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**Household livelihoods in Solomon Islands squatter settlements and
its implications for education and development in post-conflict
context**

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Abstract

This study investigates household livelihood in Solomon Islands urban squatter settlements. A total of 208 households participated in this empirical study. Most of the squatter households fall into the category of 3 to 7 members (59.1%) with average household size of 6.3. Seventy percent of the settlers live in temporary buildings or shelter and are lacking proper water and sanitation. Majority of the households, (96.6%) do not have electricity in their homes. The average fortnightly income of the households is SI\$316. The implications derived from the findings include national policy makers need to consider financing for low cost housing for the poor urban residents, improve and adequately resource the rural schools to lure squatter settlers back to the rural areas, the government should consider giving an education subsidy to low income parents who have more than two children attending schools and civil society organisations and government departments need to conduct life-skills courses that could encourage low settlers to diversify their livelihood activities. The discussion concludes with the concept of education as a form of secure livelihood.

Keywords: Solomon Islands, household livelihoods, squatter settlement, post-conflict, education, development

Introduction

Like most other countries emerging from conflict, the government of Solomon Islands has shown enormous commitment to economic recovery and education reform programmes. Central to the government's economic recovery is the provision of fiscal prudence, clearing of public sector's arrears and reducing the debt to sustainable levels. And indeed, the Solomon Islands' economy is showing signs of recovery after the conflict. For instance, 2007 recorded a high growth that outstripped population growth with a very positive economic outlook. This growth is tagged at the rate of 10.3 % which is the highest in two decades (Central Bank of Solomon Islands, 2007). The Central of Solomon Islands further adds that all the major commodities registered

growth with the exception of fish, which recorded a 28 % fall compared to previous year. All other sectors showed positive contributions in terms of the gross domestic product (GDP).

In the education sector, the achievement of “Education for All” (EFA) is the key driver in the sector’s reform programmes. To achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) sector goals of universal completion of basic education and achievement of gender equality in primary and secondary education by 2015, the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (MEHRD) has three thematic areas outlined in its Education Strategic Framework (ESF). These are equitable access, educational management, and access to community, technical, vocational and tertiary education.

Two of the policy goals in Solomon Islands post-conflict reconstruction are to improve the livelihoods of the people and to provide quality of teaching and learning for enhanced student achievement. It is for this reason that this study investigates the household livelihoods in Solomon Islands urban squatter settlements. The findings are reported under the headings: household basic profile and amenities; education level; income; and expenditure. The study derives a number of implications for policy and practice that could improve the provision of education and development in post-conflict era which in turn contribute to secure livelihood systems.

The livelihood framework

Livelihood is defined by Chambers and Conway (1992) as having adequate stocks, food and cash to meet basic needs. Simply it is the means for gaining a living. Niehof and Price (2001) put emphasis on the bundle of activities that people undertake to generate their livelihood, which is termed by Ellis (2000) as the livelihood portfolio. To analyse livelihood, Nieof and Price and Ellis use a system’s perspective. This implies that one has to look at the whole system of inputs, throughputs and outputs. The inputs are resources and assets. Resources are regarded as the immediate means needed for livelihood, while assets are stores of value, or claims, which can be mobilised when needed. In other words, assets can be converted into resources when necessary. The throughputs of the system are the management and strategies carried out to achieve livelihood and well-being. The latter are considered the outputs. Table 1 summarises the relevant features of this livelihood system that guides this investigation.

Table1: Livelihood system for *secure* livelihoods

Inputs	Throughput	Outputs
<i>Resources and assets</i>	<i>assets Household strategies</i>	<i>Household livelihood Security</i>
Human capital and resources. Material and financial assets. Environmental resources (physical, natural, social).	Household livelihood generating activities. Resource management and diversification. Migration.	Education, health and well-being.
Supporting networks		

Source: Hoogvost (2003)

Sustaining livelihood is a continuous struggle for low income earners. As a result, many people are driven and drawn into livelihood activities which are to a certain

extent dangerous, illegal and anti-social. These include trade in women and children, crime especially theft, drug dealing, sex work and child labour (Narayan *et al* 2000). The inability of Solomon Islands government to improve people's livelihoods is likely to see more people resorting to illegal means to earn a living.

