



## **IDEA Programme Document for Asia and the Pacific**

***October 2009***

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### **The global context for democracy building**

In a global environment characterised by high levels of flux and uncertainty, distrust and polarisation, concerns are being voiced about setbacks for democracy as a model as well as about authoritarianism in individual countries – although there are also clear success stories. In response, democracy building efforts should not be doctrinal and ideological in nature, and should not remain static and shaped around some universally applicable blueprint. They need to adjust dynamically to national and local requirements and to the needs of those who are the driving force and the ultimate beneficiaries of democratic change in each region and each country. Nevertheless a number of democracy building challenges are shared across boundaries:

- Credibility and effectiveness of political institutions and actors: the low level of popular esteem for political parties and legislatures is a major challenge, as no effective democracy is possible (except possibly in microstates) without trusted institutions of aggregation and articulation of collective interests, representation and oversight.
- Delivery of equitable development: While undoubtedly a value in its own right, democracy is also expected to deliver a better quality of life for the population at large; as long as it fails to do so, it will remain vulnerable to the lure of populism and its developmental pledges and promises.

- Diversity is both a challenge and an opportunity. Depending on the ways it is addressed and managed, it can either make democracy genuinely inclusive and participatory, or be manipulated as a stumbling block in the pursuance of these core features of democracy.
- Inclusiveness, particularly with regard to gender: Widespread underrepresentation of women and underestimation of their role in politics continue to be a major handicap to democracy; achieving full gender equity and the adequate inclusion of other marginalised groups such as indigenous and migrant populations will remain a major challenge for democracy in the years to come.
- Stability and security within processes of democratic change: stability and security are key enablers for democratic changes in particular when in contexts of protracted violence or post-conflict. The ways in which a country manages conflict and security has profound effects on the viability, extent and sustainability of democratic institutions, values and practices; in particular the nature and reach of national policies and strategies on security and public order, as well as the functioning, governance and service delivery of security sector institutions. Safeguarding the viability and legitimacy of key democratic processes (i.e. elections, political representation, constitutional building) allows for democracy to take root.
- Coherence and synergy between policies in support of democracy and other policies implemented by international and regional actors: the impact of valuable and costly programmes and activities in support of democracy carried out by governments or international organisations are sometimes weakened or even undermined by other policies (for example in the fields of security, trade, development or energy) emanating from the same actors. Effective democracy support requires coherence and synergy between different actors and policies.

## **IDEA's core mission**

IDEA is well positioned and able to respond to the consequent challenges. Following the IDEA Strategy agreed by the IDEA Council in 2006, IDEA's core mission is to support sustainable democratic change through comparative knowledge resources for democracy builders *and* assisting in democratic reform processes *and* influencing policies and politics. Informed and guided by the principles of local sovereignty, local knowledge and local ownership of the democracy building process, IDEA's starting point is that democracy building is not an area which should be subjected to the drawing of divides between "donors" and "receivers". No country can donate democracy and no country can receive it from abroad. The idea that some parts of the world should coach other parts into democracy is a flawed paradigm that should be unlearned the sooner the better. Rich pools of historical experience and knowledge, best practices and lessons learned, exist in all parts of the world. Untapped resources for shared democracy building are waiting to be mobilized through regional and multi-regional cooperation. IDEA is actively drawing on this reality, placing primary emphasis on sharing and discussion between practitioners through networks and partnerships, supplemented by the dissemination of academic and technical expertise, to the extent that this is useful. This evolution requires an explicit recognition of the political nature of the process of democratic change.

IDEA's approach thus involves linking global principles to regional and individual contexts. IDEA's programming will pursue an integrated response which includes:

- Sustaining democracy through delivery on development: Emphasising the links between democracy and development, IDEA works with national and international actors to support a stronger role for national parliaments and political parties in pursuing more effective policies for development, including in development co-operation.
- Enabling democracy to cope with increasing diversity, identity politics and new forms of participation: IDEA is exploring how diversity can be managed as a source of democratic strength through constitutional frameworks, electoral systems and institutions, external voting, direct

democracy, and youth electoral education. Key issues include civic engagement and participation, the role of political parties and movements, and the transformation of participants in conflict to political actors in a pluralist system.

- Making democracy more inclusive: IDEA works to enhance popular participation and representation, widening consultation, consensus building and decision making processes beyond established power holders and elites, and expanding in particular women's participation, representation and empowerment.
- Making democratic politics work for peace and security: IDEA will examine how democratic institutions can better manage conflict and security challenges, and will develop knowledge, context-sensitive tools and policy options on constitutional frameworks, political representation, resolution of electoral disputes, and electoral processes, that allow more fluid alignments between democratic principles and practices and the need for stability and security.
- Helping democracy grow from within: IDEA collates comparative democracy building experience and makes it freely available; and supports nationally led and owned democracy assessments as bases for national and local reform discussion. Other actions to help democracy grow from within include developing new approaches to capacity development, not least through South-South sharing of experiences.

### **IDEA's work**

In following its core mission, IDEA is in the process of adopting a results based approach to its planning and its programmatic work. Pursuing the institutional goal to strengthen sustainable democratic change worldwide, programmes focus on institutional outcomes designed to take three forms: improved capacities, legitimacy and credibility of democratic institutions and processes; improved inclusive participation and accountable representation; and improved effectiveness and legitimacy of democracy assistance. Key impact areas are founded upon particular expertise developed within IDEA in

electoral processes, constitution building processes, political participation and representation, and democracy and development: workstreams are focused on comparative knowledge resources, policy action and targeted democratic reform processes in line with the agreed IDEA Strategy.

