Electoral Democracy in Post-Conflict Melanesia: The 2010 Bougainville and Solomon Islands Elections

Norm Kelly

1. Introduction

The elections held in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville from the 7th to 21st May 2010 and in the Solomon Islands on 4th August 2010 provide excellent case studies of the progress of electoral democracy in two post-conflict societies. Both jurisdictions are typical of Melanesian electoral democracy, with high turnover of MPs, low women's representation, and weak political party systems. Australia provides significant amounts of funding as aid in these two jurisdictions, which have both suffered from severe internal conflicts in recent times. The 2010 elections are an opportunity to assess whether progress is actually being made in developing the democratic institutions of society.

This paper looks at the background to the elections and describes the electoral systems and administrative structures that were used in 2010. An assessment is made of the campaigns and conduct of the election, followed by an analysis of the results. Particular attention is centred on the political party systems in each jurisdiction and prospects for increasing the representation of women. The paper concludes with arguments in favour of improvements to the comprehensiveness and accuracy of electoral rolls in both jurisdictions and the introduction in the Solomon Islands of reserved seats for women and a political party regulation regime.

2. Background

The Autonomous Region of Bougainville (ARB) is a former province of Papua New Guinea and has close geographical, ethnic and cultural connections with the Solomon Islands. Its population is almost entirely Melanesian. The 2010 elections were for the ARB’s unicameral parliament, the House of Representatives, which
consists of 40 members – the President, three regional women members, three regional former combatant members and 33 members elected from single-member local constituencies. The parliament has a five-year term.

The Solomon Islands is a constitutional monarchy and member of the Commonwealth. It also has a very high Melanesian population (c. 95 per cent), with the remainder being mainly Polynesian. Elections to the national Legislative Assembly are held every four years, with the Assembly’s members elected from 50 single-member constituencies. Both jurisdictions draw heavily from the Westminster system of government.

**Figure 1 | Solomon Islands (with the Autonomous Region of Bougainville to the north-west)**

The major occupation in both Bougainville and the Solomon Islands is subsistence farming. Both jurisdictions have attracted significant levels of international development assistance. Both have also suffered from damaging and disruptive internal conflicts in the past few decades. Bougainville, in particular, has suffered large losses of life as a result of its civil war, which ran from around 1988 until a truce was signed in 1997. As part of the peace settlement the Papua New Guinea Government agreed that Bougainville be established as an autonomous region with significant levels of self-governing authority. The first ARB elections were held in 2005, with Joseph Kabui elected President of the Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG). Following Kabui’s death in 2008, a presidential by-election was held, with James Tanis being elected.

Since gaining independence in 1978, the Solomon Islands has experienced unstable government and shifting political alliances resulting in regular changes of leadership. There have been ten Prime Ministers since 1978.
(including three, Peter Kenilorea, Solomon Mamaloni and Sogavare, who served multiple terms). The longest period without a change of leadership was just over five years, from 2001 to 2006 (Allan Kemakeza).

The Solomon Islands conflict, of 1998 to 2003, although not as widespread or as long-lasting as Bougainville's, was also deeply disruptive to the community and economy of the country. Ethnic tensions erupted into conflict, with the main issue being the migration of Malaitans into areas in and around the capital Honiara, on Guadalcanal. The intervention of an international military and police force – the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) - in August 2003 helped restore calm, although further conflict arose following the 2006 election of Snyder Rini as Prime Minister. Demonstrations about the election result led to rioting and looting in Honiara and, two weeks later, to Rini’s resignation and replacement by Manasseh Sogavare.1 A significant RAMSI force remains in place in the Solomons.

3. Women’s Representation

Women are significantly under-represented in Pacific parliaments. Of the nine countries in the world listed by the Inter-Parliamentary Union as having no women representatives in their parliaments, five are in the Pacific.2 Table 1 shows the weak representation of women across the Pacific. Bougainville, with its three reserved women’s seats in the 40-member House of Representatives, is assured at least 7.5 per cent women members. The Constitution also requires that at least one women be appointed to the ministry. The difficulty for women is to win seats in the local constituencies.

Since independence in the Solomon Islands in 1978, only one woman has ever won a seat in the national parliament. Hilda Kari, a former public servant and president of the National Council of Women, won the East Central Guadalcanal constituency in three successive elections, in 1989 (by-election), 1993, and 1997. Kari contested but lost her seat in the conflict-affected 2001 election, and lost again in the 2006 election. In the early years of independence there were only one or two women contesting any national election. But the period since 1993 has seen a steady increase in the number of women candidates: from 9 in 1993; to 12 in 1997; 17 in 2001; and 26 in 2006.3

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1 For more information on this period, see Fraenkel (2008), ‘The impact of RAMSI on the 2006 elections'; and Alasia (2008), ‘Rainbows across the mountains: the first post-RAMSI general election’.

2 Palau has two women members in its 13-member upper house. The other four countries with no women representatives are Belize, Oman, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia.

Table 1 | Representation of Women in Pacific Island Nations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>No. of Seats</th>
<th>No. of Women</th>
<th>% of Seats</th>
<th>IPU Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomous Region of Bougainville</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiribati</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshall Islands</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federated States of Micronesia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauru</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palau</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvalu</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As signatories to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), there is an obligation for the Solomon Islands (and Papua New Guinea) to institute reforms that encourage and, ideally, ensure women’s representation in parliament. Inequities that currently exist between men and women in society cannot be adequately addressed unless these issues have a relevant voice in parliament.

