

UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG



Masterarbeit / Master Thesis

Titel der Masterarbeit / Master Thesis Title

Democracy in Latin America and Asia through Transregional Actors Engagement with Civil Society: Case Study of FEALAC and Goles por La paz

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Angestrebter Akademischer Grad / Academic Degree Aspired

Master (MA)

Wien, Mai 2010

Studienkennzahl : A 067 805

Studienrichtung: Individuelles Masterstudium:

Global Studies – A European Perspective

Betreuer/Supervisor: Univ. Doz. Dr. Siegfried Mattl

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Acknowledgements

He who knows the surface of the earth and the topography of a country only through the examination of maps..is like a man who learns the opera of Meyerbeer or Rossini by reading only reviews in the newspapers. The brush of landscape artists Lorrain, Ruysdael, or Calame can reproduce on canvas the sun's ray, the coolness of the heavens, the green of the fields, the majesty of the mountains...but what can never be stolen from Nature is that vivid impression that she alone can and knows how to impart--the music of the birds, the movement of the trees, the aroma peculiar to the place--the inexplicable something the traveller feels that cannot be defined and which seems to awaken in him distant memories of happy days, sorrows and joys gone by, never to return.--Rizal, "Los Viajes", in La Solidaridad (c.1888)

*Perhaps travel cannot prevent bigotry,
but by demonstrating that all peoples cry, laugh, eat, worry, and die,
it can introduce the idea
that if we try and understand each other, we may even become friends.
-Maya Angelou*

We live in a world of intermingling triumphs and tragedies...a patchwork of histories – fragmented but connected, far but near, transcendent yet simply reminiscent of the footprints we have left on our fragile planet. But it is only when we lose sight of our own shores that we see how amazingly different and similar we are at the same time. This thesis became more than just an erudite journey, it became a space to find the nexus between the ‘tie that binds’ people together despite distance, despite language, color, or race. It became an opportunity to engage and learn from my own people and from people who were at the onset foreign yet discovering, after only an instant, that they too are a part of my history. The Global Studies program gave me the chance to create my own salad bowl of experiences while at the same time tending to my passion to be the change that I want to see in the world.

I am very grateful to the Masters in Global Studies Program through the generous grant from the European Commission for giving me the key to unlock the secrets to the world’s multi-faceted saga. I greatly appreciate all the coordinators and support staff for always trying to make sure that all of us were right on track not only with our studies but with our daily lives away from home. I sincerely thank my advisor, Prof. Dr. Siegfried Mattl, for his patience, support, and especially openness to my unorthodox ideas.

This research brought me to opposite ends of the world. And at each end, I have had the pleasure to meet people who have greatly expanded my horizons and touched my heart.

In the Philippines, I wish to thank Ms. Karen Villanueva, who as of this writing is set to become one of the youngest mayors in the Philippines, and her staff for all the support in conducting Goals for Peace in Bais City. Thank you to the coaches and the *Kuyas* (elder brothers) who helped out in the program. Of course, to my family, who gave their ‘all-around’ support.

In Colombia, I wish to thank *Fundacion Matiambolumba* for helping us in conducting *Goles por la Paz*. My sincere thanks to the Cardenas Family not only for your assistance in the project but also for adopting me the whole time I was there. And thank you for making my first birthday in the continent a very special one. I also wish to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Colombia especially the Bureau of Asia, Africa and Oceania for allowing me to attend the high-level meetings of FEALAC and to conduct the interviews. *Muchas gracias!*

Thank you to the family of Lawyer Kurt Fischer and his wife Yvonne Fischer for trusting that we are making a difference. And for cheering us on.

I have learned a lot from all my classmates. You all completely destroyed my view of the world – and I will be forever grateful. I would also like to thank Mr. Alexander Cardenas for sharing my desire to bridge together field research with development work. And for believing that we could make it happen.

And last, I thank all the young Colombians of Ciudad Bolivar and the young Filipinos of Bais who participated in the Goals for Peace projects. You all are a great inspiration to me.

Daghang salamat kaninyong tanan.

Index

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| ASEAN | Association for Southeast Asian Nations |
| APEC | Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation |
| ASEM | Asia Europe Meeting |
| EDSA | Epifanio De los Santos Avenue |
| EALAF | East Asia- Latin America Forum |
| EU | European Union |
| FBC | FEALAC Business Council |
| FMM | Foreign Ministers' Meeting |
| FEALAC | Forum for East Asian and Latin American Cooperation |
| FOCALAE | FORO DE COOPERACIÓN AMÉRICA LATINA-ASIA-ESTE |
| JVP | Junior Visitor's Project |
| MERCOSUR | Mercado Común del Sur |
| SENA | Servicio Nacional Aprendizaje |
| SOM | Senior Official's Meeting |
| UNCTAD | United Nations Conference on Trade and Development |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization |
| US | United States of America |
| WTO | World Trade Organization |

Abstract

Keywords: Latin America, Asia, Goals for Peace, civil society, democracy, governance, regionalism

This paper will investigate the new modes of governance operating in developing regions specifically Latin America and Asia. Latin America and Asia have embraced the notion of democracy even though it can be argued that their application of democratic processes and institutions may differ from the Western notion. Yet, the role of civil society in these areas cannot be discounted and has been highly successful in demonstrating the essence of the democratic ideal. Moreover, grassroots initiatives have flourished and have complemented the working of the state in the provision of services and the spread of liberal values. The argument of this paper therefore is that democracy manifests itself in a globalized world not only through states but through the resourcefulness of entities beyond the traditional Westphalian system. Specifically, it is argued that global governance structures in democratic systems manifest themselves in new ways. Over and beyond, the state - there are forms of new governance; however, they do not replace the state as a main actor. Moreover, the application of social capital within the democratic logic capitalizes on coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit among citizens.

In this investigation, two main approaches are used. On the one hand, a theoretical framework is woven in order to review the current schools of thought with respect to the values of democracy as well as to uncover new discussions on global governance and civil society. The second approach is through an analysis of two case studies which aims to present evidence of other initiatives that fall beyond the traditional notion of state power and even of the formal realms of civil society. The cases are: the Forum for East Asian and Latin Cooperation (FEALAC), a state-led transregional initiative and the Goals for Peace project in the Philippines and Colombia which embraces an emancipatory form of research.

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht neue Formen von Governance in Entwicklungsregionen, speziell in Lateinamerika und Asien. Lateinamerika und Asien haben die Idee der Demokratie aufgenommen, wenngleich argumentiert werden kann, dass ihre Umsetzung demokratischer Verfahren und Institutionen sich von westlichen Vorstellungen unterscheiden. Die Rolle der Zivilgesellschaft in diesen Gebieten darf aber keineswegs unterschätzt werden, die auch höchst erfolgreich das Wesen demokratischer Ideale demonstriert. Darüber hinaus haben sich viele „Grassroot“-Initiativen entwickelt, die das Wirken der Staaten bei der Bereitstellung von

Dienstleistungen und der Verbreitung liberaler Werte ergänzen. Das Argument dieser Arbeit ist daher, dass Demokratie sich in einer globalisierten Welt nicht nur durch Staaten, sondern auch durch das Potential von Akteuren jenseits des traditionellen westphälischen Systems manifestiert. Im Speziellen wird argumentiert, dass sich die globalen Strukturen von Governance in demokratischen Systemen in neuer Art und Weise manifestieren. Über und neben dem Staat existieren Formen neuer Governance; sie ersetzen allerdings nicht den Staat als Hauptakteur. Die Einbringung von Sozialkapital innerhalb der demokratischen Logik profitiert außerdem von der Vernetzung und Kooperation, die die Bürger zum gegenseitigen Nutzen betreiben.

In dieser Untersuchung werden zwei Hauptherangehensweisen verwendet. Auf der einen Seite wird ein theoretischer Rahmen entworfen, wobei die derzeitigen Denkschulen in Bezug auf die Werte der Demokratie befragt und die neuen Debatten über Global Governance und Zivilgesellschaft sichtbar gemacht werden. Die zweite Herangehensweise ist die Analyse zweier Fallstudien, die andere Initiativen nachweisen will, welche außerhalb der traditionellen Auffassung von Staatsmacht, ja sogar außerhalb der formellen Bereiche der Zivilgesellschaft liegen. Diese Fallstudien sind: Das Forum for East Asian and Latin Cooperation (FEALAC), eine von Staaten geführte transregionale Initiative und das „Goals for Peace“-Projekt auf den Philippinen und in Kolumbien, welches sich einer emanzipatorischen Form der Forschung verschrieben hat.

1. Introduction

Democracy, according to Raymond Gastil, stemmed from two different origins. On the one hand, it is characterized by ‘the universal desire of people to manage their own affairs’, at a minimum to have a voice as to the choice on who will given the authority to manage their affairs. On the other hand, modern democracy can be traced to liberalism, which can be characterized as that set of social and political beliefs, attitudes, and values which assumes the universal and equal application of the law and the existence of basic human rights superior to those of state or community.¹

Fukuyama, one of the leading political philosophers in the contemporary world, elucidated the dominance of democracy in the human epoch by provocatively postulating the ‘End of History.’ He claims that the advent of Western liberal democracy may signal the end point of humanity's socio-cultural evolution and the final form of human government. Fukuyama wrote that : what we are witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or a passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind’s ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.² Fukuyama’s professed conviction is that “the ideal will govern the material world in the long run.” "And as mankind approaches the end of the millennium," he concludes, " . . . [there is] only one competitor standing in the ring as an ideology of potentially universal validity: liberal democracy, the doctrine of individual freedom and popular sovereignty."³

Indeed, democracy has been ostentatiously used and aspired as the primary mode of governance in the modern world. After the fall of Communism as evidenced by the collapse of the Soviet Union, democracy has had a steady climb and overarching acceptance in the world. However, its journey throughout global history is widely-contested and contains a lot of crossroads and numerous obstacles. It can be argued, for example, that while we trace democracy to Athens, the kind of democracy espoused in the ancient world is so different than what we experience today. A particular case in point is the fact that 50% of the inhabitants of ancient Athens composing of women and slaves were not eligible to vote.

¹ Raymond D. Gastil, "What Kind of Democracy?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, June 1990
<http://www.theatlantic.com/past/issues/90jun/gastil.htm> (accessed February 10, 2010).

² Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History", *The National Interest*, 16. No. 4, (Summer 1989): 18.

³ Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

Moreover, Athens did not have a representative assembly but the direct voice of each male citizen was considered instead. Despite all of this, democracy reigns supreme and has been a catchphrase for good governance. As Michael McFaul points out, “democracy promotion as a foreign policy goal has become increasingly acceptable throughout most of the international community... democracy promotion (is) “an international norm embraced by...states, transnational organizations, and international networks.”⁴

However, although there is considerable logic to the reign of democracy, it has to be conceptualized in the era of globalisation. Today, the marriage of democracy and the nation-state is under pressure. Under the auspices of globalization, many theorists stress the need to rethink the modern notion of political community and to discuss among them the emergence of regional alliances and its possibilities to address the worlds’ dilemmas. Globalisation is often referred to in terms of the breakdown of borders and the growth of genuinely global economic space characterised by the mobility of capital and production. With it comes the formation of new structures of governance and government. Due to this we speak of global governance and the role of non-state actors in the workings of our world. With the “third wave of democratization⁵”, civil society became closely linked to various forms of participatory democracy. In other words, civil society directed its efforts towards a “utopian program”⁶ that aims at the deepening of democracy and the transformation of the societal status quo. It is this treatment of civil society as a panacea to global problems that prompted Jan Scholte to remind us that in reality, civil society is an arena, not a thing, and although it is usually seen as the solution to future progressive politics, this space contains different and conflicting interests and agendas.⁷

This paper will investigate the new modes of governance operating in developing regions specifically Latin America and Asia. Latin America and Asia have embraced the notion of democracy even though it can be argued that their application of democratic processes and

⁴ Michael McFaul, "Democracy Promotion as a World Value," *Washington Quarterly* 28 (Winter 2004): 148.

