Reproduced from Institutional Engineering and Political Accountability in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Individual articles are available at http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>

INDEX

AFP. See Armed Forces of the Abad, Florencio "Butch", 108, 208 Philippines (AFP) Abdullah, Ismeth, 148 Akbar, Patrialis, 198 Abinales, Patricio, 208 AMIN. See Anak Mindanao (AMIN) accountability, 17-22 Ampatuan, Andal, 163 autonomous institutions of, 66 Ampatuan Massacre in November degree of, 237, 243-44 2009, 119 description of, 22-23 Ampatuan, Zaldy, 168 dimensions of, 241 Anak Mindanao (AMIN), 167 electoral. See electoral accountability Anglo-American phenomenon, 22 fundamental aspects of, 25 answerability, 25, 26, 58-59 horizontal. See horizontal Anti-corruption Law of 1999, 189 accountability anti-corruption laws, 184 institutional mechanisms of, 31 Anti-Money Laundering Office, 189 anti-Thaksin press conferences, 186 mechanisms of, 23-24, 243 principal-agent models limits, "Anupong-style coup d'état", 183 23 - 29Aquino, Corazon, 104, 114, 122 quality of democracy, 235-38 Aquino, Noynoy, 112, 123, 161, 168, regime, elements of, 27 206, 213-16 typologies for subtypes of, 27 Argentina, national politics, 49-50 vertical. See vertical accountability Arifin, Nurul, 97 Armed Forces of the Philippines accountable political system, 244 Acehnese political parties, 153 (AFP), 167 Acehnese separatist movement, 153 ARMM. See Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) Aceh peace agreement, 153 Arroyo, Juan Miguel, 111 Aceh, province of, 229 actor-centred institutionalist approach, Article 6A of the Constitution, 90 Article 6A of the Indonesian Adiong, Ansaruddin, 168 Constitution, 90 Administrative Order 372, 160 Article 7B of the Indonesian administrative reforms, 100 Constitution, 198

Article 24c of the Indonesian	Blue Ribbon Committee of the
Constitution, 197	Senate, 211
Article 214 of Law No. 10/2008, 97	Boediono, 194, 198
Asian Development Bank, 200	Boondech, Prasobsook, 84
Asian Economic Crisis of 1997/98,	Boonyakalin, Sonthi, 76
70	Bovens, Mark, 24, 27
Aspinall, Ed, 148	BPK. See Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan
Asrin, Hartind, 99	(BPK)
authoritarian era, 89, 114	Brillantes, Sixto, Jr., 112
authoritarian rule, 3, 7, 17, 39, 42,	broader political system, 128
45, 55, 89, 127, 141, 151, 157,	budgetary independence, 228
190	budget negotiation process in the
automated counting machines,	Philippines, 205
120–22, 224	
autonomous institutions, of	C
accountability, 54, 66	Career Executive Service Officers
Autonomous Region of Muslim	(CESOs), 207–8
Mindanao (ARMM), 157, 166,	Carothers, Thomas, 56
167	Carpio, Antonio, 216
	Carpio-Morales, Conchita, 213
B	case studies, methodology and
Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan (BPK),	selection of, 6–9
199, 200, 202	CDA. See Constitution Drafting
Bag-ao, Arlene "Kaka", 206	Assembly (CDA)
Bakrie, Aburizal, 193, 194	CDC. See Constitution Drafting
balkanization of Indonesia, 152, 153	Committee (CDC)
ballot paper, 120-22	Central Bank of Indonesia, 199
Bangkok Metropolitan Administration,	centralization, 42, 53
128, 131	CESOs. See Career Executive Service
Bangsamoro political entity, 168,	Officers (CESOs)
230	Chaisang, Chaturon, 79, 88, 183,
Bank Century Scandal, 194, 195,	187, 189
198	Chanweerakul, Chaovarat, 131
barangays, 158	chao-poh, 129
Basic Law (Grundgesetz), 13	checks and balances, 28, 29
Bedol, Lintang, 121	Chidchob, Newin, 182
bicameralism, 22, 196	Choonhavan, Kraisak, 88, 135
"big bang"	Civil Service Commission (CSC), 207
decentralization process, 157	216
regulations, 230	civil service policy, 208
solution, 140	civil society groups, 200, 243
Bill of Rights, 13	civil society organizations, 48, 109,
Binay, Jejomar, 107, 109	146, 157, 161
1.21	-,,

