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Re-emerging conflict in the Solomon Islands? The underlying causes and triggers of the riots of April 2006

By Kate Romer and Dr Andre MN Renzaho[1]

[1] **Kate Romer** is Senior Country Programme Coordinator, Humanitarian and Emergency Affairs, for World Vision, Australia. **Dr Andre MN Renzaho** is Program Quality Advisor for World Vision Australia and Honorary Senior Research Fellow, School of Health and Social Development, Deakin University, Australia.

ABSTRACT

The recent tensions in Honiara, the capital of the Solomon Islands, in April 2006 provide a clear warning that despite the presence of the Regional Assistance Mission in the Solomon Islands, led by the Australian government, many of the issues that led to prolonged conflict in 1998 have not yet been adequately addressed. This piece of research examines the root causes of continued conflict as experienced by the people themselves, and the triggers for the sudden explosion of violence in April 2006. It offers insights into the successes and failures of the international presence in the Solomon Islands, as well as presenting local opinions on the likelihood of further conflict. Based on the findings some suggestions are made regarding the targeting of programs, and the adaptations that may need to be made in the approach adopted by the international community.

Introduction

Conflict in the Solomon Islands is not a new phenomenon, and the recent outbreak of violence in Honiara in April 2006 arose in the context of prolonged ethnic and political tension. Since independence from the Commonwealth in 1978, ethnic division, and unresolved social, legal and economic differences have weakened successive governments. Conflict arose from the influx of primarily Malaitan settlers into Guadalcanal, and the subsequent differences that developed in economic, social and political standing of the ethnic groups. The failure of governments to address the issues raised by the indigenous people of Guadalcanal finally led to the emergence of armed groups in Guadalcanal, established to drive out the Malaitan settlers in 1998[2].

The conflict that arose from attacks on Malaitan settlements lasted until at least 2003, and it could be argued still continues today. In spite of a Peace Agreement in Townsville in 2000[3] there was continued lawlessness and conflict. Rule of law was not re established until the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI), led by the Australian government, was invited into the Solomon Islands by the newly elected government of the Solomon Islands in 2003.

In many arenas RAMSI was heralded as a success in terms of its ability to work alongside the Solomon Island authorities in establishing law and order.[4] Many of the perpetrators from the 1998 – 2003 conflict were brought to justice, and important steps were taken in training national justice and law enforcement bodies. In this context, the riots in April 2006 came as a surprise to the international community. Therefore, the current study sought to document the predisposing, enabling and reinforcing factors of the recent outbreak of violence, to assess the likelihood of another conflict in the near future, and to provide an analysis that will inform future initiatives geared toward peace building in the Solomon Islands.

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[2] Amnesty International, *Solomon Islands Women Confronting Violence,* ASA 43/001/2004 (November 2004), p.4
[3] UNDP *Solomon Islands: Peace and Conflict Development Analysis,* (2004), p.57
[4] Helen Hughes, "The Pacific is Viable!", *Issue Analysis No.53* (2004), p.2

Methods [5]

Study area and population

The population of the Solomon Islands is approximately 538,000, of which 9.1% (49,107 people) live in Honiara. Within Honiara a large proportion of the population live in settlement communities which are established outside the city centre as small administrative units. This research focused on key informants in the city of Honiara, and surveys and focus group discussions in two settlement communities: Burns Creek and Fulisango. These communities are located about 5 km outside the centre of Honiara on either side of the Kukum Highway which connects Honiara to the airport. They were selected due to high levels of unemployment and other high-risk socio-economic factors that increase the probability of their involvement in societal unrest. It was felt that they could provide a wealth of information regarding the factors leading up to the conflict and the root causes.

