

Peacebuilding and feminist foreign policy

Can Australia rebuild relations with the Solomon Islands?

Dr Federica Caso, LaTrobe University

Patricia Sango Pollard, Independent Researcher

AFFPC ISSUE PAPER SERIES. ISSUE NUMBER 10. MARCH 2023

Introduction

The leak of the security pact between China and the Solomon Islands in March 2022 compelled Australia to step up its engagement with the Pacific Island nation. Immediately after the security pact was leaked, the longstanding relationship between Australia and the Solomon Islands soured. The Morrison government expressed resentment, disappointment, and fear that Solomon Islands' behavior will endanger Pacific security. The Solomon Islands responded by asserting its sovereign right to safeguard its national interests and to enter into agreements with third parties without external influence. The rancorous Australian reaction changed in tone with the election of the Albanese Government in May 2022. Following the meeting between Solomon Islander Prime Minister Sogavare and Australian Prime Minister Albanese in Canberra in October 2022, Australia has increased its engagement efforts in the hope to win back Solomon Island's preference over China and rebuild relations.

Australia's engagement efforts with the Solomon Islands primarily revolve around security and developmentⁱ. As the revived interest in the Solomon Islands has been prompted by the security pact with China, it is no surprise that security partnership and collaboration is at the forefront of Australia's engagement strategy. Following the arrival of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) in the Solomon Islands in July 2003, Australia gained the position of Solomon Islands' security partner of choice. This role was confirmed in the aftermath of RAMSI with the 2017 Bilateral Security Treaty which was activated for the first time in 2021 following the civil unrest in Honiara.

In November 2022, Australia committed to: deliver major infrastructure in the Solomon Islands; support security including the construction of environmentally sustainable border and patrol outposts in the western and eastern provinces; support Solomon Island's policing priorities in

preparation of the 2023 Pacific Games, and assist with the disposal of unexploded ordnance from World War IIⁱⁱ.

Australia is also the largest provider of Official Development Assistance to Solomon Islands. Australia has committed to build a 22 km electricity transmission line that will alleviate costs and produce economic opportunities for Solomon Islanders, and has pledged \$250 million over 10 years to deliver infrastructures including the upgrade of 10 markets across the state, a new birthing and urban health clinic in Honiara and Western Province, and telecommunication towers. Australia has also been supporting the Pacific Island nation's Covid response by providing vaccine doses, medical supplies, and medical assistance.

This change in tone and improved engagement is remarkable, but a question remains: Are military diplomacy and development aid enough to rebuild Australia's relations with the Solomon Islands and secure peace and stability in the Pacific in the face of the looming presence of China?

Prime Minister Sogavare has undeniably put an emphasis on military security, but this is hardly the only issue of concern for Pacific countries like the Solomon Islands. The Pacific faces imminent threats from climate change that are exacerbating food and societal insecurity and migration. The history of protracted conflict in the Solomon Islands teaches the importance of building civil society, allowing customary and spiritual practices of peacebuilding, and empowering women as peacebuilders, mediators, and decision-makers. The country cannot rely solely on development aid. The benefits of development in the Solomon Islands have spread unevenly because of clientelism and a focus on the capital city Honiara at the expense of rural areas. Australia's development aid has also been used to counter China's investments leaving the interests of local communities secondⁱⁱⁱ.

Feminist Foreign Policy offers a more holistic approach to aid and relationship building. A Feminist Foreign Policy approach would enable Australia to step up its peacebuilding efforts, secure the relationship with Solomon Islands and promote regional stability in the face of China's assertive behaviour. Military diplomacy risks further militarising the region and escalating competition that can lead to conflict. Australia cannot win against China in the game of military power and aid diplomacy and should instead bank on a value-based approach that can re-establish Australia as a partner of choice based on the shared vision of a peaceful Pacific region^{iv}.

