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Abstract
This independent research report, Human Security and Livelihoods in Savo Island, Solomon Islands: Engaging with the Market Economy, aims to identify the ways in which Solomon Islanders from Savo Island engage with the Honiara Central Market (HCM). The main aim of the project is to provide evidence-based research that can inform government and donor responses to issues of economic development and human security on Savo Island, especially as they relate to issues of agricultural production and the articulation of Savo Island with the urban centre of Honiara. The research was funded by the Australian Catholic University and University of Wollongong.

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Human Security and Livelihoods in Savo Island,
Solomon Islands:
Engaging with the Market Economy

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with

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Australian Catholic University &
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to assist Honiara City Council
in its management of Honiara Central Market.

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Executive Summary

This independent research report, Human Security and Livelihoods in Savo Island, Solomon Islands: Engaging with the Market Economy, aims to identify the ways in which Solomon Islanders from Savo Island engage with the Honiara Central Market (HCM). The main aim of the project is to provide evidence-based research that can inform government and donor responses to issues of economic development and human security on Savo Island, especially as they relate to issues of agricultural production and the articulation of Savo Island with the urban centre of Honiara. The research was funded by the Australian Catholic University and University of Wollongong.

Research for this report involved focus groups, interviews and participant observation in three villages in the north of Savo Island (Panueli, Leboni and Paibeta), investigating existing links with Honiara Central Market. A total of 76 participants in the research spoke about production for market, getting goods to market, and sale at market.

The data reveals the critical importance of production for market as a source of income for the human security of rural communities.

The main findings of the research are that:

- Cash gained from the sale of agricultural produce at HCM is the primary source of income for most Savo Islanders. The main reason for engagement with the market is to obtain cash to meet daily living expenses for families, as well as specific community costs relating to funerals, burials, school fees, and other expenses.
- Producers sell cash crops (watermelon and peanuts), as well as seasonal fruit and vegetables and there is some diversification in production between villages. Profitability is affected by market fees, and by the type and cost of transport available to Savo Islanders.
- Farmers identified the major threats to food security as: bad weather; the effects of chemicals on soil fertility; insects; and crop diseases.
- Farmers, especially women, are overwhelmingly concerned about hygiene and sanitation in HCC, their personal security and the security of their produce. Savo Islanders felt resellers push up the prices of fresh food, reduce value for money for the customer, and contribute to overcrowding and to a poor security situation at HCM.
- The gendered nature of agricultural production has implications for social and economic development on Savo Island.

The report makes recommendations relating to human security and food security. The recommendations are concerned with: production for market; transport to market; selling at market; and the management of profits gained at market.
Table of Contents

Introduction .................................................................................................................. 4
Aims and Scope ........................................................................................................... 4
Limitations of the Research ....................................................................................... 4
Outline of Report Structure ......................................................................................... 5
Background .................................................................................................................. 5
Honiara’s Growing Population ................................................................................... 5
Rural Economic Development .................................................................................... 5
The Honiara Central Market (HCM) .......................................................................... 6
Savo Island and the HCM ........................................................................................... 7
Research Sites ............................................................................................................ 7
Research Method ....................................................................................................... 9
Research Findings ..................................................................................................... 10
Production for Market ............................................................................................... 10
    Market Crops ......................................................................................................... 11
        Fertilisers, Insecticides and Damage to the Environment ................................ 11
        Other Obstacles to Production ........................................................................ 13
        Value-adding .................................................................................................... 14
        Megapode Eggs ............................................................................................... 14
    Export Crops ......................................................................................................... 15
Transport to Market ................................................................................................... 16
Selling at Market ........................................................................................................ 19
    Conditions at HCM ............................................................................................ 21
    Safety and Security at HCM .............................................................................. 22
    Resellers ("Black market") ................................................................................. 25
    Direct Selling of Produce ................................................................................... 26
    Profits from Market Sale .................................................................................... 27
Conclusions ............................................................................................................... 28
Recommendations ..................................................................................................... 30
References ................................................................................................................ 31
Introduction

Aims and Scope

This independent research report, Human Security and Livelihoods in Savo Island, Solomon Islands: Engaging with the Market Economy, aims to identify the ways in which Solomon Islanders from Savo Island engage with the Honiara Central Market (HCM). The research is a pilot study for a larger grant application submitted in 2015 to the Australian Research Council—the results of which will be known in October 2015—which aims to explore value chains of fresh food and fish entering HCM from a variety of locations within Solomon Islands.

Human Security and Livelihoods in Savo Island, Solomon Islands: Engaging with the Market Economy emerged from a concern surrounding the capacity of Honiara people to buy fresh food at affordable prices at the HCM. Food security is an issue of growing importance to public policy-making as Honiara's population is now thought to number around 100,000 people.

The main aim of the project is to provide evidence-based research that can inform government and donor responses to economic and human security issues regarding agricultural production and its articulation with the urban centre of Honiara.

The data is intended to be used by Solomon Islanders for their own purposes, and has been made publically available through the Honiara City Council (HCC) website, and for distribution by Savo Islanders in Honiara and more widely throughout Solomon Islands.

It is hoped the research can inform HCC, Solomon Islands Government (SIG) and international donors in their infrastructure policy and planning needs. An academic paper is in preparation.

Limitations of the Research

The data presented in this report seeks to identify some of the main issues and features of food production as they relates to the food security and human security of Solomon Islanders. Savo represents one of many areas of food production for Honiara. While results are specific to Savo Island, it is likely many of the issues that relate to transporting produce to market are common to other farming communities, especially those that bring food to market by boat.

The data is drawn from three villages in the north and east of Savo Island. The sample of 76 participants is large enough to be indicative, although it is not an exhaustive survey. It should be read as a snapshot of how a part of one island in one province links directly into the food security needs of Honiara residents.
Outline of Report Structure

The report is divided into the following sections: Introduction; Background; Research Method; Research Findings; Conclusions; Recommendations; References.

