

Working Paper Series

Macroeconomic Policy and Financing for Development Division

FOSTERING PEACEFUL SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE PACIFIC UNDER THE 2030 AGENDA

WP/18/02

May 2018

Anna Naupa and Derek Brien



Contents

I. INTRODUCTION	3
II. THE MULTI-DIMENSIONAL NATURE OF PEACE IN DEVELOPMENT IN THE PACIFIC...	4
III. A ‘MOSTLY PEACEFUL’ PACIFIC	6
IV. ACHIEVING PEACEFUL SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT – WHERE ARE THE PRESSURE POINTS/CONFLICT RISKS?	7
A. RESOURCE GOVERNANCE	8
B. MIGRATION AND DISPLACEMENT	9
C. URBANISATION	11
D. EXCLUSION AND VULNERABILITIES – INEQUALITIES IN ACCESS, OPPORTUNITY AND PARTICIPATION	13
V. CLIMATE CHANGE AS A THREAT MULTIPLIER AGAINST PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT.	16
VI. THE COMMON THREAD: STRENGTHENING EFFECTIVE INSTITUTIONS IN THE PACIFIC	18
VII. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS	20
VIII. CONCLUSION	21
REFERENCES	22

Fostering peaceful sustainable development in the Pacific under the 2030 Agenda⁺

By

Anna Naupa and Derek Brien^{*}

May 2018

Abstract

Often characterised as a region of relative peace due to the absence of inter-state conflicts, the Pacific island region is not immune to violent conflict. Episodes of violence, political unrest and instability have hampered development; a ‘business as usual’ approach to development does not guarantee that the Pacific will remain peaceful in the future. The link between peace and development is a central tenet of the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) acknowledging the inter-connectedness between the drivers of poverty and conflict. This presents an opportunity to integrate and expand on traditional concepts of development and security. A holistic consideration of the social, economic, environmental and governance factors underpinning peaceful and prosperous societies sits at the heart of this transformation. Political and policy responses can either pave the way for peace and development—or build up tensions and, eventually, trigger conflict.

Sustainable Development Goal 16 (the ‘peace goal’) is a key policy opportunity to safeguard development gains in the Pacific. Fostering peaceful sustainable development in the Pacific will require a re-thinking of the development approaches taken, particularly where pervasive exclusion and inequality are linked to potential drivers of conflict. This paper highlights four areas for attention: resource scarcity, migration and displacement, urbanization, and exclusion and inequality. As a threat multiplier, climate change exacerbates all of these development challenges, and the policy urgency is immediate. Future conflict can, however, be avoided. The paper offers that for Pacific island countries, policy emphasis on strengthening institutions – both formal and informal – combined with conflict-sensitive programming will go a long way to mitigating drivers of conflict and realizing the intent of SDG 16 as ‘the peace goal’. Acknowledging limitations in

⁺ The views expressed in this Working Paper are those of the author(s) and should not necessarily be considered as reflecting the views or carrying the endorsement of the United Nations. Working Papers describe research in progress by the author(s) and are published to elicit comments and to further debate. This publication has been issued without formal editing. For more information, please contact Hamza Ali Malik, MPFD Working Paper Series Editor and Director of the Macroeconomic Policy and Financing for Development Division (MPFD) (email: escap-mpdd@un.org).

^{*} Anna Naupa, Economic Affairs Officer, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), Subregional Office for the Pacific, Fiji; Derek Brien, Pacific Policy Network, Vanuatu. Email for correspondence: anna.naupa@un.org.

The paper, initially entitled “Sustainable development and conflict prevention in the Pacific,” was prepared as a background document for the *Asia-Pacific Countries with Special Needs Development Report 2018: Sustainable Development and Sustaining Peace* (ISBN: 978-92-1-120779-8).

The authors would like to thank: Ellen Aldradi of United Nations Development Programme, Pacific; Dr Tim Bryar of the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat; Murray Ackman of the Institute for Economics and Peace; Alison Culpin of the Pacific Community; Nick Howlett; Iosefa Maiava (Head), Tim Westbury and ‘Atu Emberson-Bain of ESCAP’s Subregional office for the Pacific; and Yusuke Tateno of ESCAP’s MPFD for useful comments and suggestions on a previous version of this paper.

the reach of and access to Pacific island state institutions, many such solutions will necessarily be through informal structures. At a regional level, a revisiting of the Pacific Human Security Framework 2012-2015 in the context of the 2030 Agenda and SDG 16 may also offer new ways to guide and monitor peaceful development.

JEL classification numbers: D74, E02, Q01, Q54

Keywords: sustainable development, conflict prevention, peace, institutional policy, effective institutions, governance, climate change, Pacific small island developing States

I. Introduction

In 2015, the United Nations system acknowledged that it needed to do more to address the root causes of conflict, in partnership with others, through inclusive and equitable development¹. In so doing, there was recognition that a better appreciation of political economy dynamics, together with social and institutional arrangements, is critical for building bridges between development and peace. The inextricable link between peace and development is central to the *2030 Agenda* and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).² SDG 16 specifically seeks to “promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.” Its existence highlights the importance of including peace in any measure of sustainable development. Importantly, the 2030 Agenda’s focus on sustainable development and conflict prevention extends beyond the absence of conflict or violence, taking instead a holistic consideration of the social, economic, and environmental factors that underpin peaceful and prosperous societies and the governance that either paves the way for peace and development or triggers conflict. This creates a policy window for fostering what has been termed ‘positive peace’ (Institute of Economics and Peace, 2016).

Peace is essential for fostering and safeguarding sustainable development. The cost of pervasive conflict – violent or otherwise – is detrimental to achieving sustainable development. Similarly, development can at times promote conflict. The foundations for sustaining peace — institutions and social cohesion – are fundamental to countries’ resilience to conflict and development ‘shocks’. Socio-economic inequality and exclusion dilute social cohesion and create further vulnerabilities where governance institutions are weak. Conflict-sensitive development approaches are essential if the Pacific is to realise the ambition of all SDGs, not least SDG 16, and ‘leave no-one behind’. These approaches must be context-driven, inclusive and holistic in pursuing socio-economic development and environmental sustainability.

Characterised as a region of relative peace, the Pacific’s hard-won development gains remain vulnerable to the ‘slow violence’³ of exclusion and inequality – which may be gradual, often invisible, yet pervasive - from which societal tension and conflict can grow. There is no guarantee that the Pacific will remain peaceful in the future with a ‘business as usual’ approach to development policy and practice. This paper presents the case for why Pacific policy developers, planners, and development partners must embed conflict analysis in development planning and expand policy attention to the structural issues of inequality and exclusion that underlie sustained and peaceful development.

This paper reviewed over 100 academic and policy papers, reports, and media articles to assess common themes around peace and development in the contemporary Pacific. It provides an overview of the multiple dimensions of peace in the Pacific, and highlights four areas for attention: resource governance, migration and displacement, urbanization, and exclusion and inequality. The

¹ Uniting our Strengths for Peace - Politics, Partnerships and People, Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (June 2015).

² The preamble to the 2030 Agenda includes the determination ‘to foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies which are free from fear and violence’, noting that ‘there can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development.’

³ The concept of ‘slow violence’ is often used to describe environmental threats that take place gradually, and often invisibly, and which challenge development gains, for example climate change. It can also be applied to political and structural contexts where masculinized politics and gender inequalities can compound insecurity.

paper follows with sections on the role of climate change in exacerbating all of these development challenges, and the urgency for policy emphasis on strengthening Pacific institutions – both formal and informal – to realize the intent of SDG 16 as ‘the peace goal’. It concludes with policy recommendations for Pacific island countries.

II. The multi-dimensional nature of peace in development in the Pacific

Peace is multi-dimensional, and in a region as diverse as the Pacific, comprising 19 developing island countries and territories,⁴ these dimensions are periodically captured by global indices such as the Fragile States Index, the World Bank’s Governance Indicators, (specifically the Political Stability and Absence of Violence indicator) and the Global Peace Index,⁵ amongst others (see Table 1). The Human Development Index (HDI) perhaps provides the most comprehensive data-set for the Pacific island region, inclusive of human rights considerations, and while it does not capture the broader structural and institutional policy environment relating to inequalities and exclusion, is a useful proxy that highlights areas needing attention. In 2016, for example, the HDI ranked Palau 60th, while Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands ranked 154th and 156th out of 188 countries respectively due to poor scores for human security and inequality.

