

CHAPTER 4

Rethinking citizenship in the Solomon Islands

Billy Fito'o

INTRODUCTION

Healthy citizenship in any country calls for a calm, stable and peaceful social environment. Solomon Islanders usually identify themselves according to their ethnic and cultural affiliations but when the actions of certain groups undermine the social norms, rules, culture, beliefs and traditions of others and sabotage the rule of law, the social environment is threatened. Such was the case in the Solomon Islands during the period between 1999 and 2003. According to Sanga and Walker (2005) "[t]here was ethnic intimidation, forced eviction, murder, rape, arson and open warfare among certain ethnic groups" (p. 7). The authors note that these events occurred during times of deep social inequality, corruption, and crises in the justice, legislative and bureaucratic systems. At the time, the state lacked the capacity to unite people from different ethnic groups as the emergence of multiple contesting ethnic identities challenged the social order. This created a shaky sense of national identity as people showed a lack of tolerance for one another. In the Solomon Islands, these issues are long-standing and have been the subject of much debate among education reformers, politicians, civil society, women leaders, youth, and the population at large. They raise questions about the notion of citizenship in the Solomon Islands context.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT

The Solomon Islands is a country with an estimated population of 550,000 people. It has one of the highest population growth rates (2.7% per annum) in the Pacific region, with a relatively young population with a median age of just under nineteen years (New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2008). The population is predominantly Melanesian (95%) but also includes small numbers of Polynesians (4%) and Micronesians (1%). There are approximately 88 different linguistic groups in the country, each with their own cultural systems and territorial boundaries.

Only 16% of the population is urbanised, while 84% live in rural areas and adopt a subsistence livelihood. The majority of the population relies on gardening, fishing and hunting for survival. Rural people live in clusters of tribal rural villages, where most of the land is held under a communal customary land tenure system. In terms of English literacy, only 30% of the adult population is literate.

The Solomon Islands has inherited a colonial education system. All the students who go through the education system have been selected through a process of assessment at various stages through sitting national examinations. Consequently, only a few students manage to reach the final stages of secondary school. Such a system creates a large number of school 'drop-outs'. In a country where the majority of people still live in rural areas, this system is of concern, particularly when people's educational aspirations are largely for formal, paid employment. The low school retention rate ultimately causes problems such as urban drifts of people. Consequently, people move to the capital, Honiara, to find formal employment, for which they are mostly unqualified. Many end up hanging around the capital. Those who return to their villages often do not have the skills and confidence to help themselves or to contribute meaningfully to their communities.

The fractured social environment and educational situation have had a major impact on young adults. As a community member and Solomon Islands citizen, it has been painful to witness a general rise in social problems and ethnic strife, along with political instability, official corruption in government, and a breakdown of law and order. As an educator, I believe that the systemic privileging of a few young people who are able to access educational opportunities has created injustice for many others. This injustice (both perceived and real) has been much debated and talked about in the Solomon Islands for some time. The study I discuss in this paper was therefore an opportunity for me to examine the concept of citizenship within Solomon Islands society. I have, however, limited this chapter to reporting on just one aspect of my broader area of study, namely 'Solomon Islanders' conceptualisation of citizenship'.

THE STUDY

In my study I took an interpretative-constructivist approach that I considered to be appropriate for investigating perceptions or worldviews. Altogether, a total of twenty-one purposively selected

respondents took part. Two Solomon Islands schools were utilised as case studies—one rural and the other an urban school. In the first case study, a rural school, a total of ten respondents participated. Of these, six were students (three males and three females), three were teachers (two male and one female) and one was the principal. In the second case study, an urban school, similar numbers and categories of respondents participated. Two officials from the Ministry of Education also participated.

The selection of student participants for this study was restricted to the Form Three students in both case study schools. Limiting student selection to the Form Three level was based on a number of considerations. First, Citizenship Education is taught in the current Third Form syllabus. Second, in the Solomon Islands, basic education ends at Form Three; therefore this is the upper education limit for all school-going children in the country. Third, it is at this point of schooling that an annual mass elimination of students occurs following the Form Three national examinations.

