



# Institutional Engineering and Political Accountability in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines

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**Institutional Engineering  
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# ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Full Name	Translation/Explanation
ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia	Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia
AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines	
AMIN	Anak Mindanao	Name of a Party List Group in the Philippines
ARMM	Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao	
Bappenas	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional	National Planning Board (in Indonesia)
BPK	Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan	Supreme Audit Agency (in Indonesia)
CDC	Constitution Drafting Committee	In Thailand
CEO	Chief Executive Officer	
CNS	Council of National Security	In Thailand
COA	Commission on Audit	In the Philippines
CSC	Civil Service Commission	In the Philippines
DBM	Department of Budget and Management	In the Philippines

Abbreviation	Full Name	Translation/Explanation
DILG	Department of Interior and Local Government	In the Philippines
DP	Democrat Party (Phak Prachathipat)	In Thailand
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah	Regional Representative Council (in Indonesia)
DPID	Dana Penyesuaian Infrastruktur Daerah	Local Infrastructure Funds (in Indonesia)
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat	National parliament in Indonesia
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah	Local parliament in Indonesia
e.g.	exempli gratia	for example
ECT	Election Commission of Thailand	
Ed.	Editor	
et al.	et alii	and others
etc.	et cetera	
f.	folio	and following (page)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization	United Nations
ff.	foliis	and following (pages)
GAM	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka	Movement Free Aceh
GDP	Gross Domestic Product	
Gerindra	Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya	Great Indonesia Movement Party
GMA	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	President of the Philippines, 2001–10
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit	German Society for Technical Cooperation

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Full Name</b>	<b>Translation/Explanation</b>
Hanura	Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat	People's Conscience Party
HCA	House Committee on Appropriations	In the Philippines
i.e.	id est	that is
Ibid.	Ibidem	at the same place
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance	
INTOSAI	International Organisation of Supreme Audit Institutions	
IRA	Internal Revenue Allotment	In the Philippines
ISEAS	Institute of Southeast Asian Studies	In Singapore
JBC	Judicial and Bar Council	In the Philippines
Jr.	Junior	
KAMPI	Kabalikat ng Malayang Pilipino	Partner of the Free Filipino
KPK	Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi	Corruption Eradication Commission (in Indonesia)
KPU	Komisi Pemilihan Umum	National Election Commission in Indonesia
LAMP	Lapian ng Masang Pilipino	Organization of the Filipino Masses
LAO	Local Administrative Organization	In Thailand
LDP	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino	Struggle of Democratic Filipinos



<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Full Name</b>	<b>Translation/Explanation</b>
LEDAC	Legislative Executive Development Advisory Council	In the Philippines
LGPMS	Local Governance Performance Management System	In the Philippines
LGU	Local Government Unit	In the Philippines
Menpan	Kementerian Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi	Ministry for Administrative Reforms (in Indonesia)
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front	
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front	
MoI	Ministry of Interior	In Thailand
MP	Member of Parliament	
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat	People's Consultative Assembly (in Indonesia)
NCCC	National Counter Corruption Commission	In Thailand
NEDA	National Economic and Development Authority	In the Philippines
NGO	Non Governmental Organization	
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development	
PAD	People's Alliance for Democracy	In Thailand
PAGC	Presidential Anti-Graft Commission	In the Philippines

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Full Name</b>	<b>Translation/Explanation</b>
PAN	Partai Amanat Nasional	National Mandate Party
PAO	Provincial Administrative Organizations	In Thailand
PDAF	Priority Development Assistance Fund	In the Philippines
PDI-P	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia - Perjuangan	Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle
Pilkada	Pilihan Kepala Daerah	Election of local government head
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera,	Justice and Welfare Party in Indonesia
PLLO	Presidential Legislative Liasion Office	In the Philippines
PPP	Phak Palang Prachachon	People's Power Party (disbanded political party in Thailand)
SALN	Statement of assets, liabilities, and net worth	In the Philippines
SARA	Suku, agama, ras, antargolongan	Ethnicity, religion, race, inter-group relations (in Indonesia)
SBY	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	President of Indonesia, 2004–14
TRT	Thai Rak Thai	Thais love Thais (disbanded political party in Thailand)
TV	Television	
UDD	United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship	In Thailand
UK	United Kingdom	

Abbreviation	Full Name	Translation/Explanation
USA	United States of America	
UU	Undang-undang	Law (in Indonesia)
vs.	versus	
ZTE	Zhongxing Telecommunication Equipment	

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## INTRODUCTION

The establishment of democratic political systems of government is a difficult and protracted process. This particularly holds true for Southeast Asia. Despite various democratization attempts in the region, authoritarian setbacks seem to be a constant feature of Southeast Asian politics. The most serious and promising democratization efforts over the last decades were undertaken by Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

All these three countries became democratic in the so-called third wave of democratization (Huntington 1991). High hopes were set in the newly introduced democracies by democratic-minded people in the region. The re-start of Thailand's democracy with the 1997 Constitution was widely hailed as a political breakthrough to end decades of elite-controlled semi-authoritarianism. In the Philippines, the removal of dictator Ferdinand Marcos by the so-called People Power Revolution in 1986 offered a great chance to establish a full-fledged democratic order and to remove the authoritarian remnants. The same holds true for Indonesia after the downfall of long-time autocrat Soeharto in May 1998.