Background

The study was conducted in four squatter settlements around Honiara city. Honiara is the capital of the Solomon Islands and has a population of approximately 50,000. One of the major problems in the city is the growing illegal squatter settlements on public land. A survey in 2006 reveals that unauthorised settlements are growing at an unacceptable rate of 26% per annum. This means that of the total population of 50,000, 17,000 were illegal settlers on government land (Solomon Star, 2006 July 20).

Being the country's capital and the centre of attraction, rural-urban migration is the main cause of increasing squatters in Honiara. This was partly attributed to the centralisation and concentration of social services and economic activities in the capital city. Other reasons were education, employment opportunities and bright lights (Connell 1985).

The booming of squatters emerged soon after the conflict. The crisis forced many people to be displaced and loss of their jobs. Hence, after the restoration of law and order, people began to flock to Honiara, seeking employment. People have taken advantage of the lack of law enforcement by the responsible authorities to squat on public lands around the city.

There four squatter settlements surveyed consisted of a sample of 208 households as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2: Sample by Squatter Settlements

Settlements	Location	Household Sample	Percent
1: White River	West Honiara	48	23.1
2: Kaibia	Central Honiara	52	25.0
3: Mamanawata	Central Honiara	49	23.6
4: Lunga	East Honiara	59	28.4
Total		208	100

Data collection and analysis

Field visits were conducted over a period of five weeks using a survey questionnaire. The choice of a questionnaire in this study is guided by ethical principles. The study is sensitive in that Melanesians are reserved to critically evaluate people's intentions and may not want to uncover some personal information. For instance, asking questions about income level is among the culturally sensitive issues in Solomon Islands. The settlements are all dispersed from West, Central and East Honiara. Given this circumstance, respondents are all scattered and the research had to be aided by four research assistants to administer the questionnaire across the four settlements.

There was difficulty in visiting the study sites because of poor road conditions. The education level of the respondents varied. Some had no formal education, while the majority attended primary education and few attained secondary and tertiary education. The questionnaire is designed to accommodate these different education levels. Given the low educational background of the respondents, all items in questionnaire are verbally explained in Solomon *pijin* for the respondents to clearly understand them before the questionnaire is left to them to fill. They are given two days to fill the questionnaire and on the third day the researchers return to collect the completed questionnaires. It is time consuming and it took eight days to complete each settlement. Prior to administering the questionnaire, the researchers explained the purpose of the study, assuring the respondents of confidentiality and anonymity of their responses.

The data analysis is largely qualitative. As Neumann (2000) states, qualitative researchers accept the existence of multiple realities. Hence, data collected represents subjective realities of the sites and subjects under investigation. To this purpose, the presentation of data in this study is a mixture of statistics, and in the form of words, diagrams, figures and quotes. The final results of this study are presented in the form of a narrative report with evidence reported in the form of detailed descriptions, including the researcher's feelings and interpretations as well as quotes from the analysed documents.

Basic household profile

Table 3 shows the characteristics of the household surveyed. The profile of the heads of household suggests a young population. Of the total households surveyed, 40.2% are below the age of 35 years, 29.8% are between 35 – 45 years old and 22.7% are in the age group of 45-60 years. The remaining 7.3% are above 60 years old. The average household size in the sample squatter settlements is 6.3, comparable to the country's average of 6 in 2006 (Solomon Islands Household Income and Expenditure Survey 2006). Twenty two (10.6%) of the 208 visited households are female-headed. Most of the household heads are married (84.6%). Ten household heads are single and thirteen are divorced or separated. Nine heads of households are widowed.