In both case study schools, focus groups, semi-structured interviews, and open-ended discussions were held separately with the students and teachers. One-to-one interviews were conducted with each Ministry of Education officer and the two school principals. In these interviews, questions focused on exploring the meanings and understandings of the term 'citizenship' by Solomon Islanders.

THEORETICAL CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

The term, 'citizen', is defined by Engle and Ochoa (1988) as a recognition conferred on individuals by the state as a legal identity. According to Heater (1999), citizens are people who are furnished with knowledge of public affairs, instilled with attitudes of civic virtue, and equipped with skills to participate in the public arena. Acquiring these attributes is a lifelong undertaking that is learnt through both formal and non-formal institutions. Another perspective is provided by Wesley (1978), who defines a citizen as someone who conforms to societal norms and values and participates in certain civic activities.

The concept of 'citizenship' has its origins in ancient Greece. According to Heater (1999), in the period of the Greek and Roman civilisations, citizenship was adopted as a legal term denoting social status. It is also a concept that is closely related to the creation of the modern nation state (see also Crick, 2000; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000;

Stevick & Levinson, 2007). In a modern and contemporary context, citizenship generally refers to people who have legal rights and who have a say in the affairs of the city (Hargreaves, cited in Crick, 2000). The *polis* (city) represents a community of people who share common values and operate within a common civic structure.

Historically, two political camps—the liberal and the republican traditions—have influenced the way citizenship is conceptualised and practised. Liberal models, as Heater (1999) explains, are focused on the role of human rights in civil society. Republican models, on the other hand, emphasise duty and responsibility.

Different groups define citizenship in different ways for different purposes and, for that reason, theories of citizenship are often highly contested (Print, 1999; Purta, Schwillie, & Amadeo, 1999). Consequently, citizenship is a concept that does not have a universally accepted meaning. It can therefore be seen as an idea that is context-specific and enacted in various ways according to people's histories, cultures and customs. For Herbert and Sears (2006), and Engle and Ochoa (1988), on the other hand, citizenship refers to the relationship or set of relationships that exist between the individual and the state, and between individuals within the state. Engle and Ochoa further explain that, in a broader sense, citizenship involves relationships, membership, decision-making, participation or action that affects other members of the social group in some way.

According to Lynch (1992) and Heater (1999), citizenship has both a legal meaning and a social meaning. In a legal sense, citizenship refers to the rights and responsibilities that are granted to the people by the state in recognition of their attachment or affiliation to a particular country. In social terms, citizenship refers to the participation of people in their communities as they engage in civic activities that demonstrate their rights and responsibilities. Similarly, Wesley (1978) views citizenship as being informed by the particular characteristics of each society. He further explains that citizenship is a process of making rational, considerate, well-thought-out decisions. The rationale for this belief is that those who live in a society are continually caught in complex situations that often require them to make decisions in morally ambiguous circumstances.

Kiwan (2005) argues that an important aspect of citizenship is an understanding of what it is to be human and to know how human beings relate to each other and to the state. According to Kiwan, three common factors underpin the debate about the relationship between the modern

nation state and the individual. They are a sense of national identity (which is an important factor in the formation of a nation state); the legal and political status of the relationship between the individual and the state, which includes the rights and freedoms of individuals; and moral virtues and a sense of belonging and duty. The key factor that underpins this concept is the desire to unify diverse groups of people in order to build a coherent and shared sense of national identity. In Western countries, the ability to unify diverse groups of people has been possible because many societies are monolingual and monocultural in nature (Lynch, 1992). However, in non-Western countries such attempts can be very complicated. A great majority of nation-states in the developing world are multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-religious. To build social cohesion and unity in such diverse national spaces is a highly complex process.

