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## Case Study: The Wabag Open Electorate of the Enga Province

### 1. Introduction

The National Research Institute (NRI) sanctioned a study on the 2012 elections through the Improving Governance Program (IGP), as part of the IGP's 2012 annual work plan. In-depth research by NRI researchers was undertaken at the ward level in four open electorates: Kokopo, Kundiawa-Gembogel, Rigo and Wabag Open electorates in the East New Britain, Chimbu, Central and Enga provinces, respectively. Research in Wabag was undertaken by a team supported by Caritas Australia that worked in parallel with, but independently from, the Domestic Observation Team of the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program of the Australian National University, and funded by AusAID.

This paper focuses on the Wabag Open electorate in the Enga Province. It was chosen as an electorate that offers plentiful examples of Papua New Guinea (PNG) highlands political culture, because the electorate covers both urban and rural wards, and because there have been previous studies in that electorate, providing a chance for comparison with previous elections (Gibbs 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2011).

There were three key areas undertaken for the study: the electoral roll, polling, and counting. Prompted by Caritas, a fourth area—gender and HIV/AIDS—was included. The NRI researchers conducted pre-election fieldwork on the roll and held a public seminar at the Institute, in April 2012, to disseminate their findings on the state of the roll in the electorates concerned. A pre-election workshop was also held at the Institute to share views on the roll, polling and counting. The workshop provided the chance to develop a common understanding on methodological issues. Fieldwork was conducted through on site observation and interviews with election officials, candidates and voters. A survey questionnaire was also administered during the election fieldwork by the researchers and local assistants. A post-election workshop for the researchers was held at the Institute on 11<sup>th</sup> September 2012, to share experiences, lessons learned and to suggest improvements on the roll, polling and counting.

This paper offers an account of the state of the roll and the polling and counting in Wabag during the 2012 elections. Research was conducted over three months from the end of April to the end of July 2012 in and around the provincial town of Wabag and in the isolated Maramuni District.

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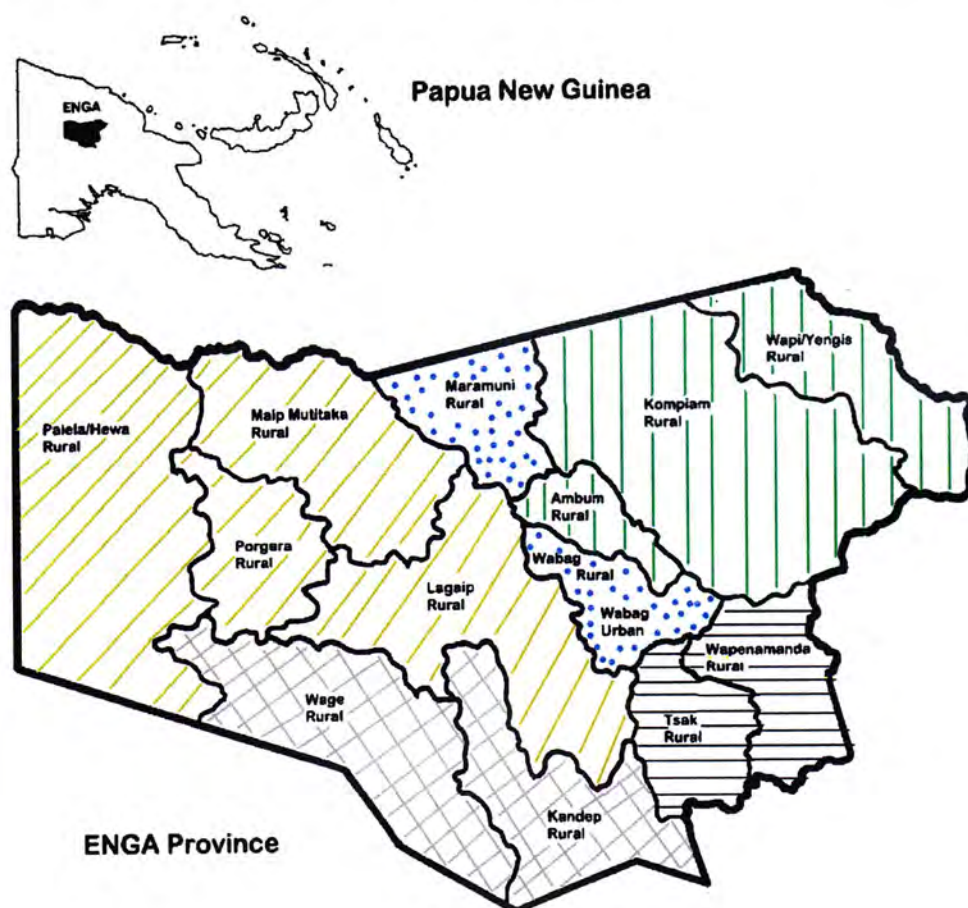
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The researchers were assisted by people from the local area and also received input from those responding to the pre-campaign questionnaire and several people who studied the state of the rolls in their wards<sup>1</sup>. Whether the election was free, fair and safe is the fundamental to this study. Our opinion on that question, along with recommendations is presented in the final pages of this paper.