closed-list proportional election Constitutional Courts, 75, 94, 97, system, 39, 95, 96 146, 185–87, 189, 190, 197, CNS. See Council of National Security 198, 224, 226, 229, 234 (CNS) of Indonesia, 227, 233 COA. See Commission on Audit in Thailand, 233 (COA) constitutional draft, 70, 76 COMELEC. See Commission on Constitutional Drafting Assembly, Elections (COMELEC) Commission on Audit (COA), 216 constitutional reforms, 223, 243 Commission on Elections Constitution Drafting Assembly (COMELEC), 112, 161, 216, (CDA), 76, 181 217 Constitution Drafting Committee Committee on Accountability of (CDC), 181 Public Officers and Investigation, Constitution of 2007, Section 72 of, 211 Communist Party of Indonesia, 197 Constitution of 1987, the Philippines, Compensation Bill, 203 compliance-based model, 26 "constructive vote of no confidence", Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program, 213 Consumer's Protection Organization, Congress, 105, 107, 108, 111, 112, 119, 123, 124, 157, 169, 204, Corona, Renato, 206, 213, 234 205, 227, 232 corruption, 51, 224, 239 bicameral, 202 Corruption Eradication Commission, members of, 115, 116 national government and, 167 Council of National Security (CNS), "congressional initiative allocation", 170 coup d'état in 2006, 137 congressional positions in the Croissant, Aurel, 186 Philippines, 165 CSC. See Civil Service Commission consensus decision-making, rule of, (CSC) cultural marginalization, 166 consensus democracy, 36, 86, 181, custodial democracy, 238 235, 236 vs. majoritarian democracy, 21-22 consensus model of democracy, 35 Dahl, Robert, 18-20, 30, 67n4 consensus-oriented procedure, 191 Damapong, Priewpan, 180 consensus-style democracy, 242, 244 dana alokasi umum (DAU), 143 "conservative brake", informal function of, 184 dana aspirasi, 155 DBM. See Department of Budget and consolidation period, 3 of democratization processes, 38 Management (DBM) debates on election system, 98-99 constitutional amendments, 4, 221

decentralization, 128, 129, 132, 134,	defined as, 17
138, 140, 153, 154, 157, 159,	problems of, 56
163, 173	democratic decentralization, 47
in Indonesia, 142	democratic electoral rules, 41
principles of, 137	democratic electoral system,
in Thailand, 133, 139	institutionalization of, 224
Decentralization Act of 1999, 129,	Democratic Party (DP), 74, 91, 92,
130	98, 194
decentralization approaches, 41-42	democratic political parties, 37
decentralization processes, 42-45, 47,	democratic political systems, 1, 27
49, 127, 141, 152	democratization processes, 2, 17, 18,
and democratization, 51-52	23–24, 139, 156, 220, 237,
and ethnic/religious minorities,	241–43
50–51	consolidation period of, 38
institutional structure of, 49	decentralization and, 51-52
in the Philippines, 169, 171, 230,	development of, 19, 40
231	dimension of accountability on,
of roles and responsibilities, 46	28–29
in Thailand, 230, 231	electoral accountability, 39–41
decentralization programme, 141	development in, 36
decentralization reforms, 45	electoral reforms and, 39–41
effects of, 229	in Thailand, 223
decision-making processes, 17, 243	theories on, 18
deconcentration, 41–42	third wave of, 1
defective democracies, 56	Democrat Party (DP), 75, 77, 81,
delegative democracies, 56, 57	131–37, 179, 182, 183, 187,
democracy, 16, 222	189, 192, 195, 225
accountability and, 25	Democrats, 183, 233
analysis of, 48	Department of Budget and
criteria for, 18–20	Management (DBM), 204 Department of Interior and Local
development of, 7–9	Government (DILG), 158
in Indonesia, 229	de Tocqueville, Alexis, 42
legitimacy of, 40, 46	devolution, 42, 43, 45, 48, 50
national-local relations impact on,	devolution programme, 158
51–53	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD),
political institutions impact on, 9	195–96
procedural quality of, 20	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (DPR), 89,
quality of, 16–20, 23, 44, 47, 57,	155, 221, 232
161, 235–38	Standing Orders, 192
rules of, 19	Diamond, Larry, 9, 19–21, 236
in Thailand, 229	DILG. See Department of Interior and
democratic consolidation	Local Government (DILG)