⁵ Samuel P. Huntington, *Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

⁶ Dubiel, H. (1994) in Zimmer, Annette and Freise, Matthias. "Bringing Society Back In: Civil Society, Social Capital, and Third Sector." In: Maloney, William A./Deth, Jan van (eds): *Civil Society and Governance in Europe*, 9-42. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2008.

⁷ Jan Scholte, "Civil Society: Changing the World?" Centre for the Study of Globalization and Regionalization (CSGR), *Global Working Paper No. 31*, (Coventry: University of Warwick, 1999):4. http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/files/Global_Civil_Society_Changing_the_World.pdf Accessed April 30, 2009.

institutions may differ from the Western notion. Yet, the role of civil society in these areas cannot be discounted and have been highly successful in demonstrating the essence of the democratic ideal. Moreover, grassroots initiatives have flourished and have complemented the working of the state in the provision of services and the spread of liberal values. The argument of this paper therefore is that democracy manifests itself in a globalized world not only through states but through the resourcefulness of entities beyond the traditional Westphalian system. If we were to take Putnam's argument⁸ that neither the state nor the market ensures that "democracy works" but rather trust, societal networks, and values and therefore civiness, then it is worthy to look at the impact of civil society in global governance.

In this investigation, two main approaches are used. On, one hand, a theoretical framework is weaved in order to review the current schools of thought with respect to the values of democracy as well as to uncover new discussions on global governance and civil society. The second approach is through an analyse of two case studies which aims to present evidence of other initiatives that fall beyond the traditional notion of state power and even of the formal realms of civil society. O'Donnell has expressed, 'if political democracy is to be consolidated, democratic practice needs to be spread throughout society, creating a rich fabric of democratic institutions and authorities.'⁹ This paper is an attempt to chronicle manifestations of engagements that reflect the uniqueness and diversity of interests of people from the regions of Latin America and Asia indivually as well as in a symbiotic partnership. The premise is that democratic collective action springs both from both state-sponsored and individual-sponsored partnerships.

Keck and Sikkink stress that the engagement of civil society involvement in global regimes tends to revolve around networks of interest groups (especially NGOs), rather than through formal representative structures.¹⁰ This phenomenon raises important questions not only about NGOs but other nonstate actors especially in the concept of new modes of governance emerging in the global order. However, as will be explained in this paper, the role of civil society is incrementally changing as global governance becomes more pluralistic and less

⁸ Robert Putnam, ed. *Democracies in Flux: The evolution of social capital in contemporary society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁹ Guillermo O'Donnell, "Challenges to Democratization in Brazil." *World Policy Journal* 5, No. 2 (1988): 283

¹⁰ Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: trans-national advocacy networks in international politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998)

confined to state-based systems defined according to territorial sovereignty. As the case studies will explain, it is precisely in this area that civil society and its interaction with democratic ideals are flourishing. On the other hand, states have joined together to address global challenges and in effect are using this sphere of engagement for their ends. Moreover, it has interacted with nonstate actors such as nonprofits and the private sector to be able to deliver its services to its constituency. As a response to globalization, the World Bank has reported that there is a renewed focus on the state's role has been inspired by the dramatic events in the global economy which have fundamentally changed the environment in which states operate. The global integration of economies and the spread of democracy have narrowed the scope for arbitrary and capricious behaviour. Taxes, investment rules and economic policies must be ever responsive to the parameters of a globalized world economy. Technological change has opened new opportunities for unbundling services and allowing a larger role for markets. These changes have meant new and different roles for government - no longer a sole provider but as facilitator and regulator".¹¹ Therefore it is my claim that during the reign of democracy and democratic ideals, there are tectonic shifts in engagements: states remain as the most powerful actors in governance but they are no longer the only one. Nonstate actors are gaining ground as movers and shakers in the political and social climate. However, social action can come in different forms. All of which will not be enumerated here. My focus is on two specific spheres of interaction and democratic engagement at different poles: (1) It can emanate from the main actor in governance which is the state. (2) It can come from individual efforts of people activating their social capital.

The first case study, the Forum for East Asian and Latin American Countries (FEALAC or FOCALAE in Spanish) is an alliance of Latin American and Asian countries. The purpose of the Forum is *to promote better understanding, political and economic dialogue and cooperation in all areas so as to achieve more effective and fruitful relations and closer cooperation between the two regions. It will avoid duplication with other existing forums. It shall take a multidisciplinary approach and could involve both the public and private sectors.*¹²The second case study is on the Goals for Peace - a sports and development project

¹¹ World Bank, *World development report 1997: The State in a changing world* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1997), 1.

¹² Framework Declaration, 1st Foreign Ministers Meeting (FMM I), Santiago, Chile, March 29-30, 2001, www.fealac.org.

aimed at empowering young people in Bogota, Colombia and in Bais City, Philippines. It is also an information drive with the objective of creating awareness on the situation in the country. To achieve this, the over-all project is two-pronged:

1. A sports training component - soccer is the world's most popular sport but it is also transformative. Through this game, we aim to educate young people on the importance of teamwork, respect
2. Capability – building/Leadership Seminars – activity-based modules on human rights, peace and conflict transformation

It is interesting to note that Goles por la Paz (Goals for Peace) is an initiative stemming from individuals from different regions. One from Asia and one from Latin America. Both reflect albeit in differing ways the emergence of governance which involves combining private, nonprofit and public interests. A focus on governance recognizes that ensuring the future quality of life and competitiveness of a region is a shared responsibility of all sectors. Furthermore, it requires that the shared powers and talents of these sectors work strategically to bring change. This study aims to look at the impact of transregional actors in Latin America and Asia with an over-all intent to promote democratic ideals and with it the invigoration of civil society.

1.1 Research Question and Hypothesis

The main contentions of this study are:

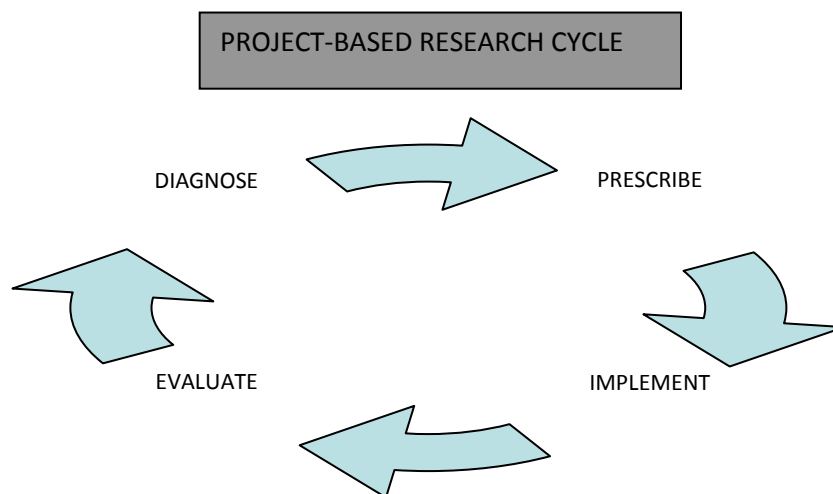
- Global Governance structures in democratic systems manifest themselves in new ways, over and beyond, the state are forms of new governance, however, they do not replace the state as a main actor
- The application of social capital within the democratic logic capitalizes on coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit among citizens.

Moreover, it postulates that these new actors are emerging as increasingly influential players in international decision-making. This paper will look, at this aspect, and also discuss some of the roles they can be expected to play in the future. It will also scrutinize whether the emergence of transregional actors strengthens or weakens the future of democratic accountability of the state.

1.2 Methodology

I re-echo Randy Stoecker's approach on research as action. One, that research process is a community organizing process.¹³ Second, information is an end in itself.¹⁴ On a normal setting, the purpose of the research is to address theoretical questions. But in my thesis, I have pursued an emancipatory approach where I aim to 'give something back'. As a form of action research, emancipatory aspires not only at 'improving outcomes, and improving outcomes, and improving the self-understandings of practitioners to arrive at a critique of their social or educational work and work settings. This kind of action research aims at intervening in the cultural, social and historical processes of everyday life to reconstruct not only the practice and the practitioner but also the practice setting. It aims to connect the personal and the political in collaborative research and action aimed at transforming situations to overcome felt dissatisfactions, alienation, ideological distortion, and the injustices of oppression and domination',¹⁵.

Figure 1. Research as Implementation



Source: Adapted from Randy Stoecker p.148

¹³ Randy Stoecker, *Research Methods for Community Change: A Project Based Approach* (California: Sage, 2005),150.

¹⁴ Stoecker, *Ibid.*

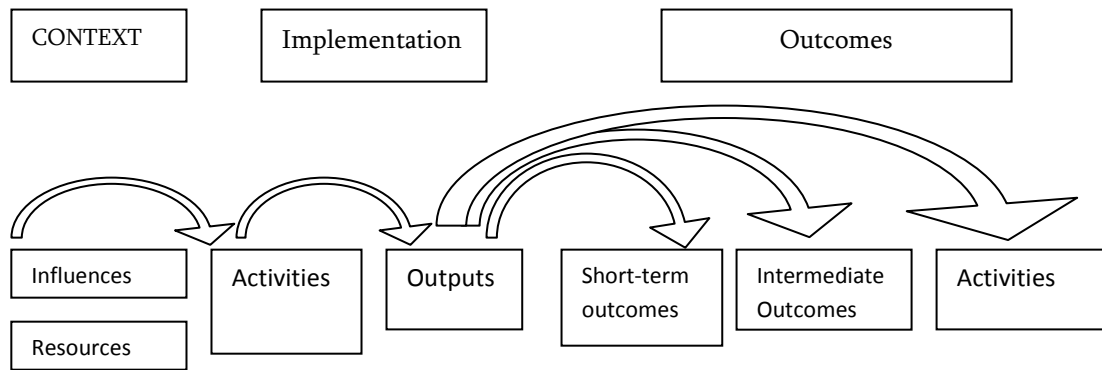
¹⁵ Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury, *Handbook of Action Research; Participative Inquiry and Practice* (London: Sage, 2001) , 92.

The paper takes the form of a case study research of chosen transregional organizations working in Latin America and Asia. The research calls for a holistic, in-depth investigation and this is the reason why a case study is ideal. At the onset, a relevant historical database will be compiled which will include a historical overview of FEALAC and the *Goles por la Paz* (Goals for Peace). Furthermore, a protocol for the case study will be created for guidance purposes in the conduct of the research including field procedures for on-site interviews, case study questions and a guide for the case study report. Multiple sources of data will be used in order to create a triangulation of evidence: documentation and archival records.

The limitation of this research is its dependence on two cases which will be the bases for generalization. Moreover, the schedule is dependent on the free time allotted for field research as well as second hand source accumulation bearing in mind the other academic requirements that have to be fulfilled in the Masters program. The project then is looking at the months of October with an end date of July. Field work is scheduled from the months of January – March. However, the approach of this research is on quality rather than quantity. My methods will therefore be primarily intensive and qualitative rather than extensive and quantitative. Moreover, the case study will make use the Logic model¹⁶ to develop a solid evaluation tool. A framework will be created identifying three focus areas: Context, Implementation and Outcomes (see diagram below). Context will document how the programs of both organizations function within the economic, social, and political environment taking into consideration its interregional character. This part will allow the evaluation of relationships and capacity. Implementation will assess the extent to which the activities were executed as planned. Outcomes measure effectiveness, magnitude and satisfaction of the stakeholders.(see Diagram)

¹⁶ W.K. Kellogg Foundation *Logic Model Evaluation Guide*. W.K. Kellogg Foundation. January 2004. Available at http://ww2.wkkf.org/DesktopModules/WKF.00_DmaSupport/ViewDoc.aspx?fld=PDFFile&CID=281&ListID=28&ItemID=2813669&LanguageID=0. Accessed February 15, 2009.