Good citizenship

Good citizenship is often represented as the need to develop citizens who demonstrate care for the social group; have the ability to solve social problems and improve society; show good character; display honesty, respect and responsibility; and are law-abiding members of society. Good citizenship, active citizenship, and participatory and responsible citizenship are end products of the practice of citizenship. Notions of citizenship involve an understanding of social values. Kelly (1989) argues that, in a metaphysical sense, values have an existence of their own. According to Kelly (1989), value is an activity, something people do. Conversely, Clark (1997) proposes that "value has its origin in our genetic structure. We are born with an affective capacity to like and to dislike aspects of our experience" (p. 92). Zarrillo (2004) conceptualises values as "constituting the standard or criteria against which individual behavior and group behavior are judged. Beliefs represent commitments to those values" (p. 29).

Good citizenship is sometimes defined as demonstrating values such as the right knowledge, appropriate behaviours, and respect for authority. Wesley (1978) argues that a good citizen can be defined as someone: who carries out the duties and responsibilities of the nation; is a good member of the nation state; obeys the law, pays taxes and attends school; and is willing to defend their country. The emphases in this definition are on participation, knowing what is expected of oneself, and fulfilling these expectations. However, such conceptions can also

place pressure on citizens to conform to national patterns. These national patterns are constructed to enforce patriotic virtues and bring individuals, groups and communities to see the benefit of allegiance. Such virtues, as claimed by Heater (1999), provide the mark of a good citizen.

Active citizenship

'Active citizenship' is a term that refers to citizens who actively participate in the affairs of the society to improve and develop people's quality of life. The term 'active citizenship' is a relatively new concept and there is a broad range of opinion as to what it entails (National Foundation for Educational Research, 2006). However, in its simplest form, active citizenship refers to participation and involvement in activities that help people take an active role in their own communities and beyond. The active dimension in citizenship is driven by political, legal, and social spheres (National Foundation for Educational Research, 2006). Consequently, "the values of democracy are embedded in the drive of the legal and social spheres to promote human and participation rights at local, national, and global levels" (p. 35).

Active citizenship is premised on the desire to educate students, not as passive citizens who are decent and law abiding but as those who play a part in the affairs of the state. Here the word 'active' refers to a sense of obligation to others and a willingness to participate in or lead change on a local, national or global scale. According to Crick (2000), "[a]ctive citizenship is an active moral value. It is not just the provision by the state but also what people can do for each other, working with each other and their communities" (p. 9).

Character dispositions such as respect and honour are central to this notion of citizenship. Lynch (1992) sees the revival of interest in the development of character, attitudes and values as a reorientation towards a greater emphasis on reflexive and active thinking, and people's participation in political and social decision-making. Some educators refer to this as teaching 'social action' while others refer to it as 'education for active citizenship'.

PACIFIC CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

The notion of citizenship for the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Islands is complex. Indigenous Pacific peoples tend to interpret citizenship and what it means to be a citizen in ways that are different

from Western conceptualisations. In the Solomon Islands, Gegeo (1998) use the term 'people of place' to refer to how Kwara'ae people of Malaita conceptualise and perceive their own identities in a rapidly globalising world. Further, Gegeo (2001) explains citizenship (people of place) in terms of the following factors: one's existential foundation, which refers to geographical and physical location; genealogy, one's location in a kin group both in the present and reaching backward and forward in time; having land through genealogy and marriage; the position, based on genealogy and marriage, from which one may speak on important issues without being challenged about one's identity and one's knowledge about culture, history, ontology and cosmology. Gegeo also argues that citizenship is accompanied by certain kin obligations and responsibilities that cannot go unfulfilled and from which one is freed only by death—such responsibility includes contributing to bride price or bride wealth payments in marriage.

In the Fijian context, Nabobo-Baba (2008) articulates similar notions of citizenship among tribal peoples. In Fiji, citizenship is attributed to "those who have the record of speaking the truth, are hard working, and attend all customary obligations" (p. 140). More importantly, such 'ideal' citizens or 'good' citizens attend and support their relations and are service-oriented, including demonstrating reciprocal values of kinship. Nabobo-Baba argues that "... those people are known for their wisdom; they live well and work really hard" (p. 140).