### **Challenges in Asia and the Pacific**

'Asia and the Pacific' is used in this document as a single label for a large area with an immense heterogeneity. Even the subregions within it, - South Asia, South East Asia, the Pacific, or indeed Melanesia, Micronesia or Polynesia - themselves contain a huge diversity of societies. And this document does not seek to address the challenges of the Asian Middle East or of former Soviet Central Asia.

This diversity of societies is matched by a wide spectrum of political contexts. These include countries where democracy appears established (for example Indonesia and the Philippines), at the beginning of processes of democracy building following conflict (for example Nepal and Timor Leste), where the prospects for the consolidation of democracy are confused (for example Thailand), where the capacity of democratic institutions to deliver services and reduce poverty is challenged (for example Papua New Guinea or Vanuatu), and where a return to democracy seems increasingly distant (Fiji).

Most of the global issues of democracy building can thus be identified somewhere in Asia and the Pacific. It is not possible to identify a single overarching theme, but all of the following questions occur commonly enough to be specifically relevant:

- What does democracy deliver and how can democracy address poverty and corruption? How is capacity for effective service delivery built?
- How can citizen and civil society owned democracy assessments be promoted and used as tools for both citizen empowerment and grounded reform oriented policy-making?
- How can sustainable institutional frameworks of democracy be designed and how are they interconnected?
- How are democracy and development interconnected? How can 'room for politics' be ensured, so that the effective scope in a society for political debate and

decision making between real alternatives is not minimised or eliminated by constraints arising from development partnerships and support, leading to weak institutions and reluctance on the part of talented people to engage in the political process?

- How are conflict, security arrangements, development opportunities and challenges, gender and ethnic disempowerment affecting the possibilities for sustainable environments conducive to solid democracy building processes? Within these environments what are the linkages between gender and electoral violence? Between development and democracy? Between democracy and diversity?
- How can identity be harnessed positively in the development of democratic societies and institutions?
- How can democracy building tools and resources be made available to more extended segments of the population, in particular those far from capitals and urban centres?
- How can corruption within political parties and movements be addressed in ways that are conducive for creating incentives for transparency and internal capacity building?

### **An integrated approach in Asia and the Pacific**

In responding to these challenges, the purpose of IDEA's work is not only to contribute to supporting sustainable democratic change in Asia and the Pacific: it is also to facilitate the networks and partnerships which will enable the expertise and experience of Asia and the Pacific to inform sustainable democratic change elsewhere in the world. Further, IDEA recognises that the process of democracy building and democracy support cannot be effective if it is broken down into separate watertight silos. Effective democracy building and democracy support requires an integrated approach, in which actions in one area will often produce effects (both intended and unintended) in a number of others. Emphasising also the crucial nature of local ownership of democracy building, the IDEA approach will thus entail:

- Initial needs analyses/assessments in Asia and the Pacific in selected countries prior to possible full programmatic engagement, responding to demands, using in full or

being based upon IDEA's citizen-led democracy assessment methodologies. These analyses/assessments will identify regional, national and subnational challenges to democracy building and match these with IDEA's principles, expertise and programmes to ensure the greatest impacts, and identify and build partnerships and networks with other relevant stakeholders and with funders;

- Following such needs analyses/assessments, context-specific, country-tailored assistance which addresses the reality that individual sectors of democratic systems (for example electoral processes, constitution building, security sector reform or decentralisation) cannot be addressed in isolation, and that effective assistance must consider impacts in all areas simultaneously;
- Recognition that effective democracy building is locally owned and that effective assistance requires commitment to continuity throughout the electoral cycle and is aimed at building sustainability;
- Emphasis on the practical use of comparative knowledge and experience, in particular from the global South, and promotion of South-South dialogues and collaboration; and
- Effective monitoring and evaluation of programmes.

In order to maximise effectiveness and avoid duplication, IDEA is committed to the importance of coordination, network building, and partnership in both the design and implementation of its programmes and projects with other democracy building actors, both international and domestic, in identifying needs and considering programmatic priorities in response.

In considering the opportunities and challenges for democracy building in the Asia/Pacific region and the specific areas in which IDEA is particularly qualified to respond, it should be noted that IDEA's IGO status means that the major contribution that can be made by IDEA in countries with authoritarian/semi-authoritarian regimes lies in the availability and impact of knowledge resources and tools as global public goods, and of policy development relating to democracy assistance both in the general and the country-specific context. This means that direct work to support democratic reform processes will relate to post conflict and post authoritarian

transitions (drawing on IDEA's commitment to mainstream conflict issues in programming generally), and also to developing democracies.

### **Engagement with regional organisations**

Regional organisations can play an increasing role in sustainable and locally owned democracy building and democracy support, and IDEA's existing regional programmes have considerable expertise in this area. IDEA and the African Union have agreed a Joint Activity Plan in order to strengthen the AU's capacity to support democracy building in the continent and support ratification and implementation of the African Charter for Democracy, Elections and Governance, and IDEA also has a strong partnership with the Organisation of American States in Latin America. IDEA has also engaged with regional organisations during 2009 in global consultations in the European Union's role in democracy building, which have led to the publication of the report 'Democracy in Development' which has been handed to the European Union presidency.

In South East Asia, IDEA is exploring cooperation with the Secretary-General and Secretariat of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), in parallel with the adoption by ASEAN of its Political and Security Community Blueprint. IDEA seeks to engage ASEAN, particularly in its intention "to ensure democracy, ensure good governance and the rule of law", and its Member States in a manner that recognises their individual differences.