Diokno, Ben, 207	electoral reforms and
Diokno, Benjamin, 204	democratization, 39-41
Diskul, Panadda, 131	electoral systems, 33-36
diverse civil society organizations,	Indonesia
146	debates on majority election
"dominant-power politics", 56	system, 98–99
DP. See Democrat Party (DP)	national elections in general,
DPD. See Dewan Perwakilan Daerah	88–89
(DPD)	open party lists, 95–98
DPR. See Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat	parliamentary elections, 92–95
(DPR)	parties and function in the
DPRD, 145, 146	political system, 101–3
Drilon, Franklin, 210–11	presidential elections, 89–92
Dutch colonial rule, 150, 151	restrictions, 99–101
Duterte, Rodrigo, 163	for parliamentary elections, 221
5 7	parties and party systems, 36–39
E	Philippines
economic crisis of 1997/98, 71	ballot paper and automated
economic development in Java, 152	counting machines, 120–22
economic fragility, Thailand, 71	clan/family dominance, 115–17
economic resources, 152, 196	House of Representatives, 107–9
distribution of, 151	parties and function in political
ECT. See Election Commission of	system, 122–24
Thailand (ECT)	party lists, 109–12
effective institutional reform, 223	presidential elections, 103–6
election commission, 82, 105, 176,	Senate, 113–15
224	synchronized elections, 119-20
Election Commission of Thailand	vice-president, 106–7
(ECT), 77	vote-buying/manipulations,
election laws, 40, 91, 92, 94, 95, 190	117–19
elections, 29, 31, 32	political parties for, 225
defined as, 33	reforms on, 220–27
democratic quality of, 30	restrictions on, 99–101
and electoral accountability, 58	Thailand
function of, 33	electoral rules in 2007
in the Philippines, 224	Constitution, 76–82
election systems	electoral system of 2001
closed-list proportional, 39	elections, 71–75
of 1997 Constitution, 73	military coup, 75–76
debates on, 98-99	1997 Constitution, 69–71
electoral accountability, 27–28, 73, 84,	political parties and party system
106, 226, 235, 241	86–88
description, 29-32	Senate elections, 83–85

electoral fraud in the Philippines, 121	Federal States of Indonesia, 151
electoral laws	feudal-bureaucratic order, 189
preference of, 35	feudal political culture, 164
reinterpretation of, 226	feudal system, 164
electoral reforms, 40–41, 73	Filipino legislators, 205
and democratization, 39-41	financial accounting, 22
electoral accountability, 39-41	first-past-the-post election systems,
in Indonesia and Thailand, 241	35
electoral rules in 2007 Constitution,	of Thailand and the Philippines,
Thailand, 76–82	231
electoral systems, 28	
electoral accountability, 33–36	fiscal equalization mechanism, 46
in the Philippines, 220	floating mass policy, 139
of 2001 elections, Thailand,	formal accountability mechanisms,
71–75	239
in young democracies, 40	formula-based block grants, 159
	founding elections, 3, 39
electoral violence, cases of, 224	Framework Agreement on the
enforcement, 25, 26, 48, 49, 61	Bangsamoro, 168
Environmental Conservation	Freedom House Index, 8, 9, 67n3
Organization, 189	Friends of Newin, 182, 183, 225,
Escresa, Laarni, 212	226
Estrada, Joseph, 106, 114, 122–23,	Full Disclosure Policy, 172
217	fund-raising mechanisms, 46
ethnic conflicts, 53, 127, 150–53,	8
229, 230	G
European political systems, 21	Garoupa, Nuno, 212
executive-legislative cooperation,	Gascon, Jose Luis "Chito", 209
209–10	
executive-legislative relations, 176,	Geertz, Clifford, 4
232, 233	General Appropriations Bill, 203,
horizontal accountability, 58-61	204
Indonesia, 190–95	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), 153
the Philippines, 202–5	German development cooperation
Thailand, 176–81	agency, 7
executive-legislative relations in	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (GMA),
Indonesia, 195	104, 204, 208, 210
	Golkar party, 93, 155, 194
F	government watchdog organizations,
"feckless pluralism", 56	234
federalism, 22, 28, 141, 151	GTZ, 7, 159
federal political system, 172	Guiao, Joseller "Yeng", 161
Federal Republic of Germany, Basic	Gunawan, Iwan, 156
Law, 13	Gutierrez, Merceditas, 206
-=, =-	

Н	presidential appointments, 207–8
Habibie, B.J., 89, 139-40	Senate, 210–11
Habibie government, 230	reforms on, 232-35, 242
Hagedorn, Edward S., 161	Thailand
half-hearted decentralization process in	executive-legislative relations,
Thailand, 230	176–81
Hanura Party, 91	independent oversight
Hataman, Mujiv, 115, 167, 168	organizations, 189–90
HCA. See House Committee on	judiciary, 185–89
Appropriations (HCA)	parliamentary powers after 2007,
"Hello Garci", 216	181–84
scandal, 104-5, 211, 224	Thai Senate, 184–85
Hewison, Kevin, 225	House Committee on Appropriations
Holmes, Ronald "Ronnie", 216	(HCA), 204
horizontal accountability, 28, 29	House of Representatives, 71, 75, 77,
actions of, 55	79, 81, 83–86, 110, 111, 116,
control by jurisdiction, 61–64	118–20, 122–24, 163, 167,
delegative democracies, 56	169–70, 179, 181–84, 188, 189,
description of, 53–54	198, 202–4, 206, 209–11, 214,
dimension of, 20	221–22, 226, 227, 230, 232–33
effectiveness of, 55	dominant coalition majority in,
and electoral accountability, 31	177
elements of, 54	law-makers in, 226
executive-legislative relations,	members of, 138
58–61	the Philippines, 107–9
independent state agencies, 64-67	human rights, 99
Indonesia	protection of, 99, 153
DPD, 195–96	violations, 16, 19, 23, 51, 163
executive-legislative relations, 190–95	Husin, Saleh, 91
independent oversight	I
organizations, 199–202	illegal economic activities, 161
judiciary, 196–99	incumbency effect, 109
limits, reduction of, 57	independent accountability
Philippines	organizations, 64–66, 199, 200
executive-legislative cooperation,	independent audit institutions, 65
209–10	independent government watchdog
executive-legislative relations,	organizations, 234, 242
202–5	independent judiciary, 19, 177
independent watchdog	independent monitoring agencies, 190
organizations, 216–17	independent oversight organizations
judiciary, 212–16	Indonesia, 199–202
pork barrel, 205-6	Thailand, 189-90