Figure 2: Project Evaluation



Source: Own Diagram, Adopted from Kellogg Evaluation Guide

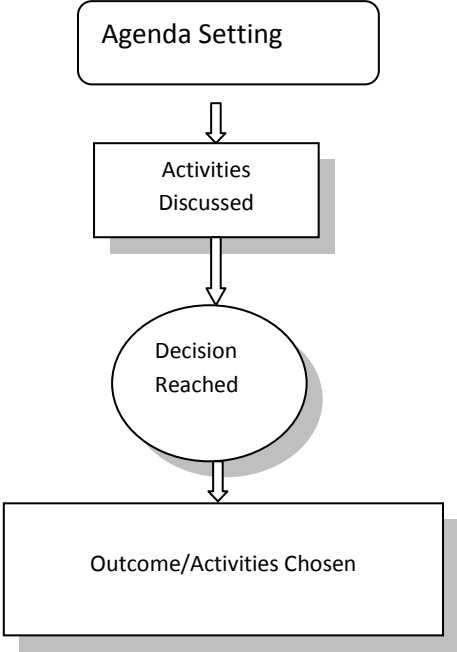
It is a recognized fact that a crucial part of the research process is the acquisition of relevant data to support the thesis statement. For the purpose of my investigatory project, I decided to do fieldwork in Bogota, Colombia and Bais City Philippines. As expected, the first question that comes to mind would be, why Colombia and why the Philippines? My answer is that simply Colombia (and the Philippines) is at a crossroad where all these efforts to build civil society and promote alternative opportunities are gaining ground. Moreover, it is the time to get involved in the transformation of conflict in Colombia (and the Philippines) and to recognize the role of young Colombians and Filipinos in the future of their country.

From the above-mentioned outlook, I did a two-pronged probe into the highways and byways of Colombian life which involves transregional interaction. Due to the absence of a formal, structural headquarters of the FEALAC, it was decided to conduct field work in the host country where its next high-level, official meeting was conducted during the month of February. This allowed interaction with FEALAC's contact persons in the host country (in this case, Colombia) as well as the participants who were members of the alliance. However, because of time and logistical constraints, a distinct method used in the case study was direct observation.¹⁷ The advantages for using this method for the third case study was evident in that: First, it was flexible as I was given freedom to navigate within the proceedings. Second, direct observation required less time for review and analysis because it is single pass. The primary focus in its implementation was to get feedback about the general picture of user interaction within the system.

¹⁷ Michael Patton, *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. 2. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications; 1990.

Of course, it is recognized that there are disadvantages to the utilization of direct observation. First, the feeling of being observed has a possible effect on the participant's performance, what scientists have dubbed the Hawthorne Effect.¹⁸ On this point, the researcher is mindful to be unobtrusive as possible providing a more detached perspective. Second, direct observation is restricted to a one time experience, meaning the observer has only one opportunity to observe the user. There is no opportunity to review the session for aspects of the user's performance missed by the observer. Finally, the observer has to determine what aspects of the user's performance are noteworthy. Thus, the observer rarely gets a full record of the user activity.¹⁹ Taken this into account, the method for the study of FEALAC was complemented by document analysis and an on-line questionnaire was sent after the conference. To serve as a guide during the direct observation, a flowchart was created to correctly pinpoint and document data signifying the beginning or end of the process, a step in the process (activities) and the decision points

Figure 3: Direct Observation Flowchart



Source: Own Diagram

¹⁸ Henry Landsberger, *Hawthorne revisited*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958.

¹⁹ Colin Drury. "Methods for direct observation of performance." In (Eds.) J. R. WILSON AND E. N. CORLETT: *Evaluation of human work*, Taylor and Francis, London, 1992.

Furthermore, I engaged in interviews and analysis of textual data relating to the organization. On the other hand, together with Mr. Alexander Cardenas, I engaged in a sports and development project dubbed *Goles por la Paz* (Goals for Peace). With this case study, we employed participant-observation to uphold the claims of this thesis. It has been said that this method enables researchers to develop a familiarity with the cultural milieu will afford a more embrative appreciation and comprehension of the project. It allows a unique understanding of the context is borne only through personal experience. I agree to the notion that there is no ‘substitute for witnessing or participating in phenomena of human interaction.’²⁰ Moreover and more importantly, this gives us also an avenue to extend support to community empowerment which as claimed are new spaces that need to be encouraged.

Goals for Peace, I believe, is a reflection of another type of transregional interaction, that of individually-spearheaded initiatives that transcend boundaries. The second case study then is a collaborative effort and the result of this chapter is borne out of a partnership on all levels of project management. In this aspect, we have sought to identify critical ingredients and patterns in the impact of the project as a whole without losing sight of the unique stories of each case. It is important to note, however, that it is challenging to identify simple “causes” or “effects” in these cases. Events are almost always determined from a variety of perspectives and variables interact in different ways and can do so beyond the measurements of time and space. Nonetheless, factors and patterns may be identified that help to explain the cases, and those explanations can support the theory being introduced to here which is on the actions of democracy on the ground through the use of social capital in state and non-state engagements.

²⁰ Natasha Mack, et. al, “Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector’s Field Guide Module 2 Participant Observation”, Family Health International
<http://www.fhi.org/NR/rdonlyres/ed2ruznpftevg34lxuftzjiho65asz7betpqigbbbyorggs6tetjic367v44bay syomnbdjkdbsium/participantobservation1.pdf> (accessed March 1, 2010).

2. State of the Art

2.1 Democracy

Alexis de Tocqueville commented in the 1830s that one of the principal attributes of democracy was the existence of 'private associations'. He opined, "If the inhabitants of democratic countries had neither the right nor the taste for unity for political objects, their independence would run great risks, but they could keep both their wealth and knowledge for a long time. But if they did not learn some habits of acting together in the affairs of daily life, civilization itself would be in peril."²¹ Democracy then is always thought of to intertwine with the emergence and strengthening of civil society through networks, associations and groups. One of the strongest manifestations of the phenomena is the rise of civil society to be able to address the demands of an ever-changing international system, the relations between states and nonstate actors, and the global economy in an age of globalisation. As Christopher Hill defines the 'politics of foreign policy' is therefore not just a matter, in Lasswellian terms, of 'who gets what, when and how out of foreign policy actions', but it also involves our understanding of how to live in a world which is at once foreign and familiar, and of how to conduct democratic politics in that hybrid world.²²

Elklit²³ claims that democracy cannot be easily measured, as the theoretical conception of democracy cannot be operationalised as it is extremely multi-dimensional. He builds on the classical understanding of Dahl that "democracy is a system of government characterized by its continuing responsiveness to the preferences of its citizens, considered as political equals."²⁴ Following Elklit's argument then brings us to the significance of political institutions, rather than the formalities of the democratic structure. However, as mentioned earlier a democratic world is thought to be synonymous to the growth of an active civil society. This means the harnessing of human capital. It has long been postulated that human capital is a critical factor for launching and sustaining shared economic growth. Economist Arnold Harberger opined that 'the state of underdevelopment for an economy stems from the

²¹ Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence, vol. 1, part 2, chapter 7, (1969): 256. Originally published in 1835–1840.

²² See Harold Laswell's, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1936).

²³ Jorgen Elklit, "Is the Degree of Electoral Democracy Measurable? Experiences from Bulgaria, Kenya, Latvia, Mongolia, and Nepal," in *Defining and Measuring Democracy*, Sage Modern Political Series Vol. 36, ed. David Beetham (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1994):89.

²⁴ Ibid.

low productivity of the great mass of the people.' The best means to improve productivity is public and private investment in human capital.²⁵ Becker and Becker also commented that 'human capital is the foundation of a modern economy.'²⁶ Offering people a claim in the future of society 'reduced the long-term danger that social movements will contest regime legitimacy and topple the government, which, in turn, induces longer time horizons in the investment calculations of the private sector, an important determinant of sustainable development.'²⁷ Robert Putnam elucidates this in better detail when he claims, 'Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called “civic virtue.” The difference is that “social capital” calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital.' This repository of human capital in the public came to be known collectively as civil society.

2.2 Civil Society

*“The history of the term ‘civil society’ is older than the history of the modern world,” - Sven Reichardt.*²⁸ Springing from this notion, the civil society approach has a long history that dates back to classical Greece when the term was closely connected with the Aristotelian notion of an ideal way of life. It has evolved much throughout the centuries depending on situations and interests. However, its current popularity dates back to the 1970s when the term was used by dissidents and civic movements in Eastern Europe and Latin America in order to express their opposition against the ruling authoritarian regimes. With this “third wave of democratization²⁹”, civil society became closely linked to various forms of participatory

²⁵ Lawrence Harberger, *Underdevelopment Is a State of Mind: The Latin American Case* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985) , 45.

²⁶ Gary Becker and Guity Nashat Becker, *The Economics of Life* (New York: Mc Graw-Hill, 1997) , 76.

²⁷ Hilton Root, William Ratliff, and Amanda Morgan, “What Latin America can Learn from Asia’s Development Experience,” *In Critical Issues for Mexico and the Developing World*, ed. Ken Judd (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1999) , 18.

²⁸ Sven Reichardt, “Civil Society – A Concept for Comparative Historical Research,” in *Future of Civil Society*, eds. Annette Zimmer and Eckhadr Priller (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2004) , 35.

²⁹ Samuel P. Huntington, *Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

democracy. In other words, civil society directed its efforts towards a “utopian program”³⁰ that aims at the deepening of democracy and the transformation of the societal status quo.

The use of civil society in this essay departs from the classic definition of civil society as the realm of associative life separate from the family, the state, and the market. Instead, it leans toward scholars that opine that civil society is promoted by actors like social movements, interest groups, nongovernmental organizations, and other noneconomic, nonstate actors who are quite diverse in their modes of organization and their goals.³¹

It is apparent that there have been a lot of views regarding the significance of civil society as demonstrated by the harnessing of human capital. According to Hegel, civil society was 'the achievement of the modern world – the territory of mediation where there is free play for every idiosyncrasy, every talent, every accident of birth and fortune and where waves of passion gust forth, regulated only by reason glinting through them.'³² In fact, civil society has been called to ‘deliver’ development to Third World countries. It makes sense as civil society or specifically international organizations were seen to be immune from political pressure and hence be able to seamlessly propagate economic and social justice without any hidden agenda. The argument that democratization can be influenced by non-state actors have been discussed and supported by many theorists.

Although a consensus on its definition remains highly elusive, since at least the late eighteenth century the term "civil society" has been understood to represent the so-called voluntary sector, or the realm of social organization that is self-generating and self-supporting and that exists outside the state and the marketplace.³³ Putnam, who, in his influential *Making Democracy Work*, makes the argument that the social capital generated by civil society organizations is a critical factor in accounting for such outcomes as democratic stability and economic prosperity.³⁴

30 Dubiel, H. (1994) quoted in Zimmer, Annette/Freise, Matthias (2008): *Bringing Society Back In: Civil Society, Social Capital, and Third Sector*. In: Maloney, William A./Deth, Jan van (eds): *Civil Society and Governance in Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 19-42.

31 Elisabeth Jay Friedman and Kathryn Hochstetler, “Assessing the Third Transition in Latin American Democratization,” *Comparative Politics* (October 2002) : 21-22.

32 Jean Comaroff and Jonh L. Comaroff, *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa: A Critical Perspective* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

33 Adam Seligman, *The idea of Civil Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

³⁴ Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Larry Diamond, makes the case correlate to democracy when he contends that "a vibrant civil society is probably more essential for consolidating and maintaining democracy than for initiating it." Loaning directly from Tocqueville, Diamond explains that civil society promotes democratization by "providing the basis for the limitation of state power," by "stimulating political participation and stimulating the efficacy and skill of democratic citizens," and by "aiding citizens in the collective pursuit and defence of their interests and values."³⁵ Along the same lines, Samuel Huntington argues that the first and most basic democratic function of civil society is to create "the basis for the limitation of state power, hence for the control of the state by society, and hence for democratic political institutions as the most effective means of exercising that control." Therefore, as expounded by Cohen, civil society is "a framework that has the immanent possibility of becoming more democratic and whose norms call for democratization."³⁶ This possibility is a function of "an antinomy between democratic norms and insufficient institutionalization as a set of dual possibilities for development."³⁷ In particular, the development of civil society might take the form of eliminating the arbitrary exclusion of certain members of society as rights-bearing individuals/ citizens, extending participatory structures both within civil society and in relation to the state, reformulating and extending rights, as well as acting in defense of the institutions of civil society against possible threats from abuses of power by the state or from within civil society itself.³⁸ Civil society is not an end in itself but an ongoing process dependent upon certain conditions and moving continuously towards the creation of spaces of engagement.