Background

Honiara’s Growing Population

In 2009, Solomon Islands had a national average population density of 17 people/km², but in Honiara this rose to 2,953 people/km² (SIG Census 2009: 5). Honiara is home to two-thirds of all urban Solomon Islanders, and it continues to grow. Panatina (East Honiara), and Nggossi and Mbumburu (West Honiara) wards have all demonstrated over 4% average annual growth over the decade 1999-2009 (SIG Census 2009: 2-5). Honiara City Council (HCC) estimates there are now 85,000 residents within the Honiara city limits (Fieldnotes 2014) and former Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) Special Coordinator, Nicholas Coppel, estimated an additional 15,000 people were residing on the boundaries of the HCC area in peri-urban settlements such as White River and Burns Creek. Together, this urban and peri-urban population numbers at least 100,000, and places stress on existing facilities and services in Honiara. Coppel noted that such population stresses have the potential to lead to deterioration in the state’s security outlook (2012: 8).

Urban residents are geographically separated from their gardens and villages, so they must obtain food from within the city. Supermarkets exist but they are very expensive, and most Honiara residents depend on public markets for their daily fresh food. The largest of these, Honiara Central Market (HCM), is owned and operated by Honiara City Council (HCC).

Rural Economic Development

About 80% of Solomon Islanders live in rural areas, and agriculture (crops and livestock) accounts for 14.5% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (SIG 2014: 20). Rural communities rely on the sale of their produce to urban residents, as well as remittances brought back by wantoks¹ working in the capital. This symbiotic relationship between city and village is now under strain as people living in Honiara are increasingly unable to purchase fresh food in the market as they lack sufficient cash (APHEDA 2009: 17-18). Three related issues arise from this situation:

(1) the value of remittances to villages is declining as food prices in Honiara increase (Fieldnotes 2015a);

¹ Wantok (literally ‘one-talk’) is a term used to refer to a variety of relationships between peoples in Melanesia, the closest of which would be close kin relations, but which can extend to members of the same village, tribe or language group.

(2) A decrease in cash flow to rural communities leads to increased difficulty in purchasing non-food items such as fuel, school supplies and clothing (Fieldnotes 2015a); and

(3) Honiara residents in particular, and to a growing extent Solomon Islanders in rural areas (i.e. Savo Island), have increased the amount of processed foods they consume as a proportion of their diet, and this is leading to obesity, cardiovascular disease and diabetes. This shift prompted the World Health Organisation to note, “there is a need for data on food security to inform decision making in the face of climate change and other threats” (WHO 2010).

This research aims to provide data on food security so that Solomon Islanders and international donors can devise policy to facilitate the current and future demand for affordable fresh food in the national capital.

**The Honiara Central Market (HCM)**

Informal (unregulated) markets exist at White River, Kukum and other locations throughout Honiara, but most people rely on the HCC-operated HCM for their fresh food. HCM is centrally located, and has space for around 1,200 stalls.

HCM vendors sell a large variety of locally grown fresh vegetables and fruit, along with seafood, poultry and other goods. Like Honiara itself, the HCM is overcrowded, with up to 5,000 vendors rotating through the different stalls during a busy day. Honiara residents, including restaurateurs, comprise the bulk of the customers.

Goods come by road to the HCM from:

- East Guadalcanal—vegetables and fruits;
- West Guadalcanal—vegetables and fruits;

and to HCM by boat from:

- Malaita—large fruits and some marine foods;
- Isabel—reef fish and small fish; and
- Central Province (Savo Island and Ngella)—fruit and vegetables.

Agricultural produce is sold in units, or in bunches. Seafood such as reef fish, lobster, bugs, prawns and squid, are sold by weight (Genova et al. 2010).

The majority of the HCM vendors are women, however men sell specific items, such as fresh fish.

HCC charges fees per metre of stall (or $m^2$ of ground space), with extra fees for overnight storage of produce. Depending on the volume of trade the revenue from the HCM can be either the second or the third largest source of revenue for
HCC (Fieldnotes 2014; Fieldnotes 2015a). The busiest market days are Friday or Saturday, when HCC can collect SBD$22,000 ($AUD 4,000) in fees.\(^2\)

HCM is currently operating at full capacity, and there is no adjacent space available for expansion. HCC is aware of this problem and is seeking solutions.

**Savo Island and the HCM**

A UN Women baseline survey of the HCM (UN Women 2013: 10) conducted between July-October 2013 identified Savo Island as a common source of agricultural produce. It is likely that Savo Island vendors represent approximately 12-15% of all vendors at HCM. This represented a small enough sample to conduct pilot research to enable the researchers to explore the level of engagement with the market economy.

**Research Sites**

Three locations on Savo Island were selected for the research:

- Panueli—a large village on the north of the island of over 45 households;
- Paibeta—a medium sized village on the east of the island of approximately 20 households, and host to the island’s only secondary school); and
- Leboni—a small village on the east of the island of approximately 10 households (Fieldnotes 2015a).\(^3\)

The south of the island was not considered due to the extensive surveys conducted by the Geodynamics company as part of its proposed development of the superheated water for geothermal power for Honiara (Geodynamics 2015).

Land holding on Savo Island is generally customary, and land inheritance is matrilineal. However, while women own the land, leadership positions such as chiefs, village chairs and heads of churches are male.\(^4\)

We encountered only one shop on Savo, in Panueli, which was owned and operated by a Savo Islander. This shop supplied some basic foodstuffs and household goods. The owner did not advance credit. Savo does not have any banking services.

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\(^2\) An exchange rate of 5.50 SBD to the Australian Dollar (AUD), accurate during July 2015, has been used for this report. For USD, a simple conversion rate of 8 SBD to 1 USD would give an approximation.

\(^3\) Spelling of village names varies. For this study we have adopted Panueli, Paibeta, and Leboni, as these are how local people spell the names of their villages.

\(^4\) The 2012 Secretariat of the Pacific Community’s *Stocktake of the gender mainstreaming capacity of Pacific Islands Governments* claims that the dominance of men in leadership is recent, with the introduction of patriarchal religious, legal, economic and political systems.
Some people use diesel generators to create electric power. There are no roads on Savo, and no cars. All transport is either on foot, or by Outboard Motor (OBM), also referred to as a ‘canoe’.

