

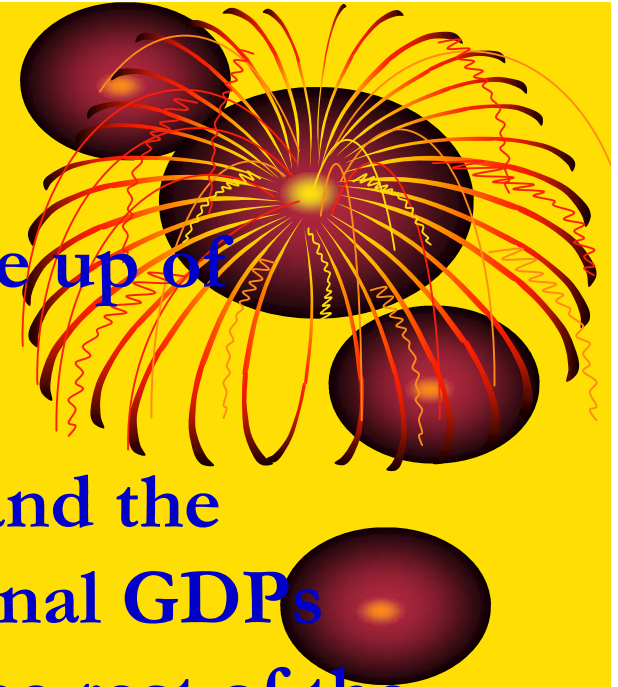
A decorative graphic in the top right corner of the slide. It features a central burst of red and orange lines radiating outwards, resembling a firework or a starburst. Surrounding this central burst are several dark, glowing spheres of varying sizes, some with a bright yellow-orange center, suggesting planets or celestial bodies.

REGIONAL TRENDS AND SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION/ INTEGRATION: ASIA

**Expert Group Meeting
Dialogue in the Social Integration Process:
Building Social Relations – by, for and with people
New York, 21-23 November 2005**

Asia :


- A Region much too diverse, made up of highly pluralistic societies
- A “MIRACLE “ of the Eighties and the Nineties with , up to today, national GDPs rising much more quickly than the rest of the world and the national poverty rates.
- Today, it is also a region which has more people with inadequate nutrition, more living in slum areas, more people without access to water and sanitation than any other developing region in the world.




“STAGES” in Asia’s Development




1940s to the 1950s	Turbulent period of nation-building; Social conflict prevalent
1960s to the 1990s	Asian “miracle”- rapid economic growth and relative social cohesion. Government, top-down, transitions to prosperity. Vision 20/20; Pancasila; This Nation Can be great Again, etc.
Late 1990s	Asian crisis! Social conflict-more complex, across borders, and impact of globalization, democratisation, technological change, international division of labor, migration.
2000 +	Search for new paradigms to reconstruct social integration, cohesion

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- Home to 7 out of 10 of humanity's poor, with 700 million people on less than \$ 1.00 a day or less;
 - About 1.9 billion people live at or below \$2.00, substantially greater than in Africa.
 - Member states with different political systems (China vs. India); gaps in economic development (South Korea and Indonesia); gaps in effective governance; recurring political (Kashmir, Taiwan Straits, Korea, Japan and China); waning separatist movements that got “new life” from the deepening poverty and exclusion of “new” and old groups in the society and across nations; social tensions over water and resources across tribes and nations (ex. for those along the Mekong) over the gigantic dams, together with, or on its own, the existing religious, ethnic, and class conflicts.

A decorative graphic in the top right corner of the slide. It features several dark purple, spherical firework-like shapes. One of these spheres is exploding, with numerous thin, red and orange lines radiating outwards, resembling sparks or fire. The background of the slide is a solid yellow color.

▪Development gains that were narrowly economic and unevenly distributed left large segments of the of the population without a sense of just and fair treatment. Thus,

▪Overarching national and social visions of societal development, seeking the allegiance of all citizens, regardless of age, gender, race, ethnicity or class, failed to resonate due to the deep cleavages and the top-down approach of the Governments (then) that attempted to bypass the civil society. Such cleavages have grown deeper and have produced “fire.”

A decorative graphic in the top right corner of the slide. It features a central burst of red and orange fireworks exploding outwards. Surrounding this central burst are several dark, glowing spheres, some of which appear to be in motion or have just exploded, creating a dynamic and celebratory feel.

▪ Globalization (or its mishandling) and migration across countries have created new sources of political and social tensions across nations and sectors requiring new multilateral/multi-level activities.