This investigation deals with two different regions with different systems and historical legacies. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the treatment of civil society may differ in many ways. Moreover that the approach of scholar in the dissection of each region's experience may also vary. Lucian Pye proposed has created an intertwined approach on the concepts of civility, social capital, and civil society especially in the context of Asia.³⁹ In his view, it is the

³⁵ See Larry Diamond, "Rethinking Civil Society: Toward Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* vol. 5 (July 1994) : 4-17.

³⁶ Jean Cohen, "Discourse Ethics and Civil Society," *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 14 (1988) : 325.

³⁷ Jean Cohen, *Ibid*: 327.

³⁸ Jean Cohen, *Ibid*: 321-322.

³⁹ Lucian W. Pye, *Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimensions of Authority* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 55-89.

interlocking of these concepts that provide the building blocks of democracy. Quoting Shils⁴⁰, civility is the most fundamental concept for understanding how societies are shaped and organized. According to him, each society has unique rules of etiquette and standards of behaviour that preconditions the tone for public life. In his view, when civility totally breaks down, society ceases to exist. On the contrary, when civility is strong and strongly supported, the society will be integrated and coherent. Moreover, he purports that civility is critical not just for private, personal relationships, but also for relationships of power and authority. Referring to nations with a parliamentary mode of governing, he suggests that since parliamentary democracy cannot operate without respect for rules of civility, civility provides the standard for democratic political culture.

Moreover, again in reference to the Asian experience, Doh Chull Shin has postulated that citizen reactions to democratic regime change are conceptualized as categorical variables whose values vary in quality, rather than quantity.⁴¹ The first type called hybrids refers to those who are neither fully detached from authoritarianism nor fully attached to democracy. The second type called anti-authoritarians refers to those who are fully detached from authoritarianism but have yet to endorse democracy fully. The third type called proto-democrats refers to those who have not yet detached fully from authoritarianism but who endorse democracy fully. The fourth type called authentic or committed democrats refers to those who are both fully detached from authoritarianism and fully attached to democracy⁴². The degree to which a nation conforms to whatever type may define its commitment and openness to civil society action.

In the case of Latin America, eminent scholar Przeworski puts forth a model of political liberalization that found wide acceptance among scholars in the post-1989 political world.⁴³ At the brink of breakthrough political reforms taking place in the former Soviet Union and during the on-going democratization process of Latin America, Przeworski's model of a transition from an authoritarian regime to democracy zeroes in on the strategic interaction

⁴⁰ Edward Shils, "The Virtue of Civility," in *Selected Essays on Liberalism, Tradition, and Civil Society*, ed. Steven Grosby (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1997).

⁴¹ Doh Chull Shin, *Why East Asians React Differently to Democratic Regime Change: Discerning Their Routes to Becoming Authentic Democracy*, Working Paper 45 (2007) : 16. Available online at <http://www.asianbarometer.org/newenglish/publications/workingpapers/no.45.pdf>. Accessed May 10, 2009.

⁴² Shin, *Ibid.*

⁴³ Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

between members of the former regime and members of civil society.⁴⁴ He used game theoretic analysis for evaluating the transactional and interactive strategies of political transitions. Imminently he argues that democracy is ultimately an equilibrium for self-interested players. While theories of transition have included top-down, bottom-up, domestically and internationally stimulated models of political change, Przeworski contends that democracy is an equilibrium for competing actors as rational adherence to democratic political rules is coherent with self-interested behaviour despite being a suboptimal equilibrium.⁴⁵ However instead of crediting this adherence to a set of norms or some exogenously imposed social contract, players, particularly ‘losers’, in the political arena of democracy, continue to play the game as the prospect of eventually winning. Although, he introduces the notion of changing beliefs, he does not make an effort formalize this within his model. He mentions that during the unfolding of this game, events can take place that can affect the outcome⁴⁶ He cites the examples of the popular mobilization of civil society that might indicate to liberalizers that they are willing to participate or that a split occurs in the regime, signalling an “opening” that civil society can exploit.

In order to expose the dynamics and mechanisms present of these intertwining concepts, the relationships of democracy and civil society of each region will be discussed in detail in separate chapters.

2.3 Social Capital

Social capital has been addressed as trust in social relations.⁴⁷ Robert Putnam, one of its greatest proponents defines it as ‘features of social organizations such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit among citizens’⁴⁸.

Therefore, the social capital of a society has been construed with respect to the relationships that are within the dimensions of the structures of voluntary association, patterns of reciprocity and cooperation as well as of attitudes of social trust and respect. Bourdieu⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Przeworski, *Ibid*, 24.

⁴⁵ Przeworski, *Ibid*, 17.

⁴⁶ Przeworski, *Ibid*, 57.

⁴⁷ Francis Fukuyama, “Social Capital and the Global Economy,” *Foreign Affairs*, 74, No. 5, (1995) : 89-103.

⁴⁸ Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

⁴⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, “Forms of Capital,” in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J.C. Richards (New York: Greenwood Press, 1983) , 249.

emphasized that the relationships between individuals must be sturdy and subjectively experienced. Hence, in the same vein, Coleman has urged that social capital is explicitly social and that "social capital plays a role in the creation of human capital."⁵⁰

In this sense, social capital resides not in individuals but in the relations between individuals. However, for Coleman, social capital manifests in a variety of forms, including obligations, trust, norms, and sanctions, etc.

As encapsulated by Shin, in the literature on civil society, social capital is widely viewed as a two-dimensional phenomenon. From a structural perspective, it pertains to the extent to which people are connected with each other through the networks of voluntary associations and groups. From a cultural perspective, it refers to the extent to which they trust their fellow citizens. Therefore, associational membership and interpersonal trust as two separate indicators of social capital⁵¹. This is an important distinction in relation to our case studies: one on a state-organized forum and the other on non-formal, collective efforts to solve community problems emanating from individual initiatives. In the context of the case studies, I re-echo Paxton's definition of social capital, which builds on these two classic definitions, I define social capital with two dimensions. Social capital requires (1) objective associations among individuals, and (2) associations of a particular type-reciprocal, trusting, and involving positive emotion.⁵²

There have been a number of breakthrough studies which have zeroed in on social capital as a central element in social problem-solving. However, the general consensus is that its roots are buried in centuries of cultural evolution.⁵³ For this reason, this essay gives recognition to the historical legacies of the target regions and explains their cultural characteristics in relation to social engagement. There is reason to believe that social capital has the ability to support more effective cooperation and social problem-solving at the level of interpersonal and interorganizational relations.⁵⁴ This paper will look at this aspect and expound on how

⁵⁰ James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology*, 94 (1988) : 98.

⁵¹ Shin, *op.cit.* p. 18.

⁵² Pamela Paxton, "Capitalizing Community: Social Capital and Democratic Society," PH.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 1999.

⁵³ Francis Fukuyama, "Social Capital and the Global Economy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 5 (1995): 89-104.

⁵⁴ Norman Uphoff, *Learning from Gal Oya: Possibilities for Participatory Development and Post-Newtonian Social Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

this creates new spaces for governance and civic engagement. Acquiescing to Granovetter (1985),⁵⁵ individual goals and social influence are best views within the context of continuously evolving patterns of social relationships. Hence, social capital is produced by the intentional activities of individuals who are connected to one another by progressing networks of social relationships. This investigation aims to unravel how these take place in two specific settings.

⁵⁵ Mark S. Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The problem of Embeddedness," *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 91 (1985) : 481-510.

3. *Democracia: The Latin American Civil Society Engagement with emphasis on Colombia*

3.1 *Latin American Civil Society*

As an introduction to our civil society discussion, we introduce a study made by Charles Dyke on the "great-men" of history. What made them great? Divine providence? Special ability? Dyke created a "special circumstances" interpretation in which "historically, under some conditions of stability even very able people won't be expected to have much of an impact on what goes on. But under conditions of extreme instability - the late Roman Republic, France after a few years of revolutionary government and war, for example- someone with a threshold level of ability in the right place at the right time can have an enormous impact."⁵⁶

In the history of Latin America, the 'tie that binds' was a great man in the person of Simon Bolivar. In addition to liberating Venezuela, Simon Bolivar also worked to free other South American countries. These included Columbia, Peru, and Ecuador. Together, present-day Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador formed Grand Colombia. Bolivar created a congress for this new republic, and was also named as its president. However it was not only Simon Bolivar who was doing this in the North. An Argentinean named Jose de San Martin was working to free the south. Like Simon Bolivar, San Martin liberated Argentina and Chile. San Martin aided Bolivar in the liberation of Peru. Both Bolivar and San Martin had made efforts to drive the Spanish out of Peru, but they could not accomplish that task alone. This problem brought the two together for a meeting in Guayaquil, Ecuador. What happened during the meeting remains unknown. Afterwards, San Martin turned the control of his army over to Bolivar. Jose de San Martin then returned to his home in Argentina. With the help of San Martin's army, Simon Bolivar was finally able to liberate Peru in 1824. The northern section of Peru was the last area to be liberated, and it was then named Bolivia, after Bolivar. From the above discussion, it is clear that the onset, the creation of Latin America was a result of cooperation and alliance-building.

⁵⁶ Charles Dyke, "Strange Attraction, Curious Liaison: Clio Meets Chaos," *Philosophical Forum*, 21 (1990): 369. For Dyke's early thoughts on chaos and complexity, see *The Evolutionary Dynamics of Complex Systems (Oxford, 1988)*: 382-383

In Latin America, this meant the capacity of a society to criticize and to be able to confront its elites in the context of economic, political and societal developments. This article continues this concern with the evolution of democracy in Latin America and the destiny that awaits it in the future but turns from issues of decision making to theorize about developments in the participative space beyond the nation-state: civil society. Under pressure from the economic transition, traditional institutions of representation, including corporatist unions and political parties, seem to be in transformation, if not decay.⁵⁷ As these institutions lose their legitimacy, there is a search for others, such as social movements, nongovernmental organizations, and "associative networks," to replace or enhance them.⁵⁸ Although they come in different shapes and forms, in general, civil-society actors are either nonprofit or nongovernmental. Their civic impact depends on the extent of their autonomy from state and market, as measured by resource flows, decision-making structures, and organizational goals.⁵⁹

As illustrated by Richard Young, Latin America offers a rich basin of experiences in relation to the international dimensions of democratic change. Its disposition and consent to democracy promotion policies from other regions is illuminated by the variety of its political trends: 'from incremental transition in Mexico to a lack of any tangible political liberalization in Cuba; democratic regression followed by apparently abrupt change in Peru; the dismantling of countervailing institutions in Venezuela after 1998; and the challenge of deepening democracy in a context of conflict, as in Colombia, or fragile peace processes, as in Central America.'⁶⁰

In Latin America the idea of civil society has been almost adjacent to the understanding of the state, social and economic development and democracy. Congruently, the function of the state has been the main criterion in dealing with society among the Latin American left.

⁵⁷ Frances Hagopian, "Democracy and Political Representation in Latin America in the 1990s: Pause, Reorganization, or Decline?," in *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America*, eds. Felipe Agüero and Jeffrey S. Stark (Miami: North-South Center Press, 1998), 99-144.

⁵⁸ See Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, eds., *Cultures of Politics Politics of Cultures. Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998).