**Map of Savo Island villages**

The location of Savo Island within Solomon Islands, and of villages on Savo Island (Cronin et. al 2004: 107).
Research Method

The research team explored the interactions that surround the production of fresh food as it moves from Savo Island to HCM.

We adopted a mixed method approach, comprised of a range of qualitative tools, including focus groups, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. After seeking permission from village leaders from each community, we sought to convene focus groups of men, women and youth, facilitated by local male and female researchers in Pijin and Savosavo, to explore the different roles of men and women. This approach provided a diversity of views and nuanced insight into the production and sale of crops.

Separate focus groups for men and women are vital to discovering the gendered experiences of actors, but while young people are also engaged in market production, they are rarely involved in key decision making due to kastom (local custom). A separate focus group for youth identified how young people articulate with market production.

Researchers returned to the research sites to check and cross-check findings from focus groups. This data was triangulated with semi-structured interviews, and with participant observation, at the research sites and at the HCM.

There were a total of three visits to Savo during 2015.

• the first visit to Panueli from 15-18 February, was a data gathering exercise during which we held a general information session, convened separate focus groups for men and women, and conducted individual semi-structured interviews with key participants.
• the second visit to Pebeita and Leboni from 18-20 March convened focus groups for men and women and conducted individual semi-structured interviews. During this visit, a focus group with youth was held at the Paibeta Community High School. Youth were asked to draw their response to questions, and then to discuss their drawings.
• The third visit was to all sites between 14-15 July. This visit cross-checked and disseminated the preliminary research findings, and discussed these findings with the communities. It sought to discuss how the research could be used by Savo Islanders to address the concerns they had identified collectively.

A draft version of this report was discussed and distributed to invited participants on Monday 13 July 2015 at a briefing workshop held in Honiara, Solomon Islands.
Research Findings

Production for Market

The data indicates that the production and sale of agricultural produce is primarily organised by household, with husband, wife and their children working together, rather than being organised by larger groups or extended families. Some focus group participants reported working with other families to harvest, or employing young men to assist in the harvest. Most participants noted that only immediate family (spouse, children) were trusted to handle money, and they did not rely on extended family in the selling of produce. All of the youth in the sample group had been involved in harvest of produce and had been to the HCM with their parents to sell goods.

Production of some agricultural products for market is heavily gendered. For example:

- Peanut, a product commonly grown for sale at HCM for between SBD$2-5 a handful, was predominately grown and harvested by women.
- Melon (watermelon), a high value crop fetching prices from SBD$50-100 a unit, was predominately grown and harvested by men.
- Men and boys do the bulk of the work to prepare copra for sale, including taking it to Honiara. The very heavy weight of the sacks of copra (between 70-100 kg) is cited as a major reason for men being responsible for the copra trade.

Research in the three sites revealed Savo Islanders sell the following products at HCM, or elsewhere in Honiara:

- cabbage (slippery cabbage)
- cacao
- cassava
- chickens
- coconuts (copra)
- corn
- eggplant
- kumara (sweet potato)
- mango
- megapode eggs.
- Melon (watermelon)
- nuts (betel nut, cut nut, ngali nut)
- pawpaw
- peanuts
- pumpkin
- savo apple
- tomato
- vegetables (beans, capsicum)
We have divided these into two categories:

**Market Crops**—refers to crops taken to Honiara, and sold at the HCM, although some are sold at other locations, or directly to purchasers.

**Export Crops**—refers to crops grown for export sale, and sold in bulk to companies in Honiara

**Market Crops**

Savo Islanders grow particular crops such as melon and peanut specifically to sell at market. Other harvested products (Savo apple and nuts) are sold when in season. Crops like cassava and kumara (sweet potato) are generally staple foods for local people, but are also sold at HCM if there is sufficient surplus. Vegetable crops like tomatoes, beans or cabbage are low cost items and are mostly grown for local consumption, or sold to other villagers on Savo Island. Vegetables are sold at HCM if there is surplus.

At the time of the first and second field visits during February and March 2015, it was the wet season, and many participants were concerned about lower production during this time. Cassava was identified as a crop that could still be grown, harvested and marketed in the rainy season, while other crops (such as peanuts) can spoil in wet weather and were not being sold.

**Fertilisers, Insecticides and Damage to the Environment**

At all research sites, fertilisers and insecticides are not commonly used to enhance crop yield, except in the case of melon.

In terms of crops like coconuts and copra we don’t use fertilisers... unless they get infected by insects... Besides that, all are grown naturally. The only crop we use fertilisers for are melons.

*Male Farmer, Panueli*

We don’t tend to use fertilisers; these types of products are only used from Melons.

*Female Farmer, Panueli*

Fertiliser is only used for melon.

*Male Farmer, Paibeta*

The use of melon seed purchased in tins from trade stores in Honiara requires continued use of fertilisers. Farmers reported that if chemical fertilisers are not used on the crop, the melon does not grow into large fruit.

There are two types of fertiliser; grower fertiliser, and fruiting fertiliser.

*Male Farmer, Paibeta*
We need fertilisers for melons for them to grow well and this applies only for the seeds in which we buy in Honiara. The local melon seeds don’t need fertilisers.

Male Farmer, Panueli

There is however growing concern, that the use of fertiliser and insecticides on melons affects the growth of some staple foods such as kumara, as well as other locally consumed and market crops.

On the other side of the island, they always rotate crops—use fertiliser, plant melon, then plant peanut—but the fertiliser used affects peanut plant. Peanuts do not have nut, kumera will not have fruit.

Male Farmer, Paibeta

On the issue of the insecticide, I don’t think there are any other solutions to fix the problem; the only solution I can think of is to move further in [towards the centre of Savo Island] where there is no soil damage so we can plant the cassava there.

Female Farmer, Paibeta

The fruit flies can also destroy our plants such as beans. Before it wasn’t always like this because now they tend to use medicines (insecticides and fertilisers) that can easily spoil the crops. Now we have to use the medicines always because the crops now depend on it.