Table 1. Multiple measures of peace but inconsistent Pacific coverage

Global indices	Pacific coverage
Corruption Perceptions Index	Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu
Fragile States Index	Fiji, Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea, Samoa and Solomon Islands
Global Peace Index*	Papua New Guinea
World Bank Governance Indicators	All
Human Development Index	All (excl. Cook Islands, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue and Tuvalu)
Women, Peace & Security Index	Fiji, Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands

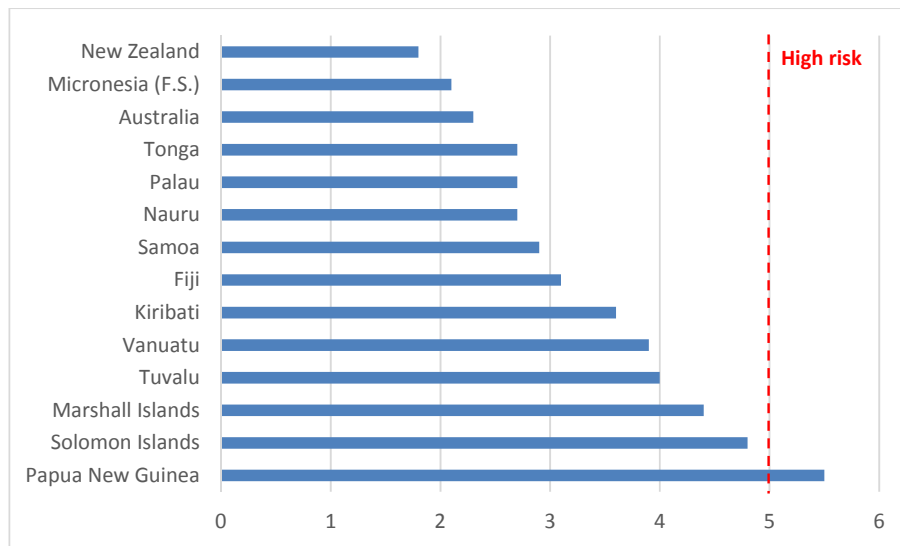
Note: Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) is developing a Pacific Peace Index in 2018.

The United Nations Inter-Agency Standing Committee Task Team for Preparedness and Resilience Capacities has developed the Index for Risk Management (INFORM) as a predictive measure for peace and conflict in a humanitarian context focusing on exposure, vulnerability and capacity to address conflict⁶. Within this index, notwithstanding the Pacific’s data availability challenges, Papua New Guinea ranks as a high-risk country for conflict, with an even mix of countries in the medium-to-low risk categories (see Figure 1).

⁴ The Pacific region includes the 12 Pacific island countries with a presence in the United Nations that are full members of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP): Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu; and the following countries and territories that are associate members of ESCAP: American Samoa, Cook Islands, French Polynesia, Guam, New Caledonia, Niue and the Northern Mariana Islands.

⁵ Pacific island States are only occasionally included in global indices often due to the lack of full-set of data required for the construction of the index. The Fragile States Index focuses on state governance and vulnerability to collapse or conflict. The Global Peace Index focuses on societal safety and security, ongoing domestic and international conflict, and militarisation.

⁶ See www.inform-index.org.

Figure 1. Index for Risk Management (INFORM), 2018

Source: United Nations Inter-Agency Standing Committee Task Team for Preparedness and Resilience Capacities and the European Commission. Available from www.inform-index.org.

The INFORM index's measure of coping capacity is of most relevance to the structural aspects of peace and conflict and assesses governance and institutional capacity. The index's weakness, however, is in its assessment of human and natural hazards for Pacific small island developing States (SIDS). While the Pacific scores highly for natural hazards, INFORM does not consider climate change risks or related uncertainties such as coastal erosion. The absence of violent conflict (a measure of human hazards) pulls down the Pacific's overall ranking, showing it to be less vulnerable overall – despite the fact that the constant barrage of natural hazards and disasters in the region are threat multipliers for inequality and exclusion, which also present challenges to governance systems and often erode development gains. A very resilient country is able to withstand and respond to external shocks such as natural hazards, whereas the same shock can be a precursor for conflict for less resilient countries.

Similarly, SDG 16 re-focuses attention on the broader dimensions of peace and conflict in development through strengthening national institutions, but still needs to be contextualised for the Pacific (as do the other SDGs). The Institute for Economics and Peace (2018) has highlighted the difficulties in measuring SDG 16 in the Pacific. Nevertheless, SDG 16 is a policy opportunity for governments to focus on peace, justice and strong institutions in ways that resonate with their national contexts.

For the Pacific, a multi-dimensional approach to peace and conflict within development has in the past been facilitated through *The Human Security Framework for the Pacific (HSFP)*⁷ (2012-2015) developed by the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat. It provides five principles for addressing causes of conflict, monitoring conflict escalation and strengthening conflict resolution mechanisms, suggesting that interventions need to be preventative, localized, collaborative, people-centred and inclusive (see Figure 2). It also highlights the interconnectivity of the five elements of human security (political, economic, environmental, community/family/personal and

⁷ See: Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *The Human Security Framework for the Pacific (2012-2015)*.

social) and the necessity of an integrated approach to development. This is to ensure that Pacific peoples are secure and safe from threats to their wellbeing, and can enjoy political stability, sustainable economic development and social fulfillment. The HSFP was reviewed in 2015 and abandoned due to its generalist approach and lack of monitoring. However, the HSFP principles resonate with the approach taken under the 2030 Agenda and the revival of a more targeted HSFP may serve the region well in the SDGs era. Pacific Island Forum Leaders' 2017 commitment to develop a new comprehensive regional security architecture recognised the importance of an expanded concept of security inclusive of human security, as well as humanitarian assistance, environmental security and climate change.

Figure 2. The key principles of the Human Security Framework for the Pacific (2012-2015)



Source: Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *The Human Security Framework for the Pacific (2012-2015)*.

III. A ‘mostly peaceful’ Pacific

With the notable exceptions of the prolonged independence struggle in New Caledonia (1980s), the Papua New Guinea/Bougainville Civil War (1989-97), the ‘Tensions’ in Solomon Islands (1998-2003), and repeated coups in Fiji (1987, 2000 and 2006), episodes of national conflict, unrest and political turmoil in the Pacific have generally been short-lived, and in many cases peacefully resolved, including through ongoing peacebuilding efforts such as in Solomon Islands. Underpinning its standing as a ‘pacific’ region is a long history of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, high levels of social resilience (Brown, 2006), and the limited availability of arms, in addition to widespread respect for the rule of law. Regional security cooperation has also played a role: In 2000, Pacific Islands Forum member States adopted the *Biketawa Declaration* as a regional security cooperation mechanism in the wake of the Fiji coup and ethnic tensions in the Solomon Islands. The *Biketawa* facilitated the regional assistance mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) from 2003 to 2017.

Despite episodic violent conflict, the Pacific is not, however, exempt from persistent violence. Rates of interpersonal violence against women are amongst the highest in the world. Neither is

the Pacific immune to the causes of conflict. These include rising economic and social inequalities, land tenure and management issues, strained governance and institutional capacity, high youth unemployment and alienation, and poorly managed urbanisation (PIFS, 2008). Furthermore, the Pacific is as vulnerable as every region for the risk that a conflict will re-onset.

These issues are compounded by emerging global challenges that transcend national boundaries, including climate change, religious extremism, political populism, rising rates of migration, transnational crime, and an intensified competition for resources, including fisheries. Moreover, the region is close to global security pressure points such as the Korean Peninsula and the South China Sea.

As the world undergoes this period of significant change to the status quo, guaranteeing peace and development is not a given. According to the 2017 Global Peace Index, there has been a decline in peacefulness across the world over the last decade. Considered holistic strategies are required at national, regional and global levels. If countries are to address the roots of conflict and protect any development gains, policy must not only keep pace with shifting trends, it must also be situated in the context of the harmonisation of traditional organs of development and security. This will ensure stronger, more resilient societies where people and their governments are better equipped to withstand internal and external shocks.

Future development shocks are likely to resonate around the Pacific's particular vulnerability to climate change and extreme weather events, economic constraints to improving levels of development, as well as risks associated with the 'youth bulge' and rapidly changing populations. Together these factors have the potential to overwhelm small government administrations, to further erode the traditional economic and social protection systems, and to increase levels of poverty, hardship, vulnerability and exclusion (Moustafa and others, 2014). The sources of these challenges are multi-dimensional and increasingly complex, and pose serious risks of reversing hard earned development gains, and of triggering socio-political upheaval.

Within this setting, the Pacific region is contextualising the new global development agenda and rethinking its security cooperation arrangements under the *Biketawa Declaration*. The intent here is to formulate a new regional security policy which would set "the foundation for strategic future regional responses recognising the importance of an expanded concept of security inclusive of human security, humanitarian assistance, prioritising environmental security, and regional cooperation in building resilience to disasters and climate change" (PIFS, 2017). This coincides with the rapid changes occurring in global power dynamics and the repositioning of the United Nations system to deliver the *2030 Agenda*. The *Pacific Roadmap for Sustainable Development* developed in 2017 guides regional responses for the achievement of the *2030 Agenda* and the SDGs within the context of national plans, the United Nations global SIDS framework - the *SAMOA Pathway* - and the Pacific Islands Forum's *Framework for Pacific Regionalism* to deliver "a region of peace, harmony, security, social inclusion, and prosperity".

IV. Achieving peaceful sustainable development – where are the pressure points/conflict risks?

A key question for the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs is: how can the Pacific, which reported limited progress under the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), achieve sustainable development in the context of economic constraints, climate change, natural disasters, and changing populations? What are the Pacific region's pressure points for the attainment of peaceful sustainable

development?