The Bali Democracy Forum was launched in December 2008 to place democracy as a strategic agenda in regional discourse in Asia, and the Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD) at Udayana University, Bali has been established as its implementing arm. IDEA is actively discussing a partnership with the Forum and working to support to the IPD both in the definition and implementation of its programmatic work and in institutional capacity building.

In the Pacific, cooperation with the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) and possible longer term partnership will be actively explored.



## **Outline of IDEA's planned Asia and Pacific programme**

Building on IDEA's global expertise, growing engagement and existing track record in Latin America and Africa, and also on previous and current engagement in Asia and the Pacific, the overall concept for IDEA's regional programme when resources are available will include:

- maintaining ongoing programming in support of the transition in Nepal and in particular in support of the constitution building process, both the development of the constitution and its implementation;
- developing partnership with regional bodies and institutions, in particular the Bali Democracy Forum/IPD, the Non Aligned Movement South-South Training Centre (NAM Centre), the ASEAN Secretariat and the Pacific Islands Forum;
- preparedness to extend country level operational presence depending on needs and requests for assistance. Requests for knowledge resources and capacity building within the range of IDEA's expertise from countries in Asia and the Pacific going through processes of institutional framework review or transition, for example Mongolia, will also be considered;
- continuing to respond to requests for dialogues which bring together political actors from across South East Asia, and considering whether this approach may also be appropriate in South Asia and/or the Pacific. For example, an initial dialogue on electoral justice issues was held in partnership with the NAM Centre took place in Indonesia during March 2009, and a further seminar has been scheduled with the NAM Centre in October 2009 to address issues of constitution building and diversity - the output of which will contribute to IDEA's work to build a global constitutional knowledge resource. More generally, individual programme initiatives, for example in Indonesia, the Philippines or elsewhere in South East Asia, could also provide a platform for regional involvement and network building;
- addressing broad policy issues, for example the relationship between democracy and development in a regional context (building on the outputs of the Round Table on Democracy and Development held in conjunction with the meeting of IDEA's governing Council

under the chair of India, which took place in Delhi in June 2008).

- The use of IDEA's global knowledge base to develop context specific approaches to institutional design and governance issues, for example in Melanesia and the Pacific, including supporting and if appropriate convening dialogues on such issues;
- recognising that many processes of democracy building and consolidation in Asia and the Pacific take place in countries and communities in which formal state institutions coexist with customary-traditional institutions and forms of governance. These include forms of customary law, traditional societal structures and traditional authorities which shape the ways in which people understand and experience justice, participation and ultimately public goods and public service delivery. The role and structure of customary-traditional forms of governance and their interaction (negative or positive) with formal institutions is a key factor in the unfolding of the nature, evolution, viability and sustainability of a democratic process. IDEA's integrated approach will ensure that political governance and participation, security and stability, and development and wealth creation are not considered exclusively in the domain of formal democratic institutions and processes, but are also in the domain of customary-traditional forms of governance; and
- building partnerships and ensuring coordination with domestic, regional and international democracy support actors and programmes in the region, in particular with UNDP through its regional centres.

### **Priorities for an initial IDEA programme in Asia and the Pacific**

The process of development of the regional programme will continue to engage and consult with member states and current and potential partners in the region. IDEA's existing member states in Asia and the Pacific, India and Australia, are recognised both as important examples of commitment to democracy and as sources of experience and knowledge - for example through the electoral process expertise of both the Election Commission of India and the Australian Electoral Commission.

Initial scoping of potential programmes and consultation with member states and other stakeholders during 2008 and 2009, culminating in a consultation meeting with IDEA's member states and observer state and with other states in Asia and the Pacific in August 2009, has produced a range of possible areas in which IDEA work can add value. IDEA will continue to engage member states, observer states and other supportive states in the discussion of democracy building challenges and programme development, to work with partners in formulating priorities and designing programmes, and to ensure that programmes are coordinated with other actors to avoid duplication. In this respect, further consultation is in particular necessary in relation to potential programmatic work in Melanesia and the Pacific.

Following this process, the following programmatic directions, along with an outline of proposed timing and sequencing of work in line with the resources which are currently available or which may be made available, will be reflected within IDEA's 2010-2012 Programme of Operations and 2010 Workplan and Budget. This will be submitted to the governing Council of IDEA, chaired by Mexico during 2008-2009, at its meeting in December 2009.

#### **Programmatic directions: summary**

Detailed proposals for the following programmatic directions will be developed in the remainder of 2009 and early 2010, with the intention that funding for programmatic work will be sought and could then be mobilised in the course of 2010. Programmatic teams will be drawn from across IDEA. Project funded programmes will be anchored within the Asia and Pacific Programme. Other programmatic activities and budgets may be anchored either in the A&P Programme or elsewhere within IDEA.

#### *Locally owned Democracy Analysis/Assessment:*

*Philippines:* analysis of the work of the SoD assessment programme undertaken by CSOs in the Philippines, with the possibility of identifying needs for subsequent work or projects in partnership with local stakeholders, and their design, funding and implementation;

*Timor Leste: democracy assessment feasibility mission (second half 2010)*

*Democracy and Development*

At least one country within Asia and the Pacific, likely to be Indonesia, will be chosen for a pilot of the new accountability chains tool.

*Electoral Processes*

Catalysing and where relevant directly initiating capacity building using the BRIDGE curriculum, including its new governance modules: focus on Nepal, SE Asia and the Pacific.

