

FROM ELECTION TO COUP IN FIJI

FROM ELECTION TO COUP IN FIJI
The 2006 campaign and its aftermath

Jon Fraenkel and Stewart Firth (eds)



E P R E S S

IPS Publications
University of the South Pacific

Asia Pacific Press
The Australian National University



E P R E S S

Co-Published by ANU E Press and Asia Pacific Press

The Australian National University

Canberra ACT 0200, Australia

Email: anuepress@anu.edu.au

This title available online at: http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji_citation.html

© 2007 ANU E Press, Asia Pacific Press and IPS Publications

This work is copyright. Apart from those uses which may be permitted under the Copyright Act 1968 as amended, no part may be reproduced by any process without written permission from the publisher.

First published in Australia by

Asia Pacific Press/ANU E Press

Crawford School of Economics and Government

The Australian National University

Canberra ACT 0200 Australia

Email: books@asiapacificpress.com

Ph: 61-2-6125 0178 Fax: 61-2-6125 0767

Website: www.asiapacificpress.com

First published in Fiji by

IPS Publications

University of the South Pacific

Private Bag Laucala Campus

Suva, Fiji Islands

Email: editorips@usp.ac.fj

Ph: 679-3232248 Fax: 679-3231524

Website: www.ipsbooks.usp.ac.fj

Asia Pacific Press ISBN 978-0-7315-3812-6

IPS Publications ISBN 978-982-01-0808-0

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication

From election to coup in Fiji : the 2006 campaign and its aftermath.

Bibliography.

Includes index.

ISBN 9780731538126 (pbk.).

ISBN 9781921313363 (online)

1. Fiji. Parliament - Elections, 2006. 2. Fiji - History - 21st century. 3. Fiji - Politics and government - 21st century. I. Fraenkel, Jonathan. II. Firth, Stewart, 1944- .

324.99611

Cover photo: Litiana Waqalevu

Cover design: Annie Di Nallo Design

Printed in Australia by University Printing Service, The Australian National University

Contents

Tables	viii
Figures	ix
Maps	ix
Symbols used in tables	ix
Acronyms and abbreviations	x
Authors' biographies	xii
Acknowledgments	xviii
Preface	
Fiji's perpetual legitimacy crisis	xix
Stewart Firth and Jon Fraenkel	
A note on the Fiji electoral system	xxiv
Jon Fraenkel	
Introduction	
1 Changing calculus and shifting visions	1
Stewart Firth and Jon Fraenkel	
The campaign	
2 Chance <i>hai</i> : from the campaign trail	11
Brij V. Lal	
3 The pre-election 'cold war': the role of the Fiji military during the 2006 election	26
Steven Ratuva	
4 Songs in sheds: some thoughts on the sociology of Fiji elections	46
Paul Geraghty	
5 Election observation missions to the 2006 Fiji election	52
Graham Hassall and Jeannette Bolenga	
The major parties	
6 The cycles of party politics	64
Jon Fraenkel and Stewart Firth	
7 Defending the inheritance: The SDL and the 2006 election	78
Alumita Durutalo	
8 The strategic impasse: Mahendra Chaudhry and the Fiji Labour Party	89
Samisoni Pareti and Jon Fraenkel	

9	The failure of the moderates The Yellow Bucket Team	104
Issues		
10	The impact of the Promotion of Reconciliation, Tolerance and Unity Bill on the 2006 election Mosmi Bhim	111
11	Reflections on the economic and social policies of political parties at the 2006 election Biman Chand Prasad	144
12	Broken promises: women and the 2006 Fiji election Rae Nicholl	160
13	The media and the spectre of the 2000 coup Michael Field	174
Case studies		
14	From marginalization to mainstream? Rotuma and the 2006 election Kylie Jayne Anderson	185
15	Tailevu North: five years down the line Anare Tuitoga	204
16	Bose ni Vanua and democratic politics in Rewa Baro Saumaki	213
17	Whatever happened to Western separatism? Apolosi Bose and Jon Fraenkel	225
18	The 'Generals' – where to now? The Yellow Bucket Team	243
Analysis		
19	Elections and nation-building: the long road since 1970 Robbie Robertson	250
20	Indigenous title disputes: what they meant for the 2006 election Morgan Tuimaleali'ifano	261
21	Bipolar realignment under the alternative vote system: an analysis of the 2006 electoral data Jon Fraenkel	272
22	Fiji's electoral boundaries and malapportionment Kesaia Seniloli	288