▪ Democratisation has also “opened” fissures in the management of conflict in societies that had earlier kept the “issues under the rug”, with the poor now able to “demand” concrete action from their government . For example,

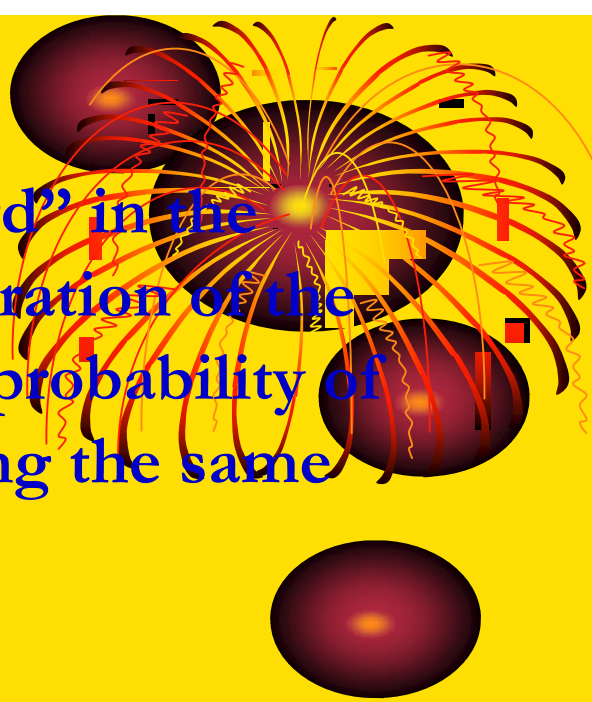
▪ *The ouster of the BJ Party -led Government last year even if India had experienced its highest growth rates since independence under this ruling party; or*

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- *The recent elections in Sri Lanka*
 - *The election of President Estrada in the Philippines – a statement of alienation between the classes.*
 - *the street demonstrations of mostly young persons in Indonesia as fuel subsidies “go”*
 - *the “social” rebellions in China , many of which were mounted by the farmers being expelled from their lands with little compensation and no legal or institutional reforms to protect rural populations . (Note: 3.5 million is reported to have joined 74,000 protests in 2004, up from 58,000 in 2003. China’s rural to urban ratio has risen from 1.8 :1 in 1987 to 3.2:1 today.*

The Asian Crisis of 1997 and after:

The “economic miracle” covered up deep social cleavages and deeply rooted conflict with governments and elite in agreement to nurture the “economic” miracle. “Flashpoints” are within nations and its citizens, the majority and the disadvantaged!

- As growth moderates or constricts, the politics of a literate, near poor, lower middle class increasingly dominates the “political” arena
- “Old” issues and social cleavages are bundled with new issues of exclusion, injustice from the effects of globalization and migration, inadequate governance

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•As a result of the “great leap forward” in the social mobility of the post-War generation of the ASEAN countries, there is a strong probability of polarization and violent conflict along the same “faultlines” in the system

- For nations such as Sri Lanka, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Nepal,... Social crises have not been outgrown. Recurrent conflict makes it necessary to move beyond coexistence and tolerance into reconstruction and reconciliation, management of diversity policy debate.



▪ Causes of conflict:

- Striking correlation between internal cleavages and patterns of economic growth: high employment levels in areas with less intense or non-threatening cleavages.
- Low government involvement in social protection and re-distribution coupled with “destruction” of traditional modes of community social protection (as a result of the new growth strategies)
- Lack of public will and policies to provide social advantages to reduce discrimination in education, labor markets and other areas. (Malaysia, Singapore provide examples of this. Indonesia, despite better assimilation of their Chinese will not be able withstand the first “challenge” by their *bumi* majority.)

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▪ The real need for dialogue and integration and the pursuit of reconciliation in addition to the elimination of economic inequality --- Different outcomes for the Chinese in Malaysia and those in Indonesia

- Since Malaysia's independence in 1957, it had only one major ethnic conflagration, while the better assimilated Chinese in Indonesia have experienced persistent violence. Why?
- the Greater wealth of the Chinese and the difference in religion only *partly* explain the conflict.

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▪ **Divergent capacities for managing conflict :**

▪ The higher degree of Chinese cultural assimilation in Indonesia did NOT lead to greater group safety.

▪ Chinese, in Malaysia had their own organizations and political parties for a long time under the Malaysian program for “affirmative action for the *bumi*”, allowing them to engage and enter into political pacts with the majority groups and form cross-cutting ties. While the program made for better access to opportunities by the Malay *bumi*, the Chinese did not find themselves disadvantaged.