A review of over 100 academic and policy papers, reports, and media articles assessed emerging common themes around peace and development in the contemporary Pacific: (1) resource governance; (2) migration and displacement; (3) urbanization; and, (4) exclusion and inequality.

A. Resource governance

Pacific island economies have limited options for growth, and are reliant on their natural resources. As terrestrial and maritime resource-rich states, the productive sectors – agriculture, forestry, fisheries and mining - have been a fulcrum for development in Pacific island countries. Despite these natural endowments plus high levels of aid, economic and social development has lagged, a situation that has been described as the “Pacific paradox” (Toatu, 2001). While resource development has contributed to economic growth, the combination of resource depletion and weak governance creates conflict risk. For example, in Papua New Guinea, the weak governance of resource-based rents has been identified as the single factor most likely to undermine prospects for sustainable growth (Avalos and others, 2013). Similarly, in Kiribati, problems with water and sanitation infrastructure persist despite high fisheries revenues and a growing Sovereign Wealth Fund (Beitau, 2014). Uneven development and exclusion due to the problematic distribution of benefits, has combined with rent-seeking behaviour, corruption, poor governance and underdeveloped human capital to create numerous, often violent, localised conflicts.

Land disputes are among the leading causes of tension and conflict in the region, where resource development often competes with widespread subsistence activities for food security (Croccombe, 2008). In Vanuatu, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea in the 1990s and early 2000s, real estate, logging and mining sector activity⁸, were the cause of numerous instances of intertribal conflict, as well as violent disputes between companies and tribes. Where state institutions fail to ensure good governance in relation to natural resource industries, local tensions are often exacerbated. The weak governance of resource-based revenue, in terms of accountability, transparency and government capability in the delivery of services has a particularly corrosive impact on equitable and peaceful development. The adequacy and enforcement of environmental protection legislation that protects the sustainability of countries’ productive sectors is an ongoing concern.

Coastal fisheries are emerging as sites of potential resource tension. Offshore, foreign-based fishing is responsible for about half of the value of the region’s fisheries. Coastal fisheries, (whether commercial or subsistence) constitute 12 per cent of the total economic value of the region’s fisheries resource (Gillett and Cartwright, 2012). For many islands, particularly the low-lying atolls, coastal fisheries are major sources of food and livelihood, but overfishing of tuna stocks and illegal inshore commercial fishing has increased recently.⁹ Additionally, coastal

⁸ Solomon Islands: Logging and fishing account for 30-40 per cent of GDP for the last two decades, with numerous reports of corruption in the Asian-dominated logging industry. See: Alice Blondel, “Climate Change Fueling Resource-Based Conflict in the Pacific”, *UNDP Asia-Pacific Human Development Report*, Background Papers Series 2012/12, pp. 43-45 and <http://www.pireport.org/articles/2017/02/27/solomon-islands-police-arrest-59-over-recent-logging-dispute-rendova>.

Bougainville: One of the world’s largest copper mines, the Panguna Mine in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville was shut down in 1989 in response to violent clashes between local communities and the mine companies. See also <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/rearvision/bougainville-at-a-crossroads/6514544>. Accessed 30 November 2017.

⁹ From 2016-2017 there have been an average of 1-2 media reports per month in the Pacific region of arrests of

fisheries are expected to become less productive due to the degradation of coral reefs by climate change-induced bleaching events and increased cyclone intensity, as well as domestic environmental pollution and degradation.

The triple burden¹⁰ on Pacific islanders—reduced economic potential, depleted environmental reserves and greater food insecurity—underscores the need for policy attention on conflict prevention and human security in development.

Box 1 Conflict-sensitive resource management

Recognising the need for forward-thinking policy relating to food security and environmental protection, a number of Pacific island countries have already put in place coastal fisheries management plans, and are collaborating in the monitoring, control and surveillance of illegal fishing. In addition, the Cook Islands Government has created the world’s largest marine protected area to ensure sustainable management of the country’s marine resources, working closely with traditional communities.

Many Pacific island governments are taking innovative measures in resources-based development, drawing on the strength of cultural institutions to foster peaceful development. For example, in Vanuatu land reforms that embrace customary land governance and safeguard community resource rights have institutionalized conflict-sensitive land development.

These initiatives underscore the inclusive, multi-stakeholder approach that engages with multiple governance systems (both state and non-state based) to pursue resource-related development in a conflict-sensitive manner.

B. Migration and displacement

The *2030 Agenda* recognises “the positive contribution of migrants for inclusive growth and sustainable development”¹¹ and the need for human-rights based migration, which applies to both sending and receiving communities, and to local domestic mobility hubs. Expanding migration opportunities have the potential to transform sustainable development and regional integration (Berkelmens and Pryke, 2016) and to provide adaptive solutions for resource-constrained countries. Nevertheless, the processes of migration and displacement may cause grievances if not addressed in a conflict-sensitive manner. This section addresses both internal and external/international migration, distinct from urbanization which is discussed in section C.

Migration is already occurring across the region as a ‘release valve’ that provides decent work opportunities for resource-constrained countries in the Micronesian and Polynesian sub-regions.

Vietnamese ‘blue boats’ for illegal fishing, particularly close to shore. The most recent report was on 1 December 2017. See <https://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/345143/french-navy-intercepts-two-more-blue-boats>. In May 2017, a Pacific workshop was held to strengthen regional cooperation in monitoring, control and surveillance regarding these ‘blue boats’. See also www.wfpacific.org/?299615/Pacific-workshop-sharpens-focus-on-Vietnamese-Blue-Boats.

¹⁰ The issues of reduced economic benefit and environmental depletion have been previously described as a ‘double burden’ on Pacific island countries’ fisheries, however we also suggest a third burden of growing food insecurity, particularly for low-lying atoll nations that rely significantly on coastal fisheries for their subsistence. See: United Nations, *The State of Human Development in the Pacific: A report on vulnerability and exclusion in a time of rapid change* (Suva, 2014) p. 117.

¹¹ A/RES/70/1 Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, para 29.

Migration in response to climate change-related hazards is also occurring (Oakes, Milan and Campbell, 2016). Migrant-sending countries often enjoy relatively easy access to larger labour markets, and tend to have lower rates of population growth, easing pressure on GDP growth that helps increase living standards. Remittances also benefit their national GDPs significantly (Stahl and Appleyard, 2007). Recently, migrant/refugee receiving Pacific island countries (PICs) have also benefitted from economic inflows, although this has been contentious (e.g. Australian Government-run detention centres on Manus Island, Nauru, and Papua New Guinea).

In contrast to the preferential immigration access granted to citizens of some PICs through post-colonial arrangements with metropolitan powers,¹² citizens of Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Nauru, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu and Vanuatu have to date had few opportunities to move abroad. These six countries are amongst the most vulnerable in the region, had difficulties meeting the MDGs, and, in the case of the Melanesian countries, have the highest rates of population growth (Adelman and others, 2005; Opeskin and MacDermott, 2010; PIFS, 2015). Governments in the region are increasingly looking to labour mobility as an adaptive measure, focusing on protecting migrant workers and securing decent work opportunities.¹³

Migration policies possess a range of development implications that may lead to potential conflict. Increased pressures on already stressed social and physical infrastructure (Milan, Oakes and Campbell, 2016) from rural-urban mobility, concerns over prolonged depopulation in migrant-sending centres (PIPP, 2010)¹⁴, ‘brain drain’ and the social costs of temporary and seasonal labour migrants due to family separation¹⁵, are some potential problems. Furthermore, global remittance flows are in decline in part, because of the breakdown of traditional social support mechanisms (World Bank, 2017; UNFPA, 2015).

External migration due to climate change, while improving adaptive capacity of households, has in some cases—as in the Kiribati Government’s 2014 purchase of 5,500 acres of land in Fiji—sparked concerns over integration, and competition for land and resources (Ellsmoor and Rosen, 2016). Similarly, displacement (whether temporary or long-term, voluntary or forced), caused by disasters and climate change impacts can cause upheaval for individuals and communities, and can inflame tensions as competition for resources increases. Policies that tap into traditional resilience and response mechanisms that provide for relocation, exchange and sharing of resources in times of crisis provide conflict sensitivity to migration processes (Kiddle and others, 2017). In considering circular mobility, some countries are facing difficulties around the reintegration of citizens who have been forcefully repatriated for criminal offences abroad (Pereira, 2014). In 2016, Pacific Islands Forum Leaders highlighted the growing number of criminal deportees from metropolitan countries as a regional security risk. A Pacific study by Pereira (2011) found that the

¹² The citizens of the Micronesian states in Compacts of Free Association with the United States (Palau, Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands) have right of access to the United States and territories in exchange for reciprocal military access and foreign policy influence. New Zealand extends citizenship to residents of its former territories (Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau), and also provides preferential visa access to citizens of other Polynesian countries, notably Samoa and Tonga - who also enjoy relative ease of access to Australia and the United States.