## 2. The Electorate

Wabag Open is one of five open electorates in the Enga Province. Wabag Open comprises three Local Level Government areas (LLGs): Wabag Rural, Wabag Urban and Maramuni Urban (see map below).



There are 7 wards within the Wabag Urban LLG: 45 wards in the Wabag Rural LLG, and 12 wards in the Maramuni Rural LLG. Wabag Urban is within the bounds of Wabag town where there are services such as a bank, post office, police station, provincial hospital and provincial offices. The Wabag Rural LLG is accessed from the Mt Hagen to Porgera section of the Highlands Highway, which traverses the Enga Province. The Maramuni Rural LLG is referred to as “back page” and is accessible only by air or several days strenuous walk. Political leaders (national and local) spend little if any time in the Maramuni area, and there are at present no operating government services. Men with (illegal) guns control much of the area. According to the 2011 national census there are 69,862 persons in the Wabag Open area (15.4% of the population of the Enga Province.)

<sup>1</sup> Members of the team include: Dr. Philip Gibbs, Ms. Dorothy Kukum, Ms. Jenny Tanguala, Ms. Maria Martin, Mr. Daniel Ekarem, Mr. Joseph Berom and Mr. Clement Pius. Ms. Tanguala and Ms. Regina Tanda studied the electoral rolls in their wards. We wish to thank all those who assisted us with information for this study.



### 3. Background

Engan people show a particular passion for politics, and election time in the Enga Province often displays a carnival atmosphere at the beginning of the campaign period, developing into a time of serious rivalry and sometimes violence during and after polling. (For the modern Enga political “culture” that draws on traditions but adapts to current realities, see Gibbs 2004a; 2004b; 2006; 2011; Gibbs and Lakane 2003). The 2002 election involved hijacked ballot boxes, the bombing of voting papers in containers beside the Wabag Police Station, fatal shootings, and a general breakdown in law and order. Following the 2002 election, Daniel Kapi successfully challenged Samuel Abal’s win in the Wabag Open seat in the National and Supreme courts. The ensuing 2004 by-election was the first in Enga to use the limited preferential voting system (LPV). Samuel Abal won the seat back in the 2007 elections (see Gibbs 2011). The 2007 election was better controlled by security forces as the political culture adapted to the LPV system. Table 1 provides a comparison with previous elections.

Table 1: Wabag Open Comparison 2002, 2004 (by-election), 2007, 2012				
Issue	2002	2004	2007	2012
Number of candidates.	25	19	19	17
Number of polling places.	72	64	66	74
Ballot papers issued.	67,832	71,000	47,798	56,306
Ballot papers counted.	51,002	53,867	44,689	53,206
Ballot papers unused, returned or burned.	4,178	17,133	3,109	3,100
Ballot boxes destroyed or disputed and not counted.	13	0	1	0

Source: Authors’ calculations from various sources including Gibbs (2011).

### 4. Pre-Campaign Questionnaire

We conducted a pre-campaign questionnaire with 60 men and 60 women (see the questionnaire as Appendix 1). We found it noteworthy to compare responses from people in and around Wabag town with people in the isolated Maramuni Valley. In one question we asked: “Do you expect trouble in this election?” Two thirds of the men and half the women in Wabag said they expected trouble, while in Maramuni fewer people were pessimistic with half the men and half the women saying that they expected trouble. Both groups anticipated that trouble would come from people’s names missing from the rolls and from supporters fighting over ballot boxes.

Respondents to the pre-campaign questionnaire were asked to name three issues that were the most important issues in Papua New Guinea at the time of the elections. First choice for men and women together in both Wabag and Maramuni, was the political impasse in parliament. This was followed by the issue of corruption. Concerning issues facing people in the electorate, men around Wabag mentioned a range of political, social and economic issues, with law and order issues taking precedence. Women around Wabag tended to focus on social issues, road conditions, and the difficulty of getting fresh produce in or out of the province. Both men and women from Maramuni said that tribal fighting and law and order issues were the most important issues in their area.

Around Wabag, three quarters of men (21/27) and most women (19/22) knew there was a new roll. The majority of both men and women were sure their name was on the roll. Most said they had seen enrolment officers. 19/27 men and 10/22 women said they had filled in a claim for enrolment form. In a rural area such as Maramuni it is different. A quarter of the men and half the women said they did not know there was a new electoral roll. The majority was not sure that their name was on the roll and only two men and nil women said they had completed a claim for enrolment form.



## 5. Awareness

Several members of our observer team had been conducting awareness through the program of Caritas PNG. Another had been conducting awareness (primarily in the Wapenamanda area) through the “St Philomena” electoral awareness group. Both groups conduct comprehensive awareness including LPV, voting, mock elections, the electoral roll, value of preferences, HIV and AIDS and the elections, and women and the elections. However; when asked in our first ESP observer survey, less than half the respondents (43%) said that they had attended LPV/civic awareness. Most of these had attended awareness conducted by civil society (such as Caritas, as mentioned above), and less than 10% said that they had attended electoral awareness conducted by Electoral Commission staff or in other places.