Undertaking dialogue, development and dissemination of materials, and capacity building on electoral justice, electoral dispute resolution and electoral violence. Building on the global initiative to develop and test a methodology for the use of risk maps as a whole-of-government tool for diagnosis and decision-making, in particular in relation to potential violence and conflict associated with the electoral cycle, through one or more regional pilots (possibly in Indonesia, a South Asian country and/or a Melanesian country).

*Constitution Building*

In response to demand, support for inclusive constitution building in one country within the region

*Country programmes:*

*Nepal:* support to the constituent assembly process during 2010, including oversight institutions, public view collection and gender elements, up to the agreement of the constitution: support to the implementation process during 2011 and 2012, focused on integrated institutional frameworks, electoral capacity building, and a limited number of other areas to be finalised following further discussion with stakeholders. Funding proposals to be submitted to Norway and Finland

*Fiji:* in close liaison with the Pacific Islands Forum, the Commonwealth, the UN and other actively involved parties,

active scoping of possible longer term support both to dialogue processes and to institutional framework reform

*Regional partnerships:*

*With IPD:* comparative democratic transition in Asia (supported by Norway funding): Indonesian and Norwegian approaches to conflict resolution (to be supported by Norway funding): other topics to be determined (to be linked to other possible funding sources)

*With NAM-CSSTC:* comparative electoral dispute resolution in SE Asia: one further topic for 2010 to be determined (NAM-CSSTC contributes funding as a partner)

All regional partnerships and programmes in SE Asia will seek informally to build and deepen relationships with ASEAN through the Secretariat and its networks. In addition, ways in which IDEA can support the Secretariat in the implementation of the ASEAN Political and Security Blueprint will be explored.

*Democracy and Gender*

All programmatic work in the region will also seek to promote gender equality using IDEA's comparative knowledge resources and tools, as well as substantive inputs on gender in law-making processes; and will aim to increase women's democratic participation and representation in positions of power and decision making through capacity building and provision of information and experience sharing.

**Programmatic directions: detail**

**1. Locally Owned Democracy Analysis/Assessment**  
***A tool for citizens to assess their democracy – and a tool to inform IDEA's programme design and development***

IDEA's approach to democracy building emphasises support to home grown democracy building processes and support of the efforts of internal actors to improve the qualities of their democracies, rather than following prescriptive approaches or imposing external 'expert'

judgments. All democracies need to periodically assess themselves with a view to addressing deficiencies as seen from the perspective of citizens. IDEA has developed democracy analysis/assessment methodologies designed to be used by citizens and designed to be applicable in all democracies regardless of their level of economic development.

These methodologies, State of Democracy (SoD) and State of Local Democracy (SoLD), are tools primarily for use by internal actors to assess the quality of their democracies (both at the national and local levels); raise awareness about how democracy works in practice; feed into evidence-based advocacy; generate debates and dialogues about the democratic deficits identified through the assessments; and most importantly contribute to democratic reform. In a nutshell, SoD and SoLD assessments are part of the democratisation processes of countries or communities, and are not externally driven exercises that pass a judgement on where a country stands according to some externally defined democracy scale. As seen from the assessments conducted in various countries so far, they also build internal capacity for monitoring and undertaking future evaluations of the quality of democracy.

Analyses/assessments conducted using the SoD and SoLD methodologies do not only provide a foundation for domestic dialogue and reform processes in the countries and municipalities in which they are conducted. They can also provide a basis for definition of internationally funded programmes in support for democracy. IDEA therefore regards democracy analysis/assessment in collaboration with domestic actors as the basis for identifying the needs upon which its own responses and future work will be based.

IDEA's work in the region will also draw upon IDEA's global policy work in the sphere of democracy and development. IDEA is a member of the Management Team of the newly established OECD-DAC GOVNET workstream on Aid and Domestic Accountability. Major synergies exist between the DAC approach to these

issues and the work and methodologies developed and used by IDEA not only in citizen led democracy assessment but also in relation to the sustainable electoral cycle approach and to accountability chains.

Considerable experience has already been gained of locally-owned and citizen-led assessments of democracy in Asia. The State of Democracy in South Asia (SDSA) assessments and report resulted from IDEA's previous work in partnership with the SDSA team, including the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) in Delhi and others. SoD assessment is currently in progress in the Philippines, undertaken by Action for Economic Reforms, a Philippine NGO. In addition, the work done by IDEA in the region in the course of the project 'Democracy and Development: Global Consultations on the European Union's Role in Democracy Building' in partnership with the South Asian Centre for Policy Studies in Kathmandu and the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta has generated a further high level network of potential partner expertise within the region.

*Objectives and expected results of possible programmes*

These could include:

- The SoD analysis/assessment undertaken by Philippine CSOs has already identified some areas where future IDEA programmatic engagement may be of value. One such area is electoral processes: although considerable advice and support has been provided by IFES and others, the assessment has identified a narrow and technical focus in this assistance, and that there may be scope for support and capacity building which seeks to strengthen electoral mechanisms as robust actors within the political framework. Another area is strengthening the link between democracy & development, addressing the issue of accountability chains/webs. Further areas may emerge from continuing dialogue, especially in the context of the scenario that emerges from the 2010 elections.