The issue of introducing reserved seats and quotas to increase women’s representation remains hotly contested. However, their use is becoming more widespread, in countries including Afghanistan and East Timor. There are several strong arguments for the introduction of reserved women’s seats in legislatures with low or non-existent women’s representation. Arguments in favour include that reserved seats are the most effective way of achieving an improved gender balance; elected women serve as role models for other women; and that elected women are more likely to work towards removing structural barriers that may be impeding the advancement of women in society. Opposed to these views are arguments that reserved seats discriminate against men; women elected due to quotas are less respected than when elected after competing against men; and that the ‘wrong’ women may benefit, for example, the wives of male politicians.

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4 Figures taken from the Inter-Parliamentary Union website – http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm, accessed 2 September 2010. Table excludes New Zealand, which has 41 women, or 33.6%, in a 122-member parliament.


6 For a more detailed list of arguments in support of, and opposed to, the creation of reserved women’s seats or quotas, see the ACE Website at http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/pca/pca03/pca03a/ pca03a1; and Dahlerup, Drude (2003) “Comparative Studies
4. Electoral Systems

Voting is voluntary in Bougainville and the Solomon Islands, though it is difficult to ascertain actual levels of voter turnout due to problems with compiling accurate voter registration rolls. For example, based on the current roll, turnout in Bougainville was 63.6 per cent.\(^7\) In the Bougainvillean seat of Kongara, there were 1,250 voters, yet only 1,116 citizens enrolled – a turnout of 112 per cent! Rather than being evidence of corruption, such discrepancies are likely to have arisen out of inaccuracies in the elector roll and the use of out-of-date rolls. These discrepancies are indicative of problems experienced in establishing a comprehensive current roll.

Neither Bougainville nor the Solomon Islands have substantial provisions for absentee voting.\(^8\) The requirement for electors to vote in their registered polling station is a particular concern in the Solomon Islands, where the one-day mid-week election creates pressure on citizens to travel to the place they are registered to vote, which may often be in their home village on another island. In contrast, Bougainville’s two-week election period allows time for polling officials to travel from village to village and, if required, to return to villages where polling was initially not completed. Such flexibility has helped overcome situations where bad weather or social obligations (such as funeral arrangements) prevented initial voting. Further flexibility is provided by allowing voters to cast their vote anywhere within their constituency.

In both jurisdictions there is a wide disparity in the size of single-member constituencies, in local seats ranging from 1,116 enrolled (Kongara) to 6,200 (Tsitalato) in Bougainville, a malapportionment of 6:1. For regional seats, the disparity is over 2:1 – North (56,880) to Central (27,648). In the Solomon Islands, variations are more extreme, from 2,705 (North New Georgia) to 39,985 (East Honiara) – malapportionment of 15:1.\(^9\)

**Bougainville**

Bougainville is divided into three regions – North, Central and South. The Bougainville Constitution provides that the ABG Vice-President be a member from a different region to the President. This provision, along with those establishing reserved seats for women and former combatants, were negotiated

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\(^7\) Enrolment – 133,180. Number of voters in Presidential election – 84,767.

\(^8\) Some provisions have been made for absentee voting in ARB elections. In 2010 eligible Bougainvillean were able to vote at polling stations in the PNG cities of Port Moresby, Lae and Rabaul.

\(^9\) These measures of malapportionment use the David-Eisenberg Index, a comparison of constituencies with the lowest and highest number of enrolments. The high number of enrolments in the three Honiara seats, combined with those seats also having the lowest turnout in the country, indicate problems with the accuracy of the rolls.

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as part of the peace process and drafting of the constitution, in an attempt to ensure a fair representation of interests in the new governance arrangements for the ARB.

The first ARB election (in 2005) was held under the first-past-the-post (FPTP) system. The following year Papua New Guinea introduced Limited Preferential Voting (LPV), where voters place preferences of 1, 2 and 3 against their preferred candidates. While 2010 was the first time that LPV had been used for an ARB general election, it was the fourth occasion the system had been used in Bougainville; previous occasions being the 2006 Provincial Governor’s by-election, 2007 PNG elections, and 2008 ABG Presidential by-election.

Section 111 of the Bougainville Constitution requires a political party registration regime. While registration was established prior to the 2005 election, there appears to be little enthusiasm to embrace the overt promotion of parties, either in election campaigning, or in ballot paper identification of candidates. There is genuine concern that the promotion of parties could lead to political divisions that may reignite earlier conflicts. As was noted in a 2005 report:

“...when the Bougainville Constitutional Commission consulted with the people of Bougainville with regard to political party registration being provided for in the Constitution, there was an overwhelming view of opposition to the establishment of political parties. We were further advised that one of the main reasons behind this view was that the Bougainville conflict had already caused much disunity and that people did not want political parties causing further disharmony during the first general election.”

Ballot papers include the name, photo and a number for each candidate (see Figure 1). Under the LPV system, voters need to number three boxes – 1, 2 and 3 – to make a formal vote. Voting ‘1’ only, or ‘1, 2’ only is informal. However, numbering more than three boxes (e.g. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6), is formal. Each voter receives four ballot papers – one each for the election of the President, a regional women’s representative, a regional former combatants’ representative and a local constituency representative.

**Solomon Islands**

The Solomon Islands uses FPTP voting for its 50 single-member constituencies. These Members then elect a Prime Minister at the first sitting of parliament, a few weeks after the election. A proposal to increase the size of the parliament to 67 members was defeated by the parliament in April 2010.

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While several political parties have been established to contest elections, there is no formal registration of parties. Legislation was introduced in 2009 to establish a party registration system, however this was defeated in the first half of 2010. Ballot papers provide for candidate names, along with an associated symbol (for example, a coconut, house, soccer ball, key) and colour to assist in identification for voters. Candidates select a symbol and colour from a provided list when nominating. Although provision is made to show a party affiliation, candidates typically list themselves as ‘Independent’ (see Figure 2).