⁵⁹ Larry Diamond, "Democracy in Latin America: Degrees, Illusions, and Directions for Consolidation," in *Beyond Sovereignty: Collectively Defending Democracy in the Americas*, ed. Tom Farer (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 53.

⁶⁰ Youngs, Richard, "The European Union and Democracy in Latin America," *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (2002): 111 School of Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3177049> (accessed March 11 2010).

According to Rafael Soares de Olivera⁶¹, two historical situations can be categorized. For example, for the Latin American left, the state traditionally represented a class whose interests were defended by the use of force if necessary. But in the mid-twentieth century the left began to realize that harmony and consensus was achievable in civil society. The state was considered as not only coercive but also persuasive. It was seen as a wider space in which both political society (bureaucracies, political parties) and civil society (social movements and organizations) could merge together. This did not last long as this approach was soon confronted by the engulfing occurrence of 'national security states' throughout Latin America from the 1970s to the end of the 1980s. In the recent decade⁶², another challenge is changing the nature and function of the state in Latin America. Social, economic and political decisions for which the state was once responsible are now made by the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and US state department. This phenomenon has been called "transnationalized association" (asociacion transnacionalizada).⁶³ Arguably, this 'transnationalized association' compelled new kinds of functions on the state: to facilitate dependence on the world monetary system, to dismantle the organized forces in civil society, to transfer responsibility for meeting social needs to the private sector and NGOs.

According to Robert Kaplan, throughout Latin America there is anxiety that unless the middle classes are enlarged and institutions modernized, the wave of democratization will not be consolidated. For example, in a characteristically strong democratic country like Argentina, institutions are weak and both corruption and unemployment are high. In Brazil and other countries, democracy encounters the dark side of urban slum dwellers and segment of an uneducated population who remain unconvinced about the benefits to Western parliamentary systems. Their discontent is a reason for the incremental increase in crime in many Latin American cities over the past decade.⁶⁴

In the case of Latin America, its directionality is dependent on the shape of its political and social history. The understanding of which affect or may even defines the route that it will

⁶¹ Rafael Soares de Olivera, 1993 quoted in Israel Batista, "Civil Society: A Paradigm or a New Slogan?" *The Ecumenical Review* Volume, World Council of Churches 46, Issue 1 (1994) :12 - 20

⁶² Modernization is understood as transnationalization of the state and society. The neo-liberal model aims to eradicate the role of the state in welfare and to diminish its overall role. There are efforts to undermine national states, to privatize social needs, to reduce the state's presence in education, health and social assistance and its intervention in economic matters.

⁶³ Pablo Gonzalez Casanova, "El Estado y la Politica, Mexico," *Siglo XXI* (1990) : 68.

⁶⁴ Robert D. Kaplan, "Was Democracy Just A Moment," *The Atlantic*, December 1997, <http://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/issues/97dec/democ.html>. (accessed February 2, 2010).

likely take. It is necessary then to take into account the landscape that the region with its individual nation-state revolves in for it will manifest in the decisions and compromises that it will take especially when it comes to civil society.

At the onset, it has been said that countries with institutions of Spanish origin are characterized by personalistic relationships that often hamper political stability and shared economic growth. Nobel prize winning economist Douglass North correctly writes, 'Although formal rules may change overnight as the result of political and judicial decisions, informal constraints embodied in customs, traditions, and codes of conduct are more impervious to deliberate policies. These cultural constraints not only connect the past with the present and the future, but provide a key to explaining the path of historical change⁶⁵'. Octavio Paz narrates in particular reference to the Spanish-American civilization that although it is to be admired on many counts, it reminds one of a structure of great solidity - at once convent, fortress, and palace - built to last, not to change. In the long run, that construction became a confine, a prison.⁶⁶ Even the Latin American hero Simon Bolivar wrote that Latin America is 'ungovernable,' that 'whoever works for a revolution there is ploughing the sea.'⁶⁷

Moreover, even the kinds of democracies that exist in the region do not pertain to a one-size-fits-all strategy. For example, Chile, Costa Rica, and Uruguay are generally seen as *consolidated* democracies, meaning *stable*, institutionalized political regimes that satisfy most of Dahl's requisites of *polyarchy*.⁶⁸ However, the remaining fourteen countries, is widely agreed that at the beginning of the 21st century all continental Latin American countries were at least minimalist democracies. It is also agreed that in the early 1970s, just three decades before, almost none were.⁶⁹ The most controversial case is that of Venezuela. Some observers label it is a democratic regime others perceive it to be a nondemocratic regime, and still others argue that it is difficult to tell, because is not clear how things will evolve. Moreover, it could also be contended that Colombia does not comply with the classic Weberian definition of a state, since it does not have monopoly of violence neither does the state control coercion

⁶⁵ Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) , 112-116.

⁶⁶ Octavio Paz, "Reflections: Mexico and the United States," in *A New Movement in the Americas*, ed. Robert Leiken (New Brunswick, NJ : Transaction, 1979) , 78.

⁶⁷ Salvador de Madariaga, *Bolivar Vol. 2* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1959), 527.

⁶⁸ See Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971). This means that they satisfy his requisites for widespread political *participation*

⁶⁹ As of 2003, according to UNDP, all continental Latin American countries "fulfill the basic requirements of a democratic regime," whereas 25 years back only three of them were democracies (UNDP 2005, p. 26).

in sizable parts of its territory. If we were to take Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan's dictum that "no state, no democracy"⁷⁰, then Colombia could not be a democracy.

In most of Latin America, the major sentiment of the public accept democracy as the best form of government, but in many countries there are also sizeable pockets of authoritarian feeling. Most Latin Americans are also skeptical—if not actively cynical—about key institutions of democracy, and Latin Americans manifest some of the lowest levels of interpersonal trust observed anywhere in the world.⁷¹ The low levels of trust in Latin America derive from deeply rooted historical, social, and institutional factors, but the recent decline in trust is driven at least in part by social change. The social networks of family, friends, and work that sustained society in the past have been disbanded with the liberalization of markets and economic modernization of the last few years.⁷² These disappearing networks, however, have not been replaced by new support systems like those that exist in the United States, with its dense array of voluntary associations. Latin America thus consists of lonely populations who have a hard time finding support in an increasingly competitive world.⁷³

Since independence, Latin America as a region had experienced over 160 coups, and during the same period their powerful neighbour to the north often presenting itself as a benevolent imperial protector of its backyard by intervening when its interests warranted. At any rate, Munck hails the possibilities of civil society to make a difference. For him, ideologies are not dead, but the prospects for a socioeconomic or democratic vitalization are, despite the potential of civil society, not promising. The reason is that deepening social gaps are inherent in modernization and globalization, and "international integration leads to national disintegration in Latin America."⁷⁴

Moreover, as Alison Brysk opines, a strong civil society, however, may not necessarily be a democratic one. For example, popular social forces have recently sought to undermine democracy in Ecuador and Venezuela, and democratic voters have returned former authoritarian leaders to power in Guatemala and Bolivia. In Colombia, for example, government officials, peace commissioners, international organizations, and foreign funders

⁷⁰ Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post Communist Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

⁷¹ Marta Lagos, "Between Stability and Crisis," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 12, Number 1 (January 2001) : 137.

⁷² Marta Lagos, "Between Stability and Crisis," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 12, Number 1 (January 2001) : 143

⁷³ Marta Lagos, "Between Stability and Crisis," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 12, Number 1 (January 2001) : 144

⁷⁴ Ronaldo Munck, *Contemporary Latin America* (Basingstoke: Pallbrage, 2003) , 161.

struggle to assess the autonomy and accountability of thousands of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) seeking human rights in Latin America's oldest and most threatened democracy.⁷⁵

The data from the Latin American population show that these low levels of confidence in other people, taken together with the generally low levels of institutional confidence indicated above, derive from and confirm “a common regional heritage of distrust.”⁷⁶ Moreover, within this culture are certain continuing social patterns, including the hierarchical structure of authority at many levels and the passivity of citizens toward the patron, the local boss, and now the state. People are still used to clinging that there will be someone who will get rid of their dilemmas—in the past they turned to the patron, and more recently they have turned to the state. Now they look to democracy to solve all problems. 53 percent of Latin Americans consider themselves very demanding with respect to their rights, while only 36 percent say they are very conscious of their obligations and duties. The 2000 Latinobarómetro reveals an even further decline in the overall level of interpersonal trust in the region, from 20 percent in 1996 to 16 percent in 2000 who say that “you can trust most people⁷⁷.” In general, institutions are trusted more than people. Even where support for democracy is strongest, as in Uruguay and Costa Rica, interpersonal trust is low and has declined sharply in the past two years (from 34 to 23 percent in Uruguay and from 34 to 13 percent in Costa Rica). In Argentina, trust fell from 23 to 12 percent in these two years. In Colombia, with its endemic political violence, trust has fallen from 32 percent in 1997 to 16 percent in 2000. In Brazil, which has one of the highest crime rates in the world, trust has practically disappeared, plummeting from 11 percent in 1996 to 4 percent today. Mexico remains the only one of our 17 countries in which more than a quarter of the population is trusting of others, and even there, trust has fallen from 43 percent in 1997 to 34 percent today.⁷⁸

Against the background of the existing high-levels of distrust coupled with the historical failure of the state, Latin America has had a tried-and-tested civil society that has evolutionized the political and social environment. However, as argued by Kirby,

⁷⁵ Alison Brysk, “Democratizing Civil Society in Latin America,” *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 11, Number 3 (July 2000) : 151.

⁷⁶ Marta Lagos, “Latin America’s Smiling Mask,” *Journal of Democracy* 8.3 (1997): 126.

⁷⁷ Latinobarometro 2000. <http://www.latinobarometro.org/>. Accessed December , 2008.

⁷⁸ Marta Lagos, “How People View Democracy: Between Stability and Crisis in Latin America,” in *Journal of Democracy* Vol.12, Number 1 (January 2001) : , 142-143.

manifestations of a latent vigorous civil society - whether the indigenous movement of Ecuador, the cocaleros of Bolivia, the labour and landless peasants' movements of Brazil, and perhaps the Zapatistas of Mexico - cannot conceal the fact that the potential of civil society has been underestimated while its real achievements have been overestimated, quantitatively as well as qualitatively; they are far between and has conformed to rather than challenged the neoliberal hegemony.⁷⁹ It is apparent from the above-mentioned narration that the experience of Latin America varies and is complex. Moreover it may not fall in the traditional demarcation lines of democratic action and civil society initiatives. More so with the country of Colombia which is the focal point of this region for this essay as it is explained below.

3.2 Colombia

In 1994, Guillermo O'Donnell⁸⁰, one of Latin America's most prominent political scientists, identified a "new species" of democracy that was now present throughout most of Latin America, and labelled this phenomenon "delegative democracy." Neither representative nor institutionalized, the fundamental nature of a delegative democracy is that once an individual is elected president he/she is "thereby entitled to govern as he or she sees fit." Like authoritarianism, power falls into the hands of a single person. But, unlike authoritarianism, the leader is still held accountable at the ballot box by the electorate. As he explains, delegative democracy is strongly majoritarian: democracy constitutes, in clean elections, a majority that empowers somebody to become, for a given number of years, the embodiment and interpreter of the high interests of the nation.⁸¹ O'Donnell has used his theory to describe accurately variants of democracies in countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru. Colombia, though, didn't seem to fit the delegative democratic model comfortably. On the other hand Sebastian Castaneda connects Fareed Zakaria's concept of illiberal democracy to explain the current state of Colombian affairs. Fareed Zakaria, who coined the term illiberal democracy, referred to liberal democracy as "a political system marked not only by free and fair elections, but also by the rule of law, a separation of powers, and the protection of basic liberties of speech, assembly, religion, and property." This signifies that constitutional liberalism – liberal because it emphasizes individual liberty and constitutional because it is rooted in the rule of law – seeks to protect citizens from the coercive power of

⁷⁹ Peadar Kirby, *Introduction to Latin America* (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 181.