Female Farmer, Paibeta

Sometimes you harvest but the fruit is yellow, and there is no nut inside.

No meat inside peanut, every leaf will die.

Female Farmers, Leboni

Farmers also noted insects were problematic, with some speaking of the emergence of a new insect species on Savo Island.

We are surprised to see a new type of insect with a long nose that eats every bean in the bush and makes it hard to grow. One authority should come in and look at this, the chemicals and insects.

Male Farmer, Paibeta

Given melon is the most profitable cash crop, knowledge about organic farming techniques for melons appears to be lacking. Some farmers sought advice to grow without the use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides. Indeed, some blamed chemicals and introduced seed strains, and the consequent need to apply pesticides, for poor production and environmental problems:
What I would think is the best way to tackle the fertiliser issue is to use organic fertilisers. To get rid of the use of [chemical] fertilisers would be a complicated feat. So what would be practical is to teach the farmers what would be the best fertilisers, and how it would be used to help protect the plant and the soil. We need to have professional advice from the people that know these things.

*Male Farmer, Panueli*

Others were looking for assistance from outside to address a range of environmental and production issues:

What I want is the advice of [Ministry of] Agriculture; sometimes the ground is no good, you plant peanut 2nd or 3rd time it can be empty in the shells. I want Agriculture to come assess what has happened.

*Male Farmer, Leboni*

We need agricultural knowledge and advice; people run off their own understanding, lacking technical advice.

*Male Farmer, Panueli*

General knowledge about new pests, diseases, fungi and other threats was also an identified need in all communities.

Anything eats it [peanut nut inside the shell] I think, “What causes it? A worm?”

It's a loss; you have to pull out the plant and replant.

Peanuts have a white fungus; I don't know what causes it.

*Female Farmers, Leboni*

**Other Obstacles to Production**

Lack of tools was identified in Panueli as another obstacle to increasing production:

Our problem with our planting is with the tools. There are only nine individuals that have a bush knife. We need hoes, spade and more.

*Female Farmer, Panueli*
**Value-adding**

Some farmers had specific proposals for diversifying the economic base of agricultural production on Savo through value-adding by making juice from excess fruits, coconut oil from coconuts, and opening up new export markets.

My last thoughts... If government established exports to sell things by local people overseas, that could make the earnings better. If we keep going to HCM it will be the same, but if exports come, exporters buy at a different level and we could expect to get high earnings...

When countries came for RAMSI, I thought we should do bilateral trading for root crops, to places like Kiribati, Nauru, Marshall Islands. They should do it. The responsible authority pays for crops, gives it proper care and sends out to small countries in the Pacific, which need good food. When people from there see our market they really admire the crops. Suppose the country thinks about it, we should do it. We have good quality food, real fresh food, not like supermarkets where the taste goes down.

*Male Farmers, Pai beta*

**Megapode Eggs**

Megapode birds lay their eggs close to Panueli village in a field of warm volcanic sand, enabling incubation. On Savo Island, megapode eggs\(^5\) serve as a form of currency (‘Savo Dollar’), and can be traded for shop goods, such as tinned tuna and instant noodles. Savo Islanders cook the eggs in the boiling volcanic pools of the crater and transport them to HCM. At market, a single cooked Savo Island megapode egg can sell for SBD$10.

There has been a reported decline in the numbers of megapode eggs harvested. Savo Islanders linked this trend to the increased importance of the cash economy, the desire of people to obtain foodstuffs and household products, and to pay specific costs in cash.

Cultural traditions (*kastom*) play a role in the management of the megapode field and the harvesting of the eggs, however new circumstances are leading to changes.

The collection of megapode eggs is done by the men; this is a practice that has been done a long time ago. It is a custom that has existed ages ago. Now there are changes that women can enter the megapode fields, however women are not allowed to dig for the eggs. The products from the gardens, including the eggs, are then taken to the market by the women, and then the women will sell them.

*Female Farmer, Panueli*

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\(^5\) A megapode egg is around 8cm in length and is larger than a chicken egg, which is 5-6cm long.
Export Crops

Both copra and cacao are grown for international export, and are sold directly to business in Honiara. Global commodity prices affect the levels of interest among Savo Islanders in producing copra and cacao.

In the villages of Leboni and Paibeta in particular, participants were involved in the copra trade. Unlike other crops, this was not seasonal. Leboni also enjoyed a new relationship with copra agents who now came to the island and purchased full bags of copra (often weighing between 70-100kg), saving locals the $100 per bag cost of freight—a cost that farmers in Panueli had cited as making copra growing unprofitable:

The price is high, $280 a bag is the price this time, copra is good at the moment – if anyone pays for copra at home and sell it then it would be good, then you are free and cash is in your hands.

One man [agent/buyer for copra], came to start this week; he pays $210 a bag, its good. He goes to a man from Indonesia and negotiates.

Female Farmers, Leboni

In July 2015 finished cacao bean fetched $18SBD per kg, and this had prompted some interest, especially in Panueli, where one farmer purchased cacao pods from other farmers for $4 per kg and prepares them for sale by removing the beans from the pod, drying them out and then fermenting them (Fieldnotes 2015b).
Transport to Market

Savo Island is located some 35km North-Northwest of HCM. By OBM the trip to Honiara takes around an hour. An alternative route is to take produce by OBM south 14km to Vila, on the road to the east of Honiara, and then by truck or car another 34km to Honiara.

There is no port or jetty on the island that would facilitate the transfer of produce to and from the HCM. Savo Island farmers are at a distinct disadvantage compared to provinces with subsidised shipping, as costs of boat passage and freight are higher than in neighbouring provinces. Previously, a ship regularly serviced Savo Island, but this is no longer the case:

From Choiseul a man has freights of just $50, but for Savo it is $100, and we are closer to Honiara. Why is it so much?

In the past, the ship usually provides transport; we had a local ship from Langalanga [Malaita] and there were not many boats. Now there are many boats but no ships go; people carry their bags on the boat to Honiara.