independent state agencies, 64-67	political systems in, 8, 239
independent watchdog organizations,	parties and function in, 101-3
176, 177, 188	presidential systems of, 232
the Philippines, 216–17	re-election in, 220
individual actor behaviour, analysis	reformasi period, 237
of, 10	reforms concerning democracy,
individual legislators, dependence of,	145–49
223	Indonesian anti-corruption
Indonesia, 139–42	commission, 234
Constitutional Courts in, 233	Indonesian citizenship, concept of,
decision-makers in, 227	151
democracy in, 229, 242	Indonesian Communist Party, 99
democratic development in, 8, 9	Indonesian Constitutional Court, 101,
democratic stability, 235	224, 234
Dewan Perwakilan Daerah in,	Indonesian decision-makers, 243
195–96, 233	Indonesian democracy, 193
electoral accountability in, 41	Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle
debates on majority election	(PDI-P), 193
system, 98–99	Indonesian DPR, 233
national elections in general,	Indonesian legislature, 193
88–89	Indonesian model of local autonomy,
open party lists, 95–98	141
parliamentary elections, 92–95	Indonesian parliament, 198
parties and function in political	composition of, 222
system, 101–3	Indonesian party politics, 194
presidential elections, 89–92	Indonesian presidential elections, 90
restrictions on, 99–101	Indonesian provinces, 195
electoral reforms in, 241	Indonesian "rainbow coalitions", 193
ethnic conflicts, 150-53	Indonesian-style reforms, 229
executive-legislative relations,	Indonesian supreme audit agency,
190–95	201
far-reaching autonomy in, 242	Indonesian Supreme Court, 197
independent oversight organizations,	Indrawati, Mulyani, 194
199–202	influence national politics, 231
interaction between centre and local	informal practices, accountability, 20
levels, 154–57	institutional continuity, 13
interviews in, 7	institutional engineering, 9–10
judiciary, 196–99	change and democratization, 15–17
Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi in,	consequences of
242	electoral accountability, reforms
level of autonomy, 142–45	on, 220–27
literature on politics, 6	horizontal accountability, reforms
political process in, 225	on, 232–35

limits of, 238-40	Islamic law, implementation of, 155
quality of democracy, 235-38	Ismeth, Aida, 148
vertical accountability, reforms	
on, 228–31	J
electoral system design, 33	Java, economic development in, 152
persistance and change, 11-15	Javanese constituents, domination of,
process tracing, 10–11	195
"institutional financial corruption", 205	Javanese-dominated, uniform policies, 151
institutional framework, reforms of, 244	JBC. See Judicial and Bar Council (JBC)
institutional innovation, 13	Joint Resolution No. 10/2008, 160
institutionalization of local level participation, 49	Judicial and Bar Council (JBC), 207, 212
institutionalized party system, 226	judicial impartiality, lack of, 242
institutional mechanisms of	judicial independence, 62, 63
accountability, 31	judiciary
institutional reforms, 12, 14-17, 21,	horizontal accountability control by
40, 222–24, 235, 238, 241,	61–64
243	Indonesia, 196–99
analysis of, 11	the Philippines, 212–16
effects of, 244	Thailand, 185–89
impact of, 6, 28-29	
vertical accountability, 42	K
institutional stability, 12, 14	Kalla, Yusuf, 193
institutions	Kasuya, Yuko, 123
change and democratization,	Kenya, presidential election in, 100
15–17	Klampaiboon, Ong-art, 75, 132, 183
defined as, 10	Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK),
persistance and change, 11–15	199, 200, 234
interdisciplinary approach, 4	Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU), 92
inter-institutional accountability, degree of, 244	KPK. See Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK)
internal revenue allotment (IRAs),	KPU. See Komisi Pemilihan Umum
160	(KPU)
international donor community, 136	Kuldilok, Chatt, 184
International Organisation of Supreme	
Audit Institutions (INTOSAI),	L
200	Lacierda, Edwin, 208
intra-party factionalism, 177	Laksono, Agung, 97
IRAs. See internal revenue allotment (IRAs)	LAOs. See local administrative organizations (LAOs)
Islamic forces, 135	laporan pertanggungjawaban, 145