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13 The Political Parties (Registration and Administration) Bill 2009 and the Constitution (Political Parties Amendment) Bill 2009.
5. The 2010 Elections – Bougainville

**Electoral administration**

The Bougainville Electoral Commission (BEC) administered the election, with support from the Papua New Guinea Electoral Commission. The main criticism of the BEC has been the inadequate voter registration process, which commenced in February 2010, about three months later than planned. The delay has been attributed to the slowness in receiving funds from both the ABG and PNG national government. As a result of the delay, the draft roll was not available for scrutiny ahead of the roll being finalised. Similar funding delays also resulted in many counting officials and suppliers not being paid more than three months after the election was held.

To overcome the inadequate roll preparation, the Electoral Commissioner allowed old rolls used in previous elections to be used as supplementary rolls. During the election, an inconsistent approach to the use of these rolls was observed. Not all polling teams had supplementary rolls available, while some others were referring to the older rolls without checking the current roll, as the supplementary roll was considered more comprehensive in these cases. This meant that many people not included in the current roll were allowed to vote. It would appear that, in the vast majority of cases, these voters should have been included on the current roll. The problems with the roll also raise questions about the value and comprehensiveness of the 2010 voter registration operation.

For the election, the BEC organised 218 polling teams to cover Bougainville. Teams travelled from village to village, with a police officer providing security for the ballot box. In the Central and South regions, teams would often travel by foot and in some cases cover two villages in a day. Most voting was completed by the end of the first week of the two week election period.

The election was largely conducted in a peaceful and compliant manner. There was greater voter participation in the Central region, where the rebel Me’ekamui group had blocked access in previous elections. Prior to the 2010 election, the Me’ekamui signed a memorandum of understanding with the Bougainville Electoral Commission to allow the Commission, police and international observers unfettered access.

Counting was a slow process, and took more than two weeks to complete. This was partially due to counting officials needing to learn how to use a new system of computer entry and projecting ballot papers onto screens, while also conducting a manual distribution of preferences. However, there is a clear transparency benefit in scrutineers and the general public being able to view each ballot paper. An indication of the acceptance of the election results was the absence of appeals against the results.

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14 Personal communication with the Bougainville Electoral Commission, August 2010.
The Campaigns

In Bougainville, the main forms of candidate campaigning were by holding rallies and village meetings and displaying posters on local stores (see Figure 3). The main campaigning costs for a typical local constituency or regional candidate were for travel, accommodation and food for the candidate and his/her supporters, the production of posters, and nomination fee (500 Kina). A typical campaign could cost around 5,000-15,000 Kina.\(^\text{15}\) Presidential campaigns would be substantially more.

Figure 3 | Campaign Posters, Buka, Bougainville

Although many candidates were endorsed by a political party, this was not apparent in their campaigning material. Endorsement was seen as a way of getting financial assistance (for example, receiving money to cover their nomination fee), as well as providing a loose association of like-minded candidates supporting a presidential candidate. Candidates campaigned primarily as independents, with only the occasional reference to party affiliation – for example, the two leading presidential candidates, John Momis and James Tanis, also their party’s leaders, did not refer to their party affiliations in their campaign posters. Another presidential candidate, Martin Miriori, simply referred to being a ‘Pro BPC / Independent Candidate’\(^\text{16}\). No parties displayed an identifiable slogan, logo or colour to connect voters with a party ‘brand’.

As could be expected in an economically poor and relatively undeveloped jurisdiction which is heavily reliant on national government funding and international assistance, the main candidates pushed pro-development themes. The development issue is common throughout the developing world, but is

\(^{15}\) Based on interviews with several candidates, August 2010.

\(^{16}\) The BPC – Bougainville People’s Congress – is a registered political party.
particularly pertinent in Bougainville with the prospect of an independence referendum in coming years. Incumbent Tanis put it simply in his campaign slogan of ‘Embracing Opportunities’, utilising any incumbency benefit by using a large photo of himself in his campaign posters. Momis was far more specific, detailing a 12-point platform in his campaign poster, with the slogan of ‘Sapotim Senis Long Kamapim Gutpela Sindau’ (Supporting Good Changes for the Future). Another presidential candidate, Martin Miriori, took another approach with his slogan ‘Yu Statim...Yu Pinisim’ (You Start It...You Finish It), a reference to his involvement in the earlier peace negotiations.

With a referendum on Bougainville’s independence from Papua New Guinea due to be held in the next five to ten years, it could be expected that the independence debate could be central to the campaign. However, this was not the case. Momis and Tanis preferred to concentrate on the process towards a referendum, rather than stating a position for or against independence, while Miriori was more forthright, advocating for an independent Bougainville.

Political Parties

During the drafting of the Bougainville constitution, there was a reluctance to provide for the registration of political parties, as this was seen as potentially divisive in a region trying to heal the wounds of conflict. However, a registration regime was introduced in recognition of international practice. At the time of the 2010 election, five parties were registered – the Bougainville People’s Congress (BPC), New Bougainville Party (NBP), Bougainville Independence Movement (BIM), Bougainville Independence Labour Party (BLP), all of which were registered prior to the 2005 election; and the Bougainville United Party, apparently aligned with the rebel Me’ekamui faction, registered in 2008.

The NBP, which is aligned with the National Alliance at the national level, is led by John Momis. It appeared to be the most highly organised party in the election, running 83 candidates, with two to three candidates in each local constituency and in the regional seats. This appeared to be a strategic approach to utilising the LPV system, where preference votes could be contained within the NBP candidates. However, based on preliminary assessments, there does not appear to be a strong identifiable direction of preferences by voters. This may be due to voters not being allowed to take campaign literature (for example, party how-to-vote material) into the polling station, as well as the complexity of directing preferences for four different elections.