Male Farmers, Paibeta

Transport is the highest cost item incurred by Savo Islanders when selling goods at HCM. There appears to be a lack of competition on the pricing of OBM charters, and standard rates apply. There are also gendered components of the agricultural value chains from Savo to HCM that relate to transport: men are OBM owners and operators. Smaller communities reported a lack of competition with respect to prices and routes.

A charge of $100 per person per trip (Savo-Honiara, or Horiara-Savo) is a set price among transport providers, despite other variations in the costs related to running a boat, such as fuel. Freight is charged per bag, and prices vary, depending on weight and volume. The charter price for a full boat of produce is generally $1000 SBD.

It’s better if petrol is down like this month; they should lower the fare for the canoe, then it would be good for us. I complain to the owners of the canoes “you should talk to us”; every time we go market, costs are the same. Suppose we had a ship, then it would be good, but we don’t have it too.

Female Farmer, Leboni

While transport is the highest cost item in getting produce to market, it is also a risk, both for the produce and the farmers. Participants commonly mentioned that using OBMs to transport goods to market often resulted in spoiled produce, and the journey can be dangerous:

Transport is a sad problem because the boat is not safe to transport goods to market. No matter if you cover it with plastic, produce can get spoiled. Big waves can come and if the water spills on melons or peanuts it’s ok, but for other crops
like cassava it lowers the quality and there will be a smell on the produce. Transport is a big problem for everyone. We don’t care about rough sea but the quality of the crops is not protected.

Male Farmer, Paibeta

When the sea gets rough, we would have to throw away some of our bags because we would be afraid for our lives.

Female Farmer, Panueli

While the most commonly mentioned problems regarding transport were cost and spoiling of produce during the sea journey, some participants, particularly those in the smaller communities, mentioned the absence of a schedule of boats. Produce that is ready for market requires immediate transport, but if the transport is not available at that time the produce begins to spoil, and farmers cannot then charge full price at HCM.

HCM can be a difficult location at which to berth, due to the wrecks by the wharf, the volume of vessels, rough seas, rubbish and debris on the docking areas. A more common drop off point for Savo Islanders is the Point Cruz Yacht Club. After paying the OBM fare and freight, taxi costs from Point Cruz to HCM further reduce profits for growers:

Some taxis charge $100, I said to them, how can it be $100 to get a boat from Savo then $100 to get from the yacht club to the market [a distance of less than 1km]? Sometimes men insist we give these prices, so we give it.

Female Farmer, Leboni

Seafare [by OBM] spoils the market, you have to pay for everything you take, melon, cassava, pineapples, fares—you must give for everything, your money will be down. You get to market, then you need a taxi or anything, you’ve already spent your money on sea fare; it downs the profits.

Male Farmer, Paibeta

Women in Panueli also noted boats could run out of fuel and deliver passengers to areas outside Honiara (e.g. Mamara River, 7km west of Honiara), which also required them to take a taxi to the HCM. The above comments suggest that taxis take advantage of farmers who need to get their food to market, especially when considering a standard per person fare for foreigners with luggage from Henderson airport to the CBD is SBD$100 [8km from Honiara].

While transporting produce to market has its problems, Paibeta farmers mentioned that maritime transport sometimes provided Savo people with a competitive advantage at HCM. For example during flooding and damage to roads on Guadalcanal (April 2014), it was still possible for Savo Islanders to bring produce to market, and to profit from the reduced competition.
Many farmers in Panueli and Leboni felt a ship would be the best way to reduce transport costs:

We living in Savo need a ship. The OBM and canoes won’t cater for the number of farmers and products that we prepare for the market. For the farmers, the melons they produce, the melons won’t even fit in the boat, the whole number they prepare for one farmer. If a ship comes and the price is much higher, we would take it because it will cater for all the products.

*Female Farmer, Panueli*

However, in Paibeta some participants thought that transporting produce by ship to HCM would also involve similar problems to transporting produce by OBM, particularly if a ship’s schedule did not articulate with crop cycles, or if there was spoiling of produce due to shipowners mishandling goods:

One type of ship people will be very interested in is barges, rather than a ship. Here there is no big reef to obstruct anchors, look over there. Barges should be able to land and everyone has access to carry their goods on board.

One thing people hate is that ships’ staff carry goods, and throw it around, smash it and quantity is affected for market. So, the right transport is barges.

*Male Farmers, Paibeta*

Another idea mentioned was for farmers to have some ownership over the means of getting the produce to market:

Every farmer in Savo should make an association to try and negotiate especially for transport, a boat, with a schedule and the association pays for that one together.

*Male Farmer, Paibeta*
Selling at Market

Most produce is sold through the HCM, however Savo islanders also sell at other sites including Kukum; Fishing Village (to the east of the CBD); White River (to the West of the CBD); Borderline; and Talise markets.

Some Savo Island men enjoy large profits from their market trade, particularly through the sale of melon. Indeed, in Panueli, it was recognized that “farmer winnim wokka”—a farmer could make more money than a person working for wages—and there was a particular focus on generating profit from sales at market. This was in contrast to the dominant pattern in Paibeta and Leboni which favoured selling at market to meet a specific purpose, such as to pay school fees or other community-related obligations.

In the discussions with youth, while both young men and women said it was likely they would take produce to market in the future, whether or not they had jobs, young women were less keen than young men to do so, citing the labour-intensive work of growing, harvesting and selling crops as being harder than paid employment.

Women are the principal vendors at HCM of most agricultural produce from Savo Island.

There would be times when the men would go, when the women do not feel up to it. But usually it is the women that would do the marketing.

There are times that males would come and sell the products but mostly it is the women that do the marketing, because it is the melons that men would look after.

Female Farmers, Paibeta

Female Farmers, Panueli

Usually it is the women who sell the produce at the market because the men are not brave enough to do it. Most men are not used to doing the marketing.

Female Farmer, Paibeta

Male farmers in Paibeta indicated that the issue of who sells produce at market is organised, and sometimes negotiated, within the family unit:

They will decide at the home, “you wife will go” and the woman will go, and no matter if its heavy or not the women will go. Or sometimes the man will go, “I'll go” like that, they’ll decide in the home now.

