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, interspersed with essays on the cultural dimensions of conflict, the impact of development interventions on peace and conflict, and the policy dimensions of conflict management.

Conflict over natural resources such as land, water, and forests has for ages been widespread. Whether it be a local dispute between neighbouring farmers or an international debate over shared resources, such as waterways, people everywhere compete for the natural resources they need to ensure or enhance their quality of life. The conflict may unfold as a simple war of words, or it may escalate to armed confrontation with loss of life. While the dimensions, levels, and intensity of conflict can vary greatly, so too can the opportunities for conflict resolution. _Cultivating Peace_ presents original case studies from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, interspersed with essays on the cultural dimensions of conflict, the meaning of stakeholder analysis, the impact of development interventions on peace and conflict, and the policy dimensions of conflict management. The case studies present important developing world experience on moving from conflict to collaborative modes of management. The accompanying essays draw on the case studies, grounding theory in hard-won experience. This cross-fertilization of practical experience with conceptual insight creates a unique dialogue on lessons learned and identifies strategic gaps in our understanding of this complex and important issue.

_Cultivating Peace_ will appeal to researchers, scholars, and students in political science, natural resource management, anthropology, development studies, and conflict resolution; donors, development organizations, and development practitioners working in the areas of natural resource management or conflict resolution; and citizens concerned with development issues, especially as they apply to the preservation of our natural resources and the increasing incidence of international conflict over access to natural resources.

_Democracy and Deep-rooted Conflict: Options for negotiators_
P. Harris and B. Reilly, Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), 91-89098-22-6, 1998, $89.95

How do we get an agreement at the negotiating table that will deliver a sustainable and peaceful outcome to a violent conflict? This handbook contains practical resources for those involved in bringing intra-state conflict out of a prolonged phase of violence and designing a feasible and sustainable model for its peaceful management.

_Development in States of War_
Edited by Stephen Commins, Oxfam, 0-85598-344-2, 1996, $27.45

Twelve articles on the challenge of applying development principles to emergency work, and addressing the issues arising from military conflict and destruction. Articles cover famine as a tool for violating human rights, civilian organisations mobilising for peace, ministering to the needs of children, and other issues.

_Do No Harm: How aid can support peace - or war_
Mary B. Anderson, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1-55587-834-2, 161 pp., 1999, $37.95

Aid is a two-edged sword. Used wisely, it can change lives and re-build societies; used with the wrong agendas, or in the wrong ways, it can perpetuate dependence and divisions. This penetrating study challenges the aid industry to take responsibility for the way that their assistance affects conflicts. Case studies are drawn from Somalia, Afghanistan, Bosnia/Herzegovina, Lebanon, Tajikistan and Guatemala.

_*A First Step to Peace: Mindanao in transition_*
Edited by Mara Stankovich and Andy Carl, Conciliation Resources, 1998, $69.95

This issue of Accord focuses on one strand of the peacemaking: the negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the MNLF which resulted in a political settlement signed in September 1996. Looks at the making of that agreement, its impact so far and the prospects of achieving the phased transition to greater autonomy that it outlines.

_The Forgiveness Factor: Stories of hope in a world of conflict_
Michael Henderson, Grosvenor Books/Kumarian Press, 1-85239-024-7, 290 pp., 1996, $44.95

Although it does not receive the press coverage that violent conflict will always attract, reconciliation does work. Henderson presents examples from Europe, Africa, North America and Asia that clearly show how effective peaceful reconciliation can be.

_From Conflict to Peace in a Changing World_
Edited by Deborah Eade, Oxfam, 0-85598-395-7, ca. 200 pp, April 1998, $44.95.
Reproduces articles and essays which appeared in the quarterly journal Development in Practice. The papers and essays address conflict-related themes from a range of perspectives, and together paint an informative picture of the moral and practical complexities of crisis and intervention.

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**Landmines - Legacy of Conflict: A Manual for Development Workers**

Rae McGrath, Oxfam, 0-85598-264-0, 96pp illustrated, 1994, $26.35.

The book describes the vulnerability of particular groups within rural communities, advises on how best to avoid hazardous areas, considers activities that mine-affected communities can undertake, and suggests measures that could be introduced at local and international levels to deal with the problem.

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**Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict**


A unique and comprehensive volume. Some 40 essays probe traditional and emerging sources of conflict and explore the full range of instruments, actors, techniques and policies for managing and resolving conflict. Includes seven case studies and numerous chapters that feature comparative and cross-cutting analysis.

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**Multi-Track Diplomacy: A systems approach to peace**

Louise Diamond and John McDonald, Kumarian Press, 1-56549-057-6, 192pp., 1996, $44.95.

A unique, systemic approach to peacemaking and conflict resolution. Nine tracks of peacemaking are identified and interlinked, providing extensive resources and contacts for all those involved in conflict resolution and recovery from conflict situations.

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**Peacebuilding: A field guide**


A milestone in the search for sustainable peace, this handbook highlights the invaluable contributions of people working in the field. The authors clarify how fieldworkers “fit” in the overall peacebuilding process; provide details of the most effective practices; and offer guidelines for preparing for the field.

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**Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating peace in fragile societies**


Examines the successes and failures of large-scale interventions to build peace in El Salvador, Cambodia, Haiti, Somalia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Arguing that the defining priority of peacebuilding initiatives should be the development of authoritative, legitimate political mechanisms to resolve internal conflicts without violence, they present “peacebuilding as politics” as an effective organizing principle for determining the best range, timing, and priorities of international action.

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**Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and techniques**


Describes the peace-making tools and skills that are currently available and critically assesses their usefulness and limitations: both the more traditional approaches to peacemaking – bargaining and negotiation, third-party mediation, arbitration and adjudication – and newer, “nonofficial” approaches – social-psychological approaches, conflict transformation, and training.

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**People Building Peace: 35 Inspiring Stories from around the World**


This publication documents initiatives of people working for peace worldwide. It illustrates the work of churches, women's organisations, media, business, nongovernmental organisations, schools, the arts and sports in building peace and places particular emphasis on the important role played by civil society in resolving conflicts. ‘Multi-track diplomacy’ is flourishing and provides a major reason to hope for a more peaceful world.

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**Post-War Reconstruction in Central America: Lessons from El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua**

Patricia Ardon (translated and adapted by Deborah Eade), Oxfam, 0-85598-405-8, 1999, $47.25.

A detailed account of the formal and social processes that ended years of armed conflict in Central America. It analyses various aspects of conflict resolution, evaluates the negotiating processes, and makes recommendations to NGOs working in societies affected by conflict.

---

**Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures**

John Paul Lederach, Syracuse University Press, 0-8156-2725-4, 134pp., 1995, $37.95.

Lederach blends a special training method in mediation with a tradition derived from his work in development. Throughout the book, he uses anecdote and pertinent experiences to demonstrate his resolution techniques. Conveys the key to successful
conflict resolution: understanding how to guide disputants, transform their conflicts, and launch a process that empowers them.

Rebuilding Societies After Civil War: Critical roles for international assistance


This collection addresses three questions fundamental to international aid to war-torn societies: What are the sectors that require assistance to promote political stability and economic growth? What lessons can be learned from past experience? And how, together with the leadership of the affected societies, can more effective policies and programs be designed and implemented? Drawing on case studies, the authors focus particularly on issues of food security, health services, human rights, military demobilization, resettlement, and reconciliation at the local level.

Reconcilable Differences: Turning Points in Ethnopolitical Conflict


Considers how factors converge to shape the way ethnic conflicts are waged and how peaceful change occurs. In particular, this contemporary work discusses perceptions, structures and interactions that contribute to the escalation of inter-group antagonism, as well as mechanisms critical to the peace-building and constructive resolution process.

Recovery from Armed Conflict in Developing Countries: An Economic and Political Analysis

Geoff Harris, Routledge, 0-415-19379-6, 1999, $198.00.

Examines ways in which developing countries may achieve economic, political and social reconstruction in the wake of armed conflict. International researchers discuss such issues as women and children in the recovery process, refugees and the role of aid, the reintegration of ex-combatants and community-led recovery. Case studies focus upon Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique, South Africa and Sri Lanka.

Resource Pack for Conflict Transformation

Ian Doucet, International Alert, 1-89870-202-0, 214pp., 1996, $98.95

A comprehensive source of materials for the creation of, and participation in, workshops on conflict resolution. Contains an introduction providing context and overview, a section on thinking about conflict, and detailed sections on workshops, covering content, process and planning. There is also an annotated bibliography.