- Both SoD and State of Local Democracy (SoLD) assessments could be supported in other countries in the region: in Timor Leste in particular, democracy assessment at national and local level is an essential precursor to providing a baseline for further democratic reform. The UNDP Regional Centre in Bangkok has expressed its enthusiasm to work in partnership with IDEA, and work to identify local partners and set up the assessment could take place in 2009 or 2010.
- Further assessments using this model of UNDP partnership could follow in South East Asia and/or in the Pacific. These assessments would both serve to promote dialogue and debate on democracy and contribute to identifying possible areas for future IDEA engagement in the countries where they are conducted. The initiation of one SoD and one SoLD assessment per year would be a realistic target.
- While it is desirable and preferable that SoD/SoLD assessments should precede any IDEA programmes or interventions, responsive timelines mean that this will not always be practicable. Where shorter term needs assessments are required as part of the process of definition of any part of this regional programme, they will consist of analysis of on-site consultations with targeted stakeholders combined with a desk study, using the relevant questions of the SoD/SoLD methodologies.

## **2. Electoral Processes**

### *Context*

A great deal of knowledge and experience exists within Asia and the Pacific about effective and sustainable electoral processes. However, there are also areas – notably the effective setting of electoral frameworks in their wider political context; issues related to electoral justice, electoral violence and electoral dispute resolution; and issues relating to participation – where there is scope for further thinking and action.



Much of the scope for IDEA involvement falls within particular regions or individual countries within Asia and the Pacific, and is listed in the relevant section following. Capacity building for electoral processes will draw upon the BRIDGE curriculum, now largely recognised as the world standard, for which IDEA, the Australian Electoral Commission, and UNDP are among the members of the global partnership. At the same time, the ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, a global partnership which celebrates its tenth anniversary in 2009 and for which IDEA is hosting the transitional secretariat during 2009 and 2010, intends to establish two more regional resource centres in South Asia and in the Pacific in addition to the existing resource centre for South East Asia based in Jakarta. Partnership may also be established with UNIFEM regional offices on gender equality and representation of women programmes.

### **3. Constitution Building**

#### *Context*

The strengthening of democratisation increasingly involves a constitutional processes component, in which dialogue takes place between different political actors and groups towards agreement on the governance framework under which they will live together. These processes are a key link to peaceful conflict resolution and to the democratic reform of institutions following deep political crises in the plural polities of Asia and the Pacific. Constitution builders are faced with two key questions: what kind of constitutional arrangements will be necessary, practical, well suited and adequate to manage the complex, contemporary problems in newly democratising plural states? And what kind of political and constitutional processes will be required to make and implement such constitutions? Across the global South, constitution builders need knowledge tools and access to comparative experiences that will strengthen their responsive capacity.

IDEA globally is supporting these actors to access, join and participate in its growing network of constitution building expertise. IDEA is bringing together

experienced and knowledgeable experts and practitioners, including from Asia and the Pacific – for example at the symposium on Constitutions and Diversity held in partnership with the NAM Centre in Jakarta in October 2009. The practitioners and experts will both contribute to the synthesis of global experiences and be available for input to constitutional building process programmes within Asia and the Pacific – as already in Nepal. There is much scope for work in this field, which is indicated within the discussions of particular regions and countries which follow.

#### 4. **Regional programmes: Support for the Bali Democracy Forum**

##### *Context*

The Bali Democracy Forum is an initiative launched by Indonesia on 10-11 December 2008 aiming at the promotion of regional international cooperation in the field of democracy and political development amongst countries in Asia. It is intended to provide a forum for countries of Asia to share their experiences and best practices in fostering democracy, to contribute to the pursuit of the democratic ideals through dialogue and practical cooperation, to promote regional and international cooperation in the field of democracy and to strengthen democratic institutions at the national level. The Forum is both for democracies and for countries aspiring to democracy: it intends to be inclusive rather than to put countries in a defensive position, and to learn from successes and failures in Asia and worldwide.

The stated objectives of the Bali Democracy Forum are:

- To establish a regional cooperation forum that promotes political development, through dialogue and sharing of experience, aiming at strengthening democratic institutions.
- To initiate a learning and sharing process among countries in Asia as a strategy towards the maintenance of peace, stability, and prosperity in the region and beyond.

- To initiate and build a platform for mutual support and cooperation in the field of democracy and political development.
- To establish a working institution which functions as a resource base and information centre for research and study as well as a pool of expertise in the various sectors relevant to democracy.

To support the activities of the Forum, the Government of Indonesia has established the Institute for Peace and Democracy (IPD) at Udayana University, Bali. IPD is planning a programme of workshops and seminars, capacity development, networks and publications in the areas of:

- The political practice of democratic transition, the quality of democracy in Asia, and democracy assessment;
- Democratic Culture in Asia: this would reengage with the unresolved although recently dormant issue of whether there is a distinct 'Asian way of democracy', addressing the form of democracy in individualistic and collective societies and emphasising the role of education; and
- Democratic institutional frameworks and their relation to policy planning, implementation and oversight.

Existing support to IPD includes a joint plan of assistance established by the Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI) supported by AusAID, and support from Norway for (a) a pilot project to share experiences with representatives of governments in Asia which can benefit from Indonesia's knowledge of democratic transition and reform, and (b) a regional seminar for sharing Indonesian and Norwegian experiences in conflict resolution. The definition of support from the Netherlands is also under consideration.

#### *Possible programme objectives*

IDEA's strategy and capabilities are strongly in line with the objectives of the Forum. IDEA is developing a partnership to support the Forum/IPD in realising these

objectives by bringing experience and lessons learnt from existing IDEA programmes to further enrich IPD's initial programmes laid out above, making a particular contribution through international knowledge and expertise drawn from IDEA's own resources and its partner networks. Initially, this would be likely to focus on practical experiences of institutional frameworks in transition, and on conflict and post-conflict issues. This contribution would especially emphasise comparative and South-South links.