⁸⁰ Guillermo O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5 (January 1994): 56-69.

⁸¹ Guillermo O'Donnell "Delegative Democracy?," Available at <http://www.ispla.su.se/gallery/bilagor/Delegative%20democracy.pdf> (accessed March 15, 2010).

the state. Thus, constitutional liberalism together with free elections is an unalienable part of true liberal democracies. Most of the illiberal democracies arise from the lack of one element while practicing the other. According to Castaneda, Colombia lacks both. In his view, In terms of the separation of powers, Colombia is the typical case where the government's discourse of being indispensable for keeping the population safe from the ultimate threat, the guerrilla, is able to gain sufficient support for totally destroying the bedrock of liberal democracy. The checks and balances embedded in the 1991 constitution were doomed ever since Congress modified the constitution to permit Uribe to run for a second consecutive term.⁸²

The Republic of Colombia, according to Jorge Osterling is a 'complex, enigmatic, country full of contrasts, with many apparent contradictions'. From a political point of view, it is among Latin America's oldest, most stable functioning democracies, governed by a civilian president elected by universal suffrage every four years, with clearly defined civilian rules and civilian authority over the nation's armed forces. Presidential and congressional elections are always held on schedule without any significant disruption, and political power is transferred to the winning political party without problems.⁸³ Colombia is the fifth largest nation in Latin America after Brazil, Argentina, Mexico and Peru and the only South American nation with shores on both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans.⁸⁴

According to Wolfgang Heinz⁸⁵, at least four factors must be taken into account in any analysis of Colombian domestic politics. First, although Colombia is an open society and its media are not threatened by censorship, the quantity of information available does not provide a complete picture of certain events. Information is often confusing, contradictory, and manipulated for political reasons. Also, reporting on issues like guerrillas, drugs, and crime continue to be risky business. Second, the political elite in Colombia-which is made up of politicians, leading businessmen, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, and the military-is

⁸² Sebastian Castaneda, "Colombia's liberal Democracy", *Colombia Reports*, May 21 2009, <http://colombiareports.com/opinion/cantonese-arepas/4150-colombias-illiberal-democracy.html>. (accessed January 30, 2010).

⁸³ Jorge P. Osterling, *Democracy in Colombia: Clientelistic Politics and Guerrilla War*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers 1989).

⁸⁴ . Jorge P. Osterling, *Democracy in Colombia: Clientelistic Politics and Guerrilla War*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers 1989) , 3.

⁸⁵ Wolfgang S. Heinz, "Guerrillas, Political Violence, and the Peace Process in *Colombia*". *Latin America Research Review* 24 (1989), 249-258.

extremely closed to the outside world. Therefore, the reasons behind decisions and the corresponding meetings as well as to who were in attendance are difficult to trace. Third, despite the fact that Colombia is a democracy, the armed forces and their leadership play an extraordinary and sometimes dominant role in security-related questions. The fact that guerrilla warfare has been going on for decades has necessarily affected civilian-military relations. Consequently, the fiction of a purely civilian government, which according to him is civilian only in formal terms, convolutes the discussion of crucial issues, especially in matters on the treatment of the peace process. Fourth, some actors who use violence for political or other reasons are intertwined-including combinations involving the civilian government, the armed forces, right-wing paramilitary groups, guerrilla organizations, criminal gangs, and drug-related armed bands. As a result, it is often difficult to identify which groups are responsible for which assaults, abductions, and assassinations. Osterling gives the example, ‘sectors of the guerrilla movement are publicly criticized for collaborating with the drug lords (“narcoguerrillas”), military officers are tried for transporting drugs, and the drug business wields major influence in political and economic circles (it is estimated to produce between four and eight billion dollars per year).’⁸⁶ However, recently, Colombia has been hailed in its decision through the constitutional court of rejecting President Alvaro Uribe’s aim to be able to run for a third term. Notably, this has been argued as one of those moments ‘when democracy triumphs over autocratic temptations’⁸⁷. Colombia then is an interesting specimen for further study especially with the question of civil society are relating with democratic standards.

⁸⁶ Wolfgang Heinz, *Ibid.*, 250-251.

⁸⁷ Robert Kagan and Aroop Mukharji, “Colombia Democracy is stirred not shaken,” *Washington Post*, March 9, 2010, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/03/08/AR2010030803294.html>. (accessed March 20, 2010).

4. *Democrasya: The Asian Civil Society Engagement with emphasis on the Philippines*

4.1 Asian Civil Society

Historical evidence Asia has shown that vibrancy of civil society is generated by economic growth and the expansion of the middle class, as in the case of East Asian economies and some countries in Southeast Asia like Thailand.⁸⁸ From the 1970s, Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines experienced significant cultural, economic and social changes. As a consequence of these transformations, new social movements started to rise in civil societies in Southeast Asia. Jun Atienza⁸⁹ claimed that the aim of civil society is not to transform the state but to democratize society. Yet it is important to note that progress did not translate to democratization and the emergence of civil societies in all cases. For example, Alagappa observed that elites in several countries like China, Brunei, Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, Laos, Singapore, and Vietnam —are supportive of economic progress but not democracy per se.⁹⁰ Moreover, the communist party in Vietnam and military system in Myanmar kept civil society groups from spreading. In Malaysia and Singapore, continued democratization was stalled in part because of the use of the “Asian values” contention stating that the Western democratic model was not appropriate for these societies.⁹¹ Singapore's influential leader Lee Kuan Yew, claimed that several institutions and practices associated with western democratic states are not applicable to Asia. Instead, the region needs good government providing for the welfare of its citizens.⁹² Asian writers⁹³ have

⁸⁸ Emma Porio, “Civil Society and Democratization in Asia: Prospects and Challenges in the New Millenium,” in Yue-man Yeung (ed). *New Challenges for Development and Modernization: Hongkong and the Asia Pacific Region in the New Millenium*, Hongkong: CHinese University Press, 2002: 225-244.

⁸⁹ Atienza, 1994 cited in Porio, *Ibid.*, p.233

⁹⁰ Muthiah Alagappa, “Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space” in Muthiah Alagappa ed. (Standford: Standford University Press, 2004) , 1-25.

⁹¹ Hock Guan Lee, *Civil Society in South East Asia*, in Hock Guan Lee ed. (Pasir Panjang: ISEAS Publications, 2004), 12.

⁹² Samuel Huntington, “Democracy for the Long Haul,” *Journal of Democracy* 7.2 (1996):11

⁹³ Chandra Muzaffar, "Democracy, the West and Asia," in Brid Brennan, Erik Hiejmans and Pietje Vervest (eds.), *ASEM Trading New Sillk Routes. Beyond Geo-Politics and Geo-Economics: Towards a New Relationship between Asia and Europe*. Amsterdam: Transnational Institute (TNI) and Focus on the Global South, 1996: 93-5.; Isagani Serrano, "Civil Society in the

maintained that civil society has its origin from western rational tradition and political culture attached on the idea of state and citizenship. However, Isagani Serrano, also contends that the values and practices associated with communal institutions in Asia reverberate with civil society tones:

Voluntary action is deeply rooted in Asian communities. It is directed toward common concerns that cannot be adequately addressed by individual families and extended kinship support systems: production, exchange, rituals from birth to death, and collective security, all of which maintain community consensus and cohesion. The most common form of organization is the self-help and mutual exchange group. In Indonesia, the gotong royong or mutual help is equivalent to bayanihan in the Philippines. Funeral associations, of which there are thousands in Thailand, are also mutual-benefit associations in Thailand.⁹⁴

Yun-han Chu, and Min-hua Huang critically probed the explanatory sources of popular orientation toward democracy and its authoritarian alternatives in Asia. In their assessment of the results of the Asian Barometer's research on people's attitudes towards democracy, the researchers concluded that: 'a systematic understanding of the sources of democratic legitimacy is of critical importance to the understanding the prospect of democratic consolidation in East Asia. First, authoritarianism remains a fierce competitor to democracy. In many Asian countries, democracy won't be consolidated if a plurality of non-democratic alternatives is yet fully discredited. Second, the existing literature tell us much less about what cause people to detach themselves from authoritarian options than what induce people to develop favourable orientations toward democracy'.⁹⁵ Their analysis led them to conclude that 'democracy persists when and only when there is no viable authoritarian option.'⁹⁶ It is apparent that in the case of Asia, the state is a prominent and strongly influential aspect in civil society engagement. It can be argued that the rise of civil society in Asia and its political impact is relative to the location in the configuration of political and economic power within a

Asia-Pacific Region," in *Citizens Strengthening Civil Society*. World Assembly Edition. USA: McNaughton and Gunn, Inc. , 1994: 271-317.

⁹⁴ Serrano 1994 cited in Porio, op.cit.:230

⁹⁵ Yun-Han Chu and Min-hua Huang, "A synthetic Analysis of Sources of Democrac Legitimacy," a paper prepared for delivery at the International Conference on "Why Asians Support Democracy and Why Not", National Taiwan University (August 9-12, 2007, Taipei, Taiwan), 6.

⁹⁶ Yun-Han Chu and Min-hua Huang, Ibid.:25.

particular nation-state.⁹⁷ An excellent example is in the fight against the Marcos dictatorship and the ascendance of civil society in the Philippines' 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution. Many academics from the region have narrated how the other societal preoccupations such as religion and the media have affected the social and political landscape and in doing so reflect themselves the existence of civil society. Starting with the issue of religion, Patricia Martinez explains that democratic and civil society zones in Malaysia are founded on fundamental rights and freedoms protected and preserved by the Malaysian Constitution. The current challenge however is the move to create an Islamic state. In her opinion, the idea of an Islamic state, despite its social sentence means allegiance to Ruler and religions institutions over and above the rights of the people. In this sense, it is not congruent to the modern nation state's focus on individual rights and freedoms. Non-Muslim civil society groups have expressed their concerns over this inconsistency. No Muslim civil society group, however, have done the same.⁹⁸ From the Thai experience, Jim Taylor gives a dynamic development of cyberspace as civil society space arguing that the emergence of 'cyber-Buddhism', giving the representation of virtual civic society associations, provides avenues to confront the state and the formal monasteries. Meanwhile, the role of the media is worth mentioning here especially in former communist states such as Vietnam.⁹⁹ The argument of Russel and Heng propose the valiant thesis that the Vietnamese media discharge civil society activities in the form of 'everyday life resistance'.¹⁰⁰

Silliman and Garner Noble attribute to civil society the following achievements: 1) it creates a vibrant public discourse; 2) it redefines the content of politics, and 3) it increases institutionalization of democratic processes.¹⁰¹ These are reflective especially of civil society

⁹⁷ Porio, op.cit.

⁹⁸ Patricia Martinez, Islam, "Constitutional Democracy and the Islamic State in Malaysia," in *Civil Society in South East Asia*, Hock Guan Lee ed. (Pasir Panjang: ISEAS Publications, 2004): 27-53.

⁹⁹ Jim Taylor, "New Buddhism, Urban Space and Virtual Society," in , in *Civil Society in South East Asia*, Hock Guan Lee ed. (Pasir Panjang: ISEAS Publications, 2004): 78-100.

¹⁰⁰ Russell Hiang aand Khng Heng, "Civil Society Effectiveness and the Vietnamese State – Despite or Because of the Lack of Authority," in *Civil Society in South East Asia*, Hock Guan Lee ed. (Pasir Panjang: ISEAS Publications, 2004) , 144-166.

101 Siliman, G. Sidney and Lela Garner Noble. (1998), "Introduction," in Siliman, G. Sidney and Lela Garner Noble (eds.), *Organizing for Democracy: NGOs, Civil Society, and the Philippine State*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, pp.18-19.

in the Philippines. A further discussion on civil society in the country is expressed in the following sub-chapter.

4.2 Democracy in the Philippines

The Philippines has the most persistently undemocratic democracy in Asia.¹⁰² Except for the period of dictatorship under Ferdinand Marcos between 1972 and 1986, the Philippines have had a functioning democracy since independence from the United States in 1946. At the same time, a small group of powerful families has dominated politics and kept the economic benefits of power for themselves.