Table 3 also shows that most of the squatter households fall into the second category of 3 to 7 members (59.1%) with average household size of 6.3. The second highest household size is in the category of 7-11 members. The reasons for the increasing household members are attributed to the fact that two of the settlements are longer inhabited than the others. Therefore, young people in these settlements are forced to stay longer with their parents, even when they get married. Also, the density of houses at the longer inhabited settlements is higher, so it is not easy to construct a new dwelling. Settlements 1 and 2 are more recent, and house density there is lower. Thus, after the ethnic crisis these settlements are being populated. The increasing household size in the squatters is related to these factors.

Table 3: Household profile

Household characteristics

Total Number of Sample Households	208
Total Members per Household:	As percentage of the total households
1-3	13.9%
3-7	59.1%
7-11	21.2%
11-16	4.8%
More than 16	1%
Average size	6.3
Age of Head of Household:	
Under 35 Years Old	40.2%
35-45 Years Old	29.8%
45-60 Years Old	22.7%
Greater than 60 Years Old	7.3%
Gender of Head of Household:	
Male	89.4%
Female	10.6%
Marital Status of Head of Household:	
Married	176 (84.6%)
Single	10 (4.8%)
Divorced/Separated	13 (6.3%)
Windowed	9 (4.3%)
Number of years living in the settlements:	
Under 1	11.5%
1-5 Years	50%
5-15 years	27.9%
15-20 Years	7.3%
More than 20 Years	3.3%
Province/Island of origin of Head of Household:	
Malaita	50%
Rennell/Bellona	10.6%
Ontong Java (Lord Howe)	1.9%
Makira/Ulawa	1.4%
Temotu	23.1%
Western	1%
Choiseul	1.4%
Guadalcanal	3.4%
Gela/Russell	1%
Isabel	6.2%

N=208

Household amenities

Observations on housing types were taken into account during the fieldwork. Basically, the researchers have noted three types of housing throughout the settlements. Seventy percent of the settlers interviewed live in temporary buildings or shelter. Twenty five percent of the total households lived in semi-permanent building with 5% living in permanent building. The temporary houses are constructed using local building materials. Some of them are unfit for humans to occupy as they are unhygienic. In addition, some are incomplete and could cause further health problems. The evidence of most temporary housing in the settlements could be explained by their current status. The first scenario is that squatting is illegal and as such, illegal settlers could be evicted anytime.

The majority of the households, (96.6%) stated that they do not have electricity in their homes. Of the total, only 3.4% are connected to Solomon Islands Electricity Authority (SIEA) power supply. Two hundred and one specified their reasons why electricity is not available in the settlements. Most of the respondents (76.9%) said the service is unaffordable and 2.4% admitted they are illegal settlers. There are three possible reasons why settlers are unable to afford electricity. Firstly, the inability of the settlers to pay for the service because they have low income. Secondly, most of them are just squatting illegally, thus facing uncertainty about their future. Thirdly, the temporary type of housing mostly found in the settlements is outside the standard building code requirements so it is illegal to connect electricity to such houses. If power is connected it would be hazardous to habitants as power cables are likely to be exposed.

Proper water supply and sanitation is a basic essentials of life, hence the research also investigated if households have water supply and sanitation in their homes. Table 4 presents the sources of water and sanitation facilities used in the settlements. For water supply, the findings discovered that 92.3% of the total respondents do not have water supply in their houses. The remaining, 7.7% have water supplied to their houses. In light of the above, questions are asked regarding their alternative sources of water. The second category is those who have community stand pipes (26.9%). Six (2.9%) said they collect water on user pay. Table 4 also highlights that 43.3% of the households alternatively get water from their neighbours. Others (9.1%) use well as alternative source of water. Likewise, 9.6% responded that their main source of water is rivers and streams. Only one household (0.5%) use rain water collected through their water tank. The water bill rate is reasonably high in Honiara city therefore those who have water supplied to their houses informally make an agreement with their neighbours to use their water and share the water bill.