¹³ See for example, Kiribati Labour Migration Policy. Available from <http://devpolicy.org/kiribatis-national-labour-migration-policy-a-climate-change-adaptation-strategy-20161109/>.

¹⁴ Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau all have far greater proportions of their population living in New Zealand than at home, and the Micronesian states are amongst the highest per capita net emigration rates in the world. See Pacific Institute of Public Policy, Micronesian exodus. Pacific Institute of Public Policy, Discussion Paper No. 16 (2010). Available from <http://pacificpolicy.org/2010/12/micronesian-exodus/>.

¹⁵ Carmen Voigt-Graf, Temporary migration reservation, DevPolicy Blog (2017). Available from <http://devpolicy.org/temporary-migration-reservations-20170801/>.

average length of time people who had been deported had spent outside of their birth country was over 20 years. In addition to social stigma and discrimination, which often prevents employment or access to services, some returnees have poor language skills and cultural connectedness. Migration policy responses will need to find ways to further draw on the region's culture of strong family and kinship ties, and deepen these amongst diasporic communities.

Where migration in the Pacific may once have been considered simply in terms of gaining access to opportunity overseas, it is now an increasingly complex interaction of social, political and economic factors. This transformation demands better balancing of the interrelationships between competing domestic and international positions. The range of issues impacting on peace and development include the balance of inward and outward migration flows, returning migrants, depopulation, migration impacts on social structures,¹⁶ the processing of refugees, and the region's role in emerging global compact on safe and orderly migration.

Box 2 Labour-based migration

Temporary labour migration has been a widely-used and relatively successful development strategy in PICs over the last couple of decades that serves the dual purpose of addressing domestic unemployment and alleviating pressures on basic services. Kiribati's seafarers scheme has endured for two decades, and remains popular amongst male i-Kiribati. Many PICs have actively participated in New Zealand's Regional Seasonal Employment (RSE) scheme, which together with Australia's Seasonal Worker Program, has given over 12,000 Pacific islanders work opportunities during 2015-2016, and generated approximately US\$60 million in remittances per year for the countries of the region. PICs' focus has been on securing ongoing access to these programs. But the opportunity also exists to build on this success by aligning education and skills training for the region's youthful population to the need created by the ageing workforces in Australian and New Zealand. The Australia-Pacific Technical College, launched in 2007 to boost hospitality skills and promote labour mobility was intended as a first step in this direction. However, a recent assessment notes that despite gains in skills development, graduates had an emigration rate of only 1.5 per cent due to barriers that limit migration opportunities for Pacific islands graduates.

C. Urbanisation

Internal migration within Pacific island countries, in the form of urbanization, remains an under-recognised area of policy attention, despite towns and cities across the region becoming 'hubs' for socio-economic exclusion and inequality. While the region has a Pacific Urban Agenda in place, the subnational focus has been unable to sustain high-level political attention, despite the prevalence and growth of informal urban settlements in the region. Generations of urban dwelling underscore that the Pacific's urban issues are more than temporary.

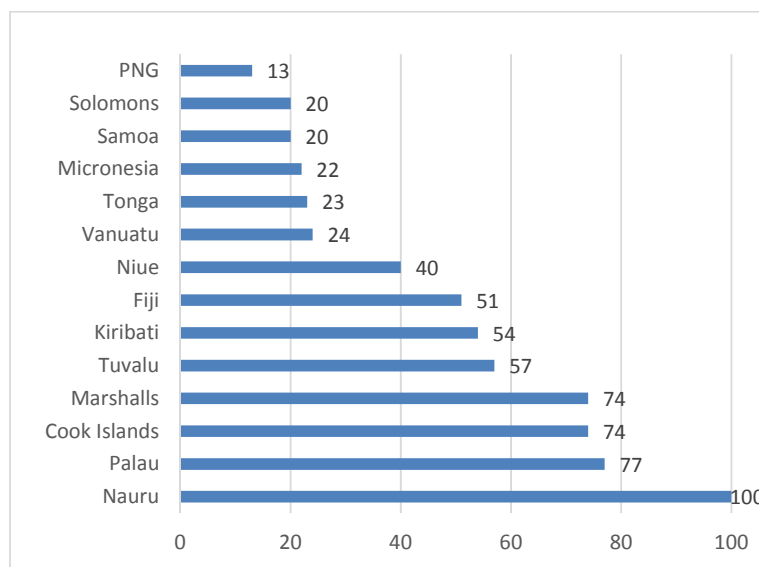
Limited infrastructure, overcrowding, few employment prospects, patchy urban services, financial insecurity and land tenure insecurity, particularly in the burgeoning informal settlements, are chief amongst the litany of Pacific urbanisation challenges. Static economic growth, weak urban governance and management, land disputes and the permanency of urban populations compound

¹⁶ See <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpretor/asia-pacific-s-role-global-compacts-migration-and-refugees>.

urban social issues.¹⁷ As hubs for economic activity and service delivery, the Pacific’s urban centres are under pressure to provide services equitably in the face of high urban population growth rates. Up to 50 per cent of Melanesian urban populations live in informal settlements where poverty and hardship rates are high.¹⁸ Urban settlements are frequently on marginal land and are vulnerable to environmental degradation and climate change impacts; in the case of the low-lying and atoll countries such as Kiribati and the Marshall Islands, coastal erosion is shrinking urban areas.¹⁹

Those who live on ‘the fringe’ face widespread inequalities that are potentially destabilising; urban-based social safety nets can’t keep pace with costs of urban living, and cash incomes are inadequate replacements for traditional resources that provide livelihood security. Mushrooming informal settlements, particularly in the larger Melanesian countries, are often sites of crime and violence.²⁰

Figure 3. Proportion of Pacific populations living in urban areas (percentage of total population)



Source: Ahmed Moustafa and others, *The State of Human Development in the Pacific: A Report on Vulnerability and Exclusion in a Time of Rapid Change*, Suva: United Nations Development Programme 2014), fig 3.2.

To date, Pacific government responses to the ‘urban challenge’ have focused primarily on infrastructure projects. Community governance and social issues have received varying levels of attention, although this is beginning to change, for example in Fiji, Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands. The concept of ‘urban resilience’, traditionally considered in terms of disaster risk reduction and infrastructure, is a new policy frontier for Pacific governments who have committed to addressing both socio-economic and environmental dimensions of urban resilience

¹⁷ See John Connell, “The urban Pacific: a tale of new cities”, in Pamela Thomas and Meg Keen (eds.), “Urban Development in the Pacific”, *Development Bulletin No. 78* (Canberra: Australian National University, 2017) pp. 5-10.

¹⁸ Asian Development Bank, *The State of Pacific Towns and Cities: Urbanization in ADB’s Pacific Developing Member Countries*, Pacific Studies Series (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2012).

¹⁹ See footnote No. 17.

²⁰ Sinclair Dinnen, “The inexorable rise of private security in Papua New Guinea” in Pamela Thomas and Meg Keen (eds.), “Urban Development in the Pacific”, *Development Bulletin No. 78* (Canberra: Australian National University, 2017), pp. 63-66.

in the *Framework for Resilient Development in the Pacific*, endorsed by Pacific Leaders in 2016. This refocused attention on urban affairs is a welcome policy opportunity to achieve the ambition of the Pacific Urban Agenda. Policies that go beyond ‘infrastructure and services’ to also address the inequalities that feed underlying social tensions are particularly needed.

Box 3 Conflict-sensitive urban initiatives

A. Solomon Islands

Solomon Islands has a high concentration of urban youth, so countering high unemployment, boredom, substance abuse and violence is a peace-building policy priority for government. To manage potential conflict, the Solomon Islands Government has pursued skills training initiatives, and entrepreneurship fostering programmes. The ‘soft skills’ (i.e. non-technical skills pertaining to, *inter alia*, social interaction, character and work ethic) imparted during the course of these initiatives have helped to deter crime and have contributed to social stability, as well as providing economic opportunities for urban youth. Additionally, with United Nations peacebuilding support, efforts are underway to engage youth in the peace process with society and leadership through inclusive space for dialogue and reconciliation, and implementation of the peace policy.