In the ESP observer survey (N=140), people said that they had also seen Electoral Commission advertisements in newspapers (61%), on TV (47%) and over the radio (38%). In our ESP observer survey following the polling, almost a quarter of the respondents (23%) said that they (still) find LPV confusing and difficult.

We have the impression that electoral awareness in the Highlands needs to be rethought. At the moment the sort of election presented in awareness campaigns, particularly that of one person, one (secret) vote is make-believe. The reality people face with public group voting and “tanim tebol” (blok voting) is entirely different from the examples presented in awareness campaigns. Moreover, people were led to expect, and some (29%) believed that men and women would vote separately in the election. This did not happen in the Enga Province, and is not likely to happen without radical cultural transformations including changes to the polling process.

## 6. Checking specific rolls

We did a close check on two electoral rolls—Kaiap from ward 10 of Wabag Rural Electorate, and Lakemanda from ward 17 of the same electorate. Kaiap has 1175 names on the current electoral roll and Lakemanda 1110.

There is a history to how those rolls were formed.

### Kaiap

Kaiap had 976 registered for the 2007 election. For unknown reasons, this increased to 1015 for the working roll used for the roll update begun in 2011. During the roll update in 2011–2012, 36 were deleted (10 deceased, 9 duplicate, 17 gone). Then 175 were added as new enrolments, 10 were added as turning 18 prior to the election and there were 11 transfers from other wards, making 196 new enrolments. This gave a total of 1175 for the 2012 electoral roll.

However, when we did an independent check of the most recent versions of the 2012 electoral roll (that of the 8<sup>th</sup> of June) we found 35 underage, 34 deceased, 12 duplicates, 2 ghost names and 34 people who had gone from the area. In addition we found 15 people who were eligible to be on the roll but whose names are missing.

### Lakemanda

Lakemanda had 1247 registered for the 2007 election. Inexplicably this increased to 1416 for the working roll used for the roll update begun in 2011. During the roll update in 2011–2012, 519 names were deleted (2 underage, 43 deceased, 41 duplicate, 1 ghost, and 504 gone from the area). Then 64 were added as new enrolments, and 7 as turning 18 prior to the election, making 74 new enrolments. This gave a total of 574 for the new roll as of 18<sup>th</sup> May. Somehow 536 names were added between 18<sup>th</sup> May and 8<sup>th</sup> June when the final roll appeared with 1110 names. Presumably most of the deletions had been restored.

However, when we did an independent check of the final 2012 roll from 8<sup>th</sup> June 2012 we found 26 underage, 20 deceased, 36 duplicates, 17 ghost names and 57 gone from the area. In addition we have a list of names, sex, occupation and birth date of 531 people who would be eligible to be on the Lakemanda roll but are not.



The details above result from an independent check of just two electoral rolls. Both rolls were partly in family order and with many additional names in non-family order (alphabetical). There is every likelihood that checking other rolls would only contribute to the firm impression that the roll update was not accurate and that the electoral rolls of 8<sup>th</sup> June 2012 presented for the election are fundamentally flawed.

## 7. What happened to the roll?

The roll update started late as funding from the Government came through only in May 2011, just one year before the national election. Plans were made through the Provincial Election Steering Committee, which in Enga comprises the Provincial Administrator as chairman, along with the Provincial Police Commander, Works manager, PNG power manager, Deputy for Social Services, the Electoral Manager and a representative of the Local Government Councils.

People were recruited for the roll checking and update in each of the 368 wards of the Enga Province. Preference was given to persons from the local area because of their local knowledge. Appointments were made on advice from the local Councillor along with other officials such as Village Court Magistrates. Those recruited for the update were instructed to check the roll for inaccuracies such as deceased, underage, ghost names, or people no longer resident in the ward so as to determine the number of active electors. They were also to rework the roll in the form of clan, sub clan and family order using family order maintenance sheets. Forms were given for new enrolments: 250 for wards existing prior to 2007 and 100 for the so-called “new” wards. These are arbitrary figures arrived at by those making decisions in Port Moresby.

There had been 12 new wards declared for the Wabag Rural LLG in 2006. These new wards appear in the 2007 version of the Papua New Guinea Local-level Government Gazette (Port Moresby, 15 January 2007). However, Enga electoral officers say that they found that while the policy section of the Electoral Commission in Port Moresby were aware of the “new” wards, the data section were not, and were using the old roll with only 34 wards in the Wabag Rural LLG. This caused confusion when updating the roll. For example, the existing ward Sari has been split so as to create a new ward—Amala. Aipanda has been split to create a new ward—Tumbilyam. Lokolam has been split to create a new ward Aiyokolam. These changes were not recorded in all sections of the Electoral Commission which no doubt contributed to confusion in updating the roll.