Table 4: Sources of water and type of toilets

	Frequency	Percent
Tap Water:		
Tap water connected in the house	16	7.7
No Tap water in the house	192	92.3
Alternative sources of water for settlers without Tap water at home:		
Neighbours	90	43.3
User-pay	6	2.9
Well	19	9.1
River or stream	20	9.6
Rain	1	0.5
Community Stand-tap	56	26.9
Type of Toilets:		
Pit	42	20.2
Flush	5	2.4
Slab	46	22.1
Unhygienic Types of Lavatory:		
Seaside	41	19.7
Nearby Bush	62	29.8
River	12	5.8

N=208

“..If you are under-educated, under-employed, and/or unemployed and live in squatter settlements around Honiara life will obviously not be easy at all...” (Solomon Star, 2006 July 13).

Undeniably, squatter settlements are facing multiple real life problems which demand other means of income. Thus, to put food on the table, one has to have additional income sources to subsidise other expenses. This is why people are selling their water to their neighbours so that these earnings could assist them to meet other basic needs. Piping of water to homes is done by Solomon Islands Water Authority (SIWA) after connection fees are paid. The connection fees are expensive for settlers hence; the 26.9% who have water supply to their neighbourhood is made possible through community fund raising or either with assistance from other organisations. Interviews with SIWA confirmed that there are illegal connections by settlers especially where water mains are provided. Such an illegal practice results in wastage of water through leakages from ill-connected water pipes.

For sanitation facilities, the study indicates that 20.2% of total used pit (Table 4), while 22.2% uses slabs and only 5 households (2.4%) reported to have flush toilets. The other category which accounts for 29.8% uses unhygienic types of lavatory (nearby bushes). Households using the sea front accounts for 19.7% and 5.5% used rivers.

Because of unplanned increasing population in the squatters, the government and Honiara city Council do not pay attention in terms of providing basic service to these settlements. This is confirmed in the field observation that most of the four case studies settlements do not have proper water supply and sanitation in place. Consequently, squatter settlers are creating and facing health and environmental problems which could have adverse effects on their livelihood. Similar sentiments are echoed by the customary landowners of Barana behind Mount Austin in the Outskirts of Honiara which they call for responsible authorities to intervene:

...“already, we are witnessing waste matters floating down the stream,” the resident say. He also confirmed that the number of people residing in the settlements is rapidly increasing. In the churches last Saturday and Sunday, congregations were told, during church announcements, that there should not be any further expansion of the settlements to the head of the stream (Solomon Star, 2006 August 1).

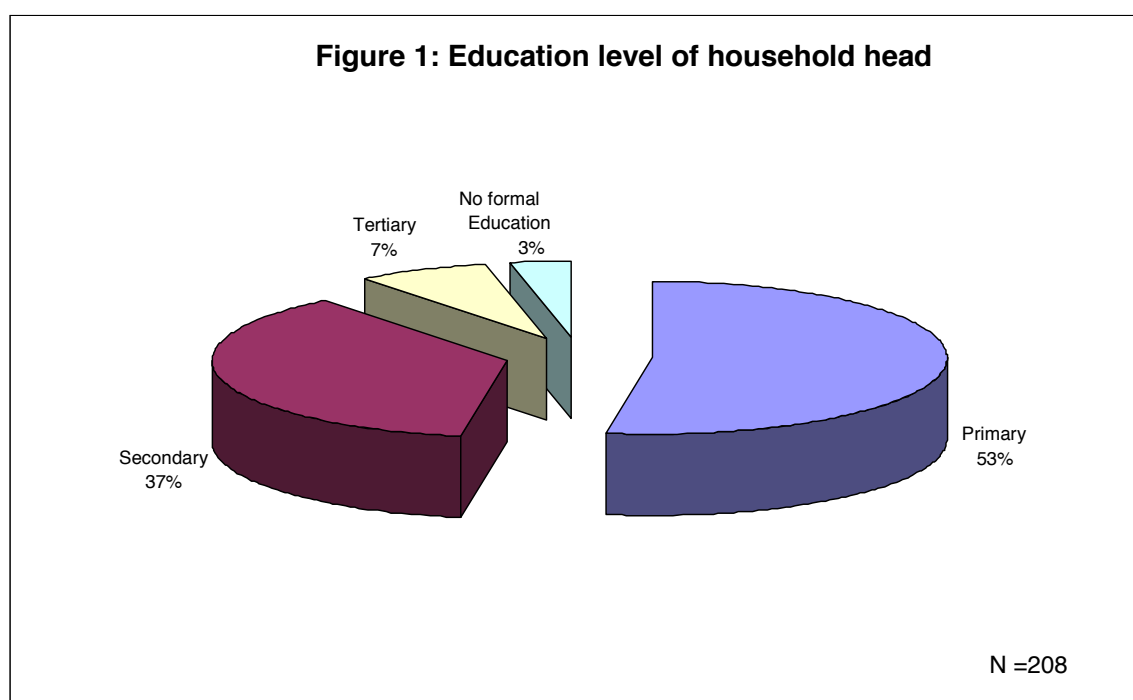
The above argument depicts the many real problems people are facing as a result of squatting.