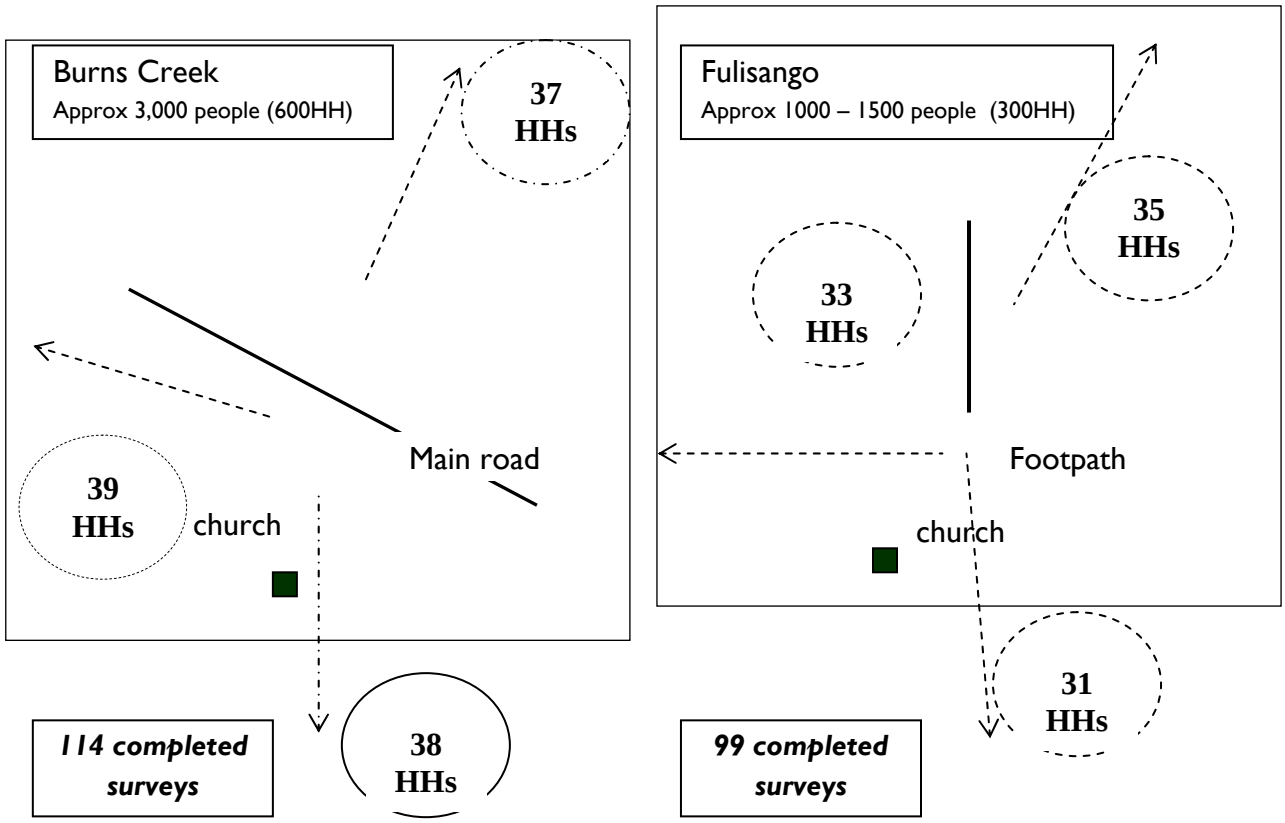
Study design, sample and procedure

The study was cross sectional by design and was carried out between 10th-20th May, 2006. While census data doesn't exist to allow for random sampling, anecdotal data by community leaders indicated that there are 3000 people (600 households) in Burns Creek and 1500 people (300 households) in Fulisango. Local authorities and elders helped with the mapping of the study area. As a result of this exercise, each location was divided into three sections. Data collection was carried out by twelve enumerators, divided into six teams of two people. Radial sampling was adopted as there were not many roads, and people tended to live along the main road or footpaths. That is, two teams covered each of the three sections, starting from a

[5] A glossary is provided at the end of this article.

central location and moving outwards, sampling all households along the way (See Figure 1). The team went door-to-door interviewing male and female heads of households in that direction until they reached the edge of the settlement. If occupants of the household were absent, that household was skipped and enumerators moved on. Through this process, 114 households were surveyed in Burns Creek and 99 households in Fulisango, though the refusal and/or absentee rate was very low, estimated at 2.8% refusal rate. This was a credible balance between a coverage rate that is realistic given the operational constraints, and an adequate and appropriate sample size to answer the study objectives. All enumerators were trained for two days and the survey tool field-tested prior to data collection for cultural appropriateness and clarity.