The revised “working roll” (updated 2007 roll) along with forms for new enrolments was sent from Enga to the Electoral Commission in Port Moresby in March 2012. Checking of the roll for the Wabag Open Electorate had resulted in 13,903 deletions (ghost names, deceased, etc.) and there were 11,308 new enrolments. In fact many more eligible voters requested to enrol, but there were not enough enrolment papers, so their names were sent in supplementary lists from the Enga electoral office. The supplementary lists sent in April 2012 were not accepted in Port Moresby. We have not been able to determine how many extra names were on the supplementary list, but the Returning Officer for Enga said there were “many.”

### **A summary of roll changes for the Wabag Open electorate is as follows:**

2007 Roll	49,633
Working Roll (March 2012)	51,950
New (alphabetical) Roll (May 18, 2012)	49,355
Final Roll (June 8, 2012)	53,885

The difference between the Working Roll and the New Roll of May 18 is due to the deletions and new enrolments explained above. Reasons for the differences between the 2007 roll and March 2012 Working Roll, and those between May 18, 2012 and June 8, 2012 are unexplained.

The Electoral Commission sent out the New Roll of May 18 in alphabetical order. This was displayed for some days in the Wabag District Office. Local Electoral Officials were unhappy that it appeared in alphabetical form and requested that it be reworked in family order. An officer went to the Electoral Commission in Port Moresby to assist with this process and the final roll for the 2012 elections was issued on June 8, 2012. This is partly in family order and partly in non-family order (i.e. alphabetical order).



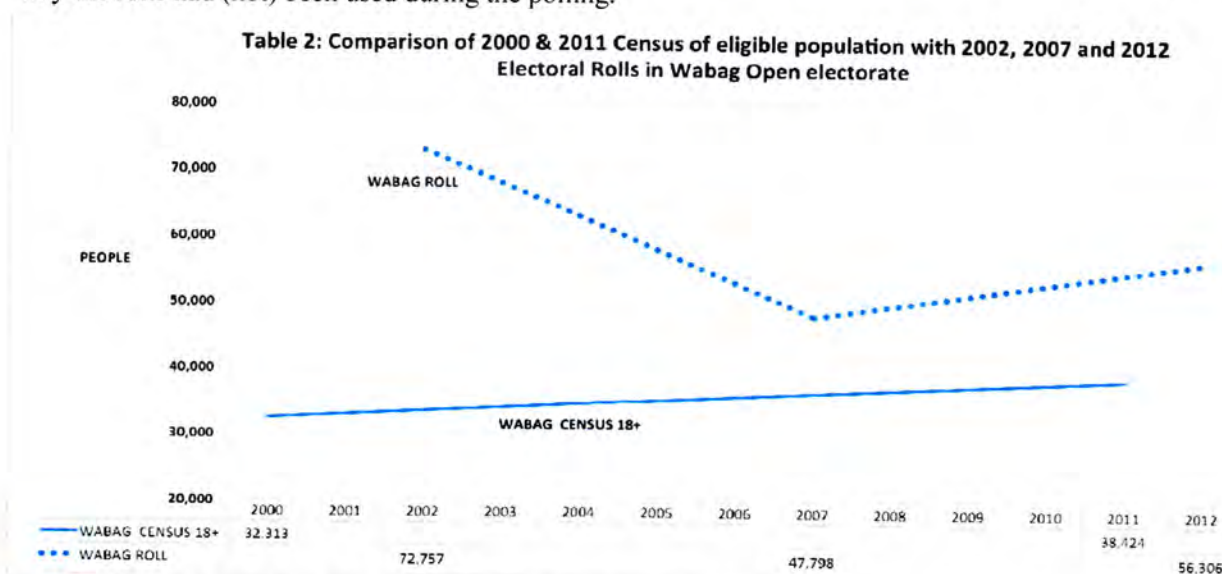
The Electoral Commission in Port Moresby compares electoral roll numbers with estimates from the 2000 and 2011 national census on the understanding that approximately 55% of the population will be 18 years and above and thus eligible to vote in elections. An estimate for the Wabag Open electorate is shown in Table 2.

The Electoral Commission has worked to reduce inflation in the electoral roll after apparent gross inflation of the 2002 roll. This has reduced the number on the electoral rolls (see Tables 2 and 3); however, the apparent improvement conceals a major problem that has become an issue in the 2012 elections: the number of eligible voters whose names seem not to appear on the current electoral roll.

What also seems to have happened is that despite revision of the ward rolls, many people still have their names listed in other wards. A large percentage of people spoken to around the Wabag District say that while their name is not duplicated within any particular ward, they have their name in three or four different wards (for example those of their father, mother, husband or wife, etc.). Young married women we spoke to considered it only right that they should be enrolled along with their brothers in their family of origin, as well as with their husband's clan. So, while it appears that roll numbers are coming more into line with estimates from the census (presuming that the census figures are correct—which is questionable—particularly for the 2011 census), in reality many people still have their name on the electoral rolls more than once, which greatly reduces the chance to add new enrolments if one wishes to avoid inflation of the rolls compared to census estimates.