Results

The Presidential contest attracted seven candidates, with the main contenders considered to be the incumbent James Tanis, and former national parliament member for Bougainville for 30 years, John Momis. Momis was a clear winner,

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17 Personal communication, 17 May 2010.
with more than 50 per cent of the vote, more than 30 per cent ahead of Tanis. As can be seen in Table 2, Momis won in all three regions, winning a majority of votes in North and South regions, while it was a more even contest with Tanis in Central region, where Tanis was considered to have his strongest support.

### Table 2 | Presidential election, Bougainville 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>North votes</th>
<th>Central votes</th>
<th>South votes</th>
<th>Total votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Atsir</td>
<td>3,114</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>4,426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.71</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>5.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Momis</td>
<td>19,341</td>
<td>5,935</td>
<td>17,771</td>
<td>43,047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54.09</td>
<td>33.66</td>
<td>61.63</td>
<td>52.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Tanis</td>
<td>5,834</td>
<td>5,154</td>
<td>6,217</td>
<td>17,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.32</td>
<td>29.23</td>
<td>21.56</td>
<td>20.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuben Siara</td>
<td>2,896</td>
<td>1,908</td>
<td>2,380</td>
<td>7,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.10</td>
<td>10.82</td>
<td>8.25</td>
<td>8.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Miriori</td>
<td>2,117</td>
<td>2,570</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>5,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.92</td>
<td>14.58</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>6.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylvester Niu</td>
<td>1,272</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>1,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magdalene Toroansi</td>
<td>1,181</td>
<td>1,167</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>2,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>6.62</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35,755</td>
<td>17,631</td>
<td>28,836</td>
<td>82,222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the regional seats, the three former combatants’ seats were contested by a total of 23 male candidates, while 17 women contested the women’s reserved seats. All three former combatant MPs were defeated. The only woman MP contesting her reserved seat, Laura Ampa (South Region), was heavily defeated, receiving only 8 per cent of the vote and running last of five candidates. There was also a high turnover of MPs who contested their local constituency seats. Of 30 MPs contesting, only nine retained their seats. So in the total new House of 40 members, 31 are new members. The NBP has 14 MPs in the new House, the BPC has two MPs and BLP one. The remainder of MPs are listed as Independent. However, the Bougainville Parliament does not have a formal Opposition, with ministries drawn from all sides.

### Women Candidates

There were 23 women candidates contesting the election – Magdalene Toroansi, the Central Women’s MP and a former Minister, ran for the Presidency; 17 contested the regional women’s seats, \(^{18}\) and five contested local

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\(^{18}\) 18 women nominated, but one woman died prior to the election.
Toroansi’s campaign for President was hampered by a lack of funds, making it difficult for her to campaign across all areas in Bougainville. She polled only 3.7 per cent of the vote. Despite polling better in her home region, the contest was seen largely as a two-person race, as borne out by the results.

The best-performing of the local constituency candidates was Francesca Semoso, the North Women’s MP, who contested Tsitalato. This was one of the few local constituency seats not being contested by a sitting MP, due to the resignation of Hillary Laris. As a sitting member, a former radio journalist and coming from a political family, Semoso was expected to do well. She ran second in the primary vote, polling 21 per cent, against eventual winner Cosmas Sohia’s 35 per cent. Semoso gained slightly more preferences than Sohia, but still lost by more than 400 votes. Support for the other four women contesting local constituencies ranged from 14 per cent (Marcelline Kokiai in Eivo/Torau) to two per cent (see Table 3).

**Table 3 | Women Candidates in the Bougainville 2010 Election (not including women’s regional seats)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Placing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Magdalene Toroansi</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>2,998</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>6th of 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesca Semoso</td>
<td>Tsitalato</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>21.03</td>
<td>2nd of 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcelline Kokiai</td>
<td>Eivo/Torau</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>14.10</td>
<td>3rd of 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Sukina</td>
<td>Kopii</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>7.99</td>
<td>5th of 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Mamatau</td>
<td>Konnou</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>5th of 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucy Madoi</td>
<td>Kokoda</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>6th of 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Votes are 1st preferences only.

This author met dozens of voters during the election, and there is anecdotal evidence that suggests there is an attitude among Bougainvillean voters that women are sufficiently provided for through the reserved seats. Therefore, women should not be contesting other seats. Without further research, it is difficult to determine how prevalent this attitude may be. Of course, on their own, the reserved seats currently limit women to less than 10 per cent of the total seats. It appears, given Francesca Semoso’s performance, that it would take a very high-profile and respected woman candidate with a well-organised and resourced campaign to win a local constituency seat. While the reservation of specific seats for women ensures a certain level of women’s representation, and puts Bougainville at the forefront of Melanesian democracies, it is possible that an unintended consequence of reserved seats is that it sets a barrier to greater women’s representation.

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19 No women contested local constituency seats at the 2005 election.
20 Her brother, Fidelis Semoso, is an MP for Bougainville in the national parliament, and is currently a Minister in the Somare Government.
6. The 2010 Elections – Solomon Islands

**Electoral administration**

The Solomon Islands Electoral Commission (SIEC) also had problems in attempting to compile a comprehensive, accurate electoral roll. The primary concern with voter registration was to eliminate multiple enrolments. Multiple enrolments can occur when a person is enrolled in both their home village and where they currently reside. It is a particular problem in the Solomon Islands as thousands of people have moved from outlying provinces to the capital, Honiara, seeking work. There they have enrolled again without their earlier village enrolment being removed. To overcome this problem, the SIEC launched a campaign during the voter registration period of *‘One name + One place = Voter Registration’*. Solomon Islands law requires that voters be enrolled where they are ‘ordinarily resident’. However, the SIEC was more concerned with removing multiple enrolments than accurately enrolling people at their proper address. However, under the current law, the Registration Officer needs to be satisfied that a voter has provided a valid address.

