Dear Friends,

Welcome to the winter 2012 edition of CDI News. The past three months have been a particularly busy time for the staff of CDI, our Associates and for the many other people who work closely with our programs of training, network-building and research.

CDI’s core mandate is to provide capacity building assistance to parliaments and political parties in our six partner countries: Indonesia, East Timor, PNG, Solomon, Vanuatu and Fiji. A key event in the calendar of parliaments and parties is, of course, election time. And as one of the central defining features of a genuine democracy, free and fair elections are also an important focus for a democracy promotion organisation such as CDI.

The recent period has been specially interesting for us because there were national elections in two of our main partner countries. East Timor conducted its presidential elections in March and its parliamentary elections in July, while national parliamentary elections also took place in PNG in July. In addition, there were elections for the position of Governor of Jakarta in July.

In East Timor, CDI commissioned a study on the conduct of the parliamentary elections, focusing on both the quality of the electoral process and on the implications of the result for national politics, including the operation of the parliament. This initiative follows from the international conference on election analysis and observation convened by CDI in May where we mapped out plans for a greater role for CDI in the analysis of elections and electoral processes. The research will also help to inform the development of CDI’s training programs in the new Timorese parliament in coming months. These activities will aim to provide assistance to incoming MPs as they take up their duties, as well as to staff of the parliament.

During the Jakarta gubernatorial elections I personally participated in observation of the campaign and will produce a research paper examining issues around the electoral process and analysing the political implications of the result. This is the first time CDI has produced research on a sub-national election and is a step towards the goal of increasing our work in the regional and local-level political arena.

The PNG election provided the opportunity to expand CDI’s special focus on the issue of women’s political representation. We supported a major program of training for women candidates in the election, conducted through the PNG Office for the Development of Women (ODW), in association with a number of PNG NGOs. This approach is an example of our efforts to conduct more of our activities in partner countries, rather than in Australia, and to mobilise local resources and expertise. The post-election period will see a series of follow-up activities in support of women’s political participation in PNG.

I hope you’ll enjoy reading about these and the many other programs undertaken by CDI during the recent period. Don’t forget to look for further coverage of CDI activities on our website at www.cdi.anu.edu.au

Best wishes,

Dr Stephen Sherlock
Director, Centre for Democratic Institutions
CDI Supports Asia-Pacific Young Political Leaders Forum

Bali | CDI joined forces with the Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD) in Bali and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in March 2012 to conduct the Asian Political Leadership Program (APLP). This is a leadership training program for young emerging political leaders from Asia and Pacific countries. The event was held from 27 March to 3 April 2012 in Bali and was attended by 15 political party activists from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Fiji, Indonesia, Iraq, Malaysia, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines and Solomon Islands.

Across the Asia-Pacific region, many countries are in the process of building political institutions to respond to the people’s aspirations, including political parties. Political parties have the potential to aggregate the interests of citizens, both during elections and throughout the public policy process, yet they are sometimes the weakest link in the consolidation of democracy. Seen by many casual observers as a source of self-interest, venality and corruption, political parties are often ignored by donors and NGOs in the process of democratic strengthening. But there are few examples in the history of the modern world where democracies function effectively without strong political parties.

In response to the challenges facing political parties and their development into mature, representative institutions, the APLP course provided leadership training and policy development to promote the modernisation and strengthening of political parties by enhancing the democratic leadership skills of emerging political leaders and party activists. APLP provided emerging leaders with the knowledge and skills to encourage reform of their political parties to become more transparent, legitimate and effective in meeting the aspirations of their supporters and the community. It created opportunities for young leaders to network with like-minded individuals from other countries in order to share experiences, methodologies and ideas from different contexts that have been effective in strengthening political parties in their own countries. APLP aimed to further deepen participants’ knowledge and expertise by working with IPD over an extended time in the months following the course to create a personal action plan for working within their parties and to develop analytical research on their countries’ democratisation.

The training covered three main topics; Political Parties and Leadership, Political Parties and Competition, and Political Parties and Governance. During the training, participants learned about effective leadership, the implementation of transparent and robust organisational governance arrangements, the conduct of clean election campaigns and effective internal and external Party communications.

These topics were delivered through a series of workshops, panel sessions, group exercises and simulations. Several guest speakers were invited to speak during the course, namely Hassan Wirajuda (former Indonesian Minister for Foreign Affairs), Agus Wijoyo (former Deputy of People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR), Theo Sambuaga (former Minister of Housing), Sam Dastyari (General Secretary of the Australian Labor Party).