A further contribution by IDEA would respond to IPD's request for support in institutional capacity building. IDEA's support would complement the staff training, library building and scholarship support to be provided under the joint plan of assistance established by CDI. It would in particular draw on IDEA's own experience and expertise to assist IPD to build its capacity in the areas of programme design and analysis, proposal writing, budgeting, implementation, reporting and internal evaluation, areas which will assume even greater importance as IPD moves towards establishment as a foundation in the longer term. IDEA would enable its own staff experts to work with IPD towards its objective to become an independent institution with knowledge, capacity and support to which Asian countries can turn.

## 5. **South Asia**

### ***Nepal***

#### *Context*

IDEA's work in Nepal dates back to 2004, initially anchored in the field of citizen assessment of democracy. Following the 2006 democracy movement and the peace agreement, IDEA's programme in Nepal supported local actors in the process of constitution building through the period of negotiation and preparation for elections to the Constituent Assembly (10 April 2008). IDEA is now supporting the CA members and committees through orientations and training, providing materials and background notes and supporting public participation to the constitution

building process. IDEA is giving particular emphasis to the gender perspective of the constitution building process, facilitating platforms for women CA members and professional and civil society groups to address the constitutional issues. In the current context of fragile coalition government, challenges posed to implementation of the peace agreement and a worsening law and order situation in many parts of the country, IDEA believes that flexibility in responding to demands is important, and is facilitating dialogues on contentious constitutional issues such as the system of governance, affirmative action and the role and future of the security sector.

The major challenges of the constitution building process in Nepal remain related to consensus building by stakeholders, assuring social inclusion in the constitution and other policies, managing the diversity of the country, and coming up with implementation mechanisms and independent monitoring institutions. While the constitution building process was scheduled to be completed in mid-2010, this deadline may not be met: and the adoption of the new constitution will not in itself be sufficient for the consolidation of democracy, as comparative experience elsewhere shows. Support to Nepalese stakeholders in addressing these challenges will continue to be relevant through the period of drafting and adopting implementing legislation and developing the practical working of the new agreements and institutions.

IDEA's current project, supported by Norway, runs until early 2010: it coordinates its work with UNDP and with other actors. The development of a continuation project has been welcomed by Nepalese stakeholders, to provide support throughout both the constitution building process itself and the subsequent period of drafting and adopting implementing legislation and developing the practical working of the new agreements and institutions. A three year project proposal is in the course of detailed design and will be submitted to Norway later in 2009.

In addition, Finland is supporting a project to develop inclusion, supporting comparative knowledge resources and dialogues around an integrated approach to accountability that addresses constitutional rights, institutions of judicial review, and the political legitimacy of the institutional framework.

The programme may in future consider addressing the development of political parties in Nepal.

### *Objectives of the programme*

#### *Constitution Building*

- To build capacity of key political actors in Nepal;
- To initiate dialogue among key political actors for building consensus on constitutional issues and in support of the peace process; and
- To support participatory and inclusive constitution making processes.

The project will reach out to marginalised groups by supporting initiatives to ensure a consultative constitution building process.

### *Expected results of the programme*

- Key stakeholders agree on realistic expectations and agendas for the Constituent Assembly, and those expectations are communicated to the public;
- Operational consensus building mechanisms amongst the political stakeholders over issues threatening the process are used;
- Mechanisms of participation and consultations with citizens on constitution making are agreed and implemented;
- Increased national capacity through access of key political actors, government and wider public to tools and information on comparative constitutional processes;
- Informed political decisions are made in Constituent Assembly over key political choices (including Head of State/government/legislature relationships, electoral system, federalism, devolution of power, gender equality, and monitoring and oversight mechanisms);

- Security institutions, especially policing, are discussed at various platforms in the context of democratic governance and federal structure; and
- Increased professionalism by the electoral management body when carrying out future elections.

*Description of expected outcomes*

*Support to the Constitution Building Process  
Phase 2:*

- In the process of detailed definition based on discussions with local stakeholders and partners and flowing from the expected results above.

*Supporting Constitution Building in Nepal:  
Implementation of Rights, Oversight and Accountability  
Mechanisms of the New Constitution*

- Increased national capacity to advance debates on the process of implementing constitutional reform processes and the possible definition and establishment of oversight and monitoring institutions;
- Increased understanding by CA members on implications of different definitions of the roles and relationships of the Head of State, the government and the legislature; and
- Improved understanding among the CA members (with a particular focus on the CA women's caucus) and other stakeholders (including political party policy makers) on necessary conditions for effective implementation of women's rights in terms of institutional arrangements.

*Capacity building for electoral administrators  
(to be carried out in partnership with the Election  
Commission of Nepal in collaboration with UNDP and  
IFES)*

- Improved comparative knowledge on electoral systems, electoral management design, and electoral dispute resolution among the Electoral Commission of Nepal and other political stakeholders through knowledge resource dissemination, technical advice and capacity development initiatives;

- Development and implementation of a comprehensive, effective and participatory post-election review process based on the electoral cycle; and
- Monitoring of potential electoral conflicts and violence using IDEA's Electoral Violence Early Warning and Response Management Tool.

## 6. **South East Asia**

### ***Regional Electoral Processes***

#### *Context*

South East Asia has been the venue of continuing electoral reform ever since the Cambodian elections in 1993. Although the countries in this region have highly diverse political and social characteristics, multilateral connections through ASEAN and direct bilateral relations between them have brought them closer together in this field.