Figure 1: Sampling map



To triangulate data obtained from the door-to-door survey, six focus group discussions (FGDs) involving 6 to 10 people were held with men, women and opinion leaders, adults, youths and individuals that had been directly impacted by the recent tensions, either due to loss of housing or loss of employment. In addition, interviews with 12 key informants, mainly government officials were carried out to elucidate their own perceptions of the recent conflict and longer-term conflict issues.

For all interviewed households, participation in the study was voluntary, and they were free to withdraw their participation at any stage during the study and that data would be presented as aggregate. They were assured that all data provided would be treated with strict confidentiality.

The survey instruments

The questionnaire was developed based on a tool utilised by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) for early warning indicators of conflict, using a 5-point Likert Scale. A total of eighteen items were retained, covering six areas: risk levels concerning Governance, risk levels concerning land and natural resources, risk levels concerning economics, risk levels concerning public security, risk levels concerning social and ethnic relations, and risk levels concerning peace building. Against each item in the questionnaire survey participants were asked to rank a response from 1 (low) to 5 (high). For example, item 7 was 'Male Unemployment', and participants were asked if they perceived unemployment to be low (1), quite low (2), average (3), high (4), or very high (5). After the participant had responded, the response was verified by repeating back to the participant the response they had given, for example if they had indicated 5, the enumerator was required to state "so you believe that unemployment is very high". Because the youth had been the subject of riot-related investigations by the police and portrayed to be the primary actors involved in a series of rioting under the influence of some key individuals,

collecting data on age was very sensitive. Thus, the study did not collect data on age but recorded the gender of participants.

Data analysis

Data were entered in Excel, and imported into SPSS version 14.0 (SPSS Inc. Chicago, III, USA) for analysis. Although the UNIFEM indicators are based on summated scales representing an assembly of interrelated items designed to measure underlying constructs, the psychometric properties of these scales remain unknown. Therefore, all the 18 items were submitted to factor analytic procedures to identify factor sub-scales using a principal components factor analysis with Varimax rotation. For a factor sub-scale to be confirmed, three conditions had to be met:

1) a clear structure was obtained from the Varimax rotation[6],
2) the factor had two or more items and
3) factor items had loading higher than 0.45[7].

Using this approach, seven sub-scales were identified. Two of these sub-scales were dropped from the analysis because they had only one item. To assess the subscale's reliability and internal consistency Cronbach Alpha was calculated.[8]

Given that reliability tends to be lower if the number of items is small, taken together with the exploratory nature of the study, a lenient cut-off of 0.60 was used as has conventionally been recommended.[9],[10,11,12] A further sub-scale was excluded from the

[6] S. J. Coakes and L. G. Steed, *SPSS: Analysis without anguish*, (Brisbane: John Wiley and Sons, 1999)
[7] G. Marin and R. Gamba, "A new measurement of acculturation for Hispanics: the bidimensional acculturation scale for Hispanics (BAS)" Hispanic Journal of Behavioural Sciences 18 (1996) p. 297-317
[8] L. J. Cronbach, "Coefficient alpha and the internal structure of tests".Psychometrika 16 (1951) p. 297-334
[9] L. J. Cronbach, "Coefficient alpha and the internal structure of tests".Psychometrika 16 (1951) p. 297-334
[10] G. D. Garson, Statnotes: *Topics in Multivariate Analysis*. <www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/statnote.htm>. Retrieved May 14, 2006