B. Fiji

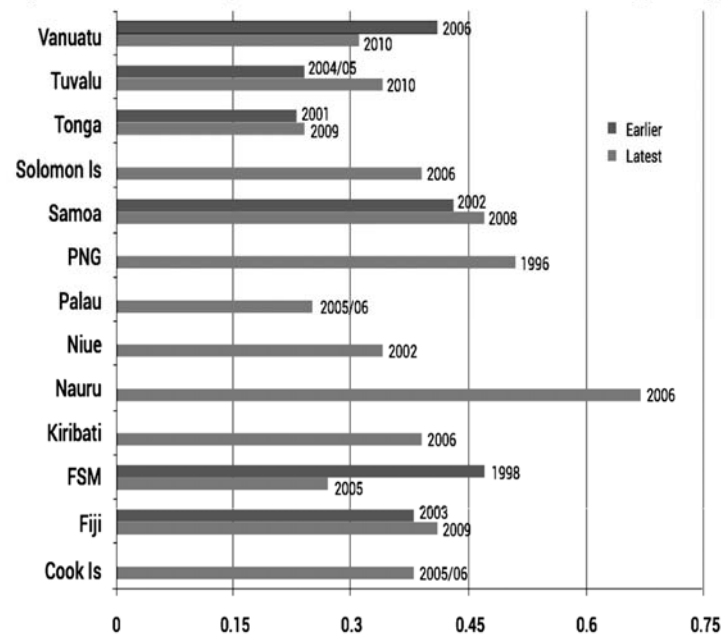
The Pacific’s urban development challenges in PICs and their associated demographic challenges—such as the ‘youth bulge’—have elicited a range of strategies to address potential drivers of conflict. Fiji, with over 50 per cent of its population living in cities, and 70-80 per cent of these people live below the poverty line, has begun to recognise the rights of informal settlers and extend services to them, building concrete ties between the informal and formal sectors.

D. Exclusion and vulnerabilities – inequalities in access, opportunity and participation

As a region, in 2015 the Pacific reported the greatest difficulty in achieving poverty reduction under the MDGs. Despite efforts by governments, income and food poverty, and unequal access to basic services persist. The Pacific is far from achieving full equality for all its citizens, particularly in relation to income (see Figure 4).

The urbanisation of poverty, gender inequalities and social exclusion are some of the persistent drivers of vulnerability and insecurity in the region. The exclusion of marginalised groups –young people, women and the elderly – from political life and from full economic participation, coupled with imbalances in access to resources, are indicators of the ‘slow violence’ compounding human insecurity in the Pacific.²¹

²¹ Nicole George, “Promoting women, peace and security in the Pacific Islands: hot conflict/slow violence.” *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 68, issue 3 (2014).

Figure 4. Inequality in the Pacific (Gini co-efficient where 0 = full equality)

Source: Ahmed Moustafa and others, *The State of Human Development in the Pacific: A Report on Vulnerability and Exclusion in a Time of Rapid Change* (Suva: United Nations Development Programme 2014), Fig. 2.4.

1. Gender inequality

In the mid-2000s, the Pacific reported some of the highest rates of gender-based violence in the world: Tonga (79%), Samoa (76%), Kiribati (73%), Fiji (72%), Vanuatu (72%) and Solomon Islands (64%)²². Intra-household inequality like this, along with women's limited access to justice in both traditional and formal systems, have significant socio-economic development implications. These are the economic costs of violence, such as lost work days and cost to health systems, and the societal costs, such as reduced access to education that constrains future participation in the formal sector. All Pacific island countries, except Tonga, have ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and accompanying legal frameworks criminalising gender violence are in place or in train.

Policies that comprehensively address gender disparities in political, economic and social affairs and in access to environmental resources are a practical means of getting better development outcomes and maintaining peaceful and prosperous societies.

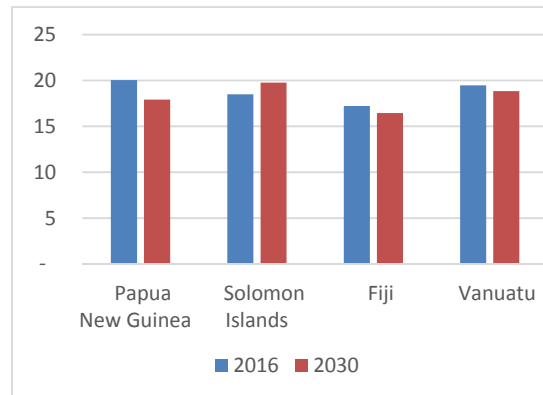
In 2012 the Pacific Leaders' Gender Equality Declaration committed countries to greater action. Achieving the ambition of the 2030 Agenda requires enhanced efforts to combat gender violence and the gender disparities that breed violence, in particular through exploring policy bridges between traditional and formal access to justice and support for peaceful communities. There have been several progressive initiatives in this regard in Bougainville, where women played a critical role in brokering peace in the post-conflict context, and in Vanuatu, which has connected its dual governance systems (traditional and state-based) to foster social stability.

²² <http://pacificwomen.org/our-work/focus-areas/ending-violence-against-women/>. Accessed 28 November 2017. And Asian Development Bank, *Gender Statistics: The Pacific and Timor-Leste*, (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2016).

2. The youth challenge

While young populations are a challenge shared across all PICs, 2030 projections suggest this will be a continuing challenge for Melanesian countries in particular (see Figure 5). The concentration of the ‘youth bulge’ in the Pacific’s urban centres calls for greater attention to youth development policies and youth participation, particularly when the links between disenfranchised and under-educated youth and youth-driven violence are well-established²³.

Figure 5. Proportion of Melanesian populations aged 15-24 years, 2016 and 2030 projections



Source: SPC 2016.

Policy approaches amongst Pacific island countries to date include vocational skills training, employment programs and entrepreneurship schemes, as well as sports development. Where island states have brokered arrangements with neighbouring metropolitan countries, such as Australia and New Zealand,²⁴ government policies encourage out-migration of young people from both urban and rural areas to join temporary work schemes. The impact of such schemes on inclusion and youth empowerment are mixed, however. As Solomon Islands has experienced, continued investments in youth empowerment are fundamental to mitigating youth-driven crime and violence, and ensuring that youth are not ‘left behind’ in sustainable development (see also Box 2).

3. Exclusion in development

Optimism about the region’s generally positive economic outlook (especially the increasing investments in ICT and labour mobility), however, must be tempered against the vulnerability of PICs and their limited ability to meet the increasing demand for public services, which is significantly compromised by rising levels of sovereign debt.²⁵ This poses the risk that governments may have insufficient resources or policy space to meet the needs of their peoples. Conflict and instability find fertile ground in such circumstances, especially when high levels of youth unemployment, sub-standard service delivery, and inequality in resource sharing (including

²³ Daniel Evans, “Hard work: youth unemployment programming in Honiara, Solomon Islands”. *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Discussion Paper 2016/17* (Manila: Australian National University, 2017). Available from http://ssgm.bellschool.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/2016-10/dp_2016_7_evans_online.pdf. Accessed 23 November 2017.

²⁴ See previous discussion under the Migration section, Section IV. B.

²⁵ Pacific Institute of Public Policy, “Unsure refuge, rash, unsound borrowing and predatory lending practices are leading some Pacific island countries toward insolvency”, *Discussion Starter No. 25* (2013). Available from <http://pacificpolicy.org/2013/10/unsure-refuge/>.

food and water) are already extant.

While development is an essential means of avoiding conflict, it can also be a trigger if it results in marginalisation, perceived or actual. Even a cursory reflection on the region's recent history suggests that the potential of domestic and external shocks warrants ongoing vigilance to protect development gains, and to prevent any outbreaks of conflict.

V. Climate change as a threat multiplier against peaceful development

Exacerbating development conflict pressure points is the threat multiplier of climate change.

Pacific island countries are amongst the highest at risk of natural disaster,²⁶ with the average annual cost of direct losses estimated at USD 284 million²⁷. For some of the smaller economies, this means the cost of a single event could exceed annual GDP. The category 5 Tropical Cyclones Pam and Winston that struck the region in 2015 and 2016 were estimated to have cost 61 per cent of Vanuatu GDP²⁸ and 31 per cent of Fiji GDP²⁹ respectively.

Between November 2013 and June 2015, the Pacific experienced nine extreme weather-related events; five of these had significant humanitarian consequences³⁰ that impacted a quarter of the total population of the eight affected countries (see Figure 6). The region is now bracing for the prospect of higher intensity, more frequent extreme weather events, including unprecedented out-of-season cyclones³¹. Additionally, climate change will bring more saltwater intrusion, prolonged heavy rainfall and flooding, higher temperatures, droughts, and more violent tropical cyclones.

The impacts of climate change are directly linked to the adequate provision of the basic determinants of health and well-being, food, water, and shelter.³² The potential for direct disruptions to agriculture (from flooding, drought, and saltwater inundation) and fisheries (rising sea temperatures, coral bleaching, coastal erosion) have been well established, as has the likelihood of increased water stress and damage to property. Often overshadowed by damage to life and livelihoods, however, are the health implications, including the toll that disaster trauma (dealing with loss of family members, housing, livelihoods, crops and livestock) exacts on mental health.³³ Positive mental health is fundamental for coping, and when this is compromised, it can

²⁶ Including tropical cyclones, floods, storm surges, droughts, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and tsunamis.

²⁷ World Bank, Pacific Islands: Disaster risk reduction and financing in the Pacific (2012). Available from www.worldbank.org/en/results/2012/04/01/pacific-islands-disaster-risk-reduction-and-financing-in-the-pacific.

²⁸ Based on government estimates of cost and ESCAP statistical data on gross domestic product.

²⁹ Asian Development Bank, Proposed Loan - Republic of Fiji: Emergency Assistance for Recovery from Tropical Cyclone Winston, Project Number: 50181-001 (2016). Available from www.adb.org/sites/default/files/project-document/185540/50181-001-rrp.pdf.