Sometimes… the family will identify themselves [who should go to market]—the man is not good to sit down at market, so the women will go; sometimes women are not good at it, so the man will go.
My experience at the market is that some men have bad luck, some women too. No sales will come. So people decide “father will go” or “mother will go”; they will decide who will go.

If the food is heavy, then men will go, or men and women together.

*Male Farmers, Paibeta*

Women were mostly perceived as being better at managing the money earned at the market. Men recognised that women were better at saving the money from sales at the HCM to bring back to the village, rather than spending it in Honiara.

When asked about the positive and negative impacts of gaining revenue from market, the youth focus group reported that men were more likely to spend market profits on alcohol and gambling than to return cash to Savo:

The good side is we can get money for food, another one is school fees, money for school fees and satisfying our needs, clothes, plates, teaspoon, cup, pots, things like that. Bad impacts of it [cash money] is sometimes people use it for alcohol, to drink beer. The other thing is gambling—some fathers take money and just use it for gambling. This is what we think.

*Males in youth focus group*

Ok the good impacts we see are food, clothes, uniform and house building. When you make good money you can build a good house, then household things, plates, cups, things like that. Bad effects are alcohol, smoking, playing casino... ok a likely example—when a man from here dies we spend money on that time, deaths okay? Playing casino, when men take money from melon or peanut they take money and misuse it, go play cards, casino and stuff. Another one too is when they take money to buy cigarettes, same as alcohol.

*Females in youth focus group*

Women know how to budget—a man if he wants to go six [buy a six pack of beer], he does it.

Some men are ashamed... [of misusing money when they go to market], some men go to market; everyone is not the same, but women are better at the market.

*Male Farmers, Leboni*

In my case, my wife holds the money from market, not me. That’s the idea. When she comes back from the market we sit down with the family and then say "ok, this is for this, this is for that". That’s what we do, I mean for my family.

*Male Farmer, Paibeta*
When the women travel to the market they would go with the mentality of the price that they would aim to get for that day. When the amount is taken and the money returned, then the father and mother would discuss about the household goods that they would need to buy, including the children's welfare and the church as well.

*Female Farmer, Panueli*

The wife is the boss of money.

*Male Farmer, Panueli.*

The comments below concerning selling produce at HCM can be generally divided into two groups: those that concern conditions at the HCM; and those that relate to the business operations of resellers within HCM, which are locally known as ‘black market’.

**Conditions at HCM**

Space at HCM was identified as very limited, which led to negative effects for consumers and market sellers:

If we can’t find any space then we can’t sell our goods, so then we usually wait for the next day and this would force us to remain overnight, where our products can turn bad. So to spend the night we will pay an overnight fee. When it rains we will remain there and just bear it; we live like we’re in a pigpen.

*Female Farmer, Panueli*

The market house is too small, compared to the population that comes to the market. It’s crowded inside and hard to get around to do what you need and do your market. The current market house does not cater for it.

The problem with sales and the market is there is only one place—people are squeezed up, then you see sales are low, demand is low; supply high, demand low. If there are two to three market outlets, that would be better.

*Male Farmers, Paibeta*

The organization of market space and facilities, particularly water and sanitation, was also criticized:

I would like to stress to the City Council that they should have separate buildings for the sale of fish and for the sale of the crops. This is because of hygiene, because it is very bad at the moment. The foreigners would also hate the smell that it gives out.
The toilets at the markets are also in very bad condition. There are some people that just shit on the floor and the water doesn’t come every day. They would even shit at the wharf. They would not bother to find water and flush, and the toilet would fill up.

Tell the Town Council to get fresh water for the market sellers.

Female Farmers, Panueli

The lack of secure and suitable places to store food meant it was necessary for market sellers to sleep at the market house with their produce. Participants said the lack of storage facilities negatively impacted sales and food quality:

Storage affects the quality of produce; storage at Honiara Market is like a copra dryer [too hot].

Male Farmer, Paibeta

Sometimes, this market house, I see something that is not right; it’s full up with black market people, and people who stay in the sun pay the same fee—they should have a lower fee. Town Council should improve or extend on this house to make the fee fair for everyone, all farmers; those outside face the rain and sun, but the fee is the same. Produce is not good to sell for the customers after it’s been out in the sun. Everyone should have shelter.

Male Farmer, Leboni

Savo Island farmers were interested in accommodation at the market, which they noted was a particular need for market sellers from outside Guadalcanal. Others suggested more effort be put into developing facilities and space at other markets. Commonly suggested alternative sites were: Kukum; Fishing Village; White River; Borderline; and Talise markets. Some participants used these markets to sell produce that would spoil quickly (e.g. seasonal Savo apple), or if HCM was crowded or difficult to access.

Safety and Security at HCM

Men, women and youth in all communities consulted said security at HCM was poor:

It’s not safe to stay at night in the market; you see women lying down, pickpockets come, people cry, that’s how it is.

If you go and come back in morning, things are lost; storage at the market is not good. Well at the moment there is no storage—people lay produce all about—that’s why people sleep at the market.

Female Farmers, Leboni
We also want to have lights—it’s there but it doesn’t turn on. When drunken people enter the markets at night we are afraid, but there’s nothing we can do, and security would not do anything. So we would sometimes stay [to guard produce] and wait until daylight.

*Female Farmer, Panueli*

The majority of people in the market go to walk about, and a few to pay for goods.

When you go to market, pickpocketers and *beligas* [thieves] come too. Another problem too is $100 flies from your pocket [either stolen or spent].

*Male Farmers, Paibeta*

The market is a place which takes a lot of revenue for the Town Council, so the place should be safe. Women hear men fight and run away. They are frightened, then [they] come back and their food is gone.