There are additional factors that impact the situation. For example, the system favours the people in power so there is a bias towards the status quo. Most councillors rely on the government system to be where they are. Funding for council wards is linked to the number of persons in the ward so the more persons recorded in the ward the greater the opportunity for more funding. Despite such pressures for inflation a councillor may see fit to arrange that whole clans/sub clans be left off the roll.

In a survey we did following the election, hardly anyone considered the new roll accurate, with half of those responding (48%) saying that they were not sure. The number “unsure” is perhaps indicative of the way the rolls had (not) been used during the polling.



**Source:** Electoral Roll from Electoral Commission (June 8, 2012), 2011 National Census, Preliminary Figures, National Statistical Office.

Table 2 shows how the Electoral Commission compares electoral roll numbers with estimates from the 2000 and 2011 national census on the understanding that approximately 55% of the population will be 18 years and above and thus eligible to vote in elections. The straight line represents the increase from 32,313 to 38,424 of 55% of the Wabag Open electorate population from the year 2000 census to the year 2011 census. The dotted line represents numbers on the electoral roll for the 2002, 2007 and 2012 elections.



Table 3 illustrates the difference between numbers of eligible voters based on census figures and the actual number of voters on the electoral roll. The effect of the new electoral roll in 2007 is obvious, yet a substantial difference remains.

Table 3: Census estimate and Electoral Roll over three elections in the Enga Province (with population increase at 3.9%/annum)											
District Name	2000 census 18+ (55% of total census pop)	Estimate of eligible voters in 2002 (pop. increase 3.9%/yr)	2002 enrolled	% diff. between estimate of eligible voters and 2002 enrolled	Estimate eligible voters in 2007 (pop. increase 3.9%/yr)	2007 enrolled	% diff. between estimate and number enrolled	2011 census 18+ (55% of total census pop.)	Estimate of eligible voters in 2012 (pop. increase 3.9%/yr.)	2012 enrolled	% diff. between estimate and actual number enrolled
Kandep	26,070	28,143	49,122	75%	34,076	42,318	24%	40,067	41,630	53,885	29%
Kompiani-Ambum	24,383	26,322	74,171	182%	31,871	39,486	24%	29,581	30,735	52,930	72%
Lagaip-Porgera	50,051	54,031	135,587	151%	65,421	95,006	45%	95,504	99,229	122,202	23%
Wabag	32,313	34,882	72,759	109%	42,235	47,798	13%	38,424	39,923	56,306	41%
Wapenamanda	29,451	31,793	79,564	150%	38,495	49,785	29%	45,351	47,120	59,178	26%
Enga Total:	162,267	175,170	362,081	107%	212,098	274,393	29%	248,928	258,636	344,501	33%

**Source:** Electoral Roll, 2002, 2007, 2012, PNG Electoral Commission. Census 2000 final figures and Census 2011 preliminary figures, National Statistical Office.

Figures based on population 18 yrs. and over at 55% of total population, and population increase 3.9%/annum (population increase percentage based on data from 2011 census of Enga Province). Percentage difference between estimate of eligible voters and those enrolled calculated as difference between estimate and actual enrollment/estimate. Table 3 shows major inflation of 2002 rolls, with the percentage difference decreasing drastically in 2007 and moderate increases and decreases in percentage difference of respective rolls in 2012.



## 8. Campaign Issues

The campaign period (limited officially to 5 weeks this time) was quieter than the 2002 election and in terms of display, not unlike the 2007 election. However, there were major developments this time around with the flourishing of “money politics.” In previous elections there was gifting of food, cars, and so on, but not on the scale of 2012. This time, people seem to be taking more initiative and telling MPs such as Sam Tei Abal that he has not done enough. Some are accepting money but calling it “pinis pe” (equivalent of a “golden handshake”).

In 2007 candidates were going out to the people, but now the people are going to the candidates. They were not talking about kina but about “grand” (i.e. referring to thousands....). People have been playing cards with “coconuts” (K100 bills) and “Somares” (K50 bills). In previous elections candidates were “buying” votes. Now the people are “selling” votes. It is now done openly, not in secret. This year many people had already committed their first vote, so were trading/marketing their second and third vote. Some men were marketing the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> preferences of their sisters/wives. Half the respondents in our observer surveys say that they received cash handouts from candidates, some mentioning large sums of money. We heard that 1<sup>st</sup> preferences were being bought for at least K100, 2<sup>nd</sup> for between K20-K50, and 3<sup>rd</sup> preferences for K10-K20. LPV allows both candidates and voters to trade for six votes instead of two (Open and Regional).

Popular themes in rally speeches were infrastructure in the Province, law and order, quality education, and living standards. At his rally Sam Tei Abal spoke about his “lusim gan, holim savol” (Do away with guns and hold a spade) policy, and the future completion of his several projects such as the provincial chicken project. Others spoke against Sam Tei Abal for his unfulfilled promises. Robert Ganim held up a list of Tei Abal’s uncompleted projects and questioned how the people had benefited from them to date. Governor Ipatas’s rally was distinguished by his accent on education. He invited all the school children to attend and there was a large turnout of school children chanting “Action Father” (for the “Action” governor) or “Gove o ipi” (Governor is powerful [literally boar or uncastrated male pig]).