law (UU 12/2003), 90, 96, 99 law-making process, 202 Law No. 10/2008, 91–94, 96 Article 214 of, 97 Law No. 33/2004 on Fiscal Balance, 142 Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Administration, 142 Law on the Constitutional Court, 197 LEDAC. See Legislative-Executive Development Advisory Council (LEDAC) legislative competencies, the	Local Governance Watch, 172 Local Government Code, 157, 159–61, 172, 231 local governments in Thailand, revenues of, 130 local government units (LGUs), 157, 159–61, 172, 209 Local Infrastructure Funds, 155 local legislation, 228 local people initiatives, 161 local politicians, 50 local regulation, 154 Luisita, Hacienda, 213
Philippines, 228	
Legislative-Executive Development	M
Advisory Council (LEDAC), 209	Macapagal-Arroyo, Gloria, 111,
legislative influence on government, 178	174n33, 210 Machiavelli, Niccolò, 14–15
legislative supervisory mechanisms, 59	Madison, James, 30
legislatures, 58	Magno, Francisco, 116, 160, 163,
functions of, 60	164
instruments for, 59	Magtolis-Briones, Leonor, 204
removal of government, 60	Mahfud, Mohammed, 94, 197
LGPMS. See Local Governance	Mahkamah Agung, 196
Performance Management System	Mahkamah Konstitusi, 146, 196
(LGPMS)	Mainwaring, Scott, 23, 27
LGUs. See local government units	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat
(LGUs)	(MPR), 89, 198
Libarios, Roan, 215	majoritarian democracy, 36, 225
liberal democracy, 19, 28, 30, 31	vs. consensus democracy, 21-22
horizontal accountability in, 54	Marcos dictatorship, 203
Liberal Party, 123	Marcos, Ferdinand, 103, 113
"life cycle" for independent agencies,	McCargo, Duncan, 135
234	Medalla, Felipe, 207
Lijphart, Arend, 21	Meepien, Teeradej, 84
Lijphart's model of majoritarian	Memorandum of Agreement on
systems, 35	Ancestral Domain, 167
local administrative organizations (LAOs), 138	Mendoza, Raji, 161 micro-nationalism, 140
revenues of, 130	"midnight appointments", 208
Local Governance Performance	MILF. See Moro Islamic Liberation
Management System (LGPMS),	Front (MILF)
172	military coup, 83

decentralization reforms implementation, 137 of General Soeharto, 99	National Counter Corruption Commission (NCCC), 184, 186, 189
judiciary powers, 186	national development planning
in Thailand, 2, 75–76, 127	conference, 156
in 2006, 2, 240	national election commissions, 185,
2007 Constitution, 185, 223, 232	190, 224, 234
military-led CNS, 77	national elections in Indonesia,
Mill's methods of comparison, 11	88–89
Ministry of Interior (MoI), 131, 190	National Electrification
"minor formal offences", 186	Administration, 208
Mitra, Abraham "Baham", 162	national governments in Thailand,
MNLF. See Moro National Liberation	revenues of, 130
Front (MNLF)	National House of Representatives,
MoI. See Ministry of Interior (MoI)	164
money politics, 224, 226	National Human Rights Commission,
Moro, 166	189, 216
Moro Islamic Liberation Front	Nationalist Party, 123
(MILF), 167	national legislators, role of, 156
Moro National Liberation Front	national-local relations, transformation
(MNLF), 167	of, 51–53
MPR. See Majelis Permusyawaratan	national parliament, 199
Rakyat (MPR)	national parliamentary elections, 223
mufakat, 192, 195	National Planning and Development
multi-party system, 195	Board, 154
Muslim community, 150, 166	National Planning Board, 144
Muslim Mindanao, 168	national political decision-making
Muslim minorities, 115, 166, 230	process, 170
Muslim population in Southern	National Reconciliation Commission,
Thailand, 136	135
Mustopa, Saan, 98	National United Front of Democracy
musyawarah, 192, 195	Against Dictatorship, 79
musyawarah-mufakat practice, 237	Navotas Representative Tobias
	Tiangco, 206
N	NCCC. See National Counter
National Assembly, 76	Corruption Commission
members of, 70	(NCCC)
national budget, 191	Nelson, Michael H., 79, 177
component of, 205	neo-institutionalism, 10
implementation of, 205	Neutral Democratic Party (Phak
of the Philippines, 116	Matchima), 187
National Corruption Eradication	New Aspiration Party, 179
Commission, 155	New Order, 139, 151, 152