*Male Farmer, Leboni*

Focus group participants were concerned by the unregulated flow of people through the market during both daytime operating hours and after the market closed at night, and by the stealing. As they explained, the problems faced at HCM extended to the conduct of security staff employed by HCC for HCM. Significantly, two thirds of the comments that mentioned unsafe conditions at HCM, also noted security staff were part of the problem:

Security staff should look after the market and the people; they should check on us every now and then. There are times they would flirt with the girls or the women.

Securities should be there the whole day, and a supervisor should be there to monitor the securities to make sure that they are doing their jobs.

When drunken people enter the markets at night we would be afraid, but there’s nothing we can do, and the securities would not do anything.

*Female Farmers, Panueli*

Security staff are not doing good work, and then the fee is high, then there are many thieves around the market... the market, it’s not good—security is not doing their job; people go around to steal.
Also, lots of people use the place to sleep but it’s not safe. People fight and security is slack and people who stay... then others come and steal or hold people to sleep there, so problems come up. It is not safe. The youths use marijuana and kwaso—drunken people... they need good security there, to tighten it up, to take out these people. The farmers are the ones that buy fees for the market, not the marijuana and kwaso people.

Male Farmers, Leboni

Villagers identified security staff (1) drinking alcohol with wantoks and (2) not doing their job, as the two most commonly cited problems. Stealing and harassment of women were also noted.

Women were particularly vulnerable to violence, sexual harassment, theft and intimidation. Most women felt that they could do little about this, with one woman commenting that making a formal complaint meant she felt she could become a victim of violence at the hands of security staff:

One time I reported security staff at the Honiara Market. I went to the policeman and reported two to three security guards. I paid the storage fee and they stole my food. They [HCC] sacked them because they were drunk, but then I was frightened and came home.

Female Farmer, Leboni

Others had witnessed HCM authorities try to intervene, but to no effect:

The Market Manager tried to do something; one time I heard him say to those drinking and smoking marijuana “you must go out”. So, they tried but it’s hard. So they need good security and law enforcement... “If you do not have work in the market, get out” they say, “if you pay, come”—it’s not a place for rest. They say it on the speaker, but it does not happen.

Male Farmer, Leboni

Uniformly across communities, market fees were identified as a problem faced by both farmers and sellers, but for different reasons. For some the prices were too high:

Sometimes, you pay the fees for the market table and storage fees and then you are hungry, and you do not have money to pay for food for yourself. You go hungry.

Female Farmer, Leboni

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6 Kwaso refers to any illegally distilled alcoholic spirit. It can have a particularly high alcohol content (up to 100%). Solomon Islands Government has attempted to combat kwaso production and consumption through an intensive public education campaign from 2012.
I have a question: Town Council use the fees for what? There is no building of other markets, or improvement at the markets. What is the use of it?

Male Farmer, Paibeta

For others, the problem was the variety of fees charged for those who required long stays in the market, as well as differing fees for different crops:

I want to tell about the Market fee. We pay three times a day—in the morning you pay market fee, and in the afternoon a storage fee, and you have a different fees for different crops. Coconut and root crops and melon, different fees.

Suppose you line up your goods—cassava, peanut, coconuts, whatever—there is a different fee. If you take melon, pineapple and coconut, sometimes you pay a total of three to four hundred dollars.

Male Farmers, Paibeta

Participants across the different communities suggested that fees should be once a day or for a particular time period, and that fees should be charged by area (not by type of product):

They [HCM] do not follow the crops that people take. Some take a lot, some not so much, but on the ticket it doesn’t put how many crops do you take? For example, those on the Guale [Guadalcanal] plains take a lot of potato compared to her two to three baskets, but the ticket is the same price, it’s not right.

Male Farmer, Leboni

The men at the market should have a standard fee across the board, for everyone. Then they should also look at the timeframe. Some people just go for one day. Look at these areas and make a fee which fits everyone. Why not make one fee only across the board. Or a one week fee, or a three day fee. But when you sit down with melons sometimes it takes five or six days.

Male Farmer, Paibeta

Resellers (“Black market”)

Another common issue reported, particularly by people from Panueli, was intimidation and arguments resulting from disagreements between farmers and middlemen/women, who they termed ‘black market’. A more accurate term, and the term preferred in Honiara, is ‘resellers’, as the activities undertaken are legal.

Resellers are not farmers. They are effectively wholesale purchasers who buy an entire crop from a farmer and then sell the produce in smaller quantities at HCM. Resellers often live at the market and sell all year round, so have fewer costs and overheads (such as fertiliser, labour, transport, accommodation).
Complaints about resellers mainly concerned the monopolisation of stalls and space at the HCM, and to some extent the way resellers make profits by selling smaller quantities of produce at the same price as farmers.

The black markets always chase away us growers from the markets—we would tell them that we pay our fees, but they wouldn’t even be considerate and give us space.

The black markets are a mix of islanders from everywhere. We would like to have the black market practice to stop. They would be there as if they live there. They have their mattresses, pillows and sometimes they have sex there.

The black markets should be taken out from the main market and allocated to another place. Some of them would buy parcels of nuts from the collectors and they would, in turn, take out some of the nuts from the parcels and then sell them for the same price with fewer nuts. There is no need for black markets at all.

*Female Farmers, Panueli*

When I go market, the black market spoils us people who pay and sell there. They put a high price; if we lower the price they are cross. I fight them, because I have harvested at home.

*Male Farmer, Leboni*

In the smaller communities ‘black market’ activity was not seen as such a problem. In fact, some participants reported buying produce from others on arrival in Honiara, and then selling the combined crop to resellers:

Black market people conduct another way of paying. When there is lots of produce they will buy and sit down with it—whatever people want to get rid of as soon as they reach the market. They will take especially things like banana that need to be sold quickly; then black market is used.

*Male Farmer, Paibeta*

**Direct Selling of Produce**

The selling of produce directly to buyers in Honiara, rather than through HCM was also a strategy used by some farmers in Leboni:

I don’t market very much, so what I do is I sell chickens. I contact first the buyers on mobile phone and ask the Chinese how many chickens do you want? ‘10’. I say I will sell for $70, they say it’s too much: ‘OK $60’ [they say]. ‘No,’ I say, ‘Us here at home will pay $100 for a chicken’. So, I go and sell them [directly to the Chinese in Honiara] and its good, to take sideline pay. Chickens are good.