Feminist Foreign Policy is an instrument of peacebuilding in the hands of states that promotes gender justice and the empowerment of women in international engagements as predicators of peace. Australia is a country committed to both gender equality and regional peace. It has a longstanding record of involvement in regional peacebuilding and stabilization^v and in 2021 launched the second National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security in 2021^{vi}. While Australia's foreign policy is generally pro-women^{vii}, Australia has not declared a Feminist Foreign Policy and is increasingly caught in great powers' rivalry in the Indo-Pacific. In the last year, analysts have expressed concerns that Australia may have "lost its way on women, peace, and security"^{viii} and that its commitment to peacebuilding has declined in favour of militarised security^{ix}.

This brief examines the added value of a Feminist Foreign Policy approach to peacebuilding in the Pacific by looking at the case of the Solomon Islands. It outlines the critical role that Solomon Islands women have in local peacebuilding efforts and discusses Australia's current commitments to advancing gender equality in the Solomon Islands. We explore the implications and the ethical considerations of a Feminist Foreign Policy approach to peacebuilding, and include recommendations for Australia to align its foreign policy with normative feminist commitments that can improve the relationship with the Solomon Islands and promote Pacific regional peace and security.

Solomon Islands Women in Peacebuilding

The Solomon Islands is an archipelago of 9 island provinces, five of which have a matrilineal system of land inheritance. Despite this, Solomon Island women own only 2% of land and their rights to property are often unrealised or marginalized^x. Matrilineal systems also do not translate into roles of political and community leadership for women. Following German and British colonization and the introduction of Christianity, the country developed patriarchal power structures and a culture that emphasises and promotes male leadership^{xi}. Men have greater access to economic opportunities which allows them to claim authority. Despite incremental improvements, women continue to experience high rates of sexual and physical violence from intimate partners, vulnerable employment, and childbirth death^{xii}.

From 1998 to 2003, a period known as 'the tensions', the country experienced a violent conflict and continuous upheavals stemming from deep seated ethnic grievances and ongoing dissatisfaction with governance and poor

delivery of services. It is estimated that between 100 and 400 people lost their lives and more than 55,000 people were displaced. As a result of the conflict, the state approached failure being unable to govern, provide security, and support the economy. Communities experienced long periods without a wage and services^{xiii}. During this time women experienced various violations including rape, forced marriage, increased domestic violence, lack of access to health and justice services, displacement, and homelessness^{xiv}. Women also played a key role in caring for survivors and those killed and wounded in the conflicts.

Women used existing and new networks to mediate with the combatants, halt violence, and end the conflict^{xv}. They drew from their Christian faith, customary practices, and roles as mothers and carers to promote national unity rather than division, offer spiritual and material support to other women, and persuade men to lay down the weapons^{xvi}. In 2000, the combatants begun the peace negotiations which led to the Townsville Peace Agreement. Despite the involvement on women in peacemaking activities throughout the conflict, they were marginalised in the negotiations and excluded from the peace accords.

Women continued their peacebuilding efforts in the aftermath of conflict, but their role as mediators and peacebuilders was neglected again during the years of the Australia-led stabilisation intervention, RAMSI. RAMSI was launched following the deterioration of the peace agreement in 2003 and lasted until 2017. It had a strong focus on policing crime, state-building, and fiscal stabilization^{xvii}. Although Solomon Islands women welcomed RAMSI's arrival for curbing violence, they criticised the mission for marginalising and ignoring their post-conflict peacebuilding efforts and skills. The Australian Foreign Relations Parliamentary Committee report on RAMSI between 2003 and 2009 stated that "Despite the potential and imperative for RAMSI to have been informed by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, the mission did not fulfill obligations under this resolution"^{xviii}.

One notable example is the case of Mrs. Hilder Kari, a respected elder, former member of the National Peace Council and Parliament, and skilled negotiator, who was refused access to participate in the mediation of conflict during the 2006 riots in Honiara. The 2006 riots heightened the insecurity of Solomon Island women by exposing them to public and domestic violence^{xix}. Mrs Kari insisted that she could have mediated with the rioters but RAMSI personnel refused her access on the ground that they could not secure her personal safety^{xx}. The public conversation about the exclusion of Mrs Kari from the mediation process catalysed a new sensitivity to women's participation in peacebuilding in the second half of RAMSI^{xxi}. This inclusion, however, was criticised for treating women's insecurity and participation as an afterthought of peacebuilding and for failing to afford adequate attention to the security needs of women and their empowerment^{xxii}.