There is a long and complex political history, which can be summed up with the Engan expression *Embame aki piipi?* (What have you done?). When Peter Ipatas formed the People’s Party in 2007 he invited Sam Tei Abal to join. However, Sam Abal declined and joined the government of the day, contesting in 2007 with the National Alliance Party. Within the National Alliance Sam found favour with the “Chief” (Somare) who appointed Sam as Deputy Prime Minister in 2010. Many people were unhappy that Sam had not fulfilled election promises, the many disaffected people who appear to have formed into a network in political opposition to Sam Tei Abal.

## 9. Polling

Polling began two days later than planned, on 28 July. In most places polling commenced only in the afternoon of that day and continued into 29 July. In most places observed there was failure to comply with international democratic process, with non-use of voting compartments, crowding at polling stations, filling in ballots by scrutineers, and “bloc” voting where a few individuals fill in all or most of the ballot for an entire community. In some places the electoral roll was used. In many places it was used at the beginning and then set aside. Sometimes the only use for the roll was to determine the number of ballot papers allotted to a ward.

The family order roll saves time and respects cultural values but needs more time so that people will take ownership of it and every family member will have a say. Family order roll limits multiple voting but may conceal underage voting, as an adult male is generally the one who receives the ballot papers. Sopas was the only polling place in the Wabag Open electorate where there were separate polling booths for men and women. For the future, unless there are major cultural changes, separate booths for men and women would in most places be ignored.

The practice of splitting boxes or dividing rolls does speed up voting particularly in places where there are many people on the roll (e.g. Irelya with 3229 on the roll). However, it can be confusing for administrative purposes with box a and box b (or 1 and 2) under the same name (such as Sakales 1 and 2) or Irelya 1a and Irelya 1b. Keas is split into 1 and 2. This arrangement provides greater opportunity for double or multiple



voting with people moving between nearby polling stations as happened with Wabag 5—Hidden Valley and Keas/Pawas #2.

Compared with the 2007 elections, we observed that in the 2012 election people were more inclined to let others (such as scrutineers) mark their ballot papers, possibly because the stakes are higher with the expansion of “money politics” and the pressure to be transparent in one’s choice. In Enga a request for a secret vote is treated with great suspicion.

In some ways polling is another form of “money politics” because many groups treat ballot papers almost like they would in a distribution of money or at a “Moka”. If a clan community would be given a sum of money, normally they would distribute the money to clans and have the clans distribute again to people within its membership. Not everyone would get the money, but a representative group would. It seems that often in this election ballot papers were treated the same way—treated like money.

## 10. Results

Robert Ganim won the Wabag Open seat on the 14<sup>th</sup> elimination. Table 4 sums up the results showing relevant statistics. Table 5 sums up the relevant statistics in the allocation of preferences. One sees also how preferences from Potane, Yakali Malipu, Sam Lokalyo and Kandiu Yakele went to Ganim rather than to Abal. So, in the end Robert Ganim gained 106% of his votes from preferences as against only 33% for Kurai and 39% for Abal. That 36915 (70%) of the formal votes were still live at the end of the final count, with the top three candidates gaining 18864 (77.5%) of the preferences, indicates how the Wabag Open race was essentially a race between these three. (Some of our figures differ from those on the Electoral Commission website. However, we are confident that our figures are accurate as we took them directly off the tally sheets in the counting room or from photographs of the same).



Table 4: Results 2012 Wabag Open Electorate

Code	Name	Party	1st Pref.	1 <sup>st</sup> Pref %	Final total at elimination	2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> prefs as % of final total	Final total as % of total allowable	Final Total	Final %	% of allowable votes
17	Robert Sandan Ganim	Independent	9531	18.1		52	53.7	19811	53.71	37.68
22	Samuel Tei Abal	Independent	12398	23.5		27.4	46.2	17030	0.00	32.39
23	Paul Kurai	THE	7877	15	11756	33	31.9	Excl. 15	0.00	22.36
16	Maramuni Paul Iparas	Independent	4370	8.3	5894	25.7	16	Excl. 14	0.00	11.2
19	Reuben Kandiu Yakale	PNC	3523	6.7	4938	28.9	13.4	Excl. 13	0.00	9.39
15	Dep Sapi Samuel Lokalyo	Independent	3426	6.5	4089	16.2	11.1	Excl. 12	0.00	7.78
18	Yakali Malipu	United Resource	2555	4.8	3324	23.3	9.01	Excl. 11	0.00	6.32
26	Pato Potane	Independent	2313	4.4	2945	21.5	8	Excl. 10	0.00	5.6
13	Issac B Lupari	Independent	2377	4.5	2666	10.8	7.23	Excl. 9	0.00	5.07
24	David Timan Porykali	PNG Party	1946	3.7	2081	6.5	5.64	Excl. 8	0.00	3.96
21	Paul Pandan	Independent	1333	2.5	1357	1.8	3.78	Excl. 7	0.00	2.58
12	A1 - Anton Wangae	Independent	898	1.71	899	0	2.44	Excl. 6	0.00	1.71
14	Yombon Daniel Kapi	Independent	36	0.06	37	2.7	0.10	Excl. 5	0.00	0.07
10	Sopas Tambon K Poloko	Independent	13	0.02	13	0	0.04	Excl. 4	0.00	0.025
20	Kepain Kulip	People's Heritage	6	0.01	6	0	0.02	Excl. 3	0.00	0.01
25	Maramuni Edward Kapi	Independent	6	0.01	6	0	0.02	Excl. 2	0.00	0.01
11	Derrick Mara	Independent	0	0	0	0	0	Excl. 1	0.00	0.00
Total Remaining								36841		
Absolute Majority			26305					18421		
Exhausted Ballot Papers								15693		29.8
Total Allowable Ballot Papers			52608							
Informal			598	1.14%						
Total All Ballot Papers			53206							