IDEA is able to provide support in electoral processes, particularly on electoral systems, electoral management, electoral dispute resolution and participatory democracy issues. Electoral legislation, systems and frameworks are reviewed from time to time and IDEA's comparative knowledge enables identification of the implications of various systems. In addition, IDEA through its own resources and its global partner networks is able to support refinements of electoral institutional processes and the continuous professional development of electoral management bodies.

In partnership with the NAM Centre and the Australian Electoral Commission, IDEA held a capacity building workshop in Jakarta in March 2009 on electoral dispute resolution, drawing on comparative knowledge about elections and conflict from across the global South and in particular on the expertise of the Election Commission of India. This partnership with the NAM-CSSTC can bring together actors from other countries within South East Asia for dialogue and capacity building on electoral process issues, in particular electoral dispute resolution.



Considering IDEA works in partnerships globally, regionally and nationally, close coordination with UNDP, the AEC, the ECI and other electoral assistance providers will be ensured to avoid duplication and to maximise impact.

*Objectives and expected results of possible programmes*

- To link IDEA's knowledge resources and capacity building tools to UNDP Regional Centre Bangkok's expanding capacity to support electoral capacity building in the region, in particular to enhance content and dissemination coverage.
- IDEA and NAM Centre, if possible in collaboration with UNDP Regional Centre Bangkok, will organise a further workshop on Electoral Dispute Resolution at regional level, involving election authorities, political parties, election observer groups and civil society organisations as prelude and basis for country-specific assistance in accordance to needs. The same initiative can later be duplicated on other issues, such as electoral training, boundary delimitation, gender and elections, or the post-election phase.
- UNDP Thailand has been requested to assist the Election Commission of Thailand in an institutional strengthening programme. IDEA can provide technical assistance in accordance to the identified needs and in coordination with UNDP, IFES, the AEC and other electoral assistance providers. Assistance to other countries can also be provided based on requests and maximizing sharing of knowledge and experiences.
- An effective regional forum of electoral management bodies in South East and/or South Asia could be linked to similar forums in other parts of the world, enhancing South-South cooperation, peer exchanges and dissemination of knowledge/information among their members.

**Indonesia**

*Context*

It is now ten years since the beginning of *reformasi* in Indonesia, in the course of which the constitutional

framework has been amended to establish separation of powers and a presidential system, three general elections (now including direct election of the president) have been successfully held, and the largest ever single programme of decentralisation worldwide has been put in place. IDEA has significant in-house knowledge of the process of democratic change that has taken place in Indonesia, to which it contributed through programmes in the areas of women's participation, constitution building dialogue, and support to the establishment of the new elected regional chamber of the legislature.

The very substantial progress that has been made in democracy building in Indonesia since 1999 means that democracy builders need to beware the tendency to turn their attention to other arenas. Such a diversion may be seen as premature. A parallel may be drawn with Latin America, a region where democratic and institutional consolidation is seen as well in place, and general interest in democracy support has diminished – but where issues of democratic delivery and of institutional reform remain highly salient. IDEA's extensive regional programme in Latin America focuses on institutional challenges of political and electoral reform, the role of political parties in legislatures, the link between democracy and development, and on democracy and gender issues. As a consequence, IDEA is able to access a wide range of relevant comparative knowledge for the process of continuing democratic consolidation in Indonesia. Even more relevance is given by the common presidential framework of institutions in Latin America and Indonesia, on which IDEA is already engaged in drawing on comparative expertise through its 'Making Presidentialism Work' activity.

While there are still institution building challenges in Indonesia, the biggest issues now to be addressed lie in the fields of responsive and accountable development, sustainable and effective service delivery at all levels, and the reduction of corruption – including the role of money in politics. The continued devolution of powers from the central government to the regions through decentralisation and the introduction of local level

presidentialism through direct election of regional heads pose more intensive challenges to governance.

*Objectives and expected results of possible programmes*

Indonesia's 2009 legislative elections have shown that there are still areas – for example electoral registration and electoral dispute resolution – where there is a considerable amount still to be done to develop fully robust electoral processes. IDEA's global work in pioneering the electoral cycle approach is relevant to Indonesia's continuing review of its electoral framework across the full electoral cycle, addressing the planning and sequencing of the entire electoral process rather than potential improvements to specific activities within the process. IDEA does not seek to undertake large scale electoral training or capacity building programmes in Indonesia, for which IDEA partners such as the Australian Electoral Commission are often better suited: IDEA's work in the electoral processes field would be coordinated with that of the AEC and of UNDP.

Initial needs assessment could bear in mind the following:

*Electoral Processes*

- To promote dialogue on a future agenda for political and electoral reform using the electoral cycle approach developed by IDEA and partners, considering a particular focus to the process for identification and training of KPU members; and
- To further increase knowledge and capacity on electoral matters across Indonesia through customisation, translation into Bahasa Indonesia and dissemination of IDEA knowledge resources, particularly in the electoral field.

**Timor Leste**

*Context*

Since independence in 2002, Timor Leste has seen all significant political parties accepting the constitution,

has conducted regular elections twice so far, has seen a change in political power, and has established freedom of expression and of association. Women's representation in parliament at 29% is very close to reaching a critical mass. However, the establishment of an effective and accountable state has been slow; inadequate education, unemployment, lack of economic opportunity, outbreaks of violent conflict, and unresolved divisions and rivalries among the elites have been among the causes hindering the progress both of development and of democratic consolidation. While there have been and are many programmes and proposals for support in the areas of democracy and good governance, they have not always been well coordinated or integrated with each other, and it is not always clear how they have responded to local needs.