The sustained conversation about women's ongoing informal peacemaking and peacebuilding since 1998, eventually led the Solomon Islands Government to launch the National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security

2017-2021. This enshrines the participation of women in national peacebuilding and decision-making. The UN Peacebuilding Fund project after RAMSI has also focused on the empowerment and participation of women in peacebuilding and social cohesion activities. It claims a degree of success in advancing an understanding of the role of women in peacebuilding and ingraining the institutional participation of women in decision-making through the provincial uptake of the Temporary Special Measures^{xxiii}.

Despite the improved institutional framework that supports the participation of Solomon Island women in peacebuilding, research finds that the environment remains constraining. Women report finding themselves unable to make their “private, everyday, personal ‘cries’ and ‘struggles’ heard in ways that might influence the direction of deliberations on post-conflict governance and peacebuilding”^{xxiv}. Gender hierarchies and stereotypes continue to limit the ability of women to express themselves and be heard by their male counterparts. Furthermore, Solomon Islands women lament that the international nature of peacebuilding is often incompatible with local customs and norms and therefore hinders or does not acknowledge their work in their communities^{xxv}.

Australia's Current Commitment to Solomon Islands Women

It is evident that Solomon Islands women have an important role to play in peacebuilding and the stabilisation of the country, and Australia must support this. Despite some efforts to do so since 2009, the Australian commitment remains partial. Notably, the 2017 Bilateral Security Treaty between the two nations did not mention the UNSCR 1325, nor the Solomon Islands National Action Plan on WPS^{xxvi}. Australia's pivot to the Pacific has been criticised for lacking a gender lens and focus on women's participation^{xxvii}. Its priorities pertain to military and maritime security and the commitment to bring women to the negotiating table and express their understanding of security remains absent. Although women are often involved in DFAT's development programs, they are absent in negotiation and decision-making of high level national and regional security^{xxviii}.

A recent example of Australia's limited consideration of Solomon Islands women when conducting relations with the Pacific nation is the lack of a gender focus in the military and police intervention in Honiara following the riots in 2021. The Australian deployment was militarised with men in camouflage and weapons. There is no public record of the deployment of gender military advisors and no mention of the mission's effort to assist and accommodate Solomon Islands women affected by the upheaval^{xxix}. There is also no public acknowledgement of the intent to speak to women to understand their perspective on the events. Now the intervention has turned into support to guarantee public order and security in preparation of the Pacific Games 2023, and it remains unclear how this form of militarism will affect local women. More transparency is needed about this mission and activities.

Australia tends to treat Solomon Islands women as recipient of development, but not as knowledge holders about local and regional politics. Women seem to be immediately connected – and confined – to women's issues without the acknowledgement that women's issues are part of broader politics and that women can speak about broader politics too. Between 2012 and 2022, Australia implemented the *Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development (2012-2022)* program to support the *Pacific Leaders Gender Equality Declaration*, a commitment of Pacific Government leaders to establish gender equality in their country (now replaced by *Pacific Women Lead*). The bulk of the funding went towards initiatives to end violence against women, with other priorities including women's political leadership and participation in local politics^{xxx}. In Solomon Islands, Australia committed \$34.8 million over 10 years (until December 2021) which went primarily towards ending violence against women, but also in projects to empower women economically and politically, and enhance women's agency. This support has enabled local women's rights organisations such as the Women's Rights Action Movement (WRAM) to successfully lobby for Temporary Special Measures for women in politics and to implement leadership programs^{xxxi}. This is remarkable, but has mostly focused on women advocacy for women's rights at the expenses of broader politics, including regional politics.