³⁰ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), The Pacific - History of Disasters (November 2013 - June 2015), Infographic (OCHA, 2015). Available from <http://reliefweb.int/report/solomon-islands/pacific-history-disasters-november-2013-june-2015>.

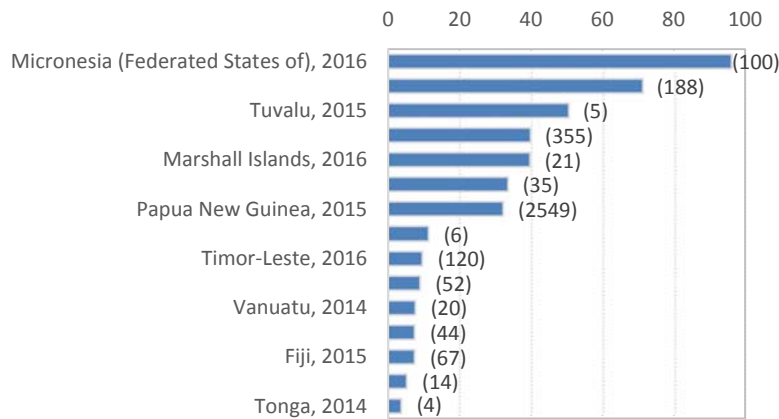
³¹ See www.abc.net.au/news/2015-07-20/pacific-nations-headed-for-more-natural-disasters/6634008.

³² World Health Organisation, 'Climate Change and Health in Small Island Developing States: WHO Special Initiative in partnership with UNFCCC Secretariat and Fijian Presidency of COP-23', Unpublished draft (2017). Available from www.who.int/globalchange/mediacentre/news/Global-Initiative-SIDS03112017.pdf?ua=1.

³³ While there has been an increased number of studies of the economic impact of mental health issues on the economies of high-income countries, for example depression was estimated to cost at least US\$ 800 billion in 2010 in lost economic output - a sum expected to more than double by 2030 (World Bank, 2017), less clear is the understanding of the impacts on development gains in low and middle-income countries (see for example, L. Cruz and others, 2013). The gap in understanding has led to a joint World Bank-WHO (2017) initiative focused on 'bringing mental health issues from the periphery to the centre of the global development agenda'.

elevate stress and vulnerability. The overwhelming majority of people with mental health issues are living in poverty, poor physical health, and are subject to human rights violations.³⁴

Figure 6. People affected by extreme weather-related events in Pacific island countries, 2013-2017 (per thousand population, per year)



Sources: ESCAP, based on data from the International Disaster Database, Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters and the World Population Prospects Database, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Accessed 16 March 2018.

The impacts of climate change also fuel infectious illnesses like typhoid, malaria, dengue, cholera and diarrheal disease,³⁵ further burdening the region's fragile health systems. Changing lifestyles and diets, particularly amongst growing urban populations, have driven a shift from traditional staples to imported, nutritionally poor foods.³⁶ In addition to driving the region's non-communicable diseases (NCD) crisis,³⁷ this shift is contributing to a decline in agricultural production, and a corresponding increase in susceptibility to global supply and price shocks in foodstuffs.

Natural disasters have similar threat multiplier implications to development. As a region highly vulnerable to natural disasters (Vanuatu and Tonga rank first and second most vulnerable countries out of 171 on the *2016 World Risk Report*), safeguarding development gains from natural disaster is an ongoing challenge. Regular livelihood shocks and major disruptions to economic and social systems have the potential to overwhelm formal and informal governance systems—the very structures that underpin peace and facilitate development—unless policy attention is given to these systems as a central component of national disaster preparedness.

National and regional integration of climate change and disaster risk reduction is advancing, and is often coupled with community adaptation outreach. For example, in response to the regional non-communicable diseases crisis, efforts are being made to promote a return to 'island diets' in concert with climate change adaptation initiatives to build the resilience of food production systems, addressing the risks from changing rainfall patterns and saltwater intrusion to staple food

³⁴ World Health Organisation, 'Mental Health and Development: Targeting People with Mental Health Conditions as a Vulnerable Group'. Policy Brief (WHO, 2010).

³⁵ <http://www.who.int/dg/speeches/2017/cop23/en/>.

³⁶ Johann Bell and others, "Climate change and Pacific Island food systems: The future of food, farming and fishing in the Pacific Islands under a changing climate", CCAFS and CTA (Copenhagen, Denmark and Wageningen, the Netherlands, 2016).

³⁷ See www.who.int/bulletin/volumes/88/7/10-010710/en/.

crops like taro and cassava.³⁸

Kinship obligations to provide food and shelter in times of disaster can supplement limited state disaster aid, but they also increase financial and social strains on families, particularly those in urban areas without access to subsistence crops. Reliance on relief aid can sometimes diminish traditional mechanisms. Acts, or perceptions, of political favouritism, can fuel tensions over the distribution of relief efforts. In 2018, the temporary mass relocation of the entire population of Ambae island in Vanuatu provided an example of a disaster response managed in tandem using traditional coping systems and a state-run humanitarian disaster response; it highlighted the need for multi-stakeholder engagement³⁹ to ensure peaceful outcomes.

Globally, climate finance flows have increased significantly. Across the region, 59 per cent of climate finance is for adaptation activities, with the largest single share supporting ‘enabling environments’, which includes activities to mainstream climate change into sector policies, planning and management, —mainly in the energy, forestry and water sectors.⁴⁰ The opportunity for Pacific governments to use climate finance flows to help address persistent inequalities and support conflict-sensitive approaches must be taken.

Over the last decade there has been considerable debate over the role the United Nations Security Council should have in the consideration of climate change.⁴¹ While political divisions persist, the discussion has furthered a broader discussion of climate change within the context of peace and sustainable development.⁴² The security–climate change nexus traverses social security (health and wellbeing); resource security (food, water, land, energy); national security (sovereignty, especially for the low-lying atoll states facing an existential threat); and international security (global peace and stability). Ensuring strong and resilient institutions to traverse these issues in times of multiple disasters is also a key element. Arguably, the peace-development nexus in the Pacific is necessarily a climate-peace-development nexus.

The urgent need to deal with climate change and its threat multiplier effect to existing development challenges in the region underscores why the Pacific must focus on its governance systems and conflict-sensitive development under the 2030 Agenda.

VI. The common thread: Strengthening effective institutions in the Pacific

The ability of political and social institutions to cope with shocks to stability like conflict is key to sustaining peace in development. Peaceful and inclusive societies depend on effective and

³⁸ United Nations Development Programme, “Food Security in the Pacific: Enhancing climate-resilient food production for island communities”, (United Nations Development Programme, 2015). Available from <https://stories.undp.org/food-security-in-the-pacific>.

³⁹ The *Framework for Resilient Development in the Pacific, An Integrated Approach to Address Climate Change and Disaster Risk Management (FRDP) 2017 – 2030* provides high level strategic guidance to different stakeholder groups on how to enhance resilience to climate change and disasters, in ways that promote the active engagement of diverse groups, both individually and in partnership.

⁴⁰ Aaron Atteridge and Nella Canales, “Climate finance in the Pacific: An overview of flows to the region’s small island developing States”, Stockholm Environment Institute, Working Paper 2017-04 (Stockholm, 2017).

⁴¹ The Pacific through its grouping in the United Nations (The Pacific small island developing States - PSIDS) has long lobbied for climate change to be considered an issue of global peace and security and that it should be on the agenda of the Security Council. The following article provides an overview of the engagement of the United Nations Security Council on climate change. See www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2017-08/the-security-council-and-climate-change-an-ambivalent-relationship.php.

⁴² <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/index.php?page=view&nr=3432&type=255&menu=35>.

accountable institutions at all levels, both formal and informal and where there is space for participation and dialogue. However, attention to informal institutions has been *ad hoc* in Pacific policymaking, tending to focus on the rule of law, as in the examples of the land courts of Samoa and Vanuatu.

As previous themes have highlighted, the Pacific's persistent development challenges are amplified by the context of increasing resource scarcity, imbalances in migration policies and deepening urban inequalities. Combined with the threat multiplier of climate change, Pacific policymakers must urgently step up to steer development efforts to deal with these conflict pressure points in a manner that facilitates balanced, inclusive development by engaging with the full range of national institutions.

The simmering insecurities diminish the region's progress towards sustainable development, and suggest that traditional aid-dependent development approaches are insufficient for facilitating transformational development.⁴³ As a region that draws strength from the rich and diverse traditional heritage that has long provided sustenance, social stability and resilience,⁴⁴ truly transformational and peaceful development necessarily involves 'policy bridges' between customary and formal systems.