Education for citizenship for the indigenous peoples of Pacific Island countries may also vary in content, pedagogies and strategies compared with Western educational and philosophical orientations. In the Solomon Islands, children gain important social knowledge through parents, family interactions and peer socialisation. The rights and freedom of the child are determined by the parents, family or even the extended family as a shared responsibility. According to Sanga (2004), these are contextually based influences. Learning is influenced by the immediate social setting and knowledge is acquired through the child's understanding of what is seen, touched, heard, felt and smelled from the family unit and the community (Gegeo, 2001). Learning is a matter of obligation—it is not seen in terms of being a child's right or choice. This learning is acquired through listening, watching, imitating, and doing things with others in the kinship group.

Learning is accompanied and reinforced by the narration of fairytales, stories about battles and important characters, songs, chants and dances about the environment, love and relationships—all carefully

guided by the parents. These become avenues for teaching values, power, secrets or taboos, the importance of nature, and people's relationship with the environment. Children watch while these kinds of activities are performed. They can replicate the activity at the same time or at a later date. People believe that from the values they have nurtured from birth and through their socialisation within a kinship group, they are able to live in harmony with the social and physical environment. The values that uphold social norms and respect for people's way of life are therefore central to stable and harmonious living. Children show their allegiance through respect, obedience, duty and responsibility to their immediate family, community and tribal institutions. In the Solomon Islands this is what is meant by teaching and learning for good and active citizenship.

SOLOMON ISLANDS CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP: THE FINDINGS

The findings of a study I conducted on Solomon Islanders' notions of citizenship study are briefly discussed in the paragraphs that follow. For the Solomon Islands respondents involved in my study, citizenship was defined as an individual's membership within a community or country. One participant explained the concept as "membership of a group identified through birth and for naturalised citizens, identification is by law". Another saw it as "the affiliation people have with a particular country by birth". Yet another saw it as "one's original place of birth including parents and relatives who are also part of the original place of birth". One respondent asserted, "If my parents are from the Solomon Islands then I am a citizen of Solomon Islands." Furthermore, another stated, "I am a citizen of Solomon Islands because I am entitled to land ownership handed down from generation to generation by my ancestors ... to live in the land, freely rear the land, based on the recognition I have by birth."

Solomon Islands teachers defined citizenship in terms of entitlement. According to one, citizenship is "an entitlement conferred in recognition of land ownership." Expressing a similar view, another teacher viewed citizenship as "having full entitlement and ownership of traditional and cultural property, including land, historical sites, and natural resources."

Student respondents expressed similar views. For one, "Citizenship is related to the individual's place of birth, including land ownership and demonstrated values". Similarly, another defined citizenship as "people who are born in the Solomon Islands ... and a recognition of something

assumed by birth". Yet another student saw citizens as "people who are born in the country are citizens of that country". As a final example, another student defined citizenship as "recognition conferred on individuals through tribe and family affiliation".

The Ministry of Education respondents defined citizenship by using two distinct knowledge types—traditional knowledge and modern knowledge. According to one of the officials, traditional knowledge is "an essence which forms a peaceful co-existence and mutual relationship among people." For this respondent, this 'essence' is obtained through 'people relating to each other and accepting each other through cultural values'. Seen in this way, good citizenship was perceived as "people's responsibility to their own community and society and what they demonstrate that reflects their consciousness of the traditional custom, modern law and respect to institutions".

It is common in the Solomon Islands for people to be acknowledged and given recognition for displaying good behaviour, in preference to those individuals with modern academic qualifications, wealth and/or social status. The following examples from teacher respondents support this observation. One teacher claimed, "People are recognised in their communities not because of power but through demonstration of acceptable attitudes and behaviours, ones which reflect the customs, culture and religion of their immediate settings." In further support, another said, "My attitude and behaviour indicate my status and value among my people." In a final example, another teacher explained, "Who I am as a citizen is determined by my cultural consciousness of important values within my community and living in harmony with members of my community."