In 2021, new opportunities to advance Pacific women's involvement in regional politics have been created. Australia announced a new 6-year program to support Pacific Women, *Pacific Women Lead*, with a budget of \$170m drawn from the Australian Government's aid budget. The program supports three goals, 1) the promotion of women's leadership; 2) the realisation of women's rights; 3) the support of regional efforts and partnerships to achieve gender equality^{xxxii}. The program design framework – still a draft as of January 2023 – acknowledges the lesson from previous programs about the benefits of having a Pacific Women Advisory Board overseeing the redesign of the program^{xxxiii}. The details of country-specific programs and budget are not yet available, but the draft of the *Pacific Women Lead* claims that the new bilateral programs will maintain roughly the same budget provided under the *Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development*^{xxxiv}.

We recommend that as Australia defines the programs and budget, it considers women as knowledge holders and producers about broader national and regional politics. This can be done not only by promoting the inclusion of women in key positions of political power, but also by implementing consultation mechanisms that allow to understand women's perspectives on issues beyond women's rights and violence against women. For example, how do Solomon Island women perceive China and its presence in the country? How do they perceive the power competition between China and Australia? And how do they perceive the Australian military and police presence in the country following November 2021?

Feminist Foreign Policy and Peacebuilding

It is evident that Australia already has a strong framework of commitment to gender equality and women's empowerment in its foreign policy, but it remains reluctant

to declare a Feminist Foreign Policy. Under the previous Australian government, DFAT developed the Indigenous Diplomacy Agenda to advance the rights of Indigenous peoples in Australia and around the world. As Blackwell and Ballangarry have noted, it is not clear how this agenda has benefited First Nation Peoples^{xxxv}. In May 2022, the Albanese Government announced that Australia would be developing a First Nations Foreign Policy. In implementing this commitment, the Government should consider a Feminist Foreign Policy because Indigeneity is not gender blind and an openly feminist approach to foreign policy will bolster the First Nations Foreign Policy agenda.

An analysis suggests that Australia's pro-gender foreign policy occurs "by stealth" to preserve its baseline masculine and militarist approach to foreign policy^{xxxvi}. By avoiding declaring a Feminist Foreign Policy, Australia preserves its commitments to military security, military diplomacy, and the controversial arms trade to boost the national economy^{xxxvii}. The new Government's budget allocates almost 2% of the GDP to defence (AUD\$ 52.162 billion in 2023-24), compared to 0.18% (4.65 billion) to foreign aid. Although the foreign aid budget received a 1.4 billion boost, this is over 4 years and it remains meagre compared with the defence budget and other OECD country's foreign aid budgets^{xxxviii}.

Despite the commitments to advance women through development aid, Australia's militarised approach to foreign policy risks attracting power politics competition in the region and further insecurity, especially for women. The negative implications of militarisation on Pacific women have been well-documented^{xxxix} and therefore the prioritization of militarised security runs counter the commitment to protect women. For example, Australia's militarised approach to foreign policy led to the AUKUS agreement secretly signed by Australia, the US, and the UK. This military alliance not only may invite a militarised response from China, but it will also bring nuclear-powered submarines in the Pacific. This is a challenge to the Treaty of Rarotonga which prevents the placement of nuclear weapons and other infrastructures in the South Pacific that may pollute the environment with radioactive wastes and material^{xl}. Pacific women have been at the forefront of the anti-nuclear movement^{xli} and the introduction of nuclear-powered submarines in the Pacific through AUKUS is a slap on their face, disrespectful to Indigenous voices, and disregards Pacific women's activism about foreign policy and international relations. Pacific women's activism for a nuclear-free Pacific and world has been driven by their experiences with food contamination, cancer, and reproductive health issues related to nuclear testing^{xlii}. They have also emphasised that nuclear politics has advanced a patriarchal logic that has dismissed women's concerns about public health with defence rationalities^{xliii}.

It is time that Indigenous and Pacific women are listened to as agents of international politics rather than being reduced to recipient of aid to end domestic violence in their communities. The end of domestic violence is indeed crucial and the first step to empower women. Gender equality cannot stop there and cannot be limited to their communities. Pacific women must be empowered as knowledge holders and participants in conversations about state-building, regional politics, and international issues. The open and purposeful declaration of a Feminist Foreign

Policy in conjunction with the First Nations Foreign Policy will establish Australia's commitment to gender equality and the empowerment of women for regional peace led by Indigenous people and women. This approach will empower Indigenous women to influence the agenda not only about women domestically, but also about peace regionally and internationally.