analysis because it had a poor reliability (Cronbach's alpha=0.234). A reliability analysis of the items making up the excluded sub-scale indicated that they had a Cronbach alpha ranging from 0.190 to 0.409, thus further justifying the exclusion of this sub-scale from the analysis. The eight items excluded from analysis were: ability to participate in government decision-making; use of traditional forms of conflict resolution; frequency of disputes concerning land; fear that one's land may be taken over; economic inequality within the community; avoidance of gardens and markets due to fear; trust in RAMSI to ensure security; and extent of informal negative discourse. The subscales retained for analysis were community engagement in peace building, safety, unemployment, and ethnicity and corruption.

Data were summarised using descriptive statistics. Percentiles were calculated to categorise data into low, medium, high and very high-risk levels of conflict.

Results

The scale

The "community engagement in peace building" factor had an eigenvalue of 3.72 and explained 27.1% of the variance. The "safety" factor had an eigenvalue of 2.06 and explained 15.0% of the variance. The "unemployment" factor had an eigenvalue of 1.64 and explained 12.0% of the variance. The "ethnicity and corruption" factor had an eigenvalue of 1.51 and explained 9.2% of the variance. The extraction of these two factors explained 63.3% of the variance overall. These factors showed adequate internal consistency with a Cronbach Alpha of 0.728 for the community engagement in peace building factor, 0.642 for the safety factor, 0.614 for the unemployment factor and 0.604 for the ethnicity and corruption factor (Table 1).

[11] J. C. Nunnelly, *Psychometric Theory, 2nd ed*., (New York: McGraw Hill, 1978).
[12] E. G. Carmines and R. A. Zeller, *Reliability and Validity Assessment.* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1979).

Table 1. Rotated factor analysis output

Rotated Factor Matrix	Factor loading
Community Engagement in peace building	
Community organisations involved in peace building	0.834
Youth organisations involved in peace building	0.795
Women organisations involved in peace building	0.696
PB activities initiated and run by the community themselves	0.648
Safety	
Safety for men to walk around the community	0.849
Safety for women to walk around the community	0.838
Unemployment	
Male unemployment	0.840
Female unemployment	0.812
Ethnicity and corruption	
Corruption in government	0.863
Trust between ethnic groups	0.530

Unemployment

Mean (and 95% confidence interval) facet and domain scores are summarised in Table 2. Fifty seven percent of respondents considered unemployment to be a high or very high-risk issue for conflict (Figure 2), and male unemployment ranked as the number one issue of concern in both communities. The unemployment rates remain very high in the communities in which the research was carried out. Data from FGDs indicate that 60-70% of the community are unemployed in Fulisango while approximately 150 people lost their jobs as a result of the recent riots. Unemployment was also mentioned in every FGD as a major area of concern. The youth in Burns

Creek believe that violence is the result of the youth never having been constructively involved in any activities or employment.

Corruption in government and ethnicity

Half of interviewed people (52%) considered corruption in government and ethnic groupings to be a high or very high risk for conflict (Figure2). Corruption was noted in focus groups as a leading cause of the riots. In both communities, corruption in government was considered the second most significant issue related to conflict. In the factor analysis this indicator is strongly associated with trust between ethnic groups. In four of the six FGDs there was reference to the Chinese, or 'Asians', being involved in corruption activities. Specific corruption accusations included Asians paying off the government members to get the candidate of their choice and inequitable distribution of land. As one youth who represented the views of many put it: 'Chinese people interfere in government'. However, we cannot claim that this is an adequate explanation for the link between corruption and ethnicity and it would need to be further explored.

