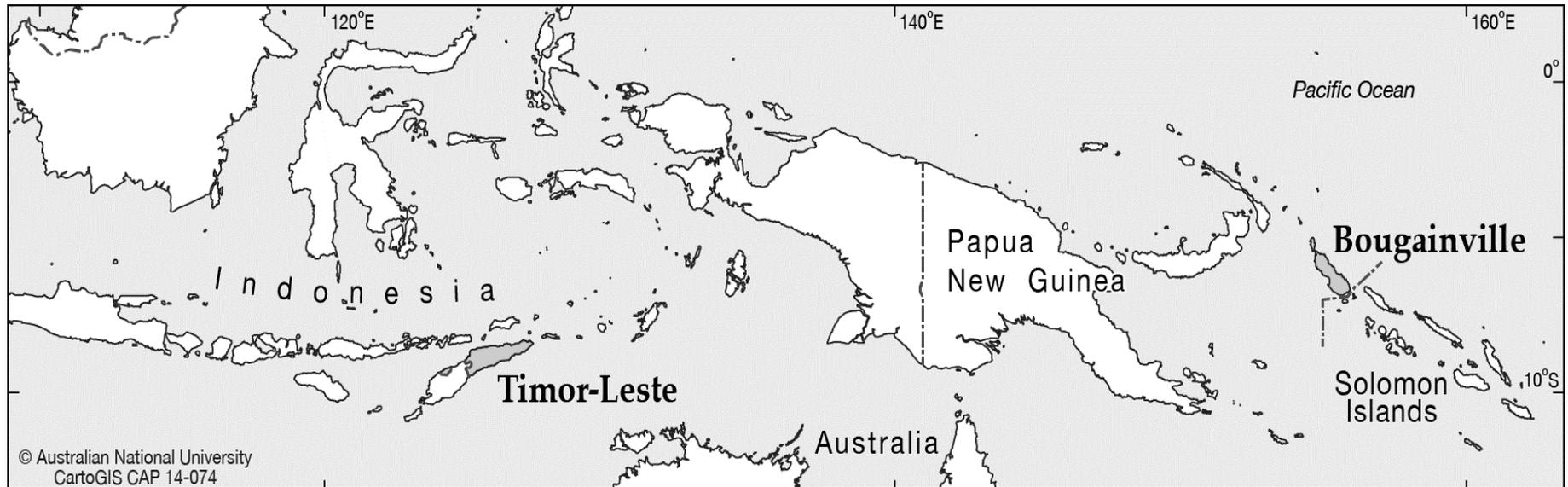


# Political settlements and their trajectories ...insights from Timor-Leste and Bougainville



# Political transitions in Timor-Leste and Bougainville

Milestone	Timor-Leste	Bougainville
Colonial administration established in the territory	1702	1905
Decolonisation process initiated	1974	1973
Unilateral declaration of independence (not recognised by UN)	28 November 1975	1 September 1975
Assumed within a larger regional state	7 December 1975 Indonesian invasion	16 September 1975 PNG independence
Conflict begins	7 December 1975	November 1988
National crisis provides leverage for peace process	1998: Asian Financial Crisis	1997: the Sandline crisis
Peace discussions leading towards a new political settlement begin	1998	1997
Peace agreement (or equivalent) concluded	5 May 1999	August 2001
Central provision in peace agreement addressing state structure	Immediate independence from Indonesia, subject to a 'popular consultation' to be held within months	Autonomy within PNG and a referendum on independence within 10-15 years of election of an autonomous government
Constitution approved	March 2002	June 2002 (PNG constitutional amendments) December 2004 (ABG constitution)
Independence/autonomy	20 May 2002 independence	15 June 2005 Autonomous Bougainville Government
Severe politically motivated violence	Dec 2002; April-May 2005; April-July 2006; July-Aug 2007; Feb 2008	

# Timor-Leste's political settlement: the headlines

- A highly exclusionary political settlement
  - ▣ Concentrated power and rents in the hands of a small, unpopular faction
  - ▣ Extreme instability over several years
  - ▣ At the peak of that instability, an irregular change in political leadership
- Under new leadership
  - ▣ Rents distributed very widely
  - ▣ Emergence of a broad elite pact that “tamed” politics

# Bougainville's political settlement: the headlines

- A highly inclusive political settlement
  - ▣ Based on a formula to share power between PNG and Bougainville
  - ▣ Swiftly entrenched in PNG and Bougainville constitutions
  - ▣ Absence of any serious political instability since
- Compact at the heart of the political settlement now coming under pressure
  - ▣ Increasing contestation over control of mining resources
  - ▣ Mounting tensions between PNG and Bougainville over the autonomy and referendum provisions at the heart of the settlement

# Relationship between the character of the political settlement and stability/instability

	Timor-Leste 2002-2006	Timor-Leste 2008-2016	Bougainville 2005-2010	Bougainville 2010-2016	
<b>Inclusive settlement</b>	N		Y		
<b>Elite splits</b>	Y	N	N	emerging	Causal mechanisms for instability
<b>Rent restriction</b>	Y	N	N	emerging	
<b>Stability</b>	N	Y	Y	Less assured	

# Contextual factors intensifying or constraining the drivers of instability

- The prospect of major resource streams
- The robustness of political institutions, both formal and informal
- The capacity of governments to deliver public services
- The level of commitment to the terms of the settlement

# What shapes 'inclusive enough'



- Disposition, influence and coercive power of excluded actors to disrupt or overturn the status quo
- The breadth and resilience of elite pacts
- societal satisfaction with the outcomes delivered by the settlement