The declaration of a Feminist Foreign Policy will make a commitment to peacebuilding in the Pacific that will also have strategic implications for Australia. Australia will clearly express to the international community and regional and bilateral partners its commitment to gender equality and the empowerment of women as key drivers of its peaceful foreign policy. Studies show that a Feminist Foreign Policy improves a country's soft power and international image^{xliiv}. In the face of the increasingly aggressive stance of China in the Pacific, Australia will bank on values to attract partnerships and allies. China has the money and the military capabilities but has a poor record of human rights and gender equality. Notably, China seeks to cut peacekeeping budgets for human rights and gender equality because of their limited economic returns^{xliiv}. As seen in this brief, Solomon Islands women are seeking empowerment and equality which will be unlikely under Chinese protectorate. Furthermore, Solomon Islanders have already expressed their lack of approval for a growing presence of Chinese investment and business on multiple occasions. Australia must take stock that although Solomon Islands Prime Minister Sogavare is seeking Chinese investment and militarised security, many Solomon Islanders are of a different mind. Following the pillars of Feminist Foreign Policy on listening to locals and creating an environment of solidarity, Australia will be in the position to better understand and respond to the real needs of Solomon Islanders, including women.

Ethical Considerations for an Australian Feminist Foreign Policy

The goal of Feminist Foreign Policy is to advance gender equality as precondition of peace. However, as foreign policy is ultimately about the national interest, when states formulate a Feminist Foreign Policy, they must negotiate their national interest with their responsibility towards gender equality and peace both internationally and domestically. Therefore, Australia must engage in serious considerations about ethical issues before formulating a Feminist Foreign Policy.

The following is a series of recommendations to formulate a Feminist and First Nations Foreign Policy that are grounded in ethical integrity and are not tokenistic.

- 1) A Feminist Foreign Policy will foreground a less militaristic foreign policy. Despite being pro-women, Australia's foreign policy remains embedded and therefore shaped by a masculinist view of international relations that prioritises military security. Australia continues to have a high regard for military security even at the expense of regional stability, as demonstrated, for example, by the AUKUS deal. Australia also uses the military market such as the arms trade and military contracts to boost its economy. Australia's

aspiration to become a top ten global defence and weapons exporter^{xlv} runs against the Feminist Foreign Policy pillar to promote peace with foreign policy. An Australian Feminist Foreign Policy cannot coexist with existing levels of militarism and must shed the contradiction in favour of less militarism.

- 2) A Feminist Foreign Policy will promote meaningful participation of women in regional and international politics. As part of its commitment to the Women, Peace, and Security, Australia advocates for the inclusion of Australian women in the military, police, and security sector and offers training in other countries for women to join the police and the military^{xlvii}. This is driven by the belief that the empowerment of women in international security must involve their representation in security and defence industries. This is correct, but a limited approach to the meaningful participation of women in international security. Despite the inclusion of women, the military remains a patriarchal institution with limited transformative capacities^{xlviii}. There are a number of women's organisations and movements, including the anti-nuclear Pacific women movement, that are already involved in international security but remain marginal voices in the policy-making conversation. A Feminist Foreign Policy must speak to and elevate these movements to participate in regional and international policymaking. To be meaningful, the participation of women must engage women's

issues in their own terms and women in their own institutions and movements.

- 3) Finally, in line with the First Nations Foreign Policy, Australia's Feminist Foreign Policy must engage with Indigenous and Pacific women as knowledge holders and knowledge producers about national and regional politics and peacebuilding. Pacific women have a long record of working for peace and national and regional policy gains "have been achieved as a result of their home-grown effort"^{xlix}. It is positive that the framework design of Australia's *Pacific Women Lead* acknowledges the importance of a Pacific Women Advisory Board to oversee the development of the program and that the draft points to the importance of treating Pacific women as leaders and agents of regional politics and change. A Feminist Foreign Policy must be an instrument that lifts Indigenous women, bring them to high-level negotiation and decision-making spaces, and empower them to shape their own direction not only domestically, but also regionally and internationally.