In the days prior to the 4th August election, there was the usual pre-election exodus of thousands of people from Honiara to Malaita and other provinces. While this suggests that further work needs to be done on voter registration, it is a consideration for the government as to what is the most appropriate way of registering electors – that is, whether the current law should be more strictly enforced, or that voters should have the option of where to register.

Despite the drive to deliver a more accurate roll, election figures indicate these efforts have largely failed. For the election, 448,189 citizens were registered to vote, a 31 per cent increase in numbers from the 2006 election. The Solomon Islands has an estimated total population of almost 600,000, which means that 75 per cent of the population is registered to vote, at a time when the government estimates that only 51 per cent are at a legal age to vote.\(^\text{21}\)

Conducting a single-day election for a geographically-dispersed population places stresses on the SIEC. The main areas of concern were the lack of roll integrity and probable non-compliance with campaign expenditure limits. The problems with the roll have been used as the basis of several appeals following the election, with about 18 of the 50 results set to be contested in court,\(^\text{22}\) a stark contrast to the Bougainville election outcome.

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The Campaigns

Although the electoral law sets a SI$50,000 limit on campaign expenditure for individual candidates, there does not appear to be any serious auditing of expenditure, or sanctions imposed. Candidates routinely ignore the requirement to submit an expenditure return to the Electoral Commission within a month of the return of writs.\(^{23}\) The main forms of campaigning include holding rallies, and enlisting supporters to promote the candidate’s symbol.\(^{24}\) As there are no provisions for absentee or pre-poll voting, candidates also provide money to transport people to their home villages to vote. It is also common for candidates to provide food for campaign workers and supporters in the lead-up to an election. This was demonstrated by newspaper reports that Honiara suffered a rice shortage prior to the election as candidates shipped provisions to the outer provinces.\(^{25}\)

Political Parties

While there are a few well-established parties in the Solomons, it is not uncommon for new parties to be launched in the months leading in to an election. At least 19 parties were involved in the 2010 election (see Table 4). However, the lack of a formal party registration system and the lack of party identification material during campaigning means that party affiliation may be of more interest to political elites and commentators than to general voters. Party policies, when they exist, are not easily conveyed to the public in a way that enables voters to identify a connection between a particular candidate and his/her party’s policies.

\(^{23}\) It was reported that following the 2010 election, no MPs had lodged an expenditure return by the required deadline of 16 September. See ‘Law ignored: No report yet by MPs on election expenses’, Solomon Star, 12 October 2010.

\(^{24}\) At least as observed by the author in Honiara and Malaita.

Table 4 | Solomon Islands Political Parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Established before 2000</th>
<th>Established 2000-2009</th>
<th>Established in 2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- People’s Alliance Party</td>
<td>- Association of Independent Members of Parliament</td>
<td>- OUR Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Liberal Party</td>
<td>- SI Democratic Party</td>
<td>- Reform and Democratic Party – SI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Nasnol Party</td>
<td>- SI Party for Rural Advancement</td>
<td>- SI People’s Congress Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- SI United Party</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Rural and Urban Political Party</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results

Overall turnout was just over 52 per cent, although this figure is most likely artificially high given the problems with voter registration mentioned above. At the individual constituency level, turnout ranged from 20.5 per cent (East Honiara) to 75.6 per cent (West Guadalcanal). As in past elections, the 2010 election saw a high turnover of incumbent MPs, with 21 sitting members losing their seats.

Sitting members have access to significant discretionary funds (the Rural Constituency Development Funds) and such ‘slush’ funds have been seen in other Pacific democracies (such as Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and the Cook Islands) as an aid to re-election. However, if such funds are not spread widely enough, or to the ‘correct’ influential groups, this can become an electoral liability for an MP. In the case of the Solomon Islands election, the use of RCDFs may have had mixed electoral results, though a detailed analysis of individual MPs’ RCDF use and electoral results would be required to establish a correlation. The high turnover rate of MPs suggests though that the RCDF is not a miracle elixir for MPs who are not otherwise popular with the electorate.

A common concern in FPTP systems is the level of votes that the winning candidate receives. This was the experience in Papua New Guinea before that country moved from FPTP to the LPV system for its 2007 election. For example, in the 2002 PNG election, more than half the parliament’s 109 members were elected with less than 20 per cent of the vote.\(^{29}\) Such extreme fragmentation of the vote did not occur in the Solomon Islands election, for reasons including less ethnic diversity in the Solomons compared to Papua New Guinea\(^ {30}\) and greater mobility between villages. The majority of elected members received more than 35 per cent of the vote. Only four of the 50 elected members received less than 20 per cent – John Moffat Fugui in Central Honiara recording the lowest winning vote of 14.9 per cent.

Nevertheless, some fragmentation of votes based on village support of candidates is evident in the results from West Kwara’ae constituency. Looking at four selected polling stations (out of 26), the localised support is evident (see Figure 4). One candidate, Sam Lidimani, was able to win 71 per cent of the vote in Dala South station, but only three per cent in neighbouring Dala North. Allan Tomu easily won the Dala North station with 367 votes, but received only 264 votes in the other 25 stations. The eventual winner of the seat, Sam Iduri, received less than two per cent from these four stations, yet polled up to 70 per cent in other stations, winning the seat with 18 per cent of the total vote.

**Figure 4 | West Kwara’ae – Selected Polling Stations, Selected Candidates**


Women Candidates

A similar number of women stood in the 2010 election compared to 2006 (25 and 26, respectively). Several were supported by the National Council of Women and received training and logistical support from the Council. Only five of the women candidates in the 2010 election had also stood in 2006, indicating a high turnover of candidates, but also possibly a new cohort of politically active women. Of the five re-contesting, only one increased her vote share from 2006 (Catherine Adifaka, 0.5 to 1.8 per cent).