The demonstration and practice of cultural and religious values also show an individual's identity as a citizen. One of the respondents, a school principal, explained good citizenship as "[a] person within a locality, one who demonstrates exotic values and is recognised within one's community as well as in the wider society". According to this respondent, such a view implies that "any behaviours within an immediate setting which are contradictory to the shared values of society, are unacceptable and should not be tolerated, within the local context and society".

Two students expressed views that reflected their understandings of good citizenship. The first student perceived good citizenship as "having the freedom and rights to participate in activities organised

and conducted by cultural and religious institutions". The other student talked about good citizenship as an ideal that one aspires to attain. For this student, "Individuals who freely partake in restricted ceremonies have certain rights and values that justify their participation" and are consequently enjoying the privilege of good citizenship.

CITIZENSHIP PERSPECTIVES BASED ON THE MODERN RULE OF LAW

Contemporary understandings of citizenship were also evident in the views of the study respondents. According to one of the Ministry of Education officials, citizenship refers to membership of a group of people or communities of people who are living together, despite being members of different cultures and religions. According to this respondent, the unifying factor of modern citizenship is the rule of law. This respondent explained, "People of different cultures, religions and status come to live together under the recognition of the modern law." Similarly, the second official explained that, in the modern Solomon Islands, "people are from different islands or different countries, yet are recognised by their right and freedom to live in this country". This respondent further noted that for such people, as citizens, "they do not necessarily have one common belief system or a shared way of life". This Solomon Islander further acknowledged that such differences are a cause for concern. In his view, "many Solomon Islanders, unfortunately, do not recognise other people may be different but [still] share similar entitlements or rights to live and occupy the same geographical locations as themselves in this country".

This modern conceptualisation of citizenship is challenging for many Solomon Islanders. According to one of the Ministry of Education officials, "most Solomon Islanders do not realise that although people are different culturally, linguistically, and in matters of religion, they are unified by the modern rule of law". This respondent further claimed that it is "people's ignorance of the modern unifying rule of law system which is the explanation for people not understanding each other, and hence not relating well with each other".

It is obvious that this modern system has come into force despite the fact that many Solomon Islanders do not fully understand or embrace it. Therefore, when people fail to relate to each other well, they are breaking the laws of the country and in turn they are punished by these same laws. These tensions were recognised by study respondents, although none had claimed to have resolved these contradictions. For

these Solomon Islanders, the modern conceptualisation of citizenship is difficult to accept because it is very different from more familiar cultural understandings.

CONCLUSION

Citizenship is a term that is difficult to define precisely but the way that different people enact citizenship is influenced by their social, political and economic environments. According to this study, citizenship in the Solomon Islands is more often conceptualised in terms of tribal entitlements and obligations. The entitlements of citizenship relate to the rightful ownership of land and resources. Such recognition is attained through birthright. As well, citizens of a country are seen as being people who have strong connections or affiliations with their indigenous culture and customs. Such connections create acceptance for people to live and participate freely in cultural and traditional matters, some of which have since been blended with modern laws. Given such a conceptualisation of citizenship, a number of implications are worth noting here.

First, according to people's belief systems, having status as Solomon Islands citizens is not a privilege or a right that is conferred by the state; rather, they see citizenship as something that is passed on to them by their ancestors. The study shows that some people limit their definition of citizenship to the way they engage with their own social and cultural milieu. In this respect, they recognise the authority of their cultural or ethnic group but have no sense of belonging to a nation state. In other words, their nation is their ethnic group. Customarily, Solomon Islanders have connections with many islands (sometimes these are referred to locally as nations). Often, people are recognised only when they are identified with a tribe or kin group.

Second, the notion of citizenship and entitlement, in this context, implies having rights over land, culture and customs. It is not seen as being related to Western liberal notions of democratic or human rights. When Solomon Islanders talk about entitlements, they particularly refer to guardianship rights over properties and cultural heritage transferred from generation to generation. People therefore self-identify along ethnic or tribe affiliation lines in the first instance rather than with a national identity, national symbols or a modern constitution. This traditional kinship system is ultimately related to the tribal and tenure system. As pointed out by Fukuyama (2008), kinship systems are

constructed as mechanisms for passing on properties to descendants; thus, people view land ownership both as a birthright and as a hereditary entitlement.