APLP Participants also visited the Sanur area where they had discussions about cross-party collaboration for development with local political and community leaders. The discussion was attended by members of parliament and civil society.

Participants are now working on individual position papers on a topic of their choosing. These will be presented at a follow-up meeting scheduled for September 2012 in Jakarta. Between the APLP Training and follow-up meeting, the participants have the opportunity to consult with a mentor about their project and paper. Mentors have experience in the participants’ topic areas and also provide advice on how to implement the knowledge learned during APLP within the participants’ Parties.

Please click on the link below for more information.

CDI Plans Expanded Program of Activities in East Timor

Dili | Following a significant boost to total CDI funding from AusAid, CDI has been developing plans for an expanded program of activities in East Timor. As the first step towards realising the plans, CDI Director, Dr Stephen Sherlock, led a scoping mission to East Timor in May 2012 to strengthen existing relationships.

Accompanying Dr Sherlock were CDI Program Manager Ms Bronwen Harvey, CDI Associate Ms Vanessa Alpern Johanson and Dr Deborah Cummins, a political scientist based in Dili.

A special focus for the mission was to respond to requests from the East Timorese parliament for CDI to undertake training activities that would improve the provision of information, analysis and research support to the parliament. The team held consultations with senior officials of the parliament about how CDI might best respond to the request, as well as to contribute to the Parliament’s overall development priorities. Very productive discussions were held with senior parliamentarians, the Secretary-General of the Parliament and other parliamentary staff, including the head of the Parliamentary Research Centre.

Along with meetings in the parliament, the CDI mission devoted time to build links with Timorese NGOs working on parliamentary and political issues, such as Lao
Canberra | CDI’s 2012 Political Party Leadership Program (PPLP) brought leading senior party officials from across the South-east Asian region together for a week in Canberra in May. Party representatives from Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Burma met to discuss and compare the challenges that they face within their parties, and reflect on their own leadership roles.

The emphasis of the PPLP was on the internal relationships within political parties and how this influences policy development, internal party democracy and parliamentary party relations. Party leaders, through these discussions, were able to identify areas that require improvements within their party and to understand how they can provide leadership to implement these changes.

As the PPLP was a peer-to-peer dialogue, it provided an opportunity for party leaders to establish a support network across the region and discover common challenges and differences that their parties face in each of their countries, as well as in Australia. The discussions were led by CDI associates Dr Norm Kelly, the convenor of the program and Ms Linda Reynolds.

The program allowed the participants to meet with leading ANU academics throughout the week. These academics provided commentary on the developments of political parties and democracy within each of the participant’s countries. These presentations provided a broader analysis of the political environment of the South-east Asian region and prompted an exchange of ideas and discussions between the participants and the academics.

The participants also met with Australian party representatives from the Australian Labor Party, the Liberal Party and the Greens. These discussions focused on internal party democracy, political party structures, policy formation and party leadership. The Australian party representatives provided the PPLP participants with an insight into their different party structures and then reflect and compare these structures with their own political parties.

In addition to the dialogue with party representatives and academics, the PPLP participants were invited to the Australian Parliament House, where they viewed question time and met with the ALP and Liberal Party Chief Party Whips - Hon Joel Fitzgibbon MP and Hon Warren Entsch MP. Both MP’s discussed with the participants the role of the Whip in maintaining party discipline and the complexities of this role in the parliament where the numbers are finely balanced.

The visit enabled CDI to strengthen our existing networks within East Timor, built on the implementation of past CDI activities in the country and through the participation in CDI courses in Canberra by Timorese political party members and parliamentary officials. The mission succeeded in identifying a number of priorities for assistance to the parliament and making connections with potential local and international partners that would enhance the effectiveness of future CDI training and research activities.

Click on this link for more on our website.

**2012 SOUTH-EAST ASIAN POLITICAL PARTY LEADERSHIP PROGRAM**

*Canberra* | CDI’s 2012 Political Party Leadership Program (PPLP) brought leading senior party officials from across the South-east Asian region together for a week in Canberra in May. Party representatives from Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Burma met to discuss and compare the challenges that they face within their parties, and reflect on their own leadership roles.

The emphasis of the PPLP was on the internal relationships within political parties and how this influences policy development, internal party democracy and parliamentary party relations. Party leaders, through these discussions, were able to identify areas that require improvements within their party and to understand how they can provide leadership to implement these changes.