However, the Pacific's rich heritage of informal and traditional social protection 'buffers', based on elaborate kinship-based social structures linked to resource rights, are under increasing pressure from monetisation in the transition from subsistence- to cash-based market economies.⁴⁵

Institutions—formal and informal, state-centric and community-centric—are the common thread in the facilitation of peaceful, inclusive, and equitable sustainable development. However, culture has at times been described as a 'barrier' to the development approaches that Pacific governments have pursued. SDG 16 offers many potential opportunities to move ahead on persistent development issues, to think beyond the existing development paradigm and to embrace the opportunities that Pacific cultures and local governance systems offer for achieving peaceful development, while maintaining a human-rights based approach.

A shift in mindset is required, to consider, the role of social and customary institutions in conflict-sensitive development. For example, the social problems associated with high numbers of unemployed young people in urban centres, are not simply a demographic problem, but as a consequence of a much more complex set of factors. Likewise, the challenges posed by migration have significant implications on social institutions at the sending and receiving ends, which warrant attention. Such a mindset dictates an evolution from the traditional security lens—in the youth example, to reinforce community policing with urban planning (for example, the creation of safe spaces for young people), economic management (notably, creating jobs), and social planning (for example, providing activities for people to engage in, as well as ensuring healthcare, education and training).

⁴³ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, *State of Pacific Regionalism Report 2017*, (Suva, 2017), p. 4.

⁴⁴ Pacific Islands Forum, *Framework for Pacific Regionalism*, (Suva, 2014).

⁴⁵ Moustafa and others, *The State of Human Development in the Pacific: A Report on Vulnerability and Exclusion in a Time of Rapid Change*, Suva: United Nations Development Programme 2014).

VII. Policy recommendations

Sustainable Development Goal 16 presents a valuable policy opportunity for Pacific island countries to advance their sustainable development through mobilising attention to conflict-sensitive development. It highlights the importance of fostering peace in any sustainable development effort.

Balancing the traditional development focus on health, education and poverty with inclusive governance/institutions and conflict prevention must become a larger part of policymaking in the Pacific. Development processes are inherently sites for potential conflict, particularly in relation to issues of resource scarcity, exclusion and inequality. Effective and resilient social institutions are essential buffers against conflict. Fundamentally, the threats to peace based on exclusion, vulnerability and resource scarcity can be avoided with thoughtful policy and programming that goes beyond a 'business as usual' approach. Therefore, in fostering peaceful development under the 2030 Agenda, the following two policy recommendations serve to advance efforts to foster peaceful sustainable development approaches in the Pacific, drawing from existing good practice across the region.

A. Reinvigorated attention to the Human Security Framework for the Pacific (HSFP) is essential to support Pacific-style peaceful development in a holistic manner and advance the SDG 16 conversation in the region;

1. Drawing on lessons from the 2015 review of the HSFP, renewed attention within the context of a *Biketawa* Plus concept would include specific target areas for policy attention. The four issues highlighted here should be included: resource governance; migration and displacement; urbanisation; and exclusion and inequality. The Pacific Islands Forum could commission a rapid review of the HSFP in the context of the 2030 Agenda, SDG 16 and *Biketawa* Plus as a way forward.
2. Many aspects of human security are already being addressed by governments in a range of ways. However, the principles of the HSFP, and in particular the customary governance principles of the HSFP might encourage policy makers to turn their attention to challenges that have not previously been visible to them.
3. There may also be a need to develop new ways of monitoring human security in the Pacific.

B. Fostering peaceful development under the 2030 Agenda will require a rethinking of development approaches in the Pacific, that embraces working with state and non-state governance systems to increase the likelihood of peaceful development and stem 'slow violence' in the region. Efforts to localise SDG 16 will need to think beyond the global focus on weapons, violence and trafficking, to focus on more effective institutions in support of peace, sustainable development and conflict prevention;

1. The 2019 High-Level Political Forum will focus attention on SDG 16 (among other goals), which is an opportunity for reporting via voluntary national reviews and regional sustainable development reporting to demonstrate the Pacific's contextualising of this particular goal.
2. Governments could include SDG 16 into national planning and operations, tailoring it to focus on domestic drivers of conflict based on pressures points around exclusion,

vulnerability and competition for resources.

3. This may require governments and development partners to provide policy space to incorporate conflict and context analysis into development planning, including domestic governance arrangements (both state and non-state), which in turn would guide better programming that, at minimum, does not exacerbate existing exclusions and inequalities, and ideally facilitates greater inclusion and equality.
4. This may require governments – supported by partners in the region - to invest in developing holistic strategies that can work with, not against, cultural and social institutions at local and regional levels. Hybrid conflict prevention mechanisms could be explored, for example, that can help create space for dialogue and participation at all levels.
5. Identifying ways to convene development and security/conflict prevention/peacebuilding practitioners and processes will be essential for ensuring a coherent approach to peaceful development – the *Biketawa* Plus process may be one such platform.

VIII. Conclusion

This paper highlights the policy opportunities presented by SDG 16, the ‘peace goal’, to safeguard development gains in the Pacific. Fostering peaceful sustainable development in the Pacific will require a re-thinking of development approaches taken, an increased emphasis on strengthening institutions – both formal and informal – and conflict-sensitive policy and programmes to mitigate drivers of conflict, exclusion and inequality. Acknowledging limitations in the reach of and access to Pacific island state institutions, many such solutions will necessarily be through informal structures. The potential for regional level initiatives, such as a revisiting of the Pacific Human Security Framework 2012-2015, to both complement national initiatives and provide a platform for regional innovation and knowledge exchange could be a viable way forward. Further policy research and innovation in bridging formal and informal institutions to support of peaceful development would also add value, and further identify additional risks and challenges that Pacific island countries may need to address through policy and practice.

References

- Asian Development Bank (2016). *Gender Statistics: The Pacific and Timor-Leste*. The Philippines. Available from www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/181270/gender-statistics-pacific-tim.pdf
- Atteridge, Aaron and Nella Canales (2017). Climate finance in the Pacific: An overview of flows to the region's Small Island Developing States. Stockholm Environment Institute, Working Paper 2017-04. Stockholm.
- Avalos, Nayda and others (2013). Papua New Guinea and the natural resource curse. *ARTNeT Working Paper Series No. 128*. Bangkok, ESCAP. Available from <http://artnet.unescap.org/pub/wp12813.pdf>.
- Beitau (2014). Kiribati: Development and performance & challenges. Presentation. Available from <http://devpolicy.org/presentations/2014-Pacific-Update/Day-1/Atanteora-Beitau.pdf>
- Berkelmans, Leon and Jonathan Pryke (2016). The development benefits of expanding Pacific access to Australia's labour market. Lowy Institute for International Policy. Available from www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/development-benefits-expanding-pacific-access-australias-labour-market.
- Brown, M. Anne (2006). *Development and Security in the Pacific Island Region*. International Peace Academy.
- Connell, John (2017). The urban Pacific: A tale of new cities. In Pamela Thomas and Meg Keen (eds.). *Urban Development in the Pacific. Development Bulletin No. 78*. Canberra: Australian National University, pp. 5-10.
- Crocombe, Ron G. (2008). The South Pacific. Suva: University of the South Pacific. In Tony Weir and Zahira Virani (2010). *Three linked risks for development in the Pacific Islands: Climate Change, Natural Disasters and Conflict*. University of the South Pacific, Pacific Centre for Environment and Sustainable Development. Occasional Paper No. 2010/3.
- Ellsmoor, James and Zachary Rosen (2016). Kiribati's land purchase in Fiji: does it make sense? DevPolicy Blog. Available from <http://devpolicy.org/kitibatis-land-purchase-in-fiji-does-it-make-sense-20160111/>.
- Gillett, Robert and Ian Cartwright (2012). *The Future of Pacific Fisheries*. New Caledonia: Secretariat of the Pacific Community. Available from www.spc.int/fame/doc/corporate_docs/Future_of_PI_fisheries_Report.pdf
- George, Nicole (2014). Promoting women, peace and security in the Pacific islands: hot conflict/slow violence. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 68, issue 3, pp. 314-332.
- Institute for Economics and Peace (2016). *Positive Peace Report 2016: A Compilation of the Leading Research on Positive Peace and Resilience*.
- Institute for Economics and Peace (2018). *Measuring Peace in the Pacific, Addressing SDG 16: Peace, Justice & Strong Institutions*.
- Kiddle, Gabriel Luke and others (2017). Unpacking the Pacific urban agenda: resilience challenges and opportunities. *Sustainability* 2017, 9, 1878.
- Melissa Ann Adelman and others (2015). *Hardship and Vulnerability in the Pacific Island Countries*. World Bank. Available from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/649891468098658407/Hardship-and-vulnerability-in-the-Pacific-island-countries>.
- Milan, Andrea, Robert Oakes and Jillian Campbell (2016). Tuvalu: Climate change and migration – Relationships between household vulnerability, human mobility and climate change. Report No.18. Bonn: United Nations University Institute for Environment and Human Security (UNU-EHS).
- Moustafa, Ahmed and others (2014). *The State of Human Development in the Pacific: A Report on Vulnerability and Exclusion in a Time of Rapid Change*. Suva: United Nations Development Programme.
- Oakes, Robert, Andrea Milan, and Jillian Campbell (2016). Kiribati: Climate change and migration – Relationships between household vulnerability, human mobility and climate change. Report No. 20. Bonn: United Nations University Institute for Environment and Human Security (UNU-EHS).
- Opeskin, Brian and Therese MacDermott (2010). Enhancing opportunities for regional migration in the Pacific. Pacific Institute of Public Policy. Briefing No. 13. Available from - <http://pacificpolicy.org/2010/04/regional-migration/>.
- Pacific Institute of Public Policy (2010). Micronesian exodus. Pacific Institute of Public Policy. Discussion Paper No. 16. Available from <http://pacificpolicy.org/2010/12/micronesian-exodus/>.
- Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (2008). Forum Regional Security Committee (FRSC) Paper 2.2: Human Security Framework for conflict prevention in the Pacific region. Suva.
- Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (2015). *Pacific Regional MDGs Tracking Report*. Available from www.forumsec.org/resources/uploads/embeds/file/2015%20Pacific%20Regional%20MDGs%20Tracking%20Report.pdf.
- Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (2017). Forum communiqué. Forty-Eighth Pacific Islands Forum, Samoa, 5-8 September. Available from www.forumsec.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Final_48-PIF-Communique_2017_14Sep17.pdf.