Education level

Figure 1 presents the educational levels of the head of household in the sample squatter settlements. More than half (53%) of the heads of households have attained only primary education. Thirty seven percent attained secondary education with 7% only reaching tertiary level and 3% reported not attending any formal education. The majority of the respondents who attained primary education are class six dropouts or just completed a few years of primary education. Those who reached secondary education are mostly form three leavers with few reaching form five. Similarly, Figure 2 reveals the same trend of educational attainment for the spouses of the head

of households. Of the total, 54% have reached primary level. Secondary education attainment for spouses accounts for 37% of the total household. In contrast, spouses reaching tertiary education are drastically reduced to 2%. Fourteen percent of the spouses have no formal education. The remaining 10% do not reveal their education level.

Table 3 reveals that 89.4% of head of households are males, while only 10.6% are females. This means that spouses of the head of households are mostly women. Relating this scenario to the data presented in Figure 2 about education level of spouses, one could infer that women spouses tend to have low educational attainment. This could be ascribed to the cultural belief that women's place is restricted to the home and child rearing and pursuing further education has little or no cultural significance.



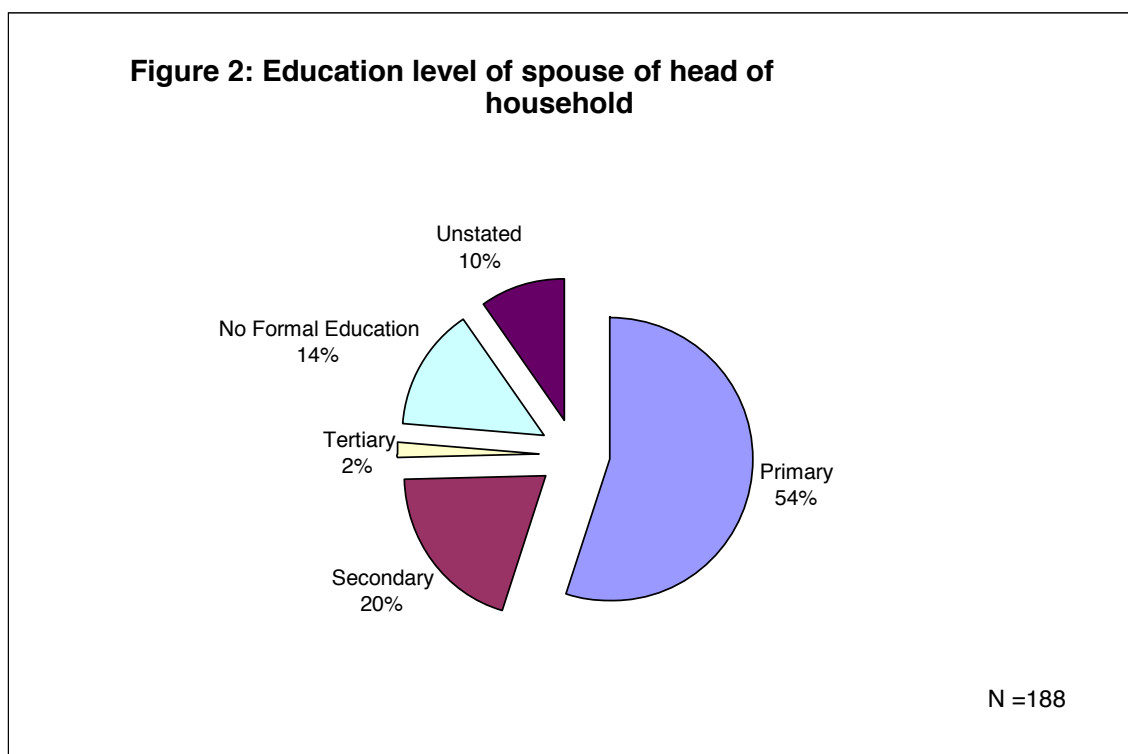
Many Solomon Islanders do not encourage girls, particularly in the rural areas, to excel in their education. Therefore, some of them after having dropped out at class six; migrate to Honiara city in search for income opportunities.