*Safeguarding Peace: Cambodia's constitutional challenge


Documents issues around the signing of the 1991 Paris agreements which officially 'brought to an end' Cambodia's long war and the violent collapse of the country's governing coalition in 1997. The experiences suggest the need for a rethinking of international responses to Cambodia's problems, with a greater emphasis placed on monitoring and supporting the functioning of its constitutionally mandated political institutions.

A Safer Future: Reducing the Human Cost of War

Edmund Cairns, Oxfam, 0-85598-386-8, paperback 128pp., 1997, $24.15.

Draws on Oxfam's experience of working with communities caught up in armed conflict, and makes recommendations for urgent action by governments that would reduce the risk of war and protect civilian lives. It looks specifically at changes in international policies and pre-emptive action by the international community; measures which could prevent some wars occurring; and how laws protecting civilians could be enforced.

The True Cost of Conflict


This book lays bare the full costs of conflict, using seven detailed case studies from around the world. It examines the human costs of war - the deaths, casualties and intermediate victims - and assesses the social, developmental and environmental consequences.

Women and Conflict: A Focus on Gender collection

Edited by Helen O'Connell, Oxfam, 0-85598-222-5, 1993, $26.35.

This book concentrates on gender issues in situations of conflict and considers the impact of civil and military strife, domestic conflict, and the impact of cuts in state services on women's lives.

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Fiji before the storm: elections and the politics of development

Brij V Lal, 2000, ISBN: 0 7315 3650 9, RRP: A $32.00, US $30.00, Asia Pacific Press, ANU.
The 1990s was a time of great uncertainty for Fiji. A racially weighted constitution, promulgated by decree in 1990, divided the country and invited international condemnation, and the economy suffered from the collapse of institutions of good governance. In 1995, an independent Constitution Review Commission appointed by the Fijian parliament, recommended wide-ranging changes to the Constitution. Its report formed the basis of a new Constitution promulgated, after wide-ranging consultation and debate, in 1997. Two years later, Fiji held a general election. This collection of essays looks at the politics and dynamics of that momentous event, and the role of key individuals and institutions in producing an outcome that, a year later, plunged Fiji into its first major crisis of the twenty-first century. The essays look at some of the key political and development issues on the eve of the crisis, but their relevance to the current debates about the nature and meaning of politics in Fiji remains. All the contributors are recognised and longstanding specialists in their fields.

Confronting Fiji Futures


Fiji, post-independence, has seen several governments, two military coups and amidst sweeping social, economic and political changes, the presence of divisive identity politics in its journey towards a united, collective Fiji community. _Confronting Fiji Futures_ takes in these landmark events and eventualities, and aims at a forward-looking assessment of the realities facing Fiji in the present and the future. It focuses on the period of the coups up to and including the 1999 general elections, when an explicitly multiethnic party won government in a surprise landslide result. This book is the result of a collaborative research project based at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, in the Netherlands. It aims to present a range of relevant issues from a number of vantage points. It has brought together a strong diversity of authors led by A. Haroon Akram-Lodhi, including John Cameron, Ganesh Chand, Martin Doornbos, Yash Ghaì, Holger Korth, Sunil Kumar, Biman Prasad, Jacqueline Leckie, Satendra Prasad, Steve Ratuva, Robbie Robertson, Ardeshir Sepehri and William Sutherland.

Reflections on Violence in Melanesia

_Sinclair Dinnen and Alison Ley, with Federation Press, 2000, ISBN: 1 8760 6713 6, A $31.00, US $30.00, Asia Pacific Press, ANU._

This book contains a wonderful sense of the possibilities for thinking in time about the ways of putting custom, courts, and village courts in tension, of putting Melanesian cultures and global human rights in contest, of checking traditional/government bigmen with the power of women enlarged by non-government organisation politics. Not re-creating a pre-colonial utopia, not Western criminal law, but thinking in time and thinking in place ‘violence must be understood within a context of the complex and specific intersections of the local and global’. The conference organised by Sinclair Dinnen of the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia project of the Australian National University on which this book is based was one of those rich exchanges of ideas rarely experienced. It was so refreshing to attend an event where so many of the central contributions were from Melanesian women. This volume contains a wonderful sense of the possibilities for thinking in time about the ways of putting custom, courts, and village courts in tension, of putting Melanesian cultures and global human rights in contest, of checking traditional/government bigmen with the power of women enlarged by non-government organisation politics. Not re-creating a pre-colonial utopia, not Western criminal law, but thinking in time and thinking in place ‘violence must be understood within a context of the complex and specific intersections of the local and global’. The conference organised by Sinclair Dinnen of the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia project of the Australian National University on which this book is based was one of those rich exchanges of ideas rarely experienced. It was so refreshing to attend an event where so many of the central contributions were from Melanesian women. This volume contains a wonderful sense of the possibilities for thinking in time about the ways of putting custom, courts, and village courts in tension, of putting Melanesian cultures and global human rights in contest, of checking traditional/government bigmen with the power of women enlarged by non-government organisation politics. Not re-creating a pre-colonial utopia, not Western criminal law, but thinking in time and thinking in place ‘violence must be understood within a context of the complex and specific intersections of the local and global’. The conference organised by Sinclair Dinnen of the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia project of the Australian National University on which this book is based was one of those rich exchanges of ideas rarely experienced. It was so refreshing to attend an event where so many of the central contributions were from Melanesian women. This volume contains a wonderful sense of the possibilities for thinking in time about the ways of putting custom, courts, and village courts in tension, of putting Melanesian cultures and global human rights in contest, of checking traditional/government bigmen with the power of women enlarged by non-government organisation politics. Not re-creating a pre-colonial utopia, not Western criminal law, but thinking in time and thinking in place ‘violence must be understood within a context of the complex and specific intersections of the local and global’. The conference organised by Sinclair Dinnen of the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia project of the Australian National University on which this book is based was one of those rich exchanges of ideas rarely experienced. It was so refreshing to attend an event where so many of the central contributions were from Melanesian women. This volume contains a wonderful sense of the possibilities for thinking in time about the ways of putting custom, courts, and village courts in tension, of putting Melanesian cultures and global human rights in contest, of checking traditional/government bigmen with the power of women enlarged by non-government organisation politics. Not re-creating a pre-colonial utopia, not Western criminal law, but thinking in time and thinking in place ‘violence must be understood within a context of the complex and specific intersections of the local and global'.

Another Way: the politics of constitutional reform in post-coup Fiji


This book draws on Professor Brij Lal’s experience as a member of the Fiji Constitution Review Commission whose acclaimed report formed the basis of Fiji’s new constitution. It traces the contours of Fijian political development over the last ten years and provides an account of the way of compromise, dialogue and discussion in dealing with affairs of state. Brij Lal combines a citizen’s passionate concern for a democratic, peaceful and
prosperous Fiji, with a scholar's broad perspectives on the country's politics and society. The result is a work of great authority, combining original source material with sharply perceptive commentary. This is an essential work of reference for Pacific studies generally and Fijian studies in particular.

Electoral Systems in Divided Societies: the Fiji Constitution Review


Elections can increase tension in ethnically divided societies like Fiji. The way constituencies are drawn and votes counted can also affect the result. First-past-the-post can deliver lopsided results, while proportional representation may give excessive influence to small, fringe parties. Fiji's Constitution Review Commission believed a system of alternative voting in ethnically mixed constituencies would encourage politicians, and parties, to take into account the interests of other ethnic groups. This book assesses their recommendations, looks at alternatives, and considers how they might work in Fiji. Contributors include Donald Horowitz, author of A Democratic South Africa: Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society, Yash Ghai, who has written and consulted widely on comparative constitutional issues, and Brij V. Lal, who was a member of the Review Commission. It will be of interest to students of electoral systems, ethnicity, constitutional change, and comparative politics. The book is the first in a series produced by the Australian National University's project on 'State Society and Governance in Melanesia', and is published with the assistance of International IDEA, an international organisation established in 1995 to promote sustainable democracy worldwide.