Although the Philippines have one of the strongest civil society movements in Asia, it has had an uneasy climb with respect to the manner and approach as well as its definition. For one thing, the church has been identified as one of the promoters of civil society engagement in the country. Thereby prompting John Carroll to claim that the Catholic Church was instrumental in the democratization process in the Philippines despite the fact that inside its system it was divided in its views. The ousting of former President Ferdinand Marcos was part and parcel because of the workings of the Catholic Church which acted as a glue that tied all civil society groups together. He argues, however, that the influence of the Catholic Church has diminished because of the growth of secular civil society and a political party system. However, I would propose to tread carefully in this generalization.¹⁰³ The claim that the Church in the Philippines aided democracy demands a timeline as to when this supposed influence emerged. To illustrate, it is important to note that ironically *in the provinces*, to a degree unparalleled anywhere in the Americas except Paraguay, Spanish power in the Philippines was mediated through the Church.¹⁰⁴ Another feature of clerical dominion had lasting consequences for the evolution of Philippine social structure. On the one hand, the quarrelling Orders, parcelled among out the various islands by Felipe II in the sixteenth century, pioneered commercial agriculture in the later eighteenth century, at the prodding of

¹⁰² Joel Rocamora, "Formal Democracy and its Alternatives in the Philippines: Parties, Elections and Social Movements", Paper presented at the *conference Democracy and Civil Society In Asia: The Emerging Opportunities and Challenges* Queens University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, 19-21 August 2000. Available online at <http://www.tni.org/print/65848> (accessed January 25, 2010).

¹⁰³ John J. Carroll, "Cracks in the Wall of Separation?: The Church, Civil Society, and the State in the Philippines," in *Civil Society in South East Asia*, Hock Guan Lee ed. (Pasir Panjang: ISEAS Publications, 2004):54-77.

¹⁰⁴ Benedict Anderson, "Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams", *New Left Review*, No. 169 (May-June 1988) : 5.

Carlos III's last, enlightened governor, José Basco y Vargas (1777–87). It was they who built what, in effect, were the first great haciendas. But these 'conglomerates' remained institutional, rather than family (dynastic) property as the friars although able and have procreated, do not have the authority to allow their progeny to inherit property from them. Moreover, to quote Anderson, , the Church, characteristically reactionary, controlled printing and what miserable travesty of educational institutions existed.¹⁰⁵ When the Americans came, they dispossessed the friars of their lands, and these lands fell into the hands of the likes of former President Aquino's immediate ancestors.¹⁰⁶ As this is the same Church that exists today, care should be exercised in extrapolating its influence and its position in Philippine civil society. This means that the claim should be backed by a frame for discussion.

Nevertheless, this connection to Aquino is an interesting demonstration as the late President unlike her predecessor Ferdinand Marcos is almost worshipped as overcoming the traditional ascent to political power. She, a simple housewife, taking over the cudgels of reform from her husband who was allegedly assassinated by the opposition. This, however, is not the main focus of this essay. What is significant however is that it was during her administration that the renaissance of civil society came into being. The Philippines' new civil society can be traced after 1986 with the success of 'people power'. According to Silliman and Noble, President Corazon Aquino's reinstatement of formal democracy, her receptivity to NGOs, and an increase in foreign subsidies further encouraged the growth of NGOs. Some NGOs had agendas that were directly political, urging or opposing particular state actions, supporting electoral candidates, or influencing appointments. Some were, at most, indirectly political, aiming at changing socioeconomic conditions. Most were a combination of the two, with a common emphasis on empowerment that frequently brought them into conflict with the state's armed forces and with local elites, especially during the years 1987-1988.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, still during her administration, in 1991, the passage of the Local Government code clearly reaffirmed the role of NGOs as legitimate representatives of popular interests. Terrence George writes, 'nowhere in Asia does a law so explicitly accord NGOs a role in local

¹⁰⁵ Anderson, *Ibid*, p.7

¹⁰⁶ Anderson, *Ibid*, p.6

¹⁰⁷ G. Sidney Silliman / Lela Garner Noble, eds. *Organizing for Democracy: NGOs, Civil Society, and the Philippine State* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998) , 17-18.

governance.¹⁰⁸ The triumph of the Philippines in its democratic pursuits is tied to the actions of its civil society.

5. Case Studies

5.1 *Analysis and Findings*

Assessing the mission, programs and relative success of the two case studies is not a simple matter. The measurement of engagement and participation outcomes is always a thorny problem. Since the cases were created to address different problems and the circumstances of their conception vary, they are not easily comparable. However, I do this under the rubric of the creation of social capital. Under this theme, I have chosen two variables on which the cases can be meaningfully compared: (1) program reach, in terms of the means through which populations and sectors are immediately affected by their activities, and (2) program quality in terms of how the methods involved generated social capital. Moreover, it is important to restate again that the first case study is significant because, as claimed, they open up spaces of engagement beyond the state plane yet through state-led initiatives as in the case of the creation of a forum. The second case study deals with the cultivation of social capital through individual pursuits interweaving with local populations and grassroots institutions.

5.2 Case Study 1: *FEALAC (Forum for East Asian and Latin American Cooperation)*

Fifty years ago, Latin American and East Asian leaders more often than not faced analogous challenges in economic and political underdevelopment. However, due to divergent conditions with respect to culture, institutions, national objectives and historical milieus, each region's response to their dilemmas have been different. Because of this, both regions have followed different trajectories in the pursuit of progress and development. In the process, it has led to differing, at times contradictory, effects in the dynamics of governance functioning in Asia and Latin America. The economic and political landscapes have been designed differently that public management mechanisms have produced unlike markets and contrasting employment opportunities. Ricardo Lopez Murphy, a renowned Argentinian

¹⁰⁸ George Terrence, "Local Governance: People Power in the Provinces" in *Organizing for Democracy: NGOs, Civil Society, and the Philippine State*, eds. G. Sidney Silliman and Lela Garner Noble (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press 1998), 223.

economist states, for example, states that in Asia most people find new jobs in industry, agriculture, and the services, while in Latin America they most often find them in the government.¹⁰⁹ In the same vein, in the study made Campos and Nugent¹¹⁰, one of the most pressing discoveries is that each region had a different institutional characteristic that was instrumental in improving development performance. In East Asia such an institution is the quality of the bureaucracy, whereas in the case of Latin America the prominent role appears to be played by the effectiveness of rule of law. Moreover, the process of addressing poverty has been a chalk and cheese effort. To illustrate, although both regions endeavour to alleviate the suffering of the poor, by and large there is an uncommon approach: "an implicit emphasis on opportunities for the poor in East Asia, versus an emphasis on redistributive transfers in Latin America".¹¹¹ In the spirit of this paper's objective, it is also crucial to see the difference between Asia and Latin American civil society. Earlier, there has been an extrapolation of civil society in different regions. Campos and Nugent have argued that historically, some Latin American countries had richer experience than Asian countries with certain political and institutional facets that make up civil society, namely, (1) the accountability of the executive, (2) the quality of the bureaucracy, (3) the strength of civil liberties and political rights, (4) the rule of law, and (5) the transparency of the decision-making process.¹¹² However, at the turn of the new century, Asia had surpassed Latin America in developing some but not all aspects of civil society. Ratliff asserts that self-serving policies have been common and counterproductive in Latin America. He reminds that in order to make and implement policy effectively, a capable and motivated civil service must be free these woes. In contrast, the best East Asian governments have better separated policy formation and implementation, established clear lines of responsibility and communication, and maximized opportunities to measure results and accountability.¹¹³

Still, both regions are beset with struggles. Latin American countries consistently have some

¹⁰⁹ Ricardo Lopez Murphy, "Commentary" In *La experiencia del Asia oriental*, *Fundacion de Investigaciones Economicas Latinoamericanas* Documento de Trabajo, No. 40, 1994.

¹¹⁰ Nauro Campos and Jeffrey B. Nugent, "Institutions and Capabilities," in *Rethinking Development in East Asia and Latin America*, ed. James W. McGuire (Los Angeles: Pacific Council on International Policy, 1997).

¹¹¹ Nancy Birdsall, David Ross, and Richard Sabot, "Growth and Inequality," in *Pathways to Growth: Comparing East Asia and Latin America*, eds. Nancy Birdsall and Frederick Jaspersen (Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank, 1997).

¹¹² Nauro Campos and Jeffrey B. Nugent, "Institutions and Capabilities," in *Rethinking Development in East Asia and Latin America*, ed. James W. McGuire (Los Angeles: Pacific Council on International Policy, 1997).

¹¹³ William Ratliff, "Development and Civil Society in Latin America and Asia", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 565, Civil Society and Democratization (Septiembre 1999) : 91-112.

of the greatest legal, political, and other problems in the developing world.¹¹⁴ And Asia, although much more successful, also struggles with poverty, internal conflicts and other social dilemmas. Lately, there has been a recognition that the prerequisite to development is adopting some form of macroeconomic policies of the free market and some fundamental features of civil societies.¹¹⁵ Moreover, that both regions can interact, pool resources, learn from each other to combat their evils. Wilhemly and Mann have argued that since the beginning of the 1990s, the two regions have stirred a clear strategic economic interest in each other, which is persuading them to engage in South-South relations.¹¹⁶ In an interview with the Director-General of SENA,¹¹⁷ *the main reason why Latin America and Asia must become allies is because both regions are going through economic and social developing processes. Asia has gone through a more advanced economical process due to the rapid growth of the past decades; but Latin America has taken a very strong impulse due to the fact that this region is focusing on economic and commercial interests in the Asian region.* However, in the study of Campos and Nugent, it was found out that components which most need improvements in Asia and Latin America are the strength of civil society and the transparency of the decision-making process.¹¹⁸

Roloff argues that globalisation and regionalisation are exterior challenges that prompt nation-states to engage in regional cooperation in order to uphold their political control on a higher level. In congruence, he claims that nation-states form regional arrangements in order to successfully handle the phenomena of complex global interdependence (liberal-institutionalist explanation) and also to balance off regionalist challenges from other world regions (neo-realist explanation)¹¹⁹. As a presentation of an emerging mode of governance that surmount traditional networks and associations, the second case study for this dissertation is the

¹¹⁴ Nauro Campos and Jeffrey B. Nugent, "Institutions and Capabilities," in *Rethinking Development in East Asia and Latin America*, ed. James W. McGuire (Los Angeles: Pacific Council on International Policy, 1997).

¹¹⁵ William Ratliff, Development and Civil Society in Latin America and Asia, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 565, Civil Society and Democratization (Sep., 1999):96.

¹¹⁶ Manfred Wilhelm and Stephanie Mann, "Multilateral Co-operation between Latin America and East Asia," in *Latin America and East Asia - Attempts at Diversification*, Jörg Faust Hamburg and Manfred Mols, eds. (Munster: LIT Verlag, 2004), 31-46.

¹¹⁷ SENA stands for *Servicio Nacional Aprendizaje* or the National Training Services is Colombia's agency in charge of teaching technical skills and development. www.sena.edu.co

¹¹⁸ Nauro Campos and Jeffrey Nugent, "Development Performance and the Institutions of Governance: Evidence from East Asia and Latin America", *World Development* Vol. 27, No. 3, (1999) : 439-452.

¹¹⁹ Ralf Roloff, "Globalisierung, Regionalisierung und Gleichgewicht" in Carl Masala and Ralf Roloff (eds.) *Herausforderungen der Realpolitik* (Köln: SYH-Verlag, 1998), 61-94, quoted in Dr. Heiner Hänggi. Paper prepared for the workshop "Dollars, Democracy and Trade: External Influence on Economic Integration in the Americas" (Los Angeles, CA: The Pacific Council on International Policy, May 18, 2000), 10.