The low educational attainment for both male and female is further exacerbated by the displacement of people during the conflict. The Global Internal Displacement -IDP Database (2004) reported that:

Low levels of education services, with additional disruption caused by five years of conflict, are a major problem in the Solomon Islands today. Less than 40 per cent of children complete primary school and functional adult literacy is as low as 22 per cent, with lesser rates for women. (p.58)

If those children who are displaced during the crisis never go back to school, it may mean that in a few years the number of illiterate adults will increase.

It is clear from the analysis, that only a small number of the heads of household attained tertiary education. The increasing school dropouts have seen more young people end up in Honiara city, married and heading households in squatter settlements. This is also confirmed in the Solomon Islands household income and expenditure survey (2006). The report highlighted that educational attainment needs to be improved so that many of the active population, 15 years and above receive certificates, diplomas and pursue higher degrees.



Household income

Fortnightly salaries and wages from full-time and casual jobs are the main sources of income for most of the squatter dwellers. This accounted for 55.6% of the total household members who are generating income. The average fortnightly salary and wages is SI\$316. Most of household members derived their fortnightly income as a daily labourer. This means that they are often unemployed and that they would take any job that comes their way, mainly unskilled manual labour work, which could be self-initiated. Watch-men, mini-bus drivers and conductors, palm oil plantation workers, shop assistants and cleaners are common jobs the squatter settlers are employed in.

All of the households were able to generate income. One hundred and twelve households had an income from two activities and 38 households managed to generate income from three activities.

Table 5 Contribution to household income

Daily income from other activities SI\$	Frequency	Household	
		Percent	
400 - 500	4	1.9	
300 - 400	4	1.9	

200 - 300	14	6.7
100 - 200	23	11.1
50 - 100	25	12.0
Above 500	1	.5
Below 50	55	26.4
No income from other activities	82	39.4
Total	208	100

The average daily income from other activities apart from casual and full-time jobs is within the range of SI\$50 - SI\$100 (see Table 5). This depends on the types of income-generating activities. For instance, a heap of cassava in Honiara market during the time of the study is sold at SI\$5. So a 50 KG bag of cassava would earn more than SI\$50.

Household expenditure

The distributions of the household expenditures are categorised under the following headings: daily, monthly and yearly expenses (Table 6). When asked what are their daily spending are, most of the respondents replied that everyday they have to pay for their bus fare, betel-nut, cigarette or tobacco and most of all food. The average daily bus fare expenses is SI\$8. Average daily amount spent on food is SI\$33 and betel nut and cigarette both recorded a daily average of SI\$5. The total average daily expenditure is SI\$52. At the time of the fieldwork, the average daily expenditure of SI\$52 is equivalent to US\$6.69. The Solomon Islands squatter households in the surveyed sample live on US\$6.69 a day compared to the global poverty trend of half the world (nearly three billion people) who live on less than US\$2 a day (Shah 2005). This means that squatter people in Solomon Islands are doing something to support their livelihood every day rather than begging on the streets. For the monthly expenses, the average amount spent on clothes is SI\$66. Water bills is SI\$38, followed by house rent with an average of SI\$37. Both alcohol and electricity bills are SI\$32. The total average spend monthly is SI\$176. Annually, households are able to pay school fees averaging SI\$632. House repair/ maintenance is SI\$52 and the least amount is on Land rent (SI\$17).