Safety, for women in particular, is a high risk factor

More than half of respondents (55%) considered safety factors to be high or very high-risk factors for conflict. Women were more concerned about safety issues than men, and consistently ranked safety walking around the community as a higher risk factor than men did. In addition both men and women considered safety for women a greater issue than safety for men. In the ranking 'safety for women in the community' is ranked 4th, whereas for both communities 'safety for men in the community' was ranked 10th i.e. least important issue to address from the perspective of the respondents. Women in Burns Creek claim that they still feel unsafe because some of the ringleaders that incited the violence are still in the community. They feel a real apprehension to talk freely about the situation with them around. In Fulisango, women claimed that they now believe that things can happen at any time.

Community engagement in peace building

The lack of perceived community participation in peace building projects is a risk factor related to conflict. While this theme was not adequately explored in FGDs, quantitative data show that 34% of respondents considered the lack of community participation in peace building projects to be a very high risk factor (Figure 2).

High levels of international presence could represent an increasing risk factor for conflict

In focus groups with men and youth in Fulisango there were some indications that the community is becoming more sceptical about the role of RAMSI and the international community. Some men referred to the fact that there are many people working in offices in Honiara, but that the communities don't know or understand what these workers are doing. Referring to the role of the international community a man said 'they shouldn't interfere and they don't know our ways'.

Likelihood of conflict in the near future

Communities were aware of the high likelihood of conflict in April 2006 related to election outcomes. During FGDs with men, youth and women it become clear that members of these communities were aware of the high likelihood of violence in the event that there was no significant change in the government. As one man, who represented the views of may put it: "there was good knowledge that people would not be happy if the same government was returned." This view was collaborated during FGDs with women when one of them stated: "it was in the hearts of people since last year that if the Kemakeza government returned there would be trouble". Seemingly unaware of this, the police considered the event to be low to medium risk.

Almost all members of the community believed that further conflict is likely. In four out of the six FGDs, community members expressed a belief that further violence will occur in the absence of the government addressing their concerns. In Fulisango, the men expressed a fear regarding future conflict believing it will be better organised and larger. One gentleman explained that he thought the recent tensions largely involved

uneducated youth that were manipulated, but he believed: "there will be further tension, and this will not involve the uneducated youth but it will be those that are educated when they return home and have no jobs". The Fulisango youth expressed the opinion that the change in government resulting from the recent riots gives them courage.

Discussion

This study is the first in its kind to examine the root causes of continued conflict using psychometrically derived subscales. The study found that the top four items scoring highest in both communities were male unemployment; corruption in government; female unemployment and safety for women. Therefore, if governmental and non-governmental agencies are developing conflict resolution projects based on this research, it would be logical to focus on these issues. However, the issues beyond the first four dimensions vary between communities, demonstrating that issues relevant to conflict will not be uniform across all communities and that local adaptations to projects will be required based on ongoing assessment data. The following discussion points provide some indications of ways in which this research may be used to inform program development within Honiara.

A large unemployed youth represents a significant risk for further conflict

There is a growing wealth of literature to suggest that large numbers of unoccupied youth will contribute to the generation of conflict in the absence of interventions directly addressing their needs and concerns. Urdal[13] found a strong relationship between youth bulges and conflict, and in a paper presented by Helen Ware[14] she argues that "violent unrest in the Pacific Island Countries (PICs)...is increasingly

[13] Henrik Urdal, "The devil in the demographics: The effect of youth bulges on domestic armed conflict, 1950-2000", *Social Development Papers: Conflict Resolution and Reconstruction* Paper No.14, July 2004
[14] Helen Ware, "Pacific instability and youth bulges: the devil in the demography and the economy", presented 12th Biennial Conference 'Population and society: issues, research, policy' (September 2004)

common because of lack of employment for large cohorts of young people"[15]. Thus the finding of this research that unemployment as a high-risk conflict issue is consistent with the current literature.

However, it also exposed the complexities of addressing unemployment. There are a few training programs available to youth, such as the Don Bosco training program which contribute to developing not only skills, but also confidence levels among youth. While training has success in terms of raising the skill levels of the youth, and in providing a focus for their time, it does not ensure that jobs are available at the end of the courses they attend. There are few opportunities for the growing number of trained and untrained youth. As detailed by Urdal[16] "if the ability of the market to absorb a sudden surplus of young job seekers is limited, a large pool of young unemployed and frustrated people arises".