As the PPLP was a peer-to-peer dialogue, it provided an opportunity for party leaders to establish a support network across the region and discover common challenges and differences that their parties face in each of their countries, as well as in Australia. The discussions were led by CDI associates Dr Norm Kelly, the convenor of the program and Ms Linda Reynolds.

The program allowed the participants to meet with leading ANU academics throughout the week. These academics provided commentary on the developments of political parties and democracy within each of the participant’s countries. These presentations provided a broader analysis of the political environment of the South-east Asian region and prompted an exchange of ideas and discussions between the participants and the academics.

The participants also met with Australian party representatives from the Australian Labor Party, the Liberal Party and the Greens. These discussions focused on internal party democracy, political party structures, policy formation and party leadership. The Australian party representatives provided the PPLP participants with an insight into their different party structures and then reflect and compare these structures with their own political parties.

In addition to the dialogue with party representatives and academics, the PPLP participants were invited to the Australian Parliament House, where they viewed question time and met with the ALP and Liberal Party Chief Party Whips - Hon Joel Fitzgibbon MP and Hon Warren Entsch MP. Both MP’s discussed with the participants the role of the Whip in maintaining party discipline and the complexities of this role in the parliament where the numbers are finely balanced.

The South-east Asian PPLP is an initiative which builds on CDI’s previous Political Party Development Program. CDI will be convening a Pacific PPLP in 2013.

**CDI HOSTS INTERNATIONAL GATHERING OF EXPERTS ON ELECTORAL ANALYSIS AND OBSERVATION**

*Canberra* | There is a large and growing body of international expertise and literature on the monitoring, observation and analysis of elections and election systems that has developed over the last three decades. Election observation developed from fairly modest beginnings with the practice of sending small teams of observers to elections in countries recently emerged from authoritarian rule or from periods of conflict. The main objective was to build local and international confidence that the elections were free and fair.

But from repeated experience in many countries, certain lessons were learnt about how to make election observation as...
productive as possible. The most important lesson was that merely being present on the day of an election, or even for some period before, is not enough. Most experienced observer organisations now agree that the whole electoral “cycle” needs to be thoroughly analysed, from more technical issues such as the nature of electoral laws and the functioning of electoral management bodies, to broader political questions such as the character of the political party system, the behaviour of political elites and the nature of popular political involvement.

CDI has an intense interest in these issues because our principal mandate of working with parliaments and political parties is intimately connected with the quality and character of elections and election systems. Since its foundation in 1998, CDI has supported a number of observation missions and has produced a substantial body of analytical work on elections and the interaction between electoral systems, political parties and parliaments. We are currently exploring new ways to contribute to the international literature on election observation and to identify new areas where CDI may be able to play a role, especially in strengthening networks amongst specialists in the field.

As part of that renewed effort, CDI invited a group of over 30 specialists and practitioners in the field of electoral analysis and observation to meet in Canberra on 17 and 18 May 2012 for a workshop the aims of which were to obtain participants’ advice on the potential for and appropriate scope of a possible role for CDI in support of such activities and to build and strengthen links between CDI and people active in, and with detailed knowledge of, the field. The workshop was the first of its kind in Australia to focus specifically on what has become one of the most significant mechanisms for the enhancement and consolidation of democratic processes.

CDI engaged the veteran election administrator and electoral capacity building specialist, Michael Maley, who retired from a long career with the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC), to convene the workshop. Mr Maley’s long experience and vast network and standing in the field ensured that the workshop attracted the key players and focused on the most pertinent issues and on the most advanced thinking and techniques.

The participants included retired parliamentarians, lawyers, political scientists, electoral administrators, community activists, freelance experts and officials based in governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations. They came from a range of countries in the Asia-Pacific region and further afield, including Australia, Canada, East Timor, Fiji, Indonesia, Ireland, New Zealand, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Philippines and Zimbabwe. They were able to bring to the workshop experience in a wide range of activities, including international election observation (parliamentary, official, CSO-based and voluntary), domestic observation, private voluntary observation, comparative political analysis, political party support and community and human rights activism.

They also brought with them a range of institutional affiliations, including the AEC, the ANU, Australian political parties, the Asian Network for Free Elections, the Australian and New Zealand International Election Monitors Institute, Asia Foundation, AusAID, Democracy International, the General Elections Commission of Indonesia, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, the Bali-based Institute for Peace and Democracy, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, the East Timorese domestic election observation group Observatório da Igreja para os Assuntos Sociais (OIPAS), the Pacific Islands Forum, the United Nations Development Programme and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission.