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WORLD CLASS: BE PART OF IT

November 2000
Solomon Islands: A forgotten conflict

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Armed conflict in Solomon Islands, which began in October 1998, has resulted in a rapidly deteriorating human rights situation, with civilians suffering abuses by all sides, including abductions, torture, rape and killings, forced displacement, looting and burning down of homes. Amnesty International visited the islands of Guadalcanal and Malaita in September 1999, to investigate reports of violations and abuses of human rights, and to discuss concerns with the then government and armed political groups. In 2000, the conflict worsened, and a coup d’etat on 5 June 2000 overthrew the elected government, leading to an escalation in the fighting. Since mid-June 2000, at least 25 people, including seven civilians, have been killed, while an estimated 3,000 people have fled their homes. In this report, Amnesty International summarises the background to the current conflict and details some of the human rights violations and abuses which are taking place. The organisation also offers recommendations to all parties to the conflict and to the international community which could, if implemented, protect the civilian population from further abuses, and ensure accountability for the past.

Women at the Peace Table: Making a difference

United Nations Development Fund for Women 2000, (Sanam Naraghi Anderlini)
New York,
ISBN 0 9679502 0 1 64pp.
email:unifem@undp.org
Website:www.unifem.undp.org/peacebook.html

This new publication released by the UN Development Fund for Women reveals that while political negotiations on peace and security remain an almost entirely male domain, women in all regions are challenging their exclusion and lobbying for an equal place at the peace table. In Women at the Peace Table: Making a difference, a series of interviews with women leaders finds that women who do participate in peace talks make substantial contributions to the process. Their achievements include shaping new constitutional guarantees of equality, setting up positive action programmes, and conveying a sense of the everyday realities of civilians, who increasingly suffer the brunt of armed conflict. The women interviewed contend that presenting these perspectives is critical to building peace that is sustainable, because in the end, local communities take the responsibility for upholding and implementing peace agreements.

The book consists of three chapters that trace women’s involvement in peacebuilding from grassroots community activism to formal political negotiations. Chapter One provides an overview of the obstacles women have faced and the strategies they have adopted in their efforts to reach the peace table. Chapter Two reflects on their experiences at the peace table itself, including the specific contributions they have made. Chapter Three is a brief survey of international commitments to increase women’s participation in peace negotiations and related decision making processes. It offers examples of concrete ways women have harnessed these agreements to advance the peace agenda at national and international levels. Women at the Peace Table: Making a difference tells the stories and captures the perspectives of: Hanan Ashrawi, director of the Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy, on incorporating grassroots concerns into peace negotiations; Mo Mowlam, former Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, on women working in partnership with men; Cheryl Carolus, South African High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, on writing South Africa’s new Constitution and creating a blueprint for equality; Mu Sochua, Cambodian Minister for Women and Veterans’ Affairs, on transforming social attitudes toward women during reconstruction; Piedad Cordoba Ruiz, Colombian Senator and women’s rights supporter, on taking the first steps to bring guerilla groups into Colombia’s peace talks; Mary Brownell, president of the Liberian Women’s Initiative, on exchanging sandwiches for guns, and helping to bring about the disarmament that led to Liberia’s first lasting cease-fire; Alice Ntwarante and Imelda Nzirorera, members of the women’s delegation to the Arusha peace talks, on gaining access to peace talks through strong partnerships with regional and international sources of support; Nani Chansivili, Member of Parliament in Georgia, on building a peace movement from the ground up, and changing laws to make gender equality a reality.

For more information on ordering this publication, contact Comfort Lamprey: comfort.lamprey@undp.org
To request a copy of the book, contact Yvans Joseph, Ph: +212-906-6396, E-mail: yvans.joseph@undp.org.

Post-conflict Mozambique. Women’s special situation, population issues and gender perspectives to be integrated into skills training and employment promotion

Sally Baden, ILO Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict, for further information, contact the Employment Sector, Ph: +41.22.799.6853 or E-mail: edemp@ilo.org

This document provides a gender perspective on employment, income generation and skills training in post-conflict Mozambique, as well as an assessment of existing policies and
main issues in focus; i) the character of protests; ii) state responses; iii) influence of protests on women's political empowerment.

Conflict Management in Community-Based Natural Resource Projects: Experiences from Fiji and Papua New Guinea

Michael Warner, Published by ODI, 2000, £6.00 (+P & P), ISBN 0 85003 484 1

This paper discusses the problem of non-violent conflicts and disputes as a constraint to sustainable natural resource management at the community level. Section 1 provides some background to the role of conflict in natural resource management. Section 2 presents a methodology designed to contribute to the removal of conflict as an obstacle to sustainability. The methodology was developed to guide a programme of conflict management within NGO-sponsored community-based natural resource projects in the South Pacific. Examples of the outputs of the methodology are described in Section 3, drawn from conflict management activities undertaken in the Lakekamu Basin Integrated Conservation and Development Project, Papua New Guinea. The overall benefits of conflict management in community-based natural resource projects are described in Section 4, discussed in relation to building social capital and sustaining livelihood security.


This report is an analysis of women's protests against violence in the context of women's empowerment. It was done through the study of one case: tribal women's protests against CRPF violence in Banpur, Orissa, India. There were three

Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the 21st Century

Pakistan NGO Review: Beijing+5 February 2000 NGO Coordinating Committee for Beijing +5 Available from: Shirka Gah, Women¿s Resource Centre, P.O. Box 5192, Lahore, Pakistan E-mail: sgah@lhr.comsats.net.pk sgah@brain.net.pk

Bougainville Rehabilitation, Reconstruction and Development Project: Achieving Sustainable Human Development through Strengthening Social Capital in Bougainville


This report is an important document in pointing the way to sensitive community development practices, in that it deals with the fabric of a society emerging from a war crisis situation. The report is timely in reflecting the window of opportunity that now exists, with care centres closed and a concerted effort to re-establish normality. The report examines some methods already employed by UNDP and other groups working in Bougainville (adapted from forward by Fred Terry).

Women and governance from the grassroots in Melanesia

Edited by Bronwen Douglas, 1999, 33pp., State, Society and Governance in
Melanesia Project, RSPAS, ANU, ACT 0200, full text available free from website: http://rspas.anu.edu.au/melanesia Email: sign@coombs.anu.edu.au

This discussion paper is a collection of edited versions of contributions to a State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project workshop on Women, Christians, Citizens: Being female in Melanesia today, held at Sorrento, Victoria in November 1998. Unusually in a quasi-academic setting, the dominant voices were indigenous and female: two-thirds of the twenty-one presentations made to the workshop were by Melanesian women and six are included in the paper.

Asia Source special report on Fiji

AsiaSource (Asia Society, New York, USA) released a special report on the crisis in Fiji, including a comprehensive list of articles, commentaries, historical information on the Indian community in Fiji, and links to other news sources. For access details see:


Surf: 15.–/US $13.50
In developing countries: Surf: 10.50, Order no. 1242000
Published in June, this year’s annual report from the World Health Organization (WHO) represents the first ever analysis of the world’s health systems. The five indicators used to measure health system performance are: overall level of population health, health disparities within the population; distribution of responsiveness within the population and the distribution of the health system’s financial burden within the population. Users can read the full text of the report in .pdf format as well as basic indicators, statistical annexes and the official press release.
The World Health Report is an analysis of the increasingly important influence of health systems in the daily lives of people worldwide. Health systems provide the critical interface between life-saving, life-enhancing interventions and the people who need them. If health systems are weak, the power of these interventions is likewise weakened, or even lost. Health systems thus deserve the highest priority in any efforts to improve health or ensure that resources are wisely used. The World Health Report 2000 aims to stimulate a vigorous debate about better ways of measuring health system performance and thus finding a successful new direction for health systems to follow. By shedding new light on what makes health systems behave in certain ways, WHO also hopes to help policy-makers weigh the many complex issues involved, examine their options, and make wise choices.
For further inquiry:
e-mail World Health report on: whr@who.ch
For technical information, contact Dr Christopher Murray, Director, Global Programme on Evidence for Health Policy, WHO Geneva.
Ph: (0041-22) 791 2418/2419, Fax: (0041-22) 791 4909,
e-mail: murrayc@who.int
Available online:
http://www.who.int/whr/


UNICEF, ISBN 92 806 3170 5
UNICEF House
3 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA
e-mail: addresses@unicef.org
It also be accessed on-line at http://www.unicef.org/sow00/

UNICEF publishes annual reports on the progress made by each country in implementing the agreements. The State of the World's Children 2000 report highlights the lack of the political will and the requisite resources to extend the educational benefits to all the world’s children. In addition UNICEF annually publishes a report named: The Progress of Nations, which ranks the nations of the world according to their performance in child health, nutrition, education, family planning, and progress for women.