In the first years after the regime changes, there was rising optimism that a full-fledged democracy could be established in all three countries. However, disappointment over the implementation of the expected democratic consolidation soon became the dominant impression among analysts and ordinary people. Initial euphoria turned into frustration since the democratic promises did not always transfer into daily political practice and reality. Worse, particularly in Thailand and the Philippines, the political systems temporarily adopted authoritarian features and turned away from being liberal democracies. For some time, it was therefore justified to speak not of a weak democratic consolidation process but rather a veritable regression in democracy.

In Thailand, people witnessed a military coup in 2006, election boycotts, and about one decade of political violence and unrest, mostly not in the political institutions but rather on the streets. In the Philippines, the recent pork-barrel scandal made the dimensions of graft in public office visible to the general public. Previously, a president was impeached under legally dubious conditions, whereas his successor led the country into more or less open authoritarianism. Indonesia was spared from direct authoritarian backlashes, but the current political system is still marred by a multitude of corruption scandals and undemocratic power struggles at all levels of government. More than 350 Indonesian government officials have been jailed on corruption charges since 2002, including national ministers, provincial governors, dozens of members of the national parliament and high-ranking judges.

The struggles over democracy have been long and bitter in the region and many scholars have attempted to explain the various reasons. According to my understanding of the political dynamics in the region, one of the major weaknesses of young democracies — not only in Southeast Asia — is the mutual reinforcement between flawed elections, weak institutional oversight agencies, and an unclarified division of power between the national and the subnational governments. Arguing from an institutionalist perspective, my main working hypothesis of this study is that the democratization processes in Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines faced enormous resistance because of significant variations in the reforms to build and establish electoral, horizontal and vertical accountability. The democratization processes in these countries either moved forward but at a slow pace, stagnated, or in some cases even deteriorated since mechanisms of accountability often failed to work in political practice.

The main purpose of this book is thus to analyse the various mechanisms of political accountability in the three countries and to set them in connection with the democratization processes. Particular importance will be placed upon the institutional reforms by highlighting successes and shortcomings with regard to accountability.

I also take into account different levels of accountability, particularly the often overlooked subnational accountability. One specific value of this study is the inclusion of eventual interrelations between these different levels of accountability. By doing so, innovative strategies to build and establish different mechanisms of accountability can be discovered and novel strategies for systems of checks and balances can be explored. Insofar, this study aims to contribute to institutional problem solving in practice.



Institutional reforms and their consequences in democratizing countries are one of my main points of interest. Political systems are constantly shifting. However, their adaptability and flexibility vary to a great degree. Particularly democracies are in constant need to react to changing environments and have to respond to new challenges. Mainstream research on the state of democracy is usually conducted with status-quo analyses. Tracing the trajectories in a process-oriented analysis, however, gives more insight into the creation of institutional change and is thus more valuable than a simple result-oriented analysis. My focus thus lies not only on results, but rather on how and why developments happened.

Compared to other previous comparative studies on Southeast Asian politics, this book offers a comprehensive theoretical background on various dimensions of political accountability and a scientific analysis of political process based on a thorough literature review and first-hand interviews with political decision-makers in the three countries. The book covers political developments until early 2013 and thus deals with most recent political developments in Southeast Asia.

Concerning the time-frame of my study, I will put the focus on the years *after* the regime change and not the institutional transformation itself from authoritarianism to democracy. A reform of the central political institutions created in authoritarian times is inevitable in order to create a democratic political system. However, very often democratizing countries experience that the initial institutional configuration, which is the result of the new constitution or new laws passed shortly after the regime change, is not working in support of a further deepening of democracy. Thus, further institutional reform is necessary in order to promote and deepen the democratization process. In this study, I will not focus on the initial reforms after the regime change which led to the establishment of a democratic order. Instead, I will concentrate on the adjustments which took place afterwards in the so-called consolidation period. For example, I will not focus on the first democratic elections (the so-called founding elections) after the end of authoritarianism, but the reforms ahead of the second, third and following elections and their impact.

Since I will analyse institutional reforms after the introduction of democracy, the time-frame for this study depends on the specific conditions in the three countries under research. In the Philippines, I will start with the inauguration of the Constitution of 1987 and in Thailand with the People's Constitution in 1997. The Indonesian case is a bit more complicated. The end of the authoritarian rule occurred in May 1998, but it took several years until the constitution was completely overhauled to meet democratic