A key point highlighted by the discussion was the way in which election observation and analysis may serve as a tool for determining in an objective way whether an election deserves to be seen as legitimate; as an instrument in or influence on an ongoing set of political or diplomatic relationships; and as an input into thinking about the needs of a country for electoral assistance or other forms of democratic development. Potential conflicts between these types of objectives were explored in depth.

At the conclusion of the workshop, CDI’s Director, Dr Stephen Sherlock, expressed his appreciation of the expert contributions from all present, and conveyed CDI’s strong desire to build on and expand the links which had been forged. Findings and conclusions from the workshop will be invaluable for the development of CDI programs in the near future and for continuing engagement with international trends in both analytical thinking and practical approaches.

Meeting of party leaders discusses the future of political parties in Indonesia

Jakarta | Is there a crisis of existence for political parties in Indonesia? What is their future as democratic institutions that can act as a voice for people’s needs and aspirations? Do they have the capacity to contribute to policy debate and formulation or are they merely instruments for winning positions of power and making money?

Questions such as these were the focus of frank but good-natured exchange amongst a gathering of leading figures from a range of Indonesian political parties in Jakarta on 25 May 2012. Around twenty people from political parties, think tanks and
Indonesian and international NGOs met in the first of a planned series of workshop discussions that will develop into the Indonesian Political Parties Discussion Network. The Network was launched by the Jakarta-based Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), with the support of the Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI) and a number of other organisations.

The meeting was opened by the Director of CSIS, Dr Rizal Sukma, an internationally recognised specialist on Indonesian government policy and a commentator on political affairs. CDI Director, Dr Stephen Sherlock, then made a short presentation, setting out what he said could be seen as a looming crisis for political parties in Indonesia. He argued that community trust and regard for political parties was on the decline and that the strong identification with a particular party that used to characterise many Indonesian voters was in danger of becoming a thing of the past. This collapse in community support was caused by perceptions of corruption and “money politics” and a lack of commitment by parties to the development of meaningful policy positions on national issues. Dr Sherlock pointed out that such problems were common throughout the democratic world. But the situation was arguably worse in Indonesia because the vacuum left by policy failure was being replaced by a political culture where the exchange of money was seen as the only motivating force in politics.

A lively discussion on these and related issues was then facilitated by Dr Philips Vermonte, Head of the Department of Politics and International Relations at CSIS. As well as facilitating an exchange of ideas, this discussion aimed to develop an agenda of issues to be dealt with by future Network gatherings. A number of speakers raised questions about what political values and ideals were represented by today’s parties. Political values are essential motivators for the development of good policy and national leadership. Without them there is limited possibility for engaging with what the electorate is thinking and even less for providing effective leadership in the community.

This discussion led to an exchange of views about the new importance of the local arena of politics and the need for parties to have the flexibility to have creative ideas about issues at the provincial and district level, while at the same time maintaining a national perspective. It was also agreed that a major item for future deliberation by the Network should be the issue of how to understand the way that voters act at the ballot box in a modernising society where traditional community leaders no longer have so much influence over voter choice. This is critical to parties’ capacity to develop appropriate policy responses.

In the concluding session of the meeting, it was agreed that there was real value in bringing together party activists into a venue where they could share ideas in a non-partisan atmosphere. While the participants’ political organisations might be in competition, as individuals they had common experiences that could contribute to strengthening the role of parties in Indonesian democracy as a whole. The party representatives were keen to join a regular series of activities as an endeavour that could produce useful ideas and connections. The representatives from the supporting organisations also reaffirmed their continuing commitment of human and financial resources to the network.

The Working Group agreed on a set of principles and objectives for the Network and began discussions about a program of workshops and informal meetings amongst the parties, as well as the idea of sponsoring research and analysis to support the dialogue activities. Each of the organisations committed human and financial resources to the Network. Their respective expertise and contact networks will provide underpinnings for the success of the undertaking.

**Parliamentary Development in the Solomon Islands**

HONIARA | Over the last 12 months CDI has worked closely with its long-standing partners in the National Parliament, in government ministries and in the development community to broaden and deepen its program of support in the Solomon Islands.

In July 2011, CDI designed and coordinated the first-ever training program for public accounts committees (PACs) in provincial assemblies. Speakers, Members and Clerks from 4 provincial assemblies (Guadalcanal, Rennell and Bollona, Malaita and Western), participated in a three-day workshop on the critical role that PACs can play in promoting transparency and accountability in provincial administration.