THE AUSTRALIAN FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY COALITION

The Australian Feminist Foreign Policy Coalition is diverse network advancing feminist foreign policy in Australia. Convened by IWDA, its members work across a range of sectors including foreign policy, defence, security, women's rights, climate change and migration.

Feminist foreign policy is an approach which places gender equality as the central goal of foreign policy, in recognition that gender equality is a predictor of peaceful and flourishing societies. This Issues Paper Series aims to explore the opportunities and challenges for Australia in applying a feminist lens to a range of foreign policy issues, and provide practical ways forward.

Endnotes

ⁱ DFAT, "Pacific Engagement in Solomon Islands", 202, <https://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/solomon-islands/pacific-engagement-in-solomon-islands>, accessed on 16/01/23.

ⁱⁱ Australian Defence, "Defence signs contract to enhance Solomon Islands security capability", 2022, <https://www.defence.gov.au/news-events/releases/2022-11-22/defence-signs-contract-enhance-solomon-islands-security-capability>, accessed on 16/01/23.

ⁱⁱⁱ Edward Cavanough, "Solomons strife demands a development re-think", 2021, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/solomons-strife-demands-development-re-think>, accessed on 16/01/23.

^{iv} Joanna Pradela, "Solomon Islands-China Security Pact: A Feminist Foreign Policy Answer," *The Interpreter*, 2022, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/solomon-islands-china-security-pact-feminist-foreign-policy-answer>.

^v John Langmore et al., "Security Through Sustainable Peace: Australian International Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding," 2020, https://arts.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/3495721/Security-Through-Sustainable-Peace-Report.pdf.

^{vi} Australian Government, "Australian National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security: 2021-20231," 2021, <https://www.dfat.gov.au/sites/default/files/australias->

national-action-plan-on-women-peace-and-security-2021-2031.pdf.

vii Katrina Lee-Koo, "Pro-Gender Foreign Policy by Stealth: Navigating Global and Domestic Politics in Australian Foreign Policy Making," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2020, 16 (2): 236–49.

viii Katrina Lee-Koo, "Has Australia Lost Its Way on Women, Peace and Security?," *Australian Institute of International Affairs*, 2022, <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/has-australia-lost-its-way-on-women-peace-security/>.

ix John Langmore, "Peacebuilding – It's Time to End Australia's Neglect," 2022, <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/peacebuilding-its-time-to-end-australias-neglect/>.

x UN Women, "Solomon Islands", 2022, <https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/countries/fiji/co/solomon-islands>. Accessed on 16/01/23.

xi Camilla Batalibasi et al. "Public perception of women as political leaders: Views on women's leadership and Temporary Special Measures in Solomon Islands" 2019. *Women's Rights Action Movement (WRAM) & International Women's Development Agency (IWDA)*.

xii Asian Development Bank, "Solomon Islands: Country Gender Assessment", 2015; The World Bank, "Solomon Islands", 2021, *Gender Data Portal*. <https://genderdata.worldbank.org/countries/solomon-islands/#:~:text=In%20the%20Solomon%20Islands%2C%20the%20labor%20force%20participation%20rate%20among,has%20remained%20roughly%20the%20same>. Accessed on 16/01/23.

xiii Nicole George, "Solomon Islands: A situational analysis of women's participation in peace processes", *Monash University Gender, Peace, and Security*, 2018.

xiv Solomon Islands Government (SIG), Ministry of Women, Youth, Children, and Family Affairs (MWYCFA). *Solomon Islands Women Peace and Security, National Action Plan 2017-2021*, p. 12.

xv Nicole George, "Solomon Islands: A situational analysis of women's participation in peace processes", *Monash University Gender, Peace, and Security*, 2018.

xvi Morgan Brigg et al., "Women and Peace: The Role of Solomon Island Women in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding", *UNDP Pacific Centre*, 2015; Solomon Islands Government (SIG), Ministry of Women, Youth, Children, and Family Affairs (MWYCFA). *Solomon Islands Women Peace and Security, National Action Plan 2017-2021*, p. 13.