### Table 5 | Women Candidates in the Solomon Islands 2010 Election (five best results)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Placing</th>
<th>Winner’s Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rhoda Sikalabu</td>
<td>Gao/Bugotu</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; of 7</td>
<td>2,479 66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloria Sibisobere</td>
<td>West New Georgia / Vonavona</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; of 12</td>
<td>1,487 27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Tozaka Hograno / Kia / Havulei</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; of 10</td>
<td>1,461 35.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Pearson</td>
<td>Ranoggah / Simbo</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; of 5</td>
<td>1,485 38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine Atanikakia</td>
<td>West Honiara</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; of 6</td>
<td>4,499 57.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results of the top five women candidates ranged from 15.2 to 6.6 per cent of the total votes. However, the best-performing woman, Rhoda Sikilabu, who ran second in Gao/Bugotu, was still more than 50 per cent (more than 1,900 votes) behind the winner (see Table 5).

There are several reasons for the difficulty women have in being elected in the Solomon Islands. There is a dominant cultural attitude of men being the providers in society, and a community’s ‘big man’ is seen as someone who will provide food and wealth to his supporters. Women have comparatively limited access to resources and, in election campaigns where there is an expectation that candidates will provide food and transport for voters, they are at a disadvantage. In addition, it is possible that the system of single-member constituencies under the FPTP voting system, with its winner-take-all results, favours men being elected at the exclusion of women.

In a study of women candidates’ performance in the 2006 election, it was argued that ‘the likelihood of women being elected in the future at either national or

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31 At least 10 of the candidates attended CDI’s March 2010 training course.
provincial levels is extremely low unless changes are made to the electoral system, and special affirmative measures, such as quotas or reserved seats, are legislated.’

Given that the 2010 election results for women are more disappointing than the 2006 outcome, despite a well organised and co-ordinated campaign, this statement is increasingly pertinent.

7. Discussion and Recommendations

Electoral Administration

Effective electoral administration in Bougainville and the Solomon Islands is largely reliant on a small number of dedicated civil servants working with limited resources. For the 2010 elections, technical assistance was provided by experienced Australian electoral officials, funded through AusAID. The main failing in the conduct of both elections in 2010 was the lack of integrity of the electoral roll, in terms of comprehensiveness and accuracy. A greater commitment of resources is required to improve the rolls, with (especially in Bougainville) more timely delivery of government funding so that draft rolls can be prepared in sufficient time for public scrutiny and correction.

In the Solomon Islands, a political decision is required as to what the residency requirement should be for voter registration. The current constitutional requirement is that citizens need to register in the constituency in which they are ‘ordinarily resident’. This term is ambiguous and has been the subject of several court cases. In a High Court judgement two days before the election, ‘ordinarily resident’ was considered to mean ‘a considerable degree of permanence, stay and continuity in a particular place; a sense of belonging or connection, linkage to the land, community, tribe or location where one resides. This would include a person’s place of residence, his place of business, work or place of origin’. Under this definition, it is not surprising that roll numbers appear to be heavily inflated.

There are sound arguments for people to register in their home village, even if they are long-term residents elsewhere due to work obligations. For example, citizens may be primarily concerned with having a say in how their family, tribe and village are represented and also have an intention to return to live permanently once work commitments are completed. There are also good arguments that a person’s current address should be used – that is where a person spends money, uses government services and is a current community participant. A preferred option may be to give people an option, but to develop

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34 For example, Ross Mackay in Bougainville and Laurie Wilson in the Solomon Islands had long-term permanent deployments to assist the electoral commissioners.
35 Section 55(2), The Constitution of Solomon Islands.
36 Isaac Tosika Inoke v The Attorney-General, High Court of Solomon Islands [HCSI 218-2010], Date of Judgement – 2nd August 2010, published in the Island Sun, pp. 9-11, 3 August 2010.
an electoral roll from a civil registry of citizens (which could be used for the provision of other government functions and services), which might reduce the suspected high number of dual enrolments. This issue remains contentious and as it has been the subject of several High Court cases, it should be debated by the parliament and legislation amended to provide clarification.

Related to this issue is the need for some form of absentee voting to be provided, irrespective of what the decision is on the ‘ordinarily resident’ term. The current lack of absentee voting in either jurisdiction means that hundreds of citizens who are working on the election – for example, polling officials, police, journalists – are denied the opportunity to participate. In addition, the current movement of masses of people between provinces in the lead-up and following Solomon Islands’ single-day election creates unnecessary cost and disruption to thousands of citizens. If absentee voting is not adopted in the Solomon Islands, some consideration should be given to holding a multi-day election to dissipate the strain on transport and other services.

Another area of concern is the malapportionment that occurs in both jurisdictions. Typical arguments used to support malapportionment include the need to recognise the wealth of particular regions for a state’s economic prosperity and that certain areas may represent a state’s patriotic values and virtues. Another concern is that the interests of less-populated regions may be neglected due to the weight of numbers from more populous areas. The malapportionment in Bougainville, which significantly favours the Central region, may be a reflection of the Panguna mine site being located in that region (and perhaps also due to the continuing influence of the rebel factions). However, for a peaceful future for Bougainvillean electors, it would be fairer for all Bougainvillean electors to have similar voting power.

Bougainville’s regional boundaries are long-established and there is a good understanding of these boundaries amongst Bougainvillean. As regional seats only make up 15 per cent of parliamentary members (six of 40), it may cause unnecessary agitation to make major changes to the current regional boundaries. Some minor changes would be beneficial – for example, shifting the North-Central boundary further north would ameliorate the existing regional inequity, which provides the Central region with twice the voting power of North region voters.