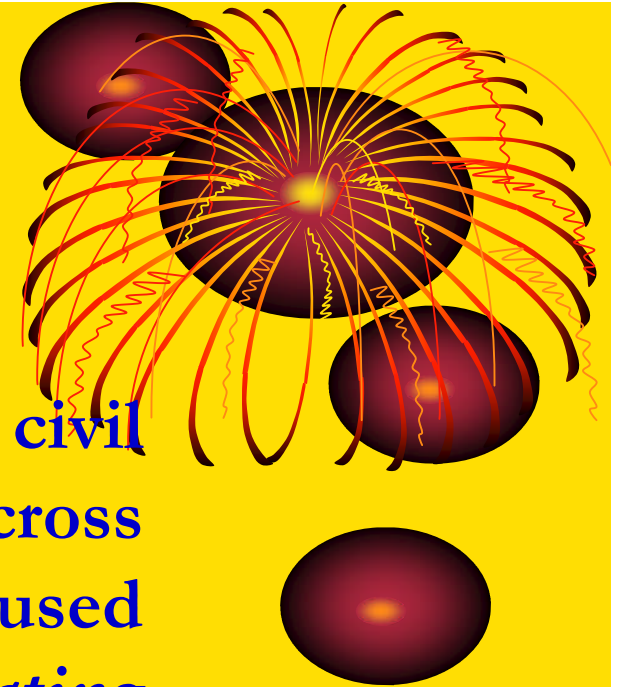
The CHALLENGE for Asia/ASEAN and the member-nations:

*Manage social solidarity in the face of increasingly
complex pluralisms.*

1. The ability to come together as a collective: China-ASEAN trade is up by 20%; trade among ASEAN member states have re-shaped individual member-states' trading partnerships.



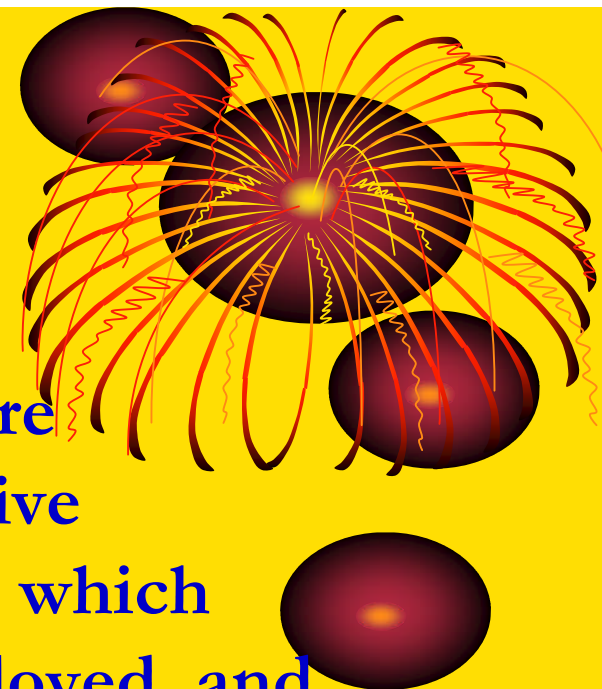
2. The emergence/growth of the civil society in varying degrees across countries – cross-cutting relations focused on issues and “causes” as key *mediating* agents between communal groups, governments, and markets is key to a nation’s capacity to manage social and economic transformation peacefully and avert/end violent conflict.



3. The institutional capacity for mediation in society, esp.

The way the State responds to and incorporate groups, affects the nature and outcome of conflict. A responsive state that creates an environment in which individuals enjoy mobility, get employed, and meet their basic needs have an important role in mitigating political attacks on the minority by members of the majority.

Whenever state responsiveness has been weak, segments of the majority group in both Malaysia and Indonesia, have perceived the State as a tool of the Chinese, and attack the minority .

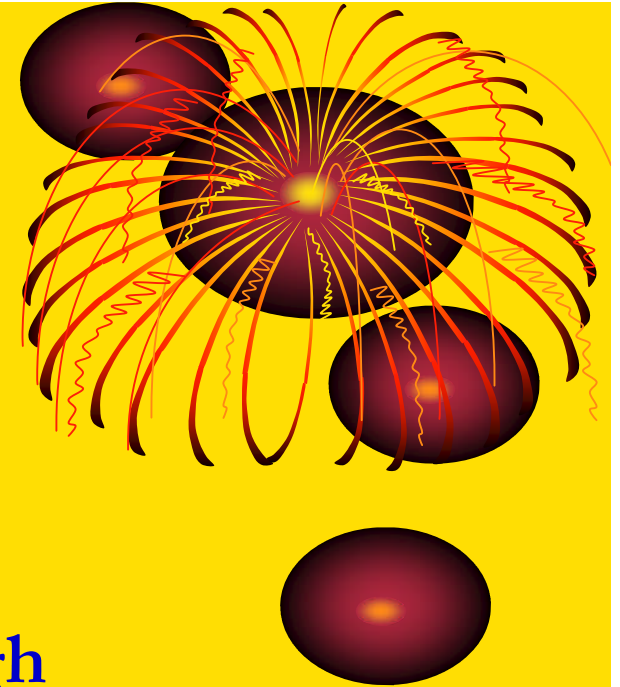


3. Better governance – a little too slow but existing nonetheless.

- In Indonesia, democratization may provide the Chinese a greater political voice and secure them a legitimate seat in Indonesia society.
- In the Philippines, recent laws and regulations have attempted to address the inequities visited on the traditional communities - dispossession of their land, exploitation of natural resources in their land, lack of education to education and basic services, with special legislation pushed forward by broad alliances of civil society, government, etc. already “in conversation” for many years.