FEALAC, the Forum for East Asian and Latin American Cooperation. This enterprise has been regarded by politicians as well as academics as one of the most crucial steps taken towards establishing a formal channel of interaction between East Asia and Latin America. FEALAC is considered as the nexus between both regions.¹²⁰ The reasons are novel in itself. For one, the formation of FEALAC encapsulated a South-South cooperation and opens doors to new agreements that has the potential to tilt the balance of influence in the global arena. Second, it signifies a shift from interregional arrangements that were traditionally defined by the Triad – the USA, EU and Asia relations – thereby, reinventing the landscape of regional relations and regionalism. Third, and much more pertinent to this study, the fact that two new regions are interacting signify a dramatic exchange of different cultures, customs, traditions and ideas. It is the claim of this investigation that this will redraw the maps of knowledge not only within the two regions but of global civil society. Social capital is being reinvented as new-fangled social engagements are being born.

Through FEALAC, Asian and Latin American countries have created a new framework to enhance the connections between the two regions. Both continents share a history of dependency on great powers and so its alliance indicate a new spoke in the radius of regionalism that deflects from the long-established reliance on the US and Europe. It is a salient case as it proves that the changes in the global economy has driven once-peripheral regions to group together in order to expand its relationships as a means to protect its own interests. Although it can be argued that regional cooperations not involving the US or the EU are still marginal and that those that do exist fail to portray real results¹²¹, there is clear potential that these peripheral arrangements will nudge the usual negotiating tables. FEALAC proves that as a pristine regional alliance, it goes beyond mere rhetoric and produces tangible accomplishments that benefit both regions.

¹²⁰ Akio Hosono, "Towards Closer Cooperation between East Asia and Latin America: FEALAC and Other Initiatives ", Paper presented at II Jornada sobre Triangulacion España, America Latina y Asia-Pacífico. Cooperacion entre Asia-Pacífico, America Latina y España, Barcelona, (28 November 2002) , 1-11. Accessed at South-North Development Monitor 1999 "Development: Latin America, East Asia build ties", www.sunsonline.org/trade/process/followup/1999/09070499 (accessed on 26/11/03).

¹²¹ See for example J. J. Chavez, 'The Search for Alternative Regionalism in Southeast Asia', Women in Action, April Issue, 2005. Available online at: http://goliath.ecnext.com/coms2/gi_0199-6426006/The-search-for-alternative-regionalism.html. Chavez claims that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which is the main integration initiative in the region to date, has pursued regional integration project without a clear vision.

Singapore initiated the formation of this alliance. In October 1998, Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, proposed the formation of a summit to bring together the leaders of Asian, including Japan, and Latin American countries. It was called the East Asia- Latin America Forum (EALAF, in Spanish, FALAE). The very first Meeting of EALAF was held on September 1 to 3, 1999 in Singapore. The breakthrough approach commenced through the inaugural Ministerial Meeting of the Forum in Santiago, Chile on 29 and 30 March 2001. During this meeting, the participants decided on the official name of the alliance. From then on, the regional cooperation was named in English and Spanish, in respect of the main working languages of both regions. On this day, the “Forum for East Asia – Latin America Cooperation” (FEALAC) or in Spanish Foro de Cooperacion America Latina y Asia del Este, FOCALAE). The participant countries at the Singapore Meeting were China, South Korea, Japan, ASEAN 10 countries of ASEAN (Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam), Australia, New Zealand and 12 countries from Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, Mexico). Moreover, at the inaugural FEALAC meeting, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Cuba were accepted as member countries. Today, with 32 countries, FEALAC is the largest inter- regional grouping linking South East Asia, East Asia, Oceania, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. According to the Ecuadorian delegation,

The increasing population, economic growth and rising new markets in Asia define this alliance as not only necessary but unavoidable.

In the same vein, the Korean delegation contend that, *East Asia and Latin America, both comprised mainly of developing countries, are both economically dynamic and complementary to each other. With the global trend of regional cooperation, the need for intercontinental cooperation between East Asia and Latin America arose since there was no official cooperative mechanism bridging the two regions.*

Asia has been given significant attention by North America and Europe especially due to its promising markets and relatively strong economies. Due to Asia’s growth, Latin American countries have made it a priority to diversify their external relations toward East Asia in order to reduce their dependence on the United States and in order to maintain its developmental model. Leaders from Latin America reason that this alliance is a not only wanted but longed-

for. "The relationship between Latin America and East Asia is part of the diversification effort of both regions," said Brazilian Foreign Minister Celso Amorim. (translation mine) This sentiment is re-echoed by *Juan Carlos Varela, Vice President and Foreign Minister of Panama* when he commented, *The Panamanian government involvement in Focalae represents an excellent opportunity to seek support from member countries of the Asia Pacific Cooperation Forum (APEC) to enter from Panama to this multilateral organization that groups 21 of the strongest economies in the world (translation mine).*¹²²

Relations between Latin America and East Asia are consistent "peripheral interregionalism"- a typology designating a non-Triadic regional arrangement. Jörn Dosch distinguishes Triadic interregionalism from that which "differ[s] substantially in terms of their scope, spectrum of actors, and institutional quality" outside the Triad. These relations are called peripheral because: a) the actors involved are not military or economic powers, but low to medium power countries; b) the volume of economic transactions, both in trade or investments, between them is insignificant compared with the great powers, and; c) their levels of¹²³ institutionalisation are even lower than in the cases of interregionalism within the Triad. The argument is that this means that their structure cannot significantly affect the international system or contribute to the structure of global governance. However, in the next paragraphs, I refuse this statement and claim instead that not only offers a new understanding of governance and global governance arrangements but also practically portrays an extension of global civil society. As has been stated in previously, at present, particular attention has been to the relations of regions with each other in the context of "new interregionalism", or the interlinkage of regions as distinct actors 'with a distinct identity, actor capability, legitimacy, and structure of decision-making.'¹²⁴ Moreover, I restate the claim that interregional constructions habitually include non-state actors from civil society or the private sector,

¹²² La participación del Gobierno panameño en Focalae representa una excelente oportunidad para recabar el apoyo de países miembros del Foro de Cooperación Asia Pacífico (Apec) para el ingreso de Panamá a este organismo multilateral que agrupa 21 de las economías más fuertes a nivel mundial - El vicepresidente y canciller de la República, Juan Carlos Varela, viajará en misión oficial a Tokio, Japón, del 13 al 19 de enero de 2010 para participar en la IV reunión de ministros de relaciones exteriores del Foro de Cooperación de Asia del Este-América Latina (Focalae).

¹²³ Jörn Dosch "Southeast Asia and Latin America: A Case of Peripheral Inter-Regionalism", in *Latin America and East Asia - Attempts at Diversification*, Jörg Faust and Manfred Mols, eds. (Hamburg: LIT, 2004) , 187-188.

¹²⁴ Björn Hettne, 'Interregionalism and World Order', Paper presented to Section 33, States, regions and regional world orders, SGIR, Fifth Pan-European International Relations Conference, Netherlands Congress Centre, the Hague, September 9-11, 2004.

leading to “transregionalism.”¹²⁵ Within these global dynamics, FEALAC presents a manifestation of the emergence of new modes of governance.

The Forum for East Asian and Latin American Cooperation involves sovereign states participating in their individual national capacities and any sovereign state from East Asia or Latin America can become a member as long as there is a consensus among the existing members (FEALAC, 2001). FEALAC represents the first case where Latin Americans and East Asian countries interact in a forum without the presence of the United States.¹²⁶ According to Maria Cecilia Olivet, this particular kind of interregionalism has different reasons to emerge. For one, members see the process as a means to strengthen their actor qualities. Secondly, it is a method to improve their economic power. Arguably, ‘financial liberalization and market-oriented regional integration in Latin America, together with comparatively capital-intensive Asian economies, were perceived as matching interests.’¹²⁷ Third, it allows them to get more involved with the international system. As a consequence, this expands their independence and in due course become less peripheral.¹²⁸ Augmented political associations were not only meant to bolster economic goals but also to create new coalitions in connection with global topics conferred in the WTO or the UNCTAD.¹²⁹ There are three fundamental documents for the FEALAC. One is the Framework Document signed in Santiago, Chile in March 2001 which contains the purpose, principles and operative

¹²⁵ Aggarwal and Fogarty (2004, 5) have applied the term “transregionalism” to denote a more diffuse type of interregionalism, such as cross-regional agreements whereby neither of the two regions acts as a grouping (for example, APEC). The authors distinguish two other types of interregional constructions: pure interregionalism (two formally organized counterpart regions) and hybrid interregionalism (one customs union interacting with a set of countries that is not a formally organized grouping).

¹²⁶ Manfred Wilhelm and Stephanie Mann, “Multilateral Co-operation between Latin America and East Asia,” in *Latin America and East Asia - Attempts at Diversification*, Jörg Faust Hamburg and Manfred Mols, eds. (Munster: LIT Verlag, 2004), 31.

¹²⁷ Joerg Faust and Manfred Mols, “Latin America and East Asia: Defining the Research Agenda,” in *Latin America and East Asia – Attempts at Diversification*, Faust, et.al.(Munster: LIT Verlag, 2005), 5.

¹²⁸ MARÍA CECILIA OLIVET, “Unravelling Interregionalism Theory: A Critical Analysis of the New Interregional Relations Between Latin America and East Asia” paper presented at VII Reunion De La Red De Estudios De America Latina y El Caribe Sobre Asia Pacifico REDEALAP. Auditorio Raul Prebisch, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 12-13 October 2005.

¹²⁹ Joerg Faust and Manfred Mols, “Latin America and East Asia: Defining the Research Agenda,” in *Latin America and East Asia – Attempts at Diversification*, Faust, et.al.(Munster: LIT Verlag, 2005), 5.

direction of the forum. It was also during this meeting where the EALAF was officially renamed to its present label.

The second document is the Manila Plan of Action, which created a concrete course in fostering mutual understanding and cooperation between the two regions. This document was signed January 2004 during the second Foreign Ministerial Meeting in Manila, Philippines. Finally, the interregional alliance outlined a concrete proposal dubbed as the Brasilia Ministerial Declaration and Program of Action. Adopted during the Third Ministerial Meeting in Brasilia in August 2007, it contains the collective proposal with reference to the future direction and action plans for the ongoing development of FEALAC.

The Framework Document is FEALAC's guiding beacon and lays the groundwork for the purpose of the creation of the Forum and how it intends to operate. According to this document, the goals of the Forum are to promote better understanding, political and economic dialogue and cooperation in all areas.

Accordingly, the key objectives of the Forum are:

- To increase mutual understanding, trust, political dialogue and friendly cooperation among member states with a view to enriching and sharing experiences and developing new partnerships.
- To tap the potential of multidisciplinary cooperation, inter alia, in economics, trade investment, finance, science and technology, environment protection, culture, sport, and people-to-people exchanges.

To expand common ground on important international political and economic issues with a view to working together in different international fora in order to safeguard our common interests.¹³⁰

From the collective declaration, it is clear that FEALAC's overarching purpose is a break from the usual economic links between sovereign states. Despite the fact that for some countries, this could still persist as the main attraction to join the alliance. For example, Ecuador's understanding of the purpose for setting up the forum is *'to increase commercial*

130 FEALAC, Framework Document, 1st Foreign Ministerial Meeting, Santiago Chile, March 2001. <http://www.fealac.org/user/about/documents/FEALAC%20Framework%20Document.pdf> (accessed March 30, 2009).

relations in the bi-region among member countries.' This motive is not uncommon and has been the primary reason for the rise of regional entities. Good examples of this traditional links are the APEC and Mercosur. In fact, Latin America's membership to the former was treated by some Asian countries as a welcome counterbalance to the United States' desire to have highly institutionalized trade liberalization in the Pacific Rim. For Latin America, the reasons for joining APEC was two-fold: For one, it wanted to become a member of a network that included some of the most dynamic economies thereby expanding trade and investment connections. Secondly, it expected indirect advantages such as elevating the low levels of mutual awareness in the region by unlocking new channels of engagement across the Pacific.