New Politics Party, in 2009, 88	parliamentary systems of government,
NGOs. <i>See</i> non-governmental	32, 33, 36, 60–62, 182, 225
organizations (NGOs)	prime ministers in, 37
1987 Constitution, 119	of Thailand, 232
Article X, Section 1 of, 166	parliament, plurality voting system
Article X, Section 3 of, 157	for, 37
drafters of, 103, 106, 108	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), 93
the Philippines, 238	parties and party systems, electoral
1997 Constitution of Thailand,	accountability, 36–39
128, 137, 138, 176, 179, 180,	party-list election system, the
184–86, 188, 189, 223, 224,	Philippines, 109–12
232, 233	party-list system, 222
drafters of, 177	patron-client relationships, 117, 164
electoral accountability dimension, 69–71	PDAF. See Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF)
Nogsuan, Siripan, 72, 180	peace agreements, 153, 167
non-fragmented party system, 61	Peace Negotiating Panel, 167
non-governmental organizations	Pemekaran, 144
(NGOs), 161	People Power Revolution, 1, 104
nuisance candidates, 121	People's Assembly, 89
·	People's Constitution, 70
0	in 1997, Thailand, 3
open-list system, 226	People's Consultative Assembly, 89
open party lists, Indonesia, 95–98	People's Power Party (PPP), 78, 183, 187
P	government, 181, 182
PAGC. See Presidential Anti-Graft	performance accountability of
Commission (PAGC)	legislators, 156
Pampanga province, 160	persetujuan bersama, 191
Pancasila, 174n22, 192	Phakdithanakun, Charan, 75
Pancasila ideology, 151	phakphuak, 138
Panlilio, Eddie, 160, 161	Pheu Thai Party, 80, 88, 137, 182, 183
Panyarachun, Anand, 135	Philippine Congress, 107, 210
Paochinda, Anupong, 183	Philippine Congressman, 203
parliamentarian systems, 36–37	Philippine Constitution, 106, 158,
parliamentary elections	202, 207, 213, 216
electoral accountability for, 221	Philippine elections, 224
electoral rules for, 35	Philippine executive-legislative
Indonesia, 92–95	relationship, 205
parliamentary investigation committee,	Philippine House of Representatives,
194	232, 233
parliamentary powers after 2007, 181–84	Philippine National Oil Company, 208

Philippine political system, 204	pork barrel, 205–6
Philippine presidential elections, 221	presidential appointments, 207–8
Philippines	presidential systems of, 232
decentralization and conflict	reforms, 171–73
containment, 166-69	Senate, 210–11
democracy at local level, 161–66	Thailand and, 221-22
democracy in, 242	Philippine Senate, 113, 115, 233
democratic development in, 8, 9	Philippine Supreme Court, 167, 212
democratic stability, 235, 236	philippinization of electoral
elections in, 224	accountability, 98
electoral accountability in, 41	Pimentel, Aquilino "Nene", 211
ballot paper and automated	PKS. See Partai Keadilan Sejahtera
counting machines,	(PKS)
120–22	pluralism, progressive forces of, 70
clan/family dominance, 115-17	pluralistic party system, 195
House of Representatives,	plurality election systems, 33-36, 71,
107–9	98, 107, 225
parties and function in political	plurality systems
system, 122–24	in the Philippines, 227
party lists, 109-12	in Thailand, 226–27
presidential elections, 103–6	plurality voting system, for parliament,
Senate, 113–15	37
synchronized elections, 119–20	Poe, Fernando, Jr., 104
vice-president, 106–7	Pohan, Aulia, 199
vote-buying/manipulations,	policy-making accountability, 21
117–19	political accountability, 19, 20, 244
electoral system in, 220	mechanism of, 26
executive-legislative cooperation,	political butterflies, 123
209–10	political cronyism, 139
executive-legislative relations,	political decision-makers, 227, 241
202–5	political decision-making processes,
first-past-the-post election systems	16, 61, 156, 196
of, 231	decentralization of, 145
independent watchdog	in Indonesia, 192
organizations, 216–17	power-sharing in, 43
interactions between central and	processes of, 17
local levels of government,	political gangsterism, effectiveness of,
169–71	224
interviews in, 7	political institutions
judiciary, 212–16	reform of, 16
legal framework, 157–61	restructuring of, 19
literature on politics, 6	political liberties, 30
political systems in, 8	political marginalization, 166