World Bank reports

The World Bank publishes numerous reports, evaluations and studies that can be requested from their publications office:
The World Bank
Box 7247-8619
Philadelphia, PA 19170-8619
E-mail: BOOKS@worldbank.org

The World Bank publishes annually its World Development Report. This year’s World Development Report, the twenty-first in this annual series, examines the role of knowledge in advancing economic and social well-being. Because knowledge is at the heart of economic growth and sustainable development, understanding how people and societies acquire and use it—and why they sometimes fail to do so—is essential to improving people’s lives, especially the lives of the poor.
The report is available on-line at:
http://www.worldbank.org/wdr
Mail order to:
The World Bank
P.O. Box 960
Herndon, VA 20172-0960, USA
Ph: +1 703 661-1580
Fax: +1 703 661-1501
Information about specific Bank projects or Bank policies can be requested from:
The World Bank
Public Information Centre
1818 H Street, NW
Washington DC 20433, USA
Fax: +1 202 522-500
E-mail: pic@worldbank.org or through the Internet accessing the Bank’s gopher (gopher.worldbank.org) or the Bank’s home page:
http://www.worldbank.org/
Courses

Gender in Southeast Asia: Women, Gender & Development

10 day Gender Course, February 21-March 2, 2001, Ambassador Hotel, Bangkok Thailand, organized by Women's Action and Research Initiative, Bangkok, Thailand. 
email: wari9@yahoo.com http://wari homepage.com

The course is an intensive survey course at the upper undergraduate/graduate level designed to create a better understanding of gender concepts and to integrate gender issues with development projects. The aim is to develop necessary knowledge and expertise to initiate, implement, formulate and evaluate gender programs and to have a clearer understanding of historical and cultural aspects of gender construction in Southeast Asia. Course is suitable for NGOs, GOs, donors, students, teachers, activists, media persons, and concerned citizens. Course is taught in English, discussion can be conducted in local languages. Readers and course material will be available. Guidance will be provided for conducting research, writing reports, and making presentations.

One topic each day on: gender concepts, gender in culture/history, gender issues in natural resource management, in economy, in politics, in health (violence, HIV), in education and prostitution/trafficking.

Fee (including room, breakfast, breaks, lunch): $1,500 for the entire course. The course will be followed by a Gender Conference on March 3-4 2001.

Gender and Indochina: Emerging issues & new challenges in Gender in Transitional Societies of Indochina (Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia & Myanmar)

Weekend Gender Conference, March 3-4, 2001, Ambassador Hotel, Bangkok, Thailand, organized by Women's Action and Research Initiative Bangkok Thailand. email: wari9@yahoo.com http://wari homepage.com

Women are central to the growth and economic recovery of Indochina. However, not enough information is available about the dynamics and factors that shape the lives of women and men in this region. The field of gender studies has also shifted away from studying "women" to understanding how both men and women are affected by and contribute to the development process. This conference is designed to provide a comprehensive review of past and current development issues and emerging challenges of human resource development in the transitional economies of Indochina. There will be country-specific panels, regional discussions, and presentations on gender-related issues in Indochina. The conference will be suitable for students, academics, NGO and GO workers, donor agencies, media person, activists and concerned individuals. Interested individuals are invited to submit paper proposals/abstracts to address following issues of gender in Indochina: Women/gender in Culture & History; Women/gender in Economy, Politics, and Education; Women/gender in Health, HIV/AIDS, Violence, and Prostitution; Women/gender in the Formal / Informal Economy, and SME, Country or regional review through gender lens.

Registration fee: US$100 (for conference material, lunch and refreshment). Room: twin room with ABF $27/person/night.

Barbados Summer Institute on Internationalizing the Study of Women and Gender


The objectives of the institute are: 1) to familiarize participants with the
Should no spaces remain, your deposit will be refunded. Full payment is required by March 15, 2001. If there are no spaces remaining, your deposit will be refunded. Full payment is required by March 15, 2001.

The workshop will include the following issues:

- Teaching comparatively about, and bringing an international perspective to bear, on women's lives and gender arrangements
- Feminists' redenfitions of the concept of globalization and structural adjustment policies on women's lives and gender arrangements
- Challenges to the concepts and theories of Women's Studies as practiced in the West
- Women's activism in various locations throughout the world
- Pedagogical challenges to teaching comparatively about women and gender.

The institute fee is $950 US. This includes nine nights of lodging, a leisure tour of natural and historic sites in Barbados, a luncheon with women leaders, an arrival reception, honorariums for guest speakers, and workshop reading packets. Participants will pay for their flights directly to a travel agent. Participants are also responsible for personal expenses, meals, and local transportation. A non-refundable deposit of $125 made payable to the NCCTRWW is required with application and is due by Feb 15, 2001. Should no spaces remain, your deposit will be refunded. Full payment is required by March 15, 2001.

Further information and applications can be found on our Web Page at www.towson.edu/ncctrw. You may also contact the convenor directly at kdugger@towson.edu.

36th Graduate Summer Session in Epidemiology


One and three week courses including topics such as: Fundamentals of Biostatistics and Epidemiology, Epidemiology in Public Health Practice, Cancer, Injuries, Clinical Trials, Infectious Diseases, Pharmacoepidemiology, Computer Applications, Epidemiologic Measures, Logistic Model, Environmental and Occupational Epidemiology, Behavioral Change, Law, Health Economics, Biomarkers and Epidemiology, Social Epidemiology, Longitudinal Studies, PC-Sudaan, Global Health, Cardiovascular Epidemiology, and Genetics. CME Credit Available.

For application and information contact:

Jody Gray, Graduate Summer Session in Epidemiology
The University of Michigan, School of Public Health, 109 Observatory St., Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2029, USA, Telephone: (734) 764-5454, Fax: (734) 764-3192, Website: http://www.sph.umich.edu/epid, umichgs@umich.edu

Nancy Hellner
Graduate Summer Session
University of Michigan, School of Public Health Dept. of Epidemiology 109 Observatory Street Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2029 Tel: 734-763-0182 Fax: 734-764-3192 nhellner@umich.edu

Local Capacities for Peace Workshops in the Asia-Pacific region

In all civil war situations, some things connect people who fight. In all societies, there are capacities for peace. When aid workers enter into conflict zones, they naturally focused on the conflict. Local people are also focussed on the conflict and thus many capacities for peace are never fully realized. The Local Capacities for Peace project developed a framework (a tool) which can assist aid workers to analyse the impact of their aid program in order to identify local capacities for peace. The World Vision Partnership has recognized the value of this tool and LCP 'do no harm' methodology is being mainstreamed around the globe in WV programs. LCP workshops have been conducted in countries in Eastern Europe, Africa and the Asia Pacific. In the Asia Pacific region, World Vision is developing Centers of Learning where LCP is being integrated into APD programs which are located in areas where there are ethnic tensions such as Mindanao in the Philippines, and in Indonesia. In November (28 Dec to 19th Dec 2000), LCP introductory workshops will be conducted in the Solomon Islands by World Vision at the request of AusAID. The first phase of this introductory training will targeted at Community Based Organizations and local NGOs as well as donors (in a number of provinces). Based on feedback from these initial workshops more comprehensive training in LCP methodology may be provided for all stakeholders, including donors, key officials and NGOs working in the Solomon Islands. In 2001, there are plans to conduct LCP workshops in Sri Lanka, Burma and India. There are also plans to conduct a Train the Trainers workshop in LCP in Melbourne in 2001. In today's world, aid workers are increasingly working with groups experiencing conflict or with communities torn by with ethnic tensions. In situations of conflict, both donors and aid agencies have had to refocus their response on conflict prevention and on supporting opportunities for peace (e.g. activities which empower civil society and encourage good governance).

In the context of civil conflict, new tools were required to help aid works and donors to integrate conflict prevention and peacebuilding into their development work. The, LCP 'do no harm' analysis is a tool which allows aid workers to identify local capacities for peace in their programs.
This provides aid workers with the opportunity to redesign their programs to support such grass roots initiatives. LCP analysis can be incorporated into the project management cycle. Enabling aid workers to support the peace process at the grass roots and community level.

World Vision Australia will be offering Local Capacities for Peace Workshops in the Asia Pacific Region (including Australia) in 2001.

For further information, please contact: Jennifer Poole, World Vision Australia, Vision Drive, East Burwood, Vic 3151
Email poolej@wva.org.au

For information and registration details contact:
Prof. Nirupama Prakash
Convenor, Humanistic studies group and coordinator, hospital and health systems management,
Birla Institute of Technology and Science, Pilani - 333031, Rajasthan, India
Ph: 91-1596-44341, 91-1596-45073 ext. 321/341
Fax: 91-1596-44183
Email: rupa@bits-pilani.ac.in

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**Workshop on women and development in India**

*Organised by Birla Institute of Technology and Science, Pilani, Rajasthan, India, January 19th and 20th 2001*

This workshop will revolve around the theme of women and development, focussing on: rural adolescent girls; crime and domestic violence/sexual harassment of women and discussion of the policy issues related to empowerment of women.