Third, Western ideas about birthrights are understood in different ways in the Solomon Islands context. In the Solomon Islands, birthrights are recognised primarily through affiliation with land, indigenous culture, and custom. For instance, although there are migrants in the country who are citizens of the Solomon Islands, they are often perceived as 'outsiders' because they have no indigenous land rights. Such a perspective affects not only migrants but the indigenous people of the country and those who settle on different islands not of their origin within the Solomon Islands. The freedom to manoeuvre and participate in society is more limited for people who do not have these things. In this sense, simply having a passport that states the passport holder is a Solomon Island citizen does not make sense to a majority of Solomon Islands people.

Such a conceptualisation of citizenship reflects the complexities and diversity of people and the fragmentation of the state; these factors have caused, by far, the most challenges to the building of the Solomon Islands as a nation state. As noted by Fukuyama (2008), the main obstacle for highly segmented or fragmented societies such as that of the Solomon Islands is their inability to achieve large-scale collective action for extended periods of time. A critical challenge, therefore, relates to changing people's perceptions and ways of thinking.

Another important recognition relates to citizens' responsibilities and obligations which are entrusted to them by society. A person is recognised by their moral behaviour and values and the contributions made to their community. This includes participation in cultural ceremonies and meeting family or tribal obligations. People may be stereotyped as 'different' if they fail to uphold the moral values of the prevailing culture and religion. This includes demonstrating and practising the values of respect, responsibility, care, honesty, and other character traits recognised by the culture of the people.

People may come to a country from a different land, culture or custom, but if they demonstrate acceptable behaviours they are more likely to be accepted and highly regarded among the people with whom they are living. The more important factor here is for residents to respect and uphold the values of the cultures and customs of their hosts. In this way, mutual relationships and unity are more likely to be achieved. In contrast, a person may be a member of the ethnic group, but if he/she

fails to live up to the standards of culture and custom, that person will be dealt with accordingly or will be reprimanded. Often in traditional Melanesian cultures, people who are reprimanded for violation of cultural taboos can only reconcile with the community once they have changed their behaviours and attitudes towards others and towards the environment. As such, good values and other character traits are significant characteristics for people's ways of life, making these a part of the responsibilities and obligations of citizens.

As noted earlier in this chapter, the Solomon Islands has experienced upheaval and unrest partly because of the neglect of traditional citizenship values. From this study, it is clear that Solomon Islanders have a complex conceptualisation of citizenship. They do not demand much of what may be termed 'modern life'. They value a traditional lifestyle that is safe and fair; and a society that bases its development on the cultures and values that are significant to people's ways of life. These include moral values, custom values and religious values. Those values are important for the effective development of the many tribes and for the country as a whole.

REFERENCES

- Clark, J. (1997). *Educational research: Philosophy, politics, ethics*. Palmerston North: ERDC Press.
- Crick, B. (2000). *Essays on citizenship*. London: Wellington House.
- Engle, H. S., & Ochoa, S. A. (1988). *Education for democratic citizenship*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Fukuyama, F. (2008). State-building in the Solomon Islands. *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 23(3), 1-17.
- Gegeo, D. W. (2001). Cultural rupture and indigeneity: The challenge of (re)visioning "place" in the Pacific. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13(2), 491-507.
- Gegeo, D. W. (1998). Indigenous knowledge and empowerment: Rural development examined from within. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 10, 289-315.
- Heater, D. (1999). *What is citizenship?* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Herbert, Y., & Sears, A. (2006). *Citizenship education*. Canada Education Association. Retrieved March 16, 2008, from www.blackwell-synergy.com/helicon.vuw.ac.nz
- Kelly, C. (1989). *Curriculum theory and practice*. London: Paul Chapman.
- Kiwan, D. (2005). Human rights and citizenship. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 39(1). Retrieved June 23, 2008, from www.blackwell-synergy.com/helicon.vuw.ac.nz