In April 2012, CDI commenced a project to modernise the Standing Orders (or rules of operation) for provincial assemblies. The review is expected to be completed by the end of 2012.

In June 2012, CDI convened a second workshop for provincial PACs, covering the 5 provinces which were not involved in
in June 2012 and attracted great interest. MPGIS officials now have a high degree of confidence that this experience will encourage PACs in the other provinces to adopt similar practices.

The feedback about these events from local partners and workshop participants has been consistently positive. Participants at the 1st Provincial PAC workshop reported that the training was extremely useful, with 84% stating that they had greatly enhanced their knowledge of PACs and 89% stating that they were now more confident about establishing and operating a PAC in their assembly. High or moderate level learning outcomes were reported by nearly all participants in almost all sessions. Similar results were reported by participants at the 2nd Provincial PAC workshop – with 100% of participants indicating that they were now more confident about establishing and operating a PAC in their assembly. Even more significantly, we have recently seen tangible evidence of impact from this training.

In a presentation at the 2nd Provincial PAC training workshop in June 2012, Gabriel Agutuzepo (the Financial Controller from the Ministry of Provincial Government and Institutional Strengthening) reported that the 1st Provincial PAC training workshop in July 2011 had a ‘tremendous impact on provincial accounts committees’. He noted in particular that:

- ‘Malaita, Central and Western Provinces have since the workshop re-constituted their PACs and included only back-bench members of the assembly: striking off the executive members from those committees’ in a manner consistent with Assembly oversight of Executive government operations; and, most significantly
- ‘the Malaita PAC, over a 3 day period in March 2012, conducted a review to scrutinize the draft 2012/2013 budget estimates and 2012/2013 annual work-plan from the Malaita Provincial Government.’

The review processes used by the Malaita PAC were the subject of a case study presentation during the 2nd PAC workshop in June 2012 and attracted great interest. MPGIS officials now have a high degree of confidence that this experience will encourage PACs in the other provinces to adopt similar practices.

We are delighted to see such a close connection between our program and new financial scrutiny and accountability practices in provincial assemblies.

In a further indication of the value of CDI’s work, the Clerk of the National Parliament has invited CDI to design and deliver a leadership program for Members of the National Parliament, emphasizing the opportunities for parliamentarians to contribute effectively as legislators, accountability agents and representatives of their communities. This has been reinforced by recent comment by the Minister for Provincial Government Institutional Strengthening Hon Silas Tausinga MP, who expressed his “appreciation of the tremendous contributions made by CDI…to strengthen accountability and oversight institutions of the Provincial Government” and Hon Sir Allan Kemakeza MP, the Speaker of the National Parliament who thanked CDI for its “ongoing interest and support for the work of the National Parliament and Provincial Assemblies…such initiatives play an important part in our nation building”.

Parliamentary Development Programs

CHANGING FACE OF PARLIAMENT?: THREE WOMEN ELECTED IN PNG

PORT MORESBY | The 2012 national election saw a step forward for women’s political representation in PNG. After 36 years as a nation, only four women had been elected to the national parliament. The decision by the sole female member of the 8th parliament, Dame Carol Kidu, not to re-contest her seat gave rise to the possibility that there would be no women representatives in the 9th parliament. But, in results that gave great encouragement to many in PNG and the region, three women were elected in the recent elections: Delilah Gore (Sohe Open), Loujaya Toni (Lae Open), and Julie Soso (Eastern Highlands Provincial).

CDI is delighted to report that two of the three women, Loujaya Toni and Julie Soso, participated in the Women Candidates Training Strategy designed and implemented by PNG’s Office for the Development of Women with technical assistance from CDI and financial support from AusAID. This strategy was the most extensive program of pre-election advice and training provided to women candidates anywhere in the region. Seventy-four women candidates, and their campaign managers, were guided through workshops on developing campaign messages; creating campaign plans; fund raising and managing campaign teams; and candidate legal obligations. This initial training was followed by tailored feedback sessions on campaign progress, media techniques and public speaking. Clink the link at the end of this article for more information about the women candidate training strategy.

There have been some exaggerated statements in the PNG media about gender balance now having been achieved in the continued over
PNG parliament. Few women nominate as candidates (only 3.19% of candidates were women) and the election of just 3 women to a parliament of 111 is clearly a long way short of equality. But, nevertheless, it is a success worth celebrating.

Our observations during the election indicated that women candidates still face substantial challenges when contesting elections in PNG, including:

- traditional attitudes that politics is man’s business
- ‘big man’ politics and money politics
- lack of financial support
- intimidation and threats of violence.