While micro-credit and enterprise development may seem to provide a potential solution, the small business enterprise model has met with significant hurdles in this cultural context. The wantok system is essentially a social support system for extended family and friends whereby if any family member is employed there is a social and cultural imperative to support the extended family. This acts as a disincentive to enterprise, as the motivation for earning is undermined by the fact that an individual rarely enjoys the fruits of their labour. As a result caution is needed in the introduction of micro-credit and small business enterprise initiatives.

Some agencies are overcoming this issue by providing culturally relevant financial training. Vois Blong Mari is one such organisation that provides trainees with skills such as goal setting and account management skills. Other mechanisms to overcome the potential drain of the wantok system include: income earners providing wantok with dinner and a place to stay, but not financial support; or having a separate wantok

[15] Ware (2004), p.1
[16] Henrik Urdal, "The devil in the demographics: The effect of youth bulges on domestic armed conflict, 1950-2000", *Social Development Papers: Conflict Resolution and Reconstruction* Paper No.14, July 2004, p.3

account which contains the amount any individual can realistically afford to provide to their wantok without endangering the viability of their business. Ultimately, the government and international agencies have to be creative and innovative in providing projects and opportunities for small businesses to develop.

Lack of participation in governance is a major concern

In addition to dealing with chronic unemployment, the youth generally feel that they have not been given the opportunity to participate in governance issues. Our qualitative data suggest that youth in particular, feel frustrated at their inability to take part in political processes. One of the reported advantages of the riots was that the government will now have to listen to what the youth want and that they were able to draw attention to their issues. This frustration is justifiable in the context of very little youth representation in Parliament. Currently the Youth Division in the Ministry of Home Affairs and the National Youth Congress each consist of one person. Neither of these bodies is considered to be actively representing the concerns of youth, and neither have any real leverage in government.

It is of considerable concern that the youth, and the community at large, consider violent protest as the only mechanism to voice their concerns. There is also a strong message that in order to avoid further violence the government will need to start developing mechanisms to provide a voice for the youth specifically, and community in general.

Community-initiated peace building activities need to be encouraged and supported
The data indicated that the lack of community-driven peace initiatives is a major risk factor. The international community must find ways to encourage and support local peace building activities. The easiest way to support and encourage these may be through established structures including women's groups and churches.

The church may be key to community-based conflict resolution and peace building. Men and women in both communities considered the church to be a key connector in the community and a basis for peace building activities. It is clear that almost all the community attend church, and that it has continued relevance in daily life. This was demonstrated by the fact that many individuals returned items that had been looted at the request of the church in Burns Creek. However, there were conflicting opinions regarding whether all youth attend the church, and interestingly none of the youth focus groups identified the church as a peace building mechanism. Certainly some of the most marginalised youth, and those most likely to become involved in conflict, were thought not to attend the church. Data from interviews with key informants suggest that, while there is a great opportunity to support and encourage peace building activities through the church, the church programs need to be updated and made more relevant to youth and to provide more emphasis on living out the church teachings in deeds not only words. In addition, the church must be responsible for outreach programs to those that are not currently attending church. One NGO reported that the church could play a role in allowing transference of responsibility in this cultural context, suggesting that once a prayer had been made for assistance with a particular issue, individuals fail to take responsibility for their own role in contributing to positive outcomes.

International agencies need to consider the potential that their presence may fuel further tensions

It is concerning that there was some evidence to suggest that resentment of the large international presence in Honiara exists. McMullan and Peebles suggest that awareness of this is required in the international community, and highlight that 'Australia and Australians are particularly vulnerable if popular sentiment shifts'.[17] It would be prudent for all agencies working in the Solomon Islands, and in particular those involved in conflict resolution programming, to be aware of the role they play in

[17] McMullan & Peebles, p.15

promoting peaceful activities, and the extent to which their presence or activities exacerbate divisions.