xvii John Braithwaite et al., *Pillars and Shadows: Statebuilding and Peacebuilding in Solomon Islands*. 2010, ANU Press, Canberra.

xviii Solomon Islands Government (SIG), Ministry of Women, Youth, Children, and Family Affairs (MWYCFA). *Solomon Islands Women Peace and Security, National Action Plan 2017-2021*, p. 14.

xix Kate Romer and Andre MN Renzaho, "Re-emerging conflict in the Solomon Islands? The underlying causes and triggers of the riots of April 2006" *Journal of Peace Conflict & Development*. 2007, March 10.

xx Nicole George, "Solomon Islands: A situational analysis of women's participation in peace processes", *Monash University Gender, Peace, and Security*, 2018, p. 6.

xxi Nicole George and Pauline Soaki, "'Our Struggle, Our Cry, Our Sweat': Challenging the Gendered Logics of Participation and Conflict Transition in Solomon Islands," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 2020, 22 (4): 572–93, p. 582.

xxii Jasmine-Kim Westendorf, "'Add women and stir': the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands and

Australia's implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 2013, 67 (4): 456–74.

xxiii UN, *Final Evaluation UN Peace Building Fund Project Solomon Islands, Phase II*, 2019, p. 14.

xxiv Nicole George and Pauline Soaki, "'Our Struggle, Our Cry, Our Sweat': Challenging the Gendered Logics of Participation and Conflict Transition in Solomon Islands," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 2020, 22 (4): 572–93, p. 577.

xxv Nicole George, "Liberal-Local Peacebuilding in Solomon Islands and Bougainville: Advancing a Gender-Just Peace?," *International Affairs*, 2018, 94(6): 1329–48; Nicole George, "Conflict Transition, Emplaced Identity and the Gendered Politics of Scale in Solomon Islands," *Cooperation and Conflict*, 2020, 55(4): 518–34.

xxvi Nicole George, "Gender, Security and Australia's 2018 Pacific Pivot: Stalled Impetus and Shallow Roots," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 2019, 73 (3): 213–18, p. 216.

xxvii Nicole George, "Gender, Security and Australia's 2018 Pacific Pivot: Stalled Impetus and Shallow Roots," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 2019, 73 (3): 213–18.

xxviii Nicole George, "Gender, Security and Australia's 2018 Pacific Pivot: Stalled Impetus and Shallow Roots," *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 2019, 73 (3): 213–18, p. 217.

xxix Nicole George, Solomon Islands deployment: Australia must meet obligations to women. *The Interpreter*, 2019, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/solomon-islands-deployment-australia-must-meet-obligations-women>. Accessed on 17.01.23; Lee-Koo, "Has Australia Lost Its Way on Women, Peace and Security?" Accessed on 17/01/23

xxx DFAT, "Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development: Six year evaluation report", *Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development: Six year evaluation report and management response*, 2022, [https://www.dfat.gov.au/publications/development/pacific-women-shaping-pacific-development-six-year-evaluation-report-and-management-response#:~:text=Pacific%20Women%20Shaping%20Pacific%20Development%20\(Pacific%20Women\)%20is%20an%20Australian,of%20women%20in%20the%20Pacific](https://www.dfat.gov.au/publications/development/pacific-women-shaping-pacific-development-six-year-evaluation-report-and-management-response#:~:text=Pacific%20Women%20Shaping%20Pacific%20Development%20(Pacific%20Women)%20is%20an%20Australian,of%20women%20in%20the%20Pacific). Accessed on 17/01/23.

xxxi DFAT, "Gender equality plan for Solomon Islands 2020–2022", 2020, <https://www.dfat.gov.au/sites/default/files/solomon-islands-gender-equality-plan-2020-2022.pdf>, accessed on 17/01/23.

xxxii DFAT, "Pacific Women Lead design framework", 2021, <https://www.dfat.gov.au/sites/default/files/pacific-women-lead-design-framework.pdf>, accessed on 17/01/23.