Of more concern is the local constituency malapportionment in Bougainville. This could be easily corrected, especially if done using more accurate voter registration figures. If constituency boundaries were re-drawn using the ‘one

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39 This was the argument for Australian States having equal Senate representation.
vote, one value’ principle using the 2010 election enrolment figures, there would be little difference in the regional distribution of local constituency seats. The North region would retain its 14 seats, while Central region would lose one seat (down from eight to seven) to South region (up from 11 to 12). As long as redrawn boundaries place sufficient regard to ‘communities of interest’, these should be quite readily accepted by the people. Importantly, the wide discrepancies between individual constituencies could be largely eliminated.

In the Solomon Islands, regional considerations also play a significant role in the unequal distribution of seats, and it can be argued that it is necessary to ensure smaller provinces have a certain level of representation. However, in the proposal to increase the size of parliament from 50 to 67 seats, some inequities would have been increased, rather than ameliorated. While that proposal was defeated, future redistributions should take the equality principle into greater account.

The current Philip Government has recently committed to an increase in seats from 50 to 70 (including women’s seats). A move to ‘one vote, one value’ in the Solomon Islands would result in smaller provinces losing seats. For example, in a 50-seat parliament, Western Province would drop from nine to six seats, while the number of Honiara seats would increase from three to 12. Given the current inaccuracies in voter registration, this would be a dangerous situation, and most likely would inflame regional tensions.

The priority for the Solomon Islands should be to construct an accurate and complete electoral roll, one that also clarifies the issue of residency. If this can be accomplished, a clearer picture of current inequities would be obtained and boundary redistributions for an increased size of parliament carried out using this data.

The Solomon Islands does not experience the vote fragmentation that occurred in Papua New Guinea under FPTP. However, consideration should be given to introducing an LPV system, as this would require successful candidates to negotiate preferences and to develop a broader support base beyond identified strong villages. The higher number of votes required to win seats would also add to the legitimacy of the election results and standing of successful candidates.

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40 ‘Communities of interest’ is a term used in the drawing of electoral boundaries, where consideration is given to geography, common economic, social and regional interests, and patterns of interaction. For more information, see the ACE Project at http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/bd/bdb/bdb05/bdb05c.

The Role of Political Parties

Both Bougainville and the Solomon Islands have weak party systems and lack party integrity legislation, which would raise the profile and importance of parties. Currently, citizens identify with the promises of individual candidates, who often have an understandable emphasis on promising constituency benefits, irrespective of the impacts on the national or regional interest. This focus on personal and village-level benefits can make party identification superfluous, but the development of a stronger party system could improve the attention to the national (or Bougainvillean) interest, without unduly diminishing attention to local issues.

A strong mix of political parties brings many benefits to developing democracies, especially where democracies are recovering from conflict situations. As Reilly (2008) outlines, parties:

- represent constituencies and interests, integrating disparate groups into the democratic process;
- recruit and socialise candidates for office;
- set policy-making agendas;
- form the basis of stable political coalitions and governments;
- mediate the demands of the citizenry against the actions of government; and
- provide effective and predictable voting coalitions in parliament.

In Bougainville and (particularly) the Solomon Islands, there is a need for strong party systems. Indicators for this include the high turnover of MPs, unstable governments with shifting coalitions (in the Solomon Islands) and the paucity of party-based detailed policy platforms. The question is whether party systems should be left to naturally evolve, or whether intervention is necessary to ‘engineer’ a party system, using party registration legislation, changes to the electoral system, or a combination of both.

Party regulation can take many forms: party registration may require minimum criteria, such as:

- membership, constitutions, and decision-making processes;
- political finance law can create incentives by providing funding to parties on a variety of conditions, such as membership size, or the number of candidates, votes, or MPs;
- campaign law can regulate how candidates and parties raise and spend funds; and
- electoral law may stipulate how parties nominate candidates, and how party affiliations are shown on ballot papers.

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Following an election, integrity law can place requirements on how MPs act and coalesce in parliament.

Bougainville’s party registration regime is a concession to western and national influences. Currently only the NBP appears to have a significant organisational structure, albeit reliant on the support of its leader. A requirement to include a party name on the ballot paper may assist the development of parties in Bougainville, although this may also complicate the ballot paper, as each candidate is already identified by their name, a photograph and identifying number. Also, it is for the political leaders of Bougainville to decide what role, if any, they wish political parties to play in the future of Bougainvillean democracy, either as an independent state or a continuing autonomous region. If it is thought that parties should play a more prominent role, then assistance should be provided for the development of party constitutions and structures and for the training of party officials. This would help to increase the likelihood of a competitive party system.

It can be seen in the Solomon Islands that with the post-election manoeuvring for the president’s position, there is a lack of a party system where natural party alliances are formed. In a democracy with a stronger party system, the government could be decided by the party with the most MPs having the first opportunity to form government. The Solomon Islands parliament debated a party registration and integrity regime in the months leading up to the 2010 election. However, it was not passed, and it was always going to be difficult to bring about reform when MPs are more interested in the upcoming election campaign.

With a new parliament in place, including 21 new MPs and another 22 who have only served one term, it would be beneficial to support a dialogue with the parliament at this early stage of its term, discussing how a party registration and integrity regime could be implemented. Such a regime could have two main foci: first, for the pre-election period, to identify candidates’ party affiliations so that voters are properly informed and to encourage a consolidation of parties; second, for the post-election period, to bring about greater certainty to the formation and stability of government. To encourage the adoption of strong party registration, some level of public funding should be provided, at least

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44 Section 63 of PNG’s Organic Law on the Integrity of Political Parties and Candidates is an example of legislation which seeks to encourage post-election stability by allowing the party with the majority of members the opportunity to form government.

45 The author differentiates a party registration regime as being for the purpose of election campaigning, ballot paper identification, and public funding (where available), while party integrity regimes relate to the post-election behaviour of elected MPs.
partially based on the votes a party receives at an election (to encourage candidate affiliation on the ballot paper).