The critical role of conflict early warning mechanisms

The events of April exposed a gap in early warning systems and grass roots mechanisms for intelligence gathering. Communities were aware of the high likelihood of violence during the elections, while the international community and government authorities were considering the event low to medium risk. Either the law enforcement bodies are not accessing the available intelligence or they are not adequately listening to, or interpreting, the data they gather. This may in part be due to difficulties in accessing some communities. In Burns Creek and Fulisango people reported a lack of RAMSI and police presence. However, there is also evidence of attempts to enter communities that are resisted by some members of the community, for example, in Burns Creek where the youth have prevented the entry of RAMSI in the evenings by stoning vehicles as they cross the bridge.

The evidence suggests that the law enforcement agencies in Honiara need to develop better links with the communities, and more efficient mechanisms to gather and analyse data related to conflict. McMullan and Peebles[18] draw similar conclusions in their recent paper analysing the lessons for RAMSI arising from the recent conflict. They state that "far more work needs to happen at the grassroots level to give citizens, especially young people, a stake in their society and the economy".[19] The tool developed by UNIFEM as an early warning mechanism to anticipate conflict through close communication with the communities was a good first step. Their report of December 2005[20] clearly identified lack of participation in government processes and corruption as particularly concerning risk factors for conflict. However, UNIFEM's

[18] McMullan B, Peebles D *The Responsibility to Protect: Lessons from RAMSI* April 2006
[19] McMullan & Peebles, *The Responsibility to Protect: Lessons from RAMSI* April 2006, p. 12
[20] UNIFEM, *Monitoring Peace and Conflict in the Solomon Islands: Gendered Early Warning Report No.2*, Dec 2005, p.iv

funding for this early warning project has ended, and to date there is no agency supporting this crucial information flow.

Conclusion

The riots in April 2006 should give cause for the international community and the new government to re assess their approach for peace and stability in the Solomon Islands. The changing nature of the conflict needs to be recognised and constantly monitored, which can only be achieved through improved reliable information gathering mechanisms. High-risk conflict issues need to be targeted through a coordinated approach, which also provides space and support for the emergence of community-led initiatives. In this research the key high-risk issues emerged as unemployment, corruption and ethnicity, and safety. These issues may vary between communities but for the settlement communities of Burns Creek and Fulisango an approach that targets these areas should have a direct impact on reducing the potential for conflict.

GLOSSARY

Likert Scale is a scale used in questionnaires in which respondents are required to indicate their level of agreement with a given statement.

Factor analysis is a data reduction technique that originated in psychometrics and is used to develop and evaluate a scale. The analysis takes a large number of variables and reduces or summarises them using a smaller set of factors. The factor analysis applies the linear combination of the factors to look for clumps or groups among the interrelations of a set of variables.

Rotation in factor analysis There are a number of steps involved in factor analysis. The first step is the extraction of a set a factors from a data set (as described above). The extracted factors are roughly orthogonal and tend to be ordered based on the proportion of the variance of the original data that these factors explain. Thus the rotation presents the pattern of loading in such a way that it shows variables that clump together. There are two rotation approaches that are used in Factor analysis: orthogonal (uncorrelated) or oblique (correlated) factor solutions. Varimax is an orthogonal rotation and is the most popular rotation used in factor analysis. The underlying assumption of varimax rotation is that each factor will have either large or small loadings of any particular variable. Thus a varimax solution will organise the data to yield results that identify each variable with a single factor.

Cronbach Alpha is a test for a survey's internal consistency. It is a tool for assessing the reliability of a scale. The test was first named as alpha by Cronbach in 1951

Eigenvalue conceptually represents the amount of variance accounted for by a factor.