political parties	presidential candidates, nomination
intermediary function of, 37	process for, 221
at national level, 38	presidential elections
and party system, Thailand, 86-88	in Indonesia, 89–92
prohibition of, 64	in Kenya, 100
Political Party Development Act, 124	in the Philippines, 103–6
Political Party Development Fund,	presidentialism, 37
133	presidential systems of government,
political reforms, assessment of, 15	32, 37, 56, 60, 61, 64, 225
Political Science and Southeast Asian	characteristic of, 192
Studies, 4	of Indonesia and the Philippines,
political self-interest, 15	71, 232
political stability, 18	Princesa, Puerto, 161
political systems, 10	principal-agent models, 23-29
American vs. French, 42–43	Priority Development Assistance Fund
democratic, 27	(PDAF), 170, 205
quality of, 23	pro-Aquino senators, 211
divergence of, 43	procedural quality, criteria of, 20
European, 21	process tracing method, 10–11
Indonesia, parties and function in,	pro-government legislators, 233
101–3	pro-government parties, 194
qualitative features evaluation of,	progressive forces of pluralism, 70
47	Prokati, Kittisak, 187
in Southeast Asia, 26	proportional election systems, 33-36,
transformation of, 244	223, 225, 227, 235
of UK, 21	of national parliament, 192
voting system in, 35	proportional voting systems, 35
politics, parties role in, 36	public funds, use of, 23
pork-barrel fund, 170	Putin, Vladimir, 53
pork barrel system, 116, 205–6	
of the Philippines, 156	Q
scandal, in the Philippines, 2	"quality democracy", 244
schemes, 156	quasi-monopolistic fashion, 164
Powell, Bingham, 12	
power-sharing democracy in Indonesia,	R
195	"rainbow coalitions", 192
PPP. See People's Power Party (PPP)	in Indonesia, 195
Prabowo, Subianto, 103	Ramos administration, 160
"pre-eminent central power", 169	Ramos, Fidel, 104, 122, 209
Presidential Anti-Graft Commission	Rasyid, Ryaas, 140, 142, 157
(PAGC), 216	re-centralization processes, 53
presidential appointments in the	"red cards", 190
Philippines, 207–8	red-shirt camp, 183

red-shirt movement, 79	SBY. See Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono
reformers, 14, 15	(SBY)
reforms	Section 68 and 237 of the 2007
decentralization, 45	Constitution, 187
in democratic conditions	Section 3 of the 1987 Constitution,
improvement, 17	157
of electoral system, 40	Section 18 of the Constitution, 207
institutions, 12	Section 158 of the 2007 Constitution,
political parties and party system,	181
36	Section 185 of the 1997 Constitution,
regional autonomy, 141, 196	179
regional government of ARM, 167	Section 285 of the 1997 Constitution, 129
regression, 18	Section 72 of the Constitution of
of democracy, 40	2007, 77
reincarnation party of banned TRT,	Section 3 of the Philippine
79	Constitution, 106
Republic Act No. 6734, 166	Section 15 of the Philippine
resistance movement, 135	Constitution, 213
restrictions on electoral accountability,	Sections 98–100 of the 1997
99–101	Constitution, 71
revolution in Thai politics, 70	secular camp, 102
Reyes, Renato M., 111	secular part of population, 102
Rivera, Temario C., 117	Senate elections, Thailand, 83–85
Robredo, Jesse, 172	Senate of the Philippines, 171, 210-11
Rocamora, Joel, 111, 123, 159,	Senators Selection Committee, 83,
169–70	188
Royal Thai Army Forces, 180	separatist groups, 167
Rüland, Jürgen, 110	Sereno, Maria Lourdes, 215
rule-of-law, 179, 180	Shinawatra, Chaiyasit, 180
rule of majority, 180	Shinawatra, Thaksin, 71, 72, 75, 78,
	88, 131, 135–37, 179, 186, 189,
S	226, 230, 237–38
SALN. See statement of assets,	Shinawatra, Yingluck, 80, 137, 184
liabilities, and net worth	Singson, Luis "Chavit", 164
(SALN)	Social Weather Stations, 166, 173
Salvador, Alma, 117, 159	social welfare department, 163, 164
sanctioning mechanism, 59	Socrates, Victorino Dennis M., 161
Sandiganbayan, 216, 217	Soeharto, 89, 99, 140, 147, 151
Sangguniang Panlalawigan, 157	Southeast Asia, 2
SARA issues, 151	Southeast Asian countries, democracy
Sayo, Bernadino, 209	development in, 7
Sayyaf, Abu, 168	Southeast Asian politics, 3