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**RESEARCH AND TRAINING IN AUSTRALIA**

*The Key Centre for Women's Health in Society* offers postgraduate training in an interdisciplinary environment. Courses are skills-based and emphasise new knowledge and competence in clinical fields and in public health policy and programs, integrating biomedical and social science perspectives.

- Graduate Diploma in Women’s Health • Master of Women’s Health / Master of Medicine in Women’s Health
- Master of Medical Anthropology • Master of Public Health (Women’s Health Stream) • PhD

The Centre will offer short course training for national and international participants on Women’s Health (15 Jan - 2 Feb 2001), and will host the 3rd Conference of the International Association for the Study of Sex, Culture and Society (1 - 3 October 2001). Email: kcwh-sexconf@unimelb.edu.au for further details.

The Centre’s Director is Lenore Manderson, PhD FASSA, who is the foundation Professor of Women’s Health.

For further information please contact the Director: lenorem@unimelb.edu.au Key Centre for Women’s Health in Society, Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry and Health Sciences, The University of Melbourne, Victoria, 3010, Australia.
Tel (61-3) 8344 4333, Fax: (61-3) 9347 9824. Website: http://www.kcwh.unimelb.edu.au
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

The WILPF was founded in 1915 during World War I, with Jane Addams as its first president (the first U.S. woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize.) WILPF's foremothers rejected the theory that war was inevitable and defied all obstacles to their plan to meet together in wartime. They assembled more than 1,000 women from warring and neutral nations to work out a plan to end WWI and lay the basis for a permanent peace. Out of this meeting the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was born. WILPF works to achieve through peaceful means world disarmament, full rights for women, racial and economic justice, an end to all forms of violence, and to establish those political, social, and psychological conditions which can assure peace, freedom, and justice for all. WILPF works to create an environment of political, economic, social and psychological freedom for all members of the human community, so that true peace can be enjoyed by all. WILPF have sections in 44 countries as well as branches in 110 cities in the United States, working to create peace and justice from the community level to the international level. Members of WILPF become part of this global network, connected to women working for peace all over the world and receive a free subscription to WILPF's bimonthly magazine "Peace Freedom", which includes action alerts and updates on issues related to WILPF's campaigns and programs.

For more information contact:
U.S. National Office,
1213 Race Street,
Philadelphia, PA 19107,
Tel: (215) 563-7110,
Fax: (215) 563-5527
Email: wilpf@wilpf.org
http://www.wilpf.org/

The Collaborative for Development Action

The Collaborative for Development Action is a small consulting firm based in Cambridge, Massachusetts in the USA, specializing in issues of economic development, primarily in less-developed countries. Current Projects include: Local Capacities for Peace Project; Reflecting on Peace Practice Project and Assistance to the UNHCR People Oriented Planning Training Programme. In 1994/95 Mary B. Anderson laid out the issues that were to become the LCPP in four Issues Papers. Beginning in January 1995, the LCPP produced 15 Case Studies. Some of these are currently online. In the summer of 1996, the LCPP published the booklet "Do No Harm: Supporting Local Capacities for Peace through Aid." From October 1996 through July 1997 the LCPP conducted 23 Feedback Workshops. The Local Capacities for Peace Project publishes a quarterly newsletter, intended for submissions on articles about anything relating to the issues: problems, creative solutions, vignettes, case studies, etc. and will serve to connect all those who are interested in the LCPP and its ideas. The newsletter should appear on the web-site, but can be emailed. Send LCPP a note with your email address to be on the mailing list.

For more information contact:
Collaborative for Development Action,
26 Walker St.,
Cambridge, MA 02138, USA
email: mail@cdainc.com
url: www.cdainc.com/cda-home.htm

The Center for Asia-Pacific Women in Politics (CAPWIP)

CAPWIP is a non-partisan, non-profit and non-governmental regional organization (NGO) dedicated to promoting equal participation of women in politics and decision-making. CAPWIP was established in 1992 by a group of women from the Asia-Pacific region who share a vision of governance that affirms gender equality, integrity and accountability, excellence, sustainable development and peace. CAPWIP advocates transformative politics which is the use of power to create change towards economic, social and political equity between sexes and among sectors within the context of shaping a society that is just, humane and promotes a sustainable way of life. CAPWIP operates through a network of national affiliates clustered into 5 sub-regional groupings: Central Asia, East Asia, Pacific, Southeast Asia, and South Asia. The sub-regional focal points and national affiliates are autonomous organizations actively involved in women's political empowerment in their respective countries. CAPWIP has committed itself to supporting its network through technical assistance in organizational and program planning, training, research and information sharing. The center is currently based in the Philippines. CAPWIP receives administrative and program support from voluntary contributions from its Board of Trustees and other individuals, annual membership fees and grants from bilateral and multilateral aid agencies. CAPWIP goals are: to create a critical mass of competent, committed and effective women politicians in elective and appointed positions in government; to develop a responsible female citizenry; and to influence female politicians and electorate to work together to transform politics and governance for the common good.

Promoting the political empowerment of women is crucial in order to realize CAPWIP's vision of Transformative Politics. A plan of action is based on a framework of transformative politics that proposes to achieve women's political empowerment through a) getting more
women into leadership positions at all levels and b) developing an effective and responsible women electorate. This plan of action was formulated by and for Asia-Pacific women in the world of male-dominated politics to as a guide to achieving the political advancement of women. CAPWIP organizes congresses that serve as a venue for women all over the Asia-Pacific region to share their experiences, discuss issues and articulate priority areas for action. In training, CAPWIP develops modules and training programs for women’s leadership and responsible citizenship based on the framework of transformative politics; conducts trainers’ training for women’s political empowerment and transformative politics. Other functions include: undertaking policy analysis and various types of research on women in politics including needs assessment impact studies, documentation and analysis of best practices in politics; establishing data banks on women’s political participation and resources on women’s political empowerment and transformative politics; managing an interactive web network and producing publications on women’s political empowerment and transformative politics.

CAPWIP has formed the Global Network of Women in Politics (GLOBALNET).

Regional contact details:
Center for Asia-Pacific Women in Politics, 4227-4229 Tomas Claudio Street, Badaran, Paraanac City 1700, Philippines.
Tel: +63 2 8322112; 8320680, Fax: +63 2 8322263
email: capwip@info.com.ph

Subregional contact details:
Women in Politics Pacific Center (WTPPAC), 2nd Floor, House of Lords Bldg, 19-23 Cumming Street, Suva, Fiji.
Tel: (679) 301-178 Fax: (679) 301-654.
E-Mail: unifem@is.com.fj
url: http://www.capwip.org/aboutcapwip/about.html

United Nations (UN) Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)
United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) is an autonomous agency engaging in multidisciplinary research on the social dimensions of contemporary development problems. UNRISD was established in 1963 with a mandate "to conduct research into problems and policies of social development and relationships between various types of social development and economic development during different phases of economic growth." The Secretary-General’s Bulletin that set up the Institute also called on UNRISD to carry out research and studies which are "urgent and important" to the work of the United Nations Secretariat as well as to regional and national institutes working in the fields of economic and social development.
UNRISD is an autonomous UN agency engaging in multidisciplinary research on the social dimensions of contemporary problems affecting development. Its work is guided by the conviction that, for effective development policies to be formulated, an understanding of the social and political context is crucial. The Institute attempts to provide governments, development agencies, grassroots organisations and scholars with a better understanding of how development policies and processes of economic, social and environmental change affect different social groups. Working through an extensive network of national research centres, UNRISD aims to promote original research and strengthen research capacity in developing countries. Current research themes include: The Challenge of Rebuilding War-torn Societies (see separate entry on War-Torn Societies Project); Integrating Gender into Development Policy; Environment, Sustainable Development and Social Change; Crisis, Adjustment and Social Change; and Volunteer Action and Local Democracy: A Partnership for a Better Urban Future. New research is beginning on: Follow-Up to the Social Summit; Business Responsibility for Sustainable Development; New Information and Communications Technologies (Infotech); Culture and Development; Gender, Poverty and Well-Being; and Public Sector Reform and Crisis-Ridden States.
Recent research programmes have included: Ethnic Conflict and Development; Socio-Economic and Political Consequences of the International Trade in Illicit Drugs; Political Violence and Social Movements; and Participation and Changes in Property Relations in Communist and Post-Communist Societies. UNRISD research projects focused on the 1995 World Summit for Social Development included Rethinking Social Development in the 1990s; Economic Restructuring and Social Policy; Ethnic Diversity and Public Policies; and Social Integration at the Grassroots: The Urban Dimension.