- Kymlicka, W., & Norman, W. (2000). *Citizenship in diverse societies*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lynch, J. (1992). *Education for citizenship in multi-cultural society*. London: Cassell, Villiers House.
- Nabobo-Baba, U. (2008). Fijian epistemology: Examining aspects of Vugalei cultural pedagogies, processes and possibility. In K. Sanga & K. H. Thaman (Eds.), *Re-thinking education curricula in the Pacific: Challenges and prospects* (pp. 137-158). Wellington: He Pārekereke, Institute for Research and Development in Māori and Pacific Education, Victoria University of Wellington.
- National Foundation for Educational Research. (2006). *Active citizenship and young people: The citizenship education longitudinal study*. London: Author. Retrieved March 16, 2008, from www.blackwell-synergy.com/helicon.vuw.ac.nz
- NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2008). *The Solomon Islands history* (pp. 1-12). Solomon Times Online. Retrieved June 28, 2008, from www.solomontimesonline.com
- Print, M. (1999). Strategies for teaching civics and civil society. In M. Print, J. Ellickson-Brown, & R. A. Baginda (Eds.), *Civic education for civil society* (pp. 81-98). London: ASEAN Academic Press.
- Sanga, K., & Walker, D. K. (2005). *Apem moa Solomon Island leadership*. Wellington: He Pārekereke, Institute for Research and Development in Māori and Pacific Education, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Sanga, K. (2002). Beyond access and participation: Challenges facing Pacific education. In F. Pene, 'A. M. Taufe'ulungaki, & C. Benson (Eds.), *Tree of opportunity: Re-thinking Pacific education* (pp. 52-58). Suva: Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific.
- Sanga, K. (2004). Making philosophical sense of indigenous Pacific research. In T. Baba, O. Mahina, N. Williams, & U. Nabobo-Baba (Eds.), *Researching the Pacific and indigenous peoples* (pp. 41-52). Auckland: The University of Auckland.
- Sanga, K., & Taufe'ulungaki, 'A. (Eds.). (2005). *International aid impacts on Pacific education*. Wellington: He Pārekereke, Institute for Research and Development in Māori and Pacific Education, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Sanga, K., & Pollard, B. (2006). *Apem moa leadership long Solomon Islands* (Unpublished). Honiara: Solomon Islands.
- Solomon Islands Times Online Archives. (2008). *The history of the Solomon Islands*. Retrieved February 19, 2008, from www.solomontimesonline.com
- Stevick, D. E., & Levinson, A. U. B. (2007). *Re-imagining civic education*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

- Taufe'ulungaki, 'A. (2009). Tongan values in education: Some issues and question. In K. Sanga & K. H. Thaman (Eds.), *Re-thinking education curricula in the Pacific: Challenges and prospects* (pp. 125-158). Wellington: He Pārekereke, Institute for Research and Development in Māori and Pacific Education, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Thaman, K. H. (2001). Towards culturally inclusive teacher education with specific reference to Oceania. *International Education Journal*, 2(5), 1-3.
- Torney-Purta, J., Schwille, J., & Amadeo, A. J. (1999). *Civic education across countries: Twenty-four national case studies from the IEA Civic Education Project* (pp. 137-159). Amsterdam: IEA Secretariat.
- Wesley, E. (1978). *The future of the social studies*. California: ETC.
- Zarrillo, J. J. (2004). *Teaching elementary social studies*. Columbus: Pearson Education.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Billy Fito'o is from the Solomon Islands and holds a Master of Education from Victoria University of Wellington. He was a teacher and school manager in his country between 1985 and 2010. In 2010, he joined the Solomon Islands Public Service as the Deputy Director of the Institute of Public Administration and Management (IPAM), a position which he currently holds. Billy is passionate about leadership and uses his spare time engaging with communities and mobilising and mentoring people as leaders. Billy did his early tertiary education at the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education (SICHE) and at the University of the South Pacific.