Source: Forms 66A and 66B PNG Electoral Commission. Final adjusted figures from photographs of tally on board in counting room, Wabag.



Table 5: Distribution of Preferences. Wabag Open 2012

Exclusions	Candidate	Primary vote	Total at exclusion	No. of prefs distributed	No. for Kurai	% for Kurai	No. for Ganim	% for Ganim	No. for Abal	% for Abal
1	Derrick Mara	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	Edward Kapi	6	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Kepain Kulip	6	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	Tambon Poloko	13	13	12	0	0	2	16.6	1	8.3
5	Yombon Kapi	36	36	36	5	13.9	2	5.6	5	13.9
6	Anton Wangae	898	899	894	17	1.9	532	59.5	139	15.5
7	Paul Pandan	1333	1355	1348	132	9.8	208	15.4	400	29.7
8	David Porykali	1946	2081	2049	553	27.0	420	20.5	281	13.7
9	Isaac Lupari	2377	2666	2445	341	13.9	815	33.3	250	10.2
10	Pato Potane	2313	2945	2553	516	20.21	772	30.2	297	11.6
11	Yakali Malipu	2555	3324	2735	642	23.5	960	35.1	199	7.3
12	Sam Lokalyo	3426	4089	3221	593	17.3	1201	35.0	807	2.4
13	R. Kandiu Yakale	3523	4938	2371	423	12.0	1166	49.2	526	22.2
14	Paul Iparas	4370	5894	3725	665	17.9	1751	47.0	1309	35.1
15	Paul Kurai	7877	11756	2935	0	0	2283	77.8	652	22.1
	Robert Ganim	9531								
	Sam Abal	12398								
Votes gained by preference					3886	33.0%	10112	106.0%	4866	39.3%

Source: Forms 66A and 66B for Wabag Open Electorate, PNG Electoral Commission. Final adjusted figures from photographs of tally on board in counting room, Wabag.



## 11. Conclusion

Many people had expected “trouble”. There was trouble, such as the murder of a polling official (from Kandep) outside the gate of the counting centre and the “kidnapping” of the acting electoral manager’s son. However, overall the election in the Wabag Open Electorate was relatively “safe.”

Was it a free and fair election? That depends on the criteria used to respond to that question. We have video footage of an elderly woman going to vote and a supporter calling out “She’s mine. I paid her already.” Was the old lady forced to accept money for her vote? Yet, having accepted the money it appears that she had also pawned her freedom. Also, how fair is it when people must weigh up the cost of not voting for a candidate when that might put their public service jobs in jeopardy? If measured on the scale of one person, one secret vote, then the election was not free or fair. On the other hand, there has been a communal expression of opinion that has resulted in a relatively peaceful change of political leadership in the Wabag Open Electorate. It seems to us that the question of a free and fair election should continue to be raised in order to foster the ideal of a culture of democracy.

## 12. Recommendations

1. There must be a radical revision of the electoral roll. There are still far too many people whose names are currently in different wards in the province (and even elsewhere—in Port Moresby, for example) and far too many eligible voters denied a chance to have their names on the roll. Revision should be budgeted for, funded and be an ongoing process starting immediately.
2. We need a digital database (managed by qualified and trustworthy people) to facilitate communication and reduce the need for officers to be travelling from Enga to Port Moresby and back with paper data. We noticed the use of new technology (tablets) for digital transmission of results from the counting centre to the national Electoral Commission. This allowed for timely updating of results on the Commission’s website and through the media and assisted in the transparency of the counting process. It would be good to develop such technology further in future elections.
3. Electoral officials need better training. Training for polling officers was brief (less than a day just before polling) and counting officials had only half an hour of briefing. Polling officials should be better trained and receive a certificate after the training. They could be engaged for election duties on presentation of the certificate.
4. There needs to be a better gender balance at every level. Ms Nancy Leia was appointed as Assistant Electoral Manager. However, the Electoral Commissioner suspended her just as polling began. There were no women at the pre-count. Only one Polling Officer and three Assistant Polling Officers were female. Better gender balance among polling officials could make a difference in implementing the policy on separate polling booths for men and women.
5. One would hope that women would take part as candidates in future elections. However, the present trend towards “money politics” and Bigman leadership will most probably disadvantage women candidates. One woman pointed out how having women as candidates will also most likely generate hostilities among women themselves (e.g. the practice of composing songs to put another candidate down). There needs to be much more dialogue and education at the community level before women will be able to take part with equity.
6. There is need for more political education, not only about LPV, but also about the purpose and function of elections, the whole issue of governance and the role of government. However, this will have to be accompanied by significant cultural change in the Enga Province to move away from money politics towards more representative forms of democratic culture. Who will initiate and guide this change?
7. Without the education and cultural change mentioned in the previous point, trying to enforce a system of “one person, one secret vote” in Enga would risk confusion and even violent resistance. Thus education and awareness programs must be realistic, while at the same time communicating democratic ideals.