Information services include:
(a) WWW service: includes information on UNRISD research programmes; publications catalogue allowing online ordering; full text of UNRISD briefing papers and occasional papers for the World Summit for Social Development; full text of Gender Focus newsletter and occasional papers on gender; full text of Social Development News bulletin.
(b) WWW site for its War Torn Societies Project (see separate entry)

Connection details:
WWW: http://www.unrisd.org/ Selected documents also available on GreenNet conference unrisd.docs.en Type of resource: WWW Discussion list: GreenNet Address: UNRISD, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland Email: info@unrisd.org Tel: (41 22) 9173020 Fax: (41 22) 9170650

Centre for Development Research (CDR)
The CDR is an independent institution under the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The mandate of the CDR is to carry out social science development research on issues and conditions relating to Third World development processes.
One of the four research areas that the Centre focuses on is Managing Development: People, States and International Organisations. This research theme centre on development interventions (broadly defined) undertaken by a variety of domestic and international actors. The theme aims to understand the interventions in the complex reality of local, state and international actions and reactions. Thus, the theme is motivated by the lack of understanding of how donor agencies and other external actors interact with domestic forces such as states, decentralised public institutions, NGOs and societal groups and individuals. The theme examines development interventions, including relations, processes, organisations and resources, and at the same time the outcomes and consequences for people and domestic institutions.

For more information contact:
Centre for Development Research
Gammel Kongevej 5
DK – 1610 Copenhagen V
Denmark
Tel: +45 3385 4600
Fax: +45 3325 8110
E-mail cdr@cdr.dk
Web http://www.cdr.dk

The Consortium on Peace Research, Education And Development (COPRED)
COPRED is a community of educators, activists and researchers working on alternatives to violence and war. Founded in 1970 by a small group of teachers and scholars, COPRED has grown to almost 500 institutional and individual members, including K-12 educators, peace activists, conflict resolution practitioners, university professors and clergy and has become a central hub for over 300 university degree programs in the study of peace and nonviolence around the world. COPRED provides: bibliographies, syllabi collections, curriculum services, a speaker's bureau, an annual conference, a quarterly academic journal Peace & Change, a networking newsletter The Peace Chronicle, materials for the media, a Global Directory of Peace Studies Programs at various colleges and universities and works continuously with libraries to establish peace collections. Members promote nonviolence in an increasingly violent world.

For more information, contact:
the Executive Director, Simona Sharoni:
The Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development, c/o The Evergreen State University, Mailstop: Seminar 3127, Olympia, WA 98505 USA
(360)866-6000 ext 6196 voice fax
email:sharoni@evergreen.edu
http://www.evergreen.edu/user/copred/

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

This Institute conducts research on questions of conflict and cooperation for international peace and security, with the aim of contributing to an understanding of the conditions for peaceful solutions of international conflicts and for a stable peace. In order to facilitate access to information, a public website is provided where researchers, policy makers and the interested public can browse through the results of our research activities. Research projects, publications and activities are listed. Library database is also available online.

Contact details:
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Signalmsgatan 9, SE-169 70 Solna, Sweden
Tel: +46-8-655 97 00,
Fax: +46-8-655 97 33
E-mail:sipri@sipri.org
http://www.sipri.se
http://www.sipri.org

International Labour Organisation

Since its creation in 1919, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) has always attached particular importance to its standard-setting activities. Its 174 Conventions, and 181 Recommendations cover areas that include basic human rights, employment, social policy, labour relations, labour administration, working conditions and social protection.

ILO
4 route des Morillons
CH-1211 Geneva 22
Switzerland
e-mail: bibl@ilo.org

For further information, contact:
Bureau of Public Information (PRESSE)
Tel: +41 22 799-7940
Fax: +41 22 799-8577
http://www.ilo.org/public/

United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service

The United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service (NGLS) is an unit that specialises in development education and information work on North-South development issues that facilitate dialogue and co-operation between development NGOs and the UN. They publish newsletters and other documents that can be requested from their offices:

UN-NGLS
Palais des Nations
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ngls@undp.org

Division for the Advancement of Women

Grounded in the vision of equality of the United Nations Charter, the Division for the Advancement of Women, as part of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, advocates the improvement of the status of the women of the world and the achievement of their equality with men. It aims to ensure the participation of women as equal partners with men in all aspects
of human endeavour. It promotes women as equal participants and beneficiaries of sustainable development, peace and security, governance and human rights. It strives to stimulate the mainstreaming of a gender perspective both within and outside the United Nations system.

United Nations Development Programme

Since 1990, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has annually published a Human Development Report which contains the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI attempts to measure the relative socio-economic progress of nations. The 1998 issue focuses on consumption patterns and its harmful trends to human development, insofar the environmental resource base is being undermined, inequalities are being exacerbated and the dynamics of the consumption-poverty-inequality-environment nexus are accelerating. As from 1995, the eradication of poverty has been first priority for UNDP programmes. Amongst the many publications issued on the subject is "New Commitments, New Opportunities", a guide for NGOs published jointly by UNDP and NGLS. Focusing on the Social Summit for Social Development and on the issue of poverty eradication, it aims at promoting NGO participation in the implementation of the WSSD agreements.

Contact address:
United Nations Publications
New York, New York 10017, USA
Much of the UNDP’s public information, as well as UN conference documents are available through the Internet at: http://www.undp.org/

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

UNIFEM promotes women’s empowerment and gender equality. It works to ensure the participation of women in all levels of development planning and practice, and acts as a catalyst within the UN system, supporting efforts that link the needs and concerns of women to all critical issues on the national, regional and global agendas.

United Nations Development Fund for Women
304 East 45th Street, 15th floor
New York, NY 10017
Tel: 212/906-6400
Fax: 212/906-6705
Website: http://www.unifem.undp.org
e-mail: unifem@undp.org

Latin American and the Caribbean Committee for the Defense of Women’s Rights

The Latin American and the Caribbean Committee for the Defense of Women’s Rights is a network of women’s organizations aimed at joining efforts to achieve an effective defense of women’s rights in the region.

CIDSE is an alliance of 16 Catholic development organisations from Europe, North America and New Zealand. Since 1968, CIDSE member organisations share a common strategy on development projects and programmes, development education and advocacy.

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Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era

This group aims at spotting the causes of gender, class and race inequalities, through research, analysis, education and international relations, and works towards the building of alternative views and strategies.

For further information contact:
Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
PO Box for Women
C/o Women and Development Unit
UWI School of Continuing Studies
Pinelands, St. Michael
Barbados
Fax: +1 246 426-3006
web: http://www.dawn.org.fj
e-mail: dawn@is.com.fj

Ecumenical Coalition for Economic Justice

A project of Canadian churches working together for a just, moral and sustainable "economy of hope".

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is a confederation of national trade union centres, each of which links together the trade unions of that particular country. Membership is open to bona fide trade union organisations, that are independent of outside influence, and have a democratic structure.

The International Council For Social Welfare

This is an international non governmental organisation operating throughout the world for the cause of social welfare, social justice and social development. It publishes "Social Development Review" which focuses on the monitoring of governmental
and non-governmental action referred to the World Summit on Social Development.

More information may be obtained from:
ICSW General Secretariat
380 St-Antoine St. West, Suite 3200
Montreal, Quebec, H2Y 3X7
Canada
Fax: +1 514 987-1557
web: http://www.icsw.org/
e-mail icswint@colba.net

The Institute for Development Studies (IDS)
The IDS in Sussex and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in London, do a great deal of research on social development.