Table 6: Distribution to household expenditure

Distribution	Average amount SI\$
Daily expenses	
Bus fare	8.00
Food	33.00
Betel -nut	5.00
Cigarette	5.00
<i>Total daily</i>	52.00
Monthly expenses	
Electricity Bill	32.00
House Rent	37.00
Cloths	66.00
Water Bill	38.00
Alcohol	32.00
<i>Total monthly</i>	176.00

Annual expenses	
School fees	632.00
House repair/maintenance	52.00
Land rent	17.00
<i>Total annually</i>	693.00

As shown in Table 6, the total average spend monthly is SI\$176. The annual average expenses is SI\$693 with school fees averaging SI\$632. The contributing factor of low average daily, monthly and annual expenses mean that squatter dwellers have meagre income, of which some are in non-formal income activities. On a daily basis, settlers would only be able to afford to buy food. For example, a meal would consist of rice, canned tuna and noodles. This is only possible if the money is enough, otherwise, they would buy whatever is affordable. As in the case of a respondent in settlement 1, the household head revealed that he could not support his family with his low wages which sometimes resulted in his family having only two meals a day.

Moreover, others do not have electricity in their homes and house rent is low due to the temporary types of accommodation people are renting. School fees on the other hand are relatively high in Solomon Islands. Therefore, several squatter households could not afford to send their children to school. As discussed earlier the majority of the settlers are residing illegally on public land without paying any rent. This explains why the average land rent is relatively low.

Implications for post-conflict education and development

The findings of this study point to a number of important implications for post-conflict education and development. These implications are derived from the findings and are summarised here according to headings of the key results. The final implication is a conceptual framework that links the literature to the implications of the findings.

Basic services

The first implication relates to the quality of basic services in the squatter settlements. Of the total estimated Honiara population of 50,000, this study reveals that 17,000 (34%) are living in squatter settlements. Of the 208 households surveyed, 70% live in temporary dwellings, 96.6% did not have electricity and 92.3% have no water supply to their home. These findings point to the reality that squatter settlers are living in poor conditions. Such poor living conditions will affect students' learning. As a national development post-conflict issue, urbanization and urban management must be among the top development priorities of the Solomon Islands government. This is critical therefore; national policy makers are cautioned to consider financing for low cost housing, and to secure land tenure for urban residents. Proper low-cost housing would provide a better household support to the many students who are living in squatter settlements.

Household support for children's learning

The second broad implication is that of the importance of household support for children's learning. The support children get from their parents and the whole

household environment contribute positively to children's learning and performance in school. On the other hand, a lack of support from the home is one the impediments to children's learning. There is evidence in the findings that could suggest that household support to children education are lacking because of a number of factors.

Firstly, 10.6% of the households were headed by females, 13 households headed by divorcees, 10 by single parents and nine headed by widows. It is obvious from these findings that those households in these categories are likely to live in destitution and that parents are likely to spend more time struggling to make ends meet. This will leave no quality time that could be spent with the children. Having no time for the children would mean that children are likely to work on their school homework without or little assistance from the parents.

Secondly, it appears that there are large numbers of people living in the same household. The result indicates that 59.1% household have members ranging from 3-7. Some of them are not immediate family members but their *wantoks*¹. The *wantok* support network is a safety net that Solomon Islands people rely on when they are in need. However, in the urban centres it impinges on the quality of education because when many relatives are living in one household students have no space to study at home.

Thirdly, the education level of the parents could also have an impact on the children's performance in school. The study highlighted that 53% of the head of households have attended some primary education, while 54% of the spouses stated that they have been through some years of primary education. This could imply that the households with such parents' education level are not confident to provide assistance to their children's school works. For instance, a father and a mother who just had four years of primary education and have children in secondary school, would not be able to assist in their children's school projects.