xxxiii DFAT, "Pacific Women Lead design framework", 2021, p. 6, <https://www.dfat.gov.au/sites/default/files/pacific-women-lead-design-framework.pdf>, accessed on 17/01/23.

xxxiv DFAT, "Pacific Women Lead design framework", 2021, p. 13, <https://www.dfat.gov.au/sites/default/files/pacific-women-lead-design-framework.pdf>, accessed on 17/01/23

xxxv James Blackwell and Julie Ballangarry, "Indigenous Foreign Policy: A New Way Forward?," 2022, <https://iwda.org.au/assets/files/AFFPC-issues-paper-Indigenous-Foreign-Policy-Blackwell-Ballangarry-FINAL.pdf>.

xxxvi Lee-Koo, "Pro-Gender Foreign Policy by Stealth: Navigating Global and Domestic Politics in Australian Foreign Policy Making."

xxxvii Megan Price, "Australia Is Building a Billion-Dollar Arms Export Industry. This Is How Weapons Can Fall in the

Wrong Hands,” *The Conversation*, 2021, <https://theconversation.com/australia-is-building-a-billion-dollar-arms-export-industry-this-is-how-weapons-can-fall-in-the-wrong-hands-159817>.

^{xxxviii} Daniel Hurts, “Foreign aid gets \$1.4bn budget boost but Australia still among least generous in OECD”, *The Guardian*, 26th October 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2022/oct/26/foreign-aid-australia-federal-budget-2022>, accessed on 17/01/23.

^{xxxix} Teresia K. Teaiwa, “Globalizing and Gendered Forces: The Contemporary Militarization of Pacific/Oceania,” in *Gender and Globalization in Asian and the Pacific: Method, Practice, Theory*, ed. Monique Mironesco and Kathy E. Ferguson, 2008, Honolulu: Hawai’i Press, 318–32; Nicole George, “Promoting Women, Peace and Security in the Pacific Islands: Hot Conflict/slow Violence,” *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 2014, 68(3): 314–32. Greg Dvorak, “‘The Martial Islands’: Making Marshallese Masculinities between American and Japanese Militarism”, *The Contemporary Pacific*, 2008, 20(1): 55–86.

^{xl} UN. “Treaty of Rarotonga”, 2023, <https://www.un.org/nwzf/fr/content/treaty-rarotonga>. Accessed on 28/02/23.

^{xli} Rebecca H. Hogue and Anaïs Maurer, “Pacific Women’s Anti-Nuclear Poetry: Centring Indigenous Knowledges,” *International Affairs* 98, no. 4 (2022): 1267–88.

^{xlii} Diana Sartafi et al., “Cancer Control in the Pacific: Big Challenges Facing Small Island States,” *The Lancet Oncology* 20, no. 9 (2019): e475–92, p.e480.

^{xliii} Hogue and Maurer, “Pacific Women’s Anti-Nuclear Poetry: Centring Indigenous Knowledges.”

^{xliv} Melissa Conley Tyler, “The case for a feminist foreign policy”, *ASPI*, 8th March 2022, <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/the-case-for-a-feminist-foreign-policy/>, accessed on 17/01/23.

^{xlv} Xinyu Yuan, “The Chinese Approach to Peacebuilding: Contesting Liberal Peace?,” *Third World Quarterly*, 2002, 43(7): 1798–1816, p. 1808.

^{xlvi} Price, “Australia Is Building a Billion-Dollar Arms Export Industry. This Is How Weapons Can Fall in the Wrong Hands.”

^{xlvii} Laura J. Shepherd, “Making War Safe for Women? National Action Plans and the Militarisation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda,” *International Political Science Review* 37, no. 3 (2016): 324–35, doi:10.1177/0192512116629820.

^{xlviii} Victoria Scheyer and Marina Kumskova, “Feminist Foreign Policy: A Fine Line Between ‘Adding Women’ and Pursuing a Feminist Agenda,” *Journal of International Affairs* 72, no. 2 (2019): 57–76.

^{xlix} George, “Gender, Security and Australia’s 2018 Pacific Pivot: Stalled Impetus and Shallow Roots”, p. 217.