It is notable also that PNG’s major political parties continue to display little interest in endorsing women candidates. Prime Minister O’Neill’s People’s National Congress Party endorsed one woman among 89 candidates. Former PM Somare’s National Alliance Party endorsed two women out of 74 candidates. While neither Opposition Leader Namah’s PNG Party (88 candidates) nor former Prime Minister Chan’s People’s Progress Party (40 candidates) endorsed any women candidates.

On the other hand, Don Polye’s Triumph Heritage and Empowerment (THE) Party (which endorsed three women out of 73 candidates), has the impressive record of seeing two of its three women candidates returned: Delilah Gore and Julie Soso are both members of THE Party. Loujaya Toni was endorsed by the Indigenous People’s Party.

The three new women MPs were enthusiastic participants in the Induction Program for MPs recently convened by the PNG Parliament and CDI. It is clear that they are interested in a wide range of policy and service delivery issues and have much to offer the parliament and their communities.

**CDI WORKSHOP IN THE INDONESIAN REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL (DPD)**

**Jakarta** | The Indonesian Regional Representative Council (DPD) has had a close working relationship with CDI over a number of years. Soon after the first DPD election of 2004, CDI Director, Dr Stephen Sherlock, produced a now widely-cited study on the constitutional and operational problems facing the new legislative institution. Reciprocal visits with the DPD have included a delegation led by the Deputy Speaker of the DPD, Dr Laoda Ide, who visited Canberra in July 2009 and members and staff of the DPD attended the CDI-IPD workshop on parliamentary scrutiny of public expenditure in February 2010.

In the last two years CDI has increased its engagement with the DPD, developing a program of support aimed at strengthening the role of the DPD committee system. The former Speaker of the NSW Legislative Assembly, Hon Kevin Rozzoli, and Dr Stephen Sherlock held a series of meetings and workshops with DPD committee leaders in February 2011 and the Secretary General of the DPD, Dr Siti Nurbaya, visited Canberra in March 2012. In April 2012, CDI also sponsored Prof Ian Marsh to attend a high-level discussion meeting in Jakarta on the constitutional role of the DPD.

During the meetings in Canberra with the DPD Secretary General, it was decided that the program of capacity-building for committees should focus on individual DPD committees, with Committee II being selected as the first target. That decision came to fruition with a two-day development workshop for Members and staff of Committee II in Jakarta on 22-23 June 2012.

The workshop was delivered by Hon Kevin Rozzoli and former Committee Secretary in the Australian Parliament, Dr Margaret Swieringa, together with CDI Program Manager, Ms Bronwen Harvey and Indonesian Program Officer Grace Hutusasot. The first day of the workshop involved members of the staff of Committee II and focused on the methodology of conducting investigations through parliamentary committees. Subjects included: the clarification of terms of reference; preparation and conduct of investigations; managing information flows; and the output of investigations. On day two, the staff were joined by a number of Members of Committee II. This provided a rare opportunity for Members and staff to jointly discuss the challenges of conducting effective committee investigations and to present their respective perspectives.

As a result of the workshop deliberations, both Members and staff of Committee II reported that they had gained a number of important insights into parliamentary committee procedures that could be applied to their work. While the Australian system is markedly different from Indonesia’s in many ways, there was a sometimes surprising degree of commonality between the experience of the two sets of practitioners that provided the basic for interchange and communication. In particular, the Indonesians were very interested to draw conclusions in relation continued over
CDI is continuing to work with the leadership of the DPD, at both the political and official levels, to develop further programs of support to the Council. These programs will aim to enhance the capacity of leading elements within the DPD, especially in the committee system, to refine and strengthen the role of the DPD. While the Council has limited constitutional functions, it has the capacity to wield considerable influence if its powers are used shrewdly and effectively.

## CDI Supports Major Research Initiative on “Money Politics” in Southeast Asia

**Bali** | How widely are money, material goods and services distributed for electoral gain in Southeast Asia? What are the networks through which such goods are distributed and how do those networks differ from country to country and between regions within those countries? How effective is such ‘money politics’ as an electoral strategy, especially when politicians have other options for directing their energy and funds (advertising campaigns, programmatic appeals, electoral fraud or violence, just to mention a few)? Are voters swayed by gifts of money, goods and services, and under what circumstances? And how might we research these questions ethically, without endangering either the people from whom we seek answers, or the members of our research teams who are asking the questions?