The livelihood issues and challenges that the Honiara squatter settlers are now facing has multiple dimensions and need to be tackled from all development sectors. In education, one of the policy interventions is for the government to improve and adequately resource the rural schools. Part of this policy is to include teaching allowances for rural teachers. This will lure teachers and squatter settlers to go back to their province as the educational facilities are on par with the city schools. In the rural areas livelihoods are subsistence-based so whatever little income parents get could be enough to meet the family basic needs and pay for children education.

Financial support

The data from the household income and expenditure reveals another key implication for post-conflict education and development. The average fortnightly income from casual and full-time jobs is SI\$316 and is supplemented with a daily income from other activities averaged between SI\$50-SI\$100. The results further reported that from this income level, the total average daily expenses amounts to SI\$52, while on a monthly basis the expenditure is averaged at SI\$176. Given this scenario, the parents'

¹The *wantok* network is a traditional social support system which includes kinship, clan, ethnicity and language.

ability to finance their children’s education is one of the key problems facing squatter settlement households. The study confirmed that the parents are paying average annual school fees of SI\$632, Added to this are the costs of uniforms, textbooks and bus fares. Depending on the number school children in a household, providing the finances for their education is a struggle for most low income earners.

This again points to a global implication for education. The UN ‘Education for All’ (EFA) goal means that by 2015 children leaving school should have attained basic education. The question is how would the squatter settlement children attain basic education when their parents could not afford to send them to school? Therefore, in order to achieve the EFA goal, the Solomon Islands government should consider giving an education subsidy to low income parents who have more than two children attending schools.

Another implication is short life-skills courses and is related to income and expenditure. Life-skills courses could encourage low income earners to diversify their livelihood activities. These life-skills courses can focus on appropriate income-generating enterprises that could be conducted by relevant government departments and non-government organisations. Similarly, the study reported that majority of the head of households in the sample settlements only reached primary education and their understanding of issues pertaining to their livelihoods are limited. It is therefore recommended that responsible authorities such as the police force and the health and environmental educators continue running adult education programmes in the squatter settlements. These programmes should focus on the squatter livelihood issues like family planning, alcohol and drug abuse, HIV/AIDS, common diseases and nutrition. These life-skills courses and educational programmes should be tailored to addressing the different needs of the community which will equip them with the knowledge of diversifying their income activities.

Education as a form of secure livelihood

The above implications resonate with the notion of ‘education as a form of secure livelihood.’ Revisiting the livelihood framework in Table 1, it is apparent that the discussion of the implications as derived from the findings anchors well with the livelihood system for secure livelihoods (Chambers & Conway1992; Niehof &Price 2001; Ellis 2000). Education as a form of secure livelihood needs to be envisioned in the inputs and throughputs to create a secure household livelihood. The inputs are resources and assets targeted to deliver quality education. The throughputs of the system are the strategies to support education at home. The output in the end is a better quality of life. To summarise the discussion of the findings and the derived implications, the authors conceptualized education as a secure livelihood in Table 7.

Table7: Education as a secure livelihood

Inputs	Throughput	Outputs
<i>Resources and assets</i>	<i>Household strategies</i>	<i>Household livelihood Security</i>
Human capital and resources. Material and financial assets. Environmental resources (physical, natural, social) to deliver quality education	Household livelihood generating activities. Resource management and diversification to support and enhance children’s education at home	Better education means better quality of life for household members.

Education supporting networks

Conclusion

This study investigated the household livelihoods in four squatter settlements in Solomon Islands. Squatting in the capital city of Honiara is one of the major threats in the country's post-conflict development. The findings of the study pointed to the fact that urban squatter households have destitute livelihoods. Therefore, if their plight is ignored by the country's national leaders, the squatter settlements could be a breeding ground for future conflicts. Education for all can be truly for all Solomon Islanders if post-conflict education and development reform programmes address the pertinent livelihood issues in squatter settlements. Addressing the issues as highlighted in the implications is not only contributing to the achievement of EFA but creating education as a secure livelihood.

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