Government institutions in all branches are still learning how to govern and bring order. Their capacity to conduct core functions, for example budgeting, is minimal. Discussion of a level of government intermediate between the national level and the village *suco* councils has been protracted, and there may be particular scope for citizen led assessment and imitative at this level.

While the Technical Secretariat for Election Administration (STAE) has growing capabilities on electoral issues, there may not be as much strength on the general management side, and there also appears to be a need to build strength at district level. Meanwhile, the Electoral Commission (CNE) appears to need to consolidate its working modalities and its relationship with STAE.

#### *Objectives and expected results of possible programmes*

In order to identify areas in which IDEA engagement would be of specific value, an initial needs assessment based on the principles of the SoD and SoLD methodologies will be essential. It would particularly bear in mind the following:

### *Electoral Processes*

- In light of the high potential of violent conflict, to prevent adverse effects of election-related conflicts through supporting the development of conflict management and dispute resolution mechanisms, linked to work in the same field regionally and Indonesia;
- To support the institutionalisation of effective and independent electoral administration throughout the electoral cycle by providing CNE and STAE with relevant comparative knowledge resources – for example through the customisation, translation into Portuguese, Bahasa Indonesia and/or Tetum and dissemination of IDEA knowledge resources - and promote peer exchanges with other electoral management bodies in the global South;

### *Political Representation*

- To support debate on participatory governance processes that enhance regional and local service delivery;
- To enable Timor Leste's experience on the transformation of rebel movements into political parties to inform IDEA's work in Nepal and potentially Sudan, leading towards global knowledge and policy outputs in this field.

## **7. The Pacific**

### ***Institutional Reform in Melanesia and the Pacific***

This programme would be developed over the medium to long term. A needs assessment would be the essential first step, the focus of which would include existing knowledge and understanding within Melanesian countries of institutional framework options and processes among those involved in institutional reform and democracy building processes within the region.

The programme could seek to identify the next generation of individual drivers of change in the region, and bring together new MPs and young leaders from the countries examined in addition to representatives of CSOs, the media, the University of the South Pacific (USP), the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG), and other stakeholders for dialogue on the comparative experience of Pacific countries on institutional framework and capacity building issues, informed also by other experiences in the global South. In designing and implementing such a programme, IDEA would not seek to act alone: an approach which identifies synergies and establishes partnerships with existing democracy support actors in Melanesia will be required, as will coordination with the Pacific Leadership Programme supported by AusAID. Such actors may include the Pacific Islands Forum; the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia (SSGM) programme at the Australian National University (ANU); the Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI); UNIFEM; USP; and UPNG. These dialogues may lead to the development of continuing networks among their participants: the Pacific Island, Australia and New Zealand Electoral Administrators' Network (PIANZEA), with which IDEA has been associated from its founding, provides an example of how such networks in the region can facilitate continuing contact, exchange of experiences and capacity building initiatives while not requiring the maintenance of large and formalised structures.

The programme could include initial research, dialogue around provisional results, and development of toolkit materials. Dialogue would complement and assist discussions by the Pacific Islands Forum around governance issues raised in the 'Pacific Plan'. The initial focus would relate particularly to the Melanesian countries (PNG, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Fiji). The dialogues and toolkits would draw upon IDEA's global comparative knowledge, methodologies and partnerships, including existing work on electoral and institutional frameworks, on political parties in divided societies, on democracy, conflict and security issues, and on citizen assessment of democracy.

*Possible outcomes:*

- Publications and toolkit materials, with an emphasis on visual and oral materials, informing local stakeholders in conducting debate aimed at building more sustainable political frameworks in Melanesia and the Pacific. The materials would be translated into major regional languages, including Pidgin, Bislama, Fijian and Fiji-Hindi;
- The toolkits are widely used by governments, political parties, educational institutions and others engaged in the democracy building process in the region;
- Both the participants in the political dialogue process and the contributing researchers at USP and UPNG would be enabled to make effective and informed contributions to institutional design processes in the region, increasing local ownership of these processes.

**Fiji**

a. Context

Since independence, Fiji has struggled to deliver legitimate and democratic government in a divided society. After the assumption of control by the military in December 2006 and its subsequent abrogation of the constitution, a period of increasingly authoritarian rule has continued to develop. The rule of law appears now to be neither accepted nor followed by the military. Alongside its predecessors, the institutional framework provided by the 1997 constitution was not enough on its own to bring stability.

b. Objectives and expected results of possible programmes

In a context where any acceptance of common ground for formal dialogue or process towards a return to the rule of law, constitutionality and democracy by the military regime appears highly unlikely in the short to medium term, an IDEA programme relating to Fiji will

need to maintain close collaboration with the Pacific Islands Forum and with the relevant agencies of the UN and the Commonwealth, and to be firmly anchored within the principle that any formal programme of dialogue which emerged would need to be inclusive, timebound, independently facilitated, and have no predetermined outcome. In this context, IDEA's specific contribution would be to offer support and knowledge resources to encourage civil society led dialogues inside or outside Fiji to explore routes towards a return to democracy in Fiji, and to make available in-house IDEA expertise in institutional framework design and post-conflict negotiation support and the practical experience of supporting transition of for example IDEA's Nepal programme. IDEA's global work on the design of electoral systems and institutions and of constitution building processes, and its joint work with CDI and the United Nations University on political parties in conflict prone societies, would be of particular value.