8 “Tanim tebol” and clan voting (both forms of “blok” voting), which occurred in a number of places, seem to severely limit democratic participation. The Engan community should consider alternative ways of voting that would be fairer to voiceless people in the community, particularly women. Even some form of line-up voting with separate lines for women and men would be more just than the present practice of a few exercising democratic rights on behalf of the many.

9. Logistics was generally poor. Materials did not arrive in a timely manner and polling officers found essential materials (such as electoral roll or posters) missing from the cartons presented to them. Some were unprepared for rain. The election requires better management at the local level. However there were also unacceptable management errors at the national level. For example, there were differing numbers of ballot papers for Open and Regional seats for some rest houses, labelled and pre-packaged from Port Moresby, and it took almost a day for polling officials in Wabag to sort them out so that the same number of papers for Open and Regional went out for polling. Logistics and management need a huge improvement.

10. The present system of counting is tedious and time-consuming. Often it took hours in the morning to retrieve ballot boxes from containers at the Police Station and to bring them with an escort to the counting centre, so counting would begin only at around 11am. This process needs to be streamlined and made more time-efficient.

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## Appendix 1: Pre Campaign Questionnaire

Pre-Campaign – SURVEY 1 – RESPONDENT No		Date		Male		Female	
1.1	Respondent's sex?						
1.2	Respondent's age?	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
1.3	What level do you finish school?	no ne	Gd 6	Gd 8	Gd 10	Gd 12	Tertiary
1.4	Ward?	1.5		LLG?			
1.6	Do you know that there is a new electoral roll?			Yes		No	
1.7	Are you enrolled to vote in the 2012 election?			Not Sure		Yes	
1.8	Did you see any enrollment officers in your area?			Yes		No	
1.9	Did you complete a claim for enrollment form?			Yes		No	
1.10	Have you see any verification teams in your area?			Yes		No	
1.11	Have you checked that your name is on the new roll?			Yes		No	
1.12	(If not) Do you intend to check if your name is on the new roll?			Yes		No	
1.13	Do you know there is a voting system (LPV with 3 preferences)?			Yes		No	
1.14	Have you attended any election awareness?			Yes		No	
1.15	(if yes above )Who conducted this awareness?			Civil society/church		PNGEC	
1.16	(If yes in 1.14) Give the name of the group conducting the awareness					Other	
1.17	(If yes in 1.14 ) Where did it take place?			Market		Church	
1.18	Have you seen PNGEC advertisements?			Newspapers		TV	
1.19	Did you vote in the last elections in 2007?			Yes		No	
1.20	Do you know how to vote properly?			Not Sure		Yes	
1.21	Will you require assistance to vote?			Not Sure		Yes	
1.22	Do you expect to be able to vote freely?			Not Sure		Yes	
1.23	Do you know that men & women should vote separately this election?			Yes		No	
1.24	Do you think there will be trouble in this election			Yes		No	
1.25	(If yes above) What sort of trouble?						
1.26	Do you think a man and his wife should vote for the same candidate?			Yes		No	
1.27	Why did you answer yes or no above?						
1.28	Would you give your first preference to a woman candidate?			Yes		No	
1.29	What is your reason for your answer above?						
1.30	Would you give your 2 <sup>nd</sup> or 3 <sup>rd</sup> preference to a woman candidate?			Yes		No	
1.31	What is your reason for your answer above?						
1.32	Are you actively campaigning for a candidate?			Yes		No	
1.33	(If yes above) Is the candidate a man or a woman?			man		woman	
1.34	Do you expect to get money from a candidate or his/her supporters during the campaign or election period?			Yes		No	
1.35	(if yes above) How much money do you expect to get?						



**Appendix 1: Pre Campaign Questionnaire (cont'd)**

2. Starting with the most important issues, what do you think are the three most important issues that are facing the nation of PNG at this time?
3. Starting with the most important issues what do you think are the three most important issues facing people of this electorate in Enga at this time?
4. Starting with the most important issues, what are the three most important issues that you think election candidates need to address if they are elected to parliament?
5. Starting with the most important, what are the three most important qualities or strengths you look for in a candidate?
- 6.1 Have you heard about the proposal to have 22 special seats for women in the PNG parliament?  
Yes    No
- 6.2 If yes, Do you support the proposal or not?  
Yes    No    Not sure



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