Publications:
Brighton BN1 9RE
UK
Tel: + 44 127 360-6261
web: http://www.oneworld.org/odi
e-mail: odi@odi.org.uk
web: http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids
e-mail ids@ids.ac.uk

World Council of Churches
This fellowship of churches, now has 337 members in more than 120 countries in all continents from virtually all christian traditions.
P.O. Box 2100, 1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland.
Tel.: (+41 22) 791 6111;
Fax: (+41 22) 791 0361;
E-mail: info@wcc-coe.org
http://www.wcc-coe.org/

Worldwatch Institute
Worldwatch Institute is a nonprofit public policy research organization dedicated to informing policymakers and the general public about emerging global problems and trends, and the complex links between the world economy and its environmental support systems. It publishes The State of the World 2000 that shines a sharp light on the great challenge our civilization faces: how to use our political systems to manage the difficult and complex relationships between the global economy and the Earth's ecosystems.
The State of the World 2000 Report is available on-line at:
http://www.worldwatch.org/pubs/sow/sow00/index.html
web: http://www.worldwatch.org/
e-mail:
Materials

Conflict and Resolution teaching resource

A Social Studies teaching resource for year eight and nine students on conflict and conflict resolution using Bougainville as a case study is now available. This resource has been written on the premise that at any time, somewhere in the world, a conflict will be going on. This kit looks at conflict in general and at the Bougainville conflict in particular. Using a range of different activities and information, students are introduced to the groups involved in the war, and take part in the road to resolution and peace. The resource kit has been developed by the Development Resource Centre, Wellington. The Development Resource Centre is a non government, not for profit, organisation providing information and training on development issues and practice. The education program works within the formal education sector running workshops for teachers and teacher educators about teaching with a global perspective. The DRB also produces global education teaching resources

For further information contact:
Penny Diederichen
Education Manager,
Development Resource Centre,
PO Box 12440,
Wellington
New Zealand
Email: penny@drs.org.nz
Tel: 64 4 4726390

Women's Resources International (1972-present)

Includes over 232,000 records drawn from a variety of essential women's studies databases. Enjoy unprecedented access to all of these databases exclusively with NISC. Includes: Women Studies Abstracts (1984-present), 34,700 records, with approximately 2,500 abstracts added per year; Women's Studies Database (1972-present), more than 70,300 records drawn from 125 journals worldwide, with about 4,000 records added per year; Women Studies Librarian from the University of Wisconsin; New Books on Women & Feminism (1987-present), 30,873 citations, with about 2,800 added per year; WAVE: Women's Audiovisuals in English (1985-90) is a guide to 803 feminist films, videos, audiocassettes, and filmstrips; Women, Race, & Ethnicity: A Bibliography (1970-90) is an annotated, selective bibliography of 2,459 books, journals, anthology chapters, and non-print materials; The History of Women and Science, Health, and Technology (1970-95 - selective coverage) is an excellent tool for curriculum development, with 2,380 records from biographical and historical books and articles; European Women from the Renaissance to Yesterday (1610-present) over 12,800 records; POPLINE Subset on Women (1964 and earlier - present) over 42,700 abstracts; Women of Color and Southern Women: A Bibliography of Social Science Research (1975-1995), produced by the Research Clearinghouse on Women of Color and Southern Women at the University of Memphis in Tennessee, over 7,600 citations; Women's Health and Development: An Annotated Bibliography (1995), 200 records.

Available formats CD-ROM, BiblioLine; number of records 232,000++; dates of coverage 1972-to-present; number of CD-ROMS 1; database: anthology of 10 files; subject category: Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities; updated semi-annually.

Available from:
Margaret Crampton, National Inquiry Services Centre
22 Somerset St
PO Box 377
Grahamstown 6140
South Africa
Tel: +27 46 622 9698
Fax: +27 46 622 9550
E-mail NISC@ru.ac.za
Web http://www.nisc.com

Tobacco and Health Abstracts (early twentieth century to present)

This CD-ROM contains over 66,000 succinct abstracts assembled from the most significant journals on tobacco and health research, policy and legislation. 200 records are added each month and over 1,500 publications are scanned for relevant articles. Articles are selected from legal, behavioural, biomedical and chemical journals, technical reports, books, conference proceedings and theses. Topics include smoking behaviour and psychology, environmental tobacco smoke, cessation methods, respiratory diseases, pregnancy, pharmacology and toxicology, and cardiovascular disease. There is a section that lists details of future, relevant conferences and meetings.

Available from:
Margaret Crampton
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22 Somerset St
PO Box 377
Grahamstown 6140
South Africa
Tel: +27 46 622 9698
Fax: +27 46 622 9550
E-mail NISC@ru.ac.za
Web http://www.nisc.com

GIDEON (Global Infectious Diseases and Epidemiology Network)

This is a comprehensive software program which incorporates all infectious diseases, pathogens, drugs and vaccines ... in all countries. The program is currently used by over 1,500 institutions in 45 countries - Health Ministries, Clinical Departments, Travel Clinics, Laboratones, Military Facilities, Missionary Agencies, Libaries, etc. C.Y. Informatics, Ltd. is the manufacturer of GIDEON. The current list price for GIDEON through distributors is $495 to $695. You can order the program directly through the
The New Internationalist (NI) Ark CD-ROM: NI Archive Volume 1

This CDROM archive covers the NI magazine from 1990-1999. Format: Cross-platform CD-ROM suitable for Windows, Macintosh, and any other computer able to read a Windows or Mac CD-ROM. Requires a web browser (e.g. MS Internet Explorer or Netscape Navigator, version 4 or better). Sound card optionally required for world music samples and interviews. Over 3,000 pages - the entire text of NI magazine for the 1990s plus a huge selection of pictures, charts, cartoons and illustrations. New Internationalist Publications is a communications co-operative based in Oxford with editorial and sales offices in Toronto, Canada; Adelaide, Australia; Christchurch, Aotearoa /New Zealand; and Lewiston, USA. It exists to report on issues of world poverty and inequality; to focus attention on the unjust relationship between the powerful and the powerless in both rich and poor nations; to debate and campaign for the radical changes necessary if the basic material and spiritual needs of all are to be met. Originally the group only published the New Internationalist Magazine, sponsored by Oxfam, Christian Aid and the Cadbury and Rowntree Trusts. Today sponsorship is no longer needed. Besides the income earned from sales of the magazine, the group now produces films, books and other communications material for various United Nations and related bodies concerned with world development. The New Internationalist Co-operative: opposes all forms of oppression and campaigns for social justice worldwide; actively champions the causes of disadvantaged individuals and groups and speaks out against racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination; exists to inform, educate and communicate its message and development ideals in an accessible style through print, electronic media and film to the widest possible audience; produces a monthly magazine and a range of other materials; provides a forum for fresh ideas, radical perspectives and an idealistic vision to inspire hope for a world built on justice and equality; maintains contact with and actively supports like-minded individuals and groups; operates as a sustainable independent company; aims to make profits sufficient only to ensure the long-term viability and independence of the company; seeks to provide a working environment and conditions of employment which reflect its principles; employs staff with equal rights and responsibilities; aims to maintain a safe and healthy environment for all who work in the company; is independent of any political or religious grouping; will operate ethically with employees, outside contacts and in the environment; is committed to excellence in all its fields of activity. Cost: $48.40 incl. GST Ref: 669, Optional extra - site licence for unlimited users on a network: $48.40 incl. GST. Ref: 345 (Also requires purchase of CD-ROM) http://www.oneworld.org/ni/index4.html

Video Education Australasia (VEA)

VEA is committed to excellence in the field of production, marketing and distribution of education and training resources. Founded twenty years ago in Melbourne, by its owners, Heather and Neil Barrett under the name of Environment Audio Visuals, the head office was relocated to Bendigo in 1989 and the name changed to reflect the changing product mix. Materials include videos, CD ROMs, broadcast programming and on-line selling via the Internet. In 1996, VEA Multimedia was launched. Videos include: The Arab - Israeli Struggle for Peace, a documentary examining the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East, illustrating various elements of the conflict with narrative commentary detailing the historical and political developments within the conflict: http://www.vea.com.au/products/arabi.asp and War and Peace In The Middle East, examining recent peace prospects in the Middle East and offering a new perspective to examination of the Arab-Israeli conflict, includes interviews with Chairman Arafat, Prime Minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Peres: http://www.vea.com.au/products/waran.asp

Contact details:

VEA
111 a Mitchell Street Bendigo
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Tel: +61 3 5442 2433
Fax: +61 3 5441 1148
Toll Free: (Australia only) 1800 034 282
Tel: (New Zealand) 0800 486 688
Fax (New Zealand) 0800 488 668
Email: vea@vea.com.au
Electronic Fora

The Women in Conflict Zones Network

The Women in Conflict Zones Network (WICZNET) was established in the spring of 1996 and is co-ordinated at the Centre for Feminist Research (CFR) and the York Centre for International and Security Studies (YCISS), York University, Canada. WICZNET is a multifaceted and multidisciplinary network of feminist scholars from various disciplines and different parts of the world. Members work in partnership with national and international agencies. The Network is designed to facilitate collaborative research and communication among a number of academics and policy makers who are actively engaged in research on women in conflict zones and brings together experts from the fields of academia, policy development, NGO and community activism to analyse the social and political reality of armed conflict in women's lives.