These and other questions were explored at a workshop hosted by CDI on 28-29 July in Bali. A follow up to a first workshop in late 2011 that sketched out the broad topic of money politics in four key countries of Southeast Asia (Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines), this workshop focused specifically on research methods. Workshop participants (about 30 people from universities, journalist organisations, NGOs and development agencies from Australia, the US and across Southeast Asia) discussed the latest social science methods being used to explore such topics in other world regions, and planned how they might be applied in Southeast Asia. Take one simple question: how widespread is the practice of vote buying in Southeast Asia? Many people feel that the practice is widespread. We have many anecdotal reports to rely upon, but little hard data. Some polling organisations have asked members of the public about vote buying and related practices, but survey data on this topic is notoriously unreliable, because many respondents are reluctant to acknowledge it. Workshop participants explored methods for getting around this problem, including ways to ask the question indirectly in surveys.

One method is to present respondents with a list of practices, and ask them to give the number of such practices they witnessed at the last election. Varying the list and randomly distributing respondents to a test and control group should produce a more accurate gauge of the extent of vote buying.

Or take another question: how likely are voters to be swayed by the delivery of individual inducements or by pork barrel projects in their home community? Again, asking respondents the question directly is unsatisfactory. But it is possible to get at this question indirectly, by presenting survey respondents with a hypothetical candidate, varying that candidate’s attributes and then tracking the variations in respondent support across randomly assigned groups. Allen Hicken (University of Michigan) and Joel Selway (Brigham Young University) presented participants with the fascinating findings of a recent large survey in Thailand which adopted this approach.

But using survey methods is just one way to explore money politics. Another involves going out into the field and watching closely what election candidates and their vote brokers do at election time. To that end, project participants are planning to engage in a systematic process of ‘candidate shadowing’ in forthcoming elections in all four countries, and to produce a comparative map of how candidates use money and networks to get elected. Another method involves using the tools of social network analysis: both to map the networks of vote brokers and field operators that candidates mobilize at election times, and to trace how patronage resources and political influence flow through villages and other communities.

- [Return to the text](#)
Using these and other methods, a multiyear, multimethod project is getting underway to explore the causes of, patterns and variations in, and consequences of ‘money politics’ in Southeast Asia. The project is being led by four scholars (Paul Hutchcroft and Edward Aspinall, Australian National University; Allen Hicken, Michigan University and Meredith Weiss, University at Albany) but draws in a much larger group of participants from organisations and universities in the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. Participants are already gearing up to apply a range of methods in looming national elections in Malaysia and the Philippines, with further training workshops planned for late 2012 and early 2013. A number of local government head elections in Indonesia in 2013 will also be targeted. By the time of Thailand’s next election in three or four years’ time, the project will have produced a wealth of data and insights into the use of patronage for electoral politics, the networks through which patronage flows, the causes of money politics and its effects for democratic governance across Southeast Asia.

**Money Politics Workshop**

**GREAT EXPECTATIONS: NRI PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY PROGRAM**

**PORT MORESBY** | On 6 July the PNG National Research Institute launched its Parliamentary Democracy Program. This is an initiative with the Centre for Democratic Institutions which aims to generate a public discourse about the operation and role of parliament in PNG.

Over (initially) a 12 month period the Parliamentary Democracy Program will provide opportunities for PNG researchers to undertake research that will promote debate about the role of Parliament in a representative democracy.

Speaking at the launch in Port Moresby CDI’s Deputy Director, Grant Harrison, remarked that “It is by electing representatives to parliament that we ordinary citizens have a say in the local and national decisions which affect our lives. Although we are rarely explicit about it, we know intuitively what we expect from our Parliaments and our MPs. We expect our MPs to perform their parliamentary duties with integrity and commitment. We expect them to understand how parliament interacts with other arms of government in a delicate system of checks and balances. We expect them to engage in policy debates; to exercise legislative power; and to hold governments to account for their actions. And we expect them to do all of this with care and consideration. These are great expectations”.

These statements reinforced the message given by Dr Ray Anere, Senior Research Fellow at the NRI. Dr Anere said that the parliament, its processes, and the laws it makes have unparalleled bearing on every province, district, local government, ward and citizen. It is not possible to imagine good policies, responsible budgets, good laws and improvements in the living standards of the people of PNG without reference to Parliament. Because of this there is a fundamental need to conduct research on the way parliament conducts its business of law making, and on the effectiveness of its committees. This in turn may contribute to identifying areas where reforms of improvements can be undertaken.