Southern Thailand	Constitutional Courts in, 233
conflict in, 134–36	custodial democracy, 238
Muslim population in, 136	decision-makers in, 227
statement of assets, liabilities, and net	democracy in, 1, 229
worth (SALN), 215	democratic development in, 8, 9
state of democracy, Indonesia, 242	democratic stability, 235, 236
straight proportional election, 222	economic fragility, 71
subnational institutions, impact of,	elections in, 224
241	electoral accountability in, 41
substantial institutional reforms, 229	electoral rules in 2007
suffrage, 30	Constitution, 76–82
Sukarnoputri, Megawati, 90, 91, 192	electoral system of 2001
Sultan Hamengkubuwono X, 149	elections, 71–75
Sumadi, Ahmad Fadlil, 94	military coup, 75–76
Sundaravej, Samak, 78, 79, 181, 182,	1997 Constitution, 69–71
187, 226	political parties and party system,
Supreme Audit Agency, 199, 200	86–88
Supreme Audit Institution, 200	Senate elections, 83–85
Supreme Court of the Philippines,	electoral reforms in, 241
233, 234	executive-legislative relations,
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY),	176–81
90, 102, 192–94, 199	first-past-the-post election systems
Suwanatat, Sukumpol, 184	of, 231
Т	independent oversight organizations,
Teepsuwan, Nataphol, 81, 84–85, 134	189–90
Teodoro, Gilberto, Jr., 105	institutional changes in, 240
Thabchumpon, Naruemon, 86, 131,	interviews in, 7
187, 188	judiciary, 185–89
Thaewanarumitkul, Prinya, 76	level of autonomy and quality of
Thai bicameral setting, 184	democracy, 130-34
Thai democracy, 75, 243	literature on politics, 6
Thai election system of 1997	parliamentary powers after 2007,
Constitution, 71	181–84
Thai electoral regulations, 69	and the Philippines, 221–22
Thai governments, 178	political parties in, 225, 226
Thai House of Representatives, 233	political systems in, 8
Thai judiciary, 188	Thai Senate, 184–85
Thailand, 127–29	Thai local politics, 133
centre and periphery interaction,	Thai Nation Party, 187
137–39	Thai Nation Party of Banharn Silpa-
conflict in Southern Thailand,	Archa, 179
134–36	Thai politicians, 128

Thai politics, 234	United States
characteristic of, 230	Clinton-Gore Administration in,
Thai Rak Thai (TRT) party, 72,	22
74–75, 82, 132–33, 137, 179,	presidential election system, 104
181, 183, 184, 187, 218n14,	presidential system of, 191
225–26	US based Freedom House Index, 8, 9
dominance of, 180	US Constitution, 13
electoral victories of, 222	
Thai Senate, 184–85	V
Thai society, 128, 137	Vatikiotis, Michael, 75
Thai subnational administrative	Vejjajiva, Abhisit, 79, 136, 182, 183
structures, 241	vertical accountability, 28, 29
Thai voters, 71, 73	decentralization and ethnic/religious
Thaksin government, 178	minorities, 50–51
Thaveechaiyagarn, Suthipon, 77	democratic quality, at local level,
theoretically-oriented case studies,	47–49
process-tracing method, 11	description of, 41-44
Thewanarumitkul, Parinya, 188	Indonesia, 139–42
"thick description", 4	centre and local levels interaction,
third wave of democratization, 1	154–57
traditional individual patronage	ethnic conflicts, 150–53
networks, 222	level of autonomy, 142–45
traditional politicians, 116	reforms concerning democracy,
TRT party. See Thai Rak Thai (TRT)	145–49
party	local influences, on national level,
2007 Constitution of Thailand, 129,	49–50
138, 180, 181, 183, 185, 223,	national influences, on local level,
224, 227, 232, 233, 235, 238, 241	45–47
drafters of, 189	national-local relations and
provisions of, 186	democracy, 51-53
questionable decision of, 188	Philippines
questionable decision of, 100	central and local levels of
U	government interactions,
unitary administrative system,	169–71
128–29	decentralization and conflict
unitary government framework, 158	containment, 166–69
unitary system of state, 151	democracy at local level, 161–66
United Front for Democracy Against	legal framework, 157–61
Dictatorship, 88, 131	reforms, 171–73
United Kingdom (UK)	re-centralization processes, 53
Thatcher Government in, 22	reforms on, 228–31
Westminster democracy in, 21	Thailand, 127-29

centre and periphery interaction, 137–39 conflict in Southern Thailand, 134–36 level of autonomy and quality of democracy, 130–34 vibrant civil society, 156 village fund scheme, 137 Vongtrirat, Boonjong, 131 voter intimidation, 224 voters in Thailand, 71 voting behaviour, 102 voting system, 35

W

Wahid, Abdurrahman, 90, 140, 192 Wahid, Salahuddin, 102 "wasteful and inefficient" organization, 216 Weimar Constitution, 13 Westminster democracy, 21 Widodo, Joko, 148 Wongsawat, Somchai, 79, 181, 182, 187 World Bank, 208

Y

"yellow cards", 190
Yingluck government, 184, 243
young democracies, 18
electoral systems in, 40
horizontal accountability in, 54
Youth Sector, 209
Yubamrung, Chalerm, 184
Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 91, 149,
156, 192, 195, 236
Yugoslav-type ethnic, 152

\mathbf{Z}

Zhongxing Telecommunication Equipment (ZTE), 216–17 Zimmermann, Ronja, 212