Professor Wenona Giles of York University is the principal investigator:

Address: WICZNET
320 Atkinson
York University
4700 Keele St
Tel: (416) 736-5915, ext. 40201,
Fax: (416) 736-5416.
http://www.yorku.ca/research/cfr/wicz/

The Network: Interaction for Conflict Resolution

The Network is a rational charitable association dedicated to promoting constructive, non-violent conflict resolution. Since its inception in 1985, the Network has become the pre-eminent source in Canada for conflict resolution connections, information and resources. The Network is a charitable association which welcomes donations from members and the public as a tangible statement of support for our work. Membership includes: a subscription to Interaction Quarterly, available online as Interaction Online ordering books and resources from The Network bookstore without pre-payment, discounts for Network conferences and workshops, a listing in the on-line Canadian Conflict Resolution Directory.

http://www.nict.ca/

Amnesty International Online

Amnesty International is a worldwide campaigning movement that works to promote all the human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international standards. In particular, Amnesty International campaigns to free all prisoners of conscience; ensure fair and prompt trials for political prisoners; abolish the death penalty, torture and other cruel treatment of prisoners; end political killings and "disappearances"; and oppose human rights abuses by opposition groups.

Amnesty International has around a million members and supporters in 162 countries and territories. Activities range from public demonstrations to letter-writing, from human rights education to fundraising concerts, from individual appeals on a particular case to global campaigns on a particular issue. Amnesty International is impartial and independent of any government, political persuasion or religious creed. Amnesty International is financed largely by subscriptions and donations from its worldwide membership.

http://www.amnesty.org/

Contact in Australia:
admin@amnesty.org.au
Private Bag 23, Broadway
NSW 2007, Australia.
Tel: +61 2 922 17 76
Fax +61 2 922 17 76 77
Contact addresses for other countries can be found at: http://
www.web.amnesty.org/web/
contact.cs

ID21 Development Research

The ID21 Development Research reporting service is a selection of the latest and best UK-based development research. This online service offers hundreds of summaries of problem-solving work on critical development dilemmas around the world. This Information for Development in the 21st Century is drawn from: over 40 top UK research centres' conference papers, unpublished reports, research by aid and development agencies and pressure groups. Research consultants Free email newsletter - id21news.

ID21 can be contacted at:
id21@ids.ac.uk

And also at:

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The Institute of Development Studies
University of Sussex
Brighton BN1 9RE, UK
Tel: +44 (0) 1273 678787
Fax: +44 (0) 1273 877335
http://www.id21.org/index.htm

Human Rights Web Page

This site officially opened on July 18, 1994 in on the ftp server at Netcom Online Communications Services in San Jose, California, USA. On October 22 it moved to the WWW server at Traveller Information Services in Huntsville, Alabama, where it remained until January 25, 1997. It then moved to its own domain, hrweb.org.

http://www.hrweb.org/

Internet Peace and Conflict Resources

Contains links to the following topics: archives and bibliographic sources; conference and meeting announcements; organizations and contacts; funding sources; ongoing conflict information; online publications; publication
announcements; Internet hints and theory and conflict.
http://csf.colorado.edu/gb/index.htm

Women Watch
Women Watch is the UN Internet Gateway on the Advancement and Empowerment of Women:
http://www.un.org/womenwatch

Martianus Capella.com
Martianus Capella.com, a new online metajournal, is calling for papers in all disciplines. The site's purpose is to promote cross disciplinary research, open discussion and synthesis, as well as to provide an easy way to search through multiple documents for specific keywords and topics. The purpose of this site therefore, is to foster the free expression of new ideas and theories in all fields of inquiry. Credentialed researchers will be allowed to publish, anonymously if they wish and without restriction, their research, theories and conjectures in this new online journal. Members of the academic community and the public at large will be encouraged to examine and critique papers in online discussion forums. Topics include peace and women's studies.
http://www.MartianusCapella.com
Email: guidelines@MartianusCapella.com
(auto responder)
Editor@MartianusCapella.com

Centre for Peace Studies
McMaster University

The Centre for Peace Studies at McMaster University was established by the Board of Governors in 1989. Peace Studies is concerned with issues of peace and conflict—their nature, causes and relation to social life. This growing international field is being studied and developed in over 200 university programmes worldwide. The Centre supports multidisciplinary research and teaching in the area of peace and conflict studies. Research and teaching within the Centre focus on four areas: social movements against war and violence; religious and philosophical approaches to peace and conflict; human rights; and the relation of war and peace to health. The Centre has an office, a Director who reports to the Associate Vice-President (Academic), an Administrative Assistant, and a Coordinating Council appointed from among the faculty, students and staff at McMaster. Operating budget is drawn from University funds, although external resources are also solicited for special projects. The Centre annually sponsors the independently endowed Bertrand Russell Peace Lectures and Mahatma Gandhi Lectures on Nonviolence. It has organized several international conferences, initiated a number of scholarly publications, and has a wide range of international contacts, especially in Central America, Europe, India, and the Middle East.

Human Rights Watch
Human Rights Watch is dedicated to protecting the human rights of people around the world. You can keep informed about and engaged in human rights issues around the world by subscribing to the Humans Right Watch mailing list. Send a message to:
hrw-news-ubscribe@igc.to pica.com

To order Human Rights Watch's publications contact:
mingsp@hrw.org
1630 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 500, Washington, DC 20009
Tel:1-(202) 612-4321
Fax:1-(202) 612-4333
E-mail: hrwdc@hrw.org
http://www.hrw.org/

The Geneva 2000 Official Website
The Geneva 2000 Official Website contains information on the United Nations Special Session of the outcome of the implementation of the World Summit for Social Development: "Social Development: taking the next step at Geneva 2000". The Geneva 2000 Forum will be a unique opportunity for NGOs, parliaments, trade unions, business and industry, professional associations, academics, governmental and intergovernmental actors, civil society groups and the media, to join in the debate on social development.

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http://geneva2000.org

Development Bulletin 53
Third World Network

This is an independent non-profit international network of organizations and individuals involved in issues relating to development, the Third World and North-South issues. Its objectives are to conduct research on economic, social and environmental issues pertaining to the South; to publish books and magazines; to organize and participate in seminars; and to provide a platform representing broadly Southern interests and perspectives at international fora such as the UN conferences and processes. Its recent and current activities include: the publication of the daily SUNS (South - North Development Monitor) bulletin from Geneva, Switzerland, the fortnightly Third World Economics and the monthly Third World Resurgence; the publication of Third World Network Features; the publication of books on environment and economic issues; the organizing of various seminars and workshops.

November 2000
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Manuscripts

Manuscripts are normally accepted on the understanding that they are unpublished and not on offer to another publication. However, they may subsequently be republished with acknowledgement of the source (see 'Copyright' above). Manuscripts should be double-spaced with ample margins. They should be submitted both in hard copy (2 copies) and if possible on disk or by e-mail, specifying the programme used to enter the text. No responsibility can be taken for any damage or loss of manuscripts, and contributors should retain a complete copy of their work.

Style

Quotation marks should be single; double within single. Spelling: English (OED with ‘-ise’ endings).

Notes

(a) Simple references without accompanying comments to be inserted in brackets at appropriate place in text, e.g. (Yung 1989).
(b) References with comments should be kept to a minimum and appear as endnotes, indicated consecutively through the article by numerals in superscript.

Reference list

If references are used, a reference list should appear at the end of the text. It should contain all the works referred to, listed alphabetically by author’s surname (or name of sponsoring body where there is no identifiable author). Authors should make sure that there is a strict correspondence between the names and years in the text and those on the reference list. Book titles and names of journals should be italicised or underlined; titles of articles should be in single inverted commas. Style should follow: author’s surname, forename and/or initials, date, title of publication, publisher and place of publication. Journal references should include volume, number (in brackets), date and page numbers. Examples:


Publication/resource listings

An important function of the Network is to keep members up-to-date with the latest literature and other resources dealing with development-related topics. To make it as easy as possible for readers to obtain the publications listed, please include price information (including postage) and the source from which materials can be obtained.
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Website: http://devnet.anu.edu.au