In launching the new program NRI’s Director, Dr Thomas Webster, drew attention to current areas of concern within the parliament which he felt would benefit from closer scrutiny and analysis. These included the office of the Speaker, parliamentary committee systems, the “weakening of the opposition, and the worrying strength of the executive arm over the legislature”. The Parliamentary Democracy Program provides an opportunity for all Papua New Guineans to reflect, think and discuss ways to improve and strengthen the role and work of Parliament. Dr Webster posed the question “How can people and the public get involved in the work of Parliament, in contributing to ideas and issues being discussed in Parliament, and in decision making? How can people hold MPs accountable? Should there be a place and procedure for Petitions and Referendums to make decisions of major constitutional matters?”

Dr Webster added that reflecting on the role and work of Parliament is also the responsibility of MPs, saying “we want to sensitise our Members of Parliament to some of the issues that need to be addressed and give them the opportunity to address some of them when the new Parliament commences Dr Webster welcomed the support of Parliamentary Services and noted their role as important agents for facilitating any changes that may need to be implemented. The Deputy Clerk, Simon Ila, responded positively to the launch of the Parliamentary Democracy Program and confirmed that the Parliamentary worked over
Services team would be available to support agreed research projects.

The Parliamentary Democracy Program aims to facilitate research, publications and public debate about the role and operations of Parliament in PNG. The themes for the first year of the program (July 2012 to June 2013) are:

1. Parliamentary Operations including (but not limited to)
   a. Parliamentary processes for consideration of legislation and budget proposals;
   b. Parliamentary processes for Executive accountability (eg, question time, opportunities for debate, ministerial accountability);
   c. Parliamentary sitting patterns and the management of Parliamentary business; and
   d. the work of Parliamentary committees;
2. Parliament and the Community

Four Research activities have now been selected for funding. We wait the result with great expectations.

More information is available from the NRI website, and on the link below.

WOMEN CANDIDATES
IN VANUATU

PORT VILA | CDI has long been committed to increasing women’s political representation in the Pacific. Since 2008 our annual regional Women in Politics course has provided emerging women leaders with an opportunity to build skills and networks to boost political participation and representation. We have also worked with local partners to provide highly regarded advisory and training support to women candidates across the region: in the Solomon Islands, in Bougainville and, most recently, in Papua New Guinea.

Our reputation and the value of approach was recognised when in July 2012 we were invited by Vanuatu’s Department of Women’s Affairs and AusAID’s Pacific Leadership Program to contribute training elements to a workshop on Women in Shared Decision Making (WISDM).

CDI Associate Dr Norm Kelly drew on materials developed as part of our women candidate training work in PNG to design short-form training components for a 5-day workshop held in Port Vila from 6 to 10 August. 2012. Dr Kelly was assisted in facilitating the event by three BRIDGE-trained ni-Van facilitators. Session topics included Developing your Message, Fundraising and Budgeting, Public Speaking, Communicating your Message, and Developing your Campaign Plan. Time was also devoted to Vanuatu’s Single Non-Transferable Voting system, and to awareness of local cultural practices. Guest speakers in the early part of the workshop included Deputy Prime Minister Ham Lini, Opposition Leader Edward Natapei, former President Kalkot Matas Kelekele, Justice Minister Charlot Salwai, and Ralph Regenvanu MP.

The workshop was attended by 18 intending candidates. Most of these women will be standing in October’s national election, with a few targeting Vanuatu’s municipal and provincial elections (due to be held in January 2013). CDI has previously conducted women candidates training programs in Bougainville, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea.

There is currently only one women in Vanuatu’s 52-member parliament, and only five women have been elected since Vanuatu’s independence in 1980.

For more information on CDI’s activities in Vanuatu please click the link below.

WISDM in Vanuatu

WELCOMING NEW CDI STAFF

GRACE HUTASOIT | CDI PROGRAM AND RESEARCH OFFICER
INDONESIA holds a Bachelor of Political Science from the University of Parahyangan and awarded Australian Development Scholarship to continue her postgraduate study with a Master of International Relations at the University of Melbourne. Prior to joining CDI, she worked at the EU-ASEAN Aceh Monitoring Mission, British Embassy, and Australian Embassy in Jakarta with a focus on political communications and diplomacy.

CDI Staff

All suggestions and comments on our newsletter are very welcome to cdi@anu.edu.au
To subscribe to CDI.News visit the CDI website @ http://www.cdi.anu.edu.au/cdinews/cdinews.htm