*Female Farmer, Leboni*
One farmer in Panueli liaised with office workers in government to provide bulk produce (melons) on a specific pre-arranged date (coinciding with a pay day), and would charter a boat and a taxi to deliver the goods. He would collect all the money on the same day (Fieldnotes 2015a).

**Profits from Market Sale**

The primary purpose of agricultural production for market and small-scale animal husbandry on Savo Island is to obtain money for a range of purposes. The profits made by market sellers and farmers from the HCM were generally spent and not saved. The most common spending cited was school fees and food. However, youth participants noted it could also lead to an increase in alcohol consumption and gambling. In the smaller communities, people generally marketed for a specific purpose, such as to pay contributions after a death, or for the church. In general the main items on which market profit is spent include:

- Building materials
- Church contributions
- Community celebrations and functions (baptisms, weddings, funerals,)
- School fees and school uniforms
- General household supplies
- Household repairs
- Costs of transport for people and produce to and from market
- Imported and manufactured foodstuffs
- Alcohol
- Melon seed, fertilisers and insecticides
- Gardening tools.

Several participants agreed that sales of produce at HCM are linked to the incomes of Honiara residents, while issues such as price fixing, or the low quality of produce, will affect the diet of Honiara residents, as well as the profits of farmers on Savo Island.

No participant in this study mentioned having a bank account. Usually they said that money was spent soon after its collection. Several said banking and saving might be more desirable than dealing only with quick flows of cash:

I want you to recommend to have a banking system; come and teach people how to budget, keep money to stay. So, they learn how to keep money for other times, not to take it now and spend it now.

*Male Farmer, Paibeta*
Conclusions

In terms of human security and food security, agricultural production and harvesting on Savo Island produces food for sale in Honiara and feeds local families. The cash gained from sale of agricultural produce is overwhelmingly the only source of income for most Savo Islanders.

Production for Market

Panueli residents were the most engaged with the HCM, with producers supplying similar goods, principally watermelon and peanuts. In contrast, the people of Leboni and Paibeta engaged less with the market and those in Leboni supplied different goods to those from Paibeta.

The primary reason for engagement with the market was to raise cash funds to meet the cost of living and other expenses as they arose, particularly costs relating to funerals, burials, school fees, and general household expenses. Market profits help farmers purchase the household goods, clothing and other foods and staples they require, as well as contribute to their churches, invest in their crops and pay for transport to market.

The major threats to food security identified in all research sites are: bad weather; the effects of chemicals on soil fertility; insect pests; and crop diseases.

The construction of wharves on Savo Island would be of great benefit to enhancing the ability of farmers to move produce to market.

Conditions at Market

Savo Island women stay overnight in the HCM to sell the produce, exposing them to a range of security and health problems, including the risk of assault and poor sanitation.

The overcrowding of HCM presents problems for farmers wishing to gain access.

Profitability and Economic Development

The costs of transport and the length of time spent at HCM clearly affect the profitability of farming. Some farmers volunteered that they might get as little as $200 from and entire crop of peanuts after all costs. Melons are a large cost item, but are also heavy, and several boats may be required to take a crop of 800-1000 melon to market. Storage and market fees also eat into costs for all farmers who do not sell their crop to resellers.

While some participants in the study sold to resellers, the majority of farmers felt that ‘black market’ was monopolising the best lots at the HCM, thus affecting their profits at the market. Resellers were seen as intimidating, and Savo Islanders felt they were responsible for pushing up the price of fresh food, and
reducing value for money for the customer, by charging more for smaller quantities of produce. Farmers also linked the presence of resellers to overcrowding and security issues in the market.

The gendered roles in the provision of transport, selling of produce at HCM and managing of household income have implications for economic development on Savo Island. Specifically, the research indicates a prevalence of women in the selling of produce at market, a practice that requires long absences from villages. Women are especially affected because they are required to spend up to a week in the market, paying fees and other expenses. Such time commitments are in addition to the gendered division of labour around childcare and domestic work, which mean that engagement in other economic enterprise and further education is prohibitive for most women.

Savo does not have a town with banking services, and all transactions are in cash. Banking and holding bank accounts was a topic of intense interest for participants in the study. Currently people do not have any mechanisms for saving money.
Recommendations

This study makes a number of recommendations relating to the production of food for market, the transportation of food to market and the sale of food at market. It also makes recommendations on conditions at market, particularly security. The recommendations are as follows.

Production for Market

1) Regular visits and practical assistance (i.e. demonstrations on farms) by technical experts from SIG Ministry of Agriculture to instruct Savo Island farmers on different methods of farming. Information should include the following topics:
   a) protecting the local ecosystem;
   b) creating long-term food security, both for staple foods, and for market products;
   c) knowledge on the use of fertilisers and insecticides;
   d) the emergence of new insect species.

Transport to Market

2) SIG and Central Province government explore the construction of up to three jetties/wharves on Savo to enable easier transport to market, and the loading and unloading of cargo by larger ships, or a barge.

Conditions at Market

3) Royal Solomon Islands Police Force maintain a permanent 24 hour a day presence at the HCM.
4) HCC review its security arrangements for the HCM with a view to improving safety of vendors.
5) HCC establish a separate building for cleaning and selling fish, and review its provision of fresh water and the sanitation requirements of vendors and customers.

Profitability and Economic Development

6) HCC examine sites for a separate wholesale market, where farmers could come and sell an entire crop to resellers at a guaranteed minimum price.
7) HCC develop alternative market sites both East and West of the existing HCM site. The location of any future markets is a matter for the HCC and SIG, however market sites near to White River and Burns Creek would allow the servicing of peri-urban populations.
8) HCC review its fee structure of charges for the sale of fresh produce, overnight storage and stall location (covered/uncovered; table/floor) and cost per square metre.
9) Remote banking facilities be introduced on Savo Island, and financial training be undertaken with farmers, particularly women.
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