The experience of Papua New Guinea under its party integrity legislation (Organic Law on the Integrity of Political Parties and Candidates (OLIPPAC)) suggests that such reforms would not be easily implemented or maintained. As the recent decision by the Papua New Guinea Supreme Court to rule some of the ‘integrity’ sections constitutionally invalid illustrates, there can be a fine balance between providing party stability in parliament (by preventing MPs from party-hopping) and not impinging on MPs’ rights to freely represent their constituencies. However, the OLIPPAC legislation provides a good model that, with changes, could be suitable for developing a stronger party system in the Solomon Islands.46

**Women’s Representation**

Given the cultural and traditional factors at play, it is difficult to see the political representation of women in either jurisdiction increasing to any significant degree without deliberate intervention by legislators. Bougainville’s reserved women’s seats provide a valuable opportunity for women to play a political role, but these reserved seats may also currently be a limiting factor for women, especially if there is an attitude among a significant number of voters that ‘reserved seats are for women, local seats for men’. Although ultimately unsuccessful in 2010, Francesca Semoso’s performance in Tsitalato indicates that it is possible for women to win local constituencies, but it can be expected to happen only rarely in future elections under the current system.

A reform worth considering could be to increase the number of women’s reserved seats from three to six (two from each region), possibly by replacing the current three former combatant reserved seats, especially as several local constituency MPs are also former combatants. It can be expected that this proposal would meet with opposition, but such a change, if introduced at an appropriate time, would signify that Bougainville has moved on from the conflict and that reserved seats for former combatants are no longer required.

In the Solomon Islands, the 2010 results indicate that women are a long way from achieving representation under the current system. Previously a system of reserved seats had been proposed and Prime Minister Sogavare committed to

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securing ‘a fair representation of women in Parliament’\(^{47}\). There should be a renewed emphasis on supporting the introduction of reserved seats and it is encouraging to see that in a recent policy paper, the new Philip Government has committed to ‘the provision of several seats for women’ in an expanded 70-seat parliament.\(^{48}\) The paper went on to state that the Government ‘recognises the importance of gender equity and shall ensure equal participation in the nation’s development’.\(^{49}\) It remains to be seen what the Government’s definition of ‘several seats’ is, but such representation should, as a minimum, be on the basis of at least one women’s seat for each of the nine provinces and the town of Honiara. These ten seats would provide women with an assured 14 per cent representation in a 70-seat parliament.

8. Conclusion

The elections were conducted in a generally peaceful manner and people valued the opportunity to vote. Candidates and supporters were more accepting of the results in Bougainville, whereas in the Solomon Islands, the numerous appeals that have been lodged indicate an ongoing unease about the electoral process. Bougainville has made steady progress in its post-conflict democratic transition. Further assistance should be aimed at consolidating the existing strengths of the system, while also working on a voter registration program. The creation of an accurate and complete voter registration roll for Bougainville will be important ahead of the 2012 national election and the 2015 ARB elections, when the possible independence from Papua New Guinea may be a contentious issue.

Electoral democracy in the Solomon Islands appears less strong, emphasised by the increased RAMSI force presence in the lead-up and following the election. Numerous components of the electoral system need attention. Voter registration, particularly the ‘ordinarily resident’ issue, needs both legislative and logistical action. The introduction of women’s seats is also essential if the government is to honour its international commitments and parliament is to be seen as embracing all of society. In addition, there would be benefits in moving away from the FPTP voting system, possibly to LPV, and introducing a degree of party regulation.

There are several international agencies and donors, including CDI, willing to assist Bougainville and the Solomon Islands in the continuing democratic development of their post-conflict societies. But at what point does ‘assistance’ end and ‘interference’ commence? Bougainville and the Solomon Islands have the right, and should, determine their own democratic destinies, while

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international aid organisations have the requirement to deliver assistance in ways that meet their own charters and agendas. Hopefully these two goals will work in harmony into the future.

9. Acknowledgements

This paper is the final instalment in a series of CDI projects over the past year, including the women candidates training workshops, observing the 2010 elections, and follow-up interviews in Bougainville in August 2010. For their valued support and assistance, I would particularly like to thank Jerry Finin and Scott Kroecker at the East-West Center in Hawaii; Robert Tapi (Clerk) and Andrew Miriki (Speaker), Bougainville House of Representatives; Alison Duncan, Australian Deputy High Commissioner in Honiara; Sarah Dyer, Solomon Islands National Council for Women; Agnes Titus, UNIFEM, Bougainville; and the UNDP team in Bougainville. And a special thanks to all those Bougainvillians and Solomon Islanders whom I’ve met in the past year and have been happy to discuss politics and the future of their island states.

The Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI) has provided development assistance in Bougainville and the Solomon Islands in recent years. Assistance has included several training programs, for parliamentary staff, officials from civil society organisations and political parties, and election candidates. Training has been conducted both in-country and in Australia. Given the poor representation of women in Melanesia, CDI has identified this as a priority area for assistance, and conducted training workshops for potential women candidates in Buka, Bougainville (a three-day workshop held in November 2009) and Honiara, Solomon Islands (a five-day workshop in March 2010). The training workshops were led by the author, with the assistance of Linda Reynolds, Meredith Burgmann and Luke Hambly.

10. Bibliography


About the Author

Norm Kelly is an Associate of the Centre for Democratic Institutions. He was funded by CDI and the US East-West Center to observe the 2010 Bougainville and Solomon Islands elections. Dr Kelly’s PhD in political science examined electoral reforms in Australia and he has worked in the political governance field in Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Afghanistan. He is a former Member of the Western Australian Parliament. Dr Kelly presents CDI’s Political Party Development course, which has been conducted on an annual basis since 2006.

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