- Pereira, Natalia (2011). *Return(ed) to Paradise: The Deportation Experience in Samoa and Tonga*. UNESCO Policy Paper No. 21. United Nations Education, Social and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Available from: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001928/192858e.pdf>.
- Pereira, Natalia (2014). Pacific island nations, criminal deportees, and reintegration challenges. Migration Policy Institute. Available from www.migrationpolicy.org/article/pacific-island-nations-criminal-deportees-and-reintegration-challenges.
- Stahl, Charles W. and Reginald T. Appleyard (2007). Migration and development in the Pacific islands: Lessons from the New Zealand experience. Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID). Available from <http://apo.org.au/system/files/4627/apo-nid4627-65766.pdf>.
- Toatu, Teuea (2001). Unravelling the Pacific paradox. National Centre for Development Studies. Australian National University, Canberra. Available from <https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/40327/3/1702Teuea.pdf>.
- United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) (2014). *Population and Development Profiles: Pacific Island Countries*. United Nations Population Fund, Pacific Sub-Regional Office. Available from http://pacific.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/web_140414_UNFPAPopulationandDevelopmentProfilesPacificSub-RegionExtendedv1LRv2_0.pdf.
- World Bank (2017). Migration and remittances: Recent developments and outlook. Special topic: Global compact on migration. *Migration and Development Brief No. 27*. Available from <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/992371492706371662/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief27.pdf>.

Recent MPFD Working Papers

www.unescap.org/publication-series/mpfd-working-papers

WP/13/01	Policies for structural transformation: An analysis of the Asia-Pacific experience by C.P. Chandrasekhar and Jayati Ghosh
WP/14/01	G20 agenda for the World Economy: Asia-Pacific perspectives By Sudip Ranjan Basu, Alberto Isgut and Daniel Jeongdae Lee
WP/15/01	Infrastructure Financing, Public-Private Partnerships, and Development in the Asia-Pacific Region by Gilberto Llanto, Adoracion Navarro, Ma. Kristina Ortiz
WP/15/02	Financing for Development: Infrastructure Development in the Pacific Islands by ESCAP Pacific Office
WP/15/03	Capital Market Development and Emergence of Institutional Investors in the Asia-Pacific Region by Hans Genberg
WP/15/04	Trade Finance for Sustainable Development in Asia and the Pacific by Sailendra Narain
WP/15/05	Financing Small and Medium Sized Enterprises for Sustainable Development: A View from the Asia-Pacific Region by Nick Freeman
WP/15/06	Financing the Social Sector: Regional Challenges and Opportunities by Social Development Division, ESCAP
WP/15/07	Inclusive Finance in the Asia-Pacific Region: Trends and Approaches by Md. Ezazul Islam
WP/15/08	Climate finance in the Asia-Pacific: Trends and Innovative Approaches by Ilaria Carrozza
WP/15/09	Financing Disaster Risk Reduction for sustainable development in Asia and the Pacific by Disaster Risk Reduction Section, ICT and Disaster Risk Reduction Division, ESCAP
WP/15/10	Financing Statistics Development in Asia and the Pacific by Statistics Division, ESCAP
WP/15/11	Financing Sustainable Development – What Can We Learn from The Australian Experience of Reform? by Wayne Swan
WP/15/12	Financing Development Gaps in the Countries with Special Needs in the Asia-Pacific Region by Mustafa K. Mujeri
WP/15/13	Polarizing world: GDP, development and beyond by Michael Shashoua and Sudip Ranjan Basu
WP/16/01	Strengthening the capacities of Asia and the Pacific to protect workers against unemployment By John Carter
WP/16/02	Asia-Pacific's experience with national systems of TVET By Jenny Grainger, Liz Bowen-Clewley and Sarah Maclean
WP/16/03	An analytical framework for identifying optimal pathways towards sustainable development By Jaebeum Cho, Alberto Isgut, and Yusuke Tateno
WP/16/04	Pathways for adapting the Sustainable Development Goals to the national context: the case of Pakistan By Jaebeum Cho, Alberto Isgut, and Yusuke Tateno
WP/16/05	Obstacles to productivity in Asia and Pacific region: finance reigns By Filipe Lage de Sousa
WP/16/06	China's productivity: past success and future challenges By Yanqun Zhang
WP/16/07	Fostering productivity in the rural and agricultural sector for inclusive growth and sustainable development in Asia and the Pacific By Upali Wickramasinghe
WP/16/08	Productivity growth in India: determinants and policy initiatives based on the existing literature By Arup Mitra
WP/16/09	Complementarities between the global programmes of action and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development By Alberto Isgut, Ran Kim, Gabriel Spaizmann, Yusuke Tateno and Naylin Oo
WP/17/01	What's Gender Got to Do with Firm Productivity? Evidence from Firm Level Data in Asia By Steve Loris Gui-Diby, Diana Rodriguez-Wong and S. Selsah Pasali
WP/17/02	Estimating infrastructure financing needs in Asia-Pacific least developed countries, landlocked developing countries and small island developing States By Candice Branchoux, Lin Fang and Yusuke Tateno

WP/17/03	Do Data Show Divergence? Revisiting Global Income Inequality Trends By Sudip Ranjan Basu
WP/17/04	Metropolitan city finances in Asia and the Pacific region: issues, problems and reform options By Roy Bahl
WP/17/05	Environmental tax reforms in Asia and the Pacific By Jacqueline Cottrell, Damian Ludewig, Matthias Runkel, Kai Schlegelmilch and Florian Zerzawy
WP/17/06	Issues paper on tax policy and public expenditure management in Asia and the Pacific By Zheng Jian and Alberto Isgut
WP/17/07	Tax incentives and tax base protection in developing countries By Joosung Jun
WP/17/08	Prospects for progressive tax reforms in Asia-Pacific By Zheng Jian and Daniel Jeongdae Lee

READERSHIP SURVEY

The Macroeconomic Policy and Financing for Development Division of ESCAP is undertaking an evaluation of this publication, *Fostering peaceful sustainable development in the Pacific under the 2030 Agenda*, with a view to making future issues more useful for our readers. We would appreciate it if you could complete this questionnaire and return it, at your earliest convenience, to:

Director
 Macroeconomic Policy and Financing for Development Division
 ESCAP, United Nations Building Rajadamnern Nok Avenue Bangkok
 10200, THAILAND

QUESTIONNAIRE

Excellent *Very good* *Average* *Poor*

1. Please indicate your assessment of the *quality* of the publication on:

• Presentation/format	4	3	2	1
• Readability	4	3	2	1
• Timeliness of information	4	3	2	1
• Coverage of subject matter	4	3	2	1
• Analytical rigour	4	3	2	1
• Overall quality	4	3	2	1

2. How *useful* is the publication for your work?

• Provision of information	4	3	2	1
• Clarification of issues	4	3	2	1
• Its findings	4	3	2	1
• Policy suggestions	4	3	2	1
• Overall usefulness	4	3	2	1

3. Please give examples of how this publication has contributed to your work:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

4. Suggestions for improving the publication:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....



About Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)

The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) serves as the United Nations' regional hub promoting cooperation among countries to achieve inclusive and sustainable development. The largest regional intergovernmental platform with 53 member States and 9 associate members, ESCAP has emerged as a strong regional think-tank offering countries sound analytical products that shed insight into the evolving economic, social and environmental dynamics of the region. The Commission's strategic focus is to deliver on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which it does by reinforcing and deepening regional cooperation and integration to advance connectivity, financial cooperation and market integration. ESCAP's research and analysis coupled with its policy advisory services, capacity building and technical assistance to governments aims to support countries' sustainable and inclusive development ambitions.

WWW.UNESCAP.ORG

TWITTER.COM/UNESCAP

FACEBOOK.COM/UNESCAP

YOUTUBE.COM/UNESCAP