4. A recognition that post conflict reconstruction and reconciliation require more than coexistence but integration, reconciliation and social cohesion. Dialogue, multi-stakeholder processes that have been successful must move through different stages of the conflict, and the network of associates and organizations have “nurture” the discussion.
5. The initiatives toward decentralization and devolution (vs. centralization) would serve as “bridges” in re-establishing relationships away from violent conflict.

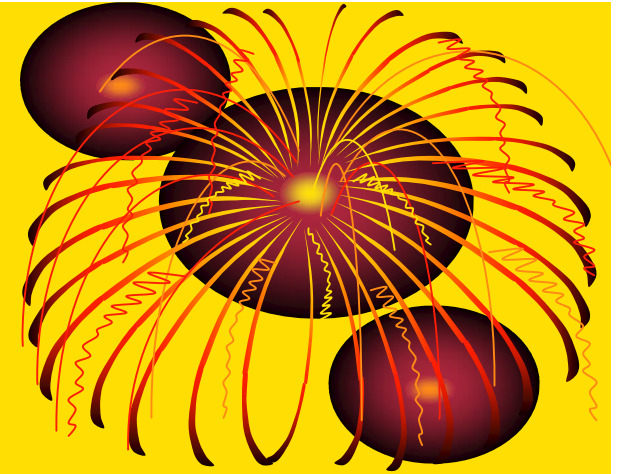


6. The example of Tabang Mindanao provides us with a good example of the expanding multi-stakeholder processes as it moved from assisting the Indigenous People in Mindanao (as part of the Mindanao solution) but also to empowering the IPs and enhancing the internal capacity of the IP tribes/ organizations working with them at *different* parts of the conflict, the whole community's mediating capacity in pursuit of a better life for the IPs.

- An integrated human development program within the framework of the peace process by Tabang with various stakeholders



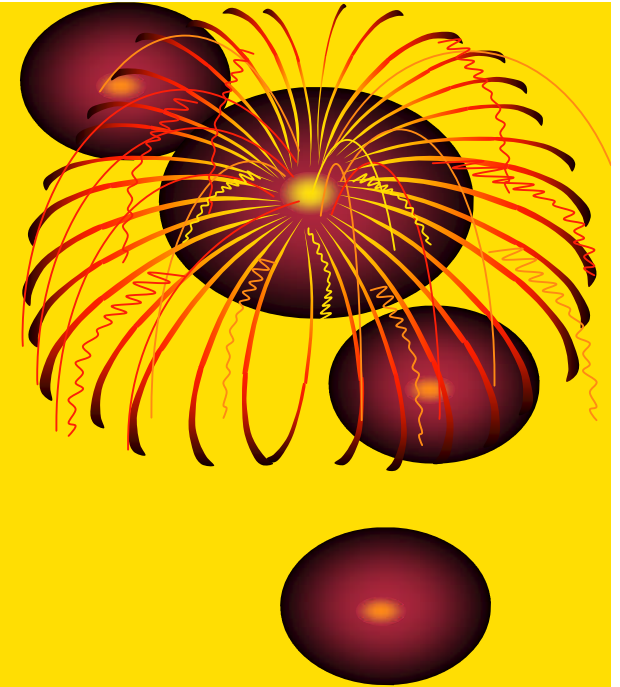
- Implemented in collaboration with the local government units, the Church, the Ustadz and Imamz, NGOs, GOs, the military and the MILF. Plus international NGOs.



- Program components: community organizing, peace advocacy, basic services (core shelter, water systems, health and sanitation, sustainable agriculture.) Plus, capability building aimed towards the strengthening of the trust among the tri-people in rebuilding their lives and establishing effective and socio-cultural sensitive community structures. Building trust and reducing fear are critical but are insufficient conditions for the cessation of violence.



- Related to the work of the Sanctuaries of Peace, and as “stand alone.”
- Also part of the Christian-Muslim-Lumad (IP) dialogue in Mindanao and the IP dialogues in the whole country
- More than state security, it promotes a human security framework in Mindanao.
- Brings in the rest of the private sector outside Mindanao



•As Fr. R. Layson of Mindanao says: “
Tabang and other initiatives are important
as many have lost confidence in the peace
process. People would rather support a
protracted war than a protracted peace...
We have realized that peace talks can’t
guarantee instant peace as long as there’s
an unseen war going on in the hearts of our
people.”