23	The role of the Assembly of Christian Churches in Fiji in the 2006 election Lynda Newland	300
24	The role of Hindu and Muslim organizations during the 2006 election Jonathon Prasad	315
Perspectives		
25	Fiji's system of elections and government: where to from here? The Honourable Laisenia Qarase	337
26	Tainted elections Mahendra Chaudhry	347
27	A view from the Electoral Commission Graham Leung	365
28	Multiparty cabinet and power-sharing: lessons from elsewhere Jon Fraenkel	368
29	Women and minority interests in Fiji's alternative vote electoral system Suliana Siwatibau	379
30	The case for reform of the electoral system in Fiji Rev. David G. Arms	385
31	An election retrospective Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi	399
Epilogue		
	Understanding Fiji's political paradox Robert Norton	403
Addendum		
	The Fiji coup of December 2006 – who, what, where and why? Jon Fraenkel	420
Appendices		
Appendix 1	Multiparty government in Fiji: a timeline, 1997–2006 Piccolo Willoughby	450
Appendix 2	2006 election results	457
Index		476

Tables

1	Outcome in the 2006 North Eastern General Communal constituency	xxv
2	Preferences lodged by political parties for the 2006 North Eastern General Communal constituency	xxvi
3.1	The nature of the military's public relations exercises after the 1987 coups	33
10.1	Police charges for offences committed during the 2000 civil unrest	117
10.2	Date of imprisonment, sentences and release dates for key leaders convicted as a result of disturbances between 19 May 2000 and 15 March 2001	118
11.1	2001 election manifestos of SDL and FLP: similarities and differences on key issues	155
11.2	2006 election manifestos of SDL and FLP: similarities and differences on key issues	156
12.1	Fiji general elections: women candidates and members of parliament, 1999–2006	162
14.1	Rotuman voters as a percentage of the open electorates in the 2006 election	190
14.2	Outcomes in the Rotuma Communal constituency	197
16.1	Selected features of Rewa Province, 2004–2005	215
16.2	Election results for Rewa Fijian communal constituency 1972–2001	221
16.3	The 2006 election result in Rewa	222
17.1	Western Fijian parties' shares of the first preference Fijian communal vote in target constituencies, 1999–2006	234
17.2	Election results in Ba Fiji Provincial Communal constituencies in 2006	237
20.1	Performance of chiefly candidates in parliamentary elections	264
22.1	Fijian Urban Communal constituencies, 1998	292
22.2	General Communal constituencies, 1998	292
22.3	Indian Communal constituencies, 1998	292
22.4	Open constituencies, 1998	294
22.5	Fijian Urban Communal constituencies, 2006	296
22.6	General Communal constituencies, 2006	298

22.7	Indian Communal constituencies, 2006	298
22.8	Open constituencies, 2006	298
29.1	Summary of party performance, 2006	380
29.2	Women's performance in communal and open seats	381
29.3	Party representation in 2006 under AV and PR systems	383
30.1	1999 election: parties, first preferences and seats	387
30.2	1999 election: parties, preferences and seats – overall view	388
30.3	2001 election: parties, first preferences and seats	390
30.4	2001 election: parties, preferences and seats – overall view	391
30.5	2006 elections: parties, first preferences and seats	392
30.6	2006 elections: parties, preferences and seats – overall view	394
30.7	Seats won in the 1999, 2001 and 2006 elections as counted by the AV, FPP and PR systems	396

Figures

7.1	Organizational structure of the SDL party	79
11.1	Median voter theory	146
21.1	Seats and votes won by parties, 2006	274
21.2	Major party vote-shares in the 19 Indian constituencies, 2001 and 2006	277
21.3	SDL vote share in the 23 Fijian communal constituencies, 2001 and 2006	277
21.4	Ethnic composition of open constituencies	282
21.5	Winners' majorities in the 25 open constituencies, 2006	282

Maps

14.1	Rotuma	188
15.1	The <i>Tikina Makawa</i> of Tailevu North Fijian Communal	207
16.1	The <i>Tikina Makawa</i> of Rewa Fijian Communal	216
17.1	The <i>Tikina Makawa</i> of Ba Province	226

Symbols used in tables

..	not available
n.a.	not applicable
-	zero
.	insignificant