Table 2

	Burns Creek			Fulisango		
	Female N=55	Male N=59	All N=114	Female N=47	Male N=52	All N=99
Community Engagement in peace building						
Community organisations involved in peace building	3.1 (2.8, 3.5)	2.9 (2.6, 3.2)	3.0 (2.8, 3.2)	3.1 (2.7, 3.6)	2.8 (2.4, 3.1)	2.9 (2.7, 3.2)
Youth organisations involved in peace building	2.9 (2.6, 3.3)	3.2 (2.9, 3.4)	3.1 (2.9, 3.3)	3.0 (2.7, 3.3)	2.7 (2.3, 3.1)	2.9 (2.6, 3.1)
Women organisations involved in peace building	2.7 (2.4, 3.0)	2.8 (2.5, 3.1)	2.7 (2.5, 3.0)	2.7 (2.4, 3.1)	2.4 (2.0, 2.7)	2.5 (2.3, 2.8)
Peace building activities run by the community	3.2 (2.8, 3.5)	3.2 (2.9, 3.6)	3.2 (3.0, 3.4)	3.1 (2.8, 3.4)	2.8 (2.5, 3.2)	2.9 (2.7, 3.2)
Total sub-scale	12.7 (10.8, 14.5)	12.1 (11.1, 13.0)	12.4 (11.3, 13.4)	12.0 (11.1, 12.8)	10.7 (9.6, 11.8)	11.3 (10.6, 12.0)
Safety						
Safety for men to walk around the community	2.7 (2.4, 3.0)	2.5 (2.2, 2.8)	2.6 (2.4, 2.8)	2.4 (2.1, 2.8)	2.1 (1.8, 2.4)	2.3 (2.0, 2.5)
Safety for women to walk around the community	3.7 (3.4, 4.0)	3.2 (2.9, 3.6)	3.5 (3.2, 3.7)	3.5 (3.2, 3.9)	3.1 (2.7, 3.4)	3.3 (3.0, 3.5)
Total sub-scale	6.4 (5.9, 6.9)	5.7 (5.2, 6.3)	6.1 (5.7, 6.4)	6.0 (5.4, 6.5)	5.2 (4.6, 5.7)	5.5 (5.1, 5.9)
Unemployment						
Male unemployment	4.6 (4.4, 4.8)	4.3 (4.0, 4.6)	4.4 (4.2, 4.6)	4.5 (4.2, 4.7)	4.3 (4.1, 4.6)	4.4 (4.2, 4.6)
Female unemployment	4.0 (3.8, 4.3)	4.1 (3.8, 4.4)	4.1 (3.9, 4.3)	4.4 (4.1, 4.6)	4.2 (3.9, 4.5)	4.3 (4.1, 4.5)
Total sub-scale	8.6 (8.2, 9.0)	8.4 (7.9, 8.9)	8.5 (8.2, 8.8)	8.9 (8.5, 9.2)	8.5 (8.1, 9.0)	8.7 (8.4, 9.0)
Ethnicity and corruption						

Corruption in government	4.4 (4.2, 4.7)	4.2 (3.9, 4.5)	4.3 (4.1, 4.5)	4.3 (3.9, 4.6)	4.5 (4.2, 4.8)	4.4 (4.1, 4.6)
Trust between ethnic groups	3.2 (2.8, 3.6)	3.0 (2.7, 3.3)	3.1 (2.8, 3.3)	3.4 (3.0, 3.8)	2.8 (2.5, 3.2)	3.1 (2.8, 3.4)
Total sub-scale	7.6 (7.2, 8.1)	7.2 (6.7, 7.6)	7.4 (7.1, 7.7)	7.7 (7.1, 8.3)	7.3 (6.8, 7.7)	7.5 (7.1, 7.8)
Overall scale	34.6 (33.2, 36.0)	33.4 (31.9, 34.8)	34.0 (33.0, 35.0)	34.5 (33.3, 35.7)	31.6 (29.9, 33.3)	33.0 (31.9, 34.0)

Figure 2

Percentage of respondents associating low, medium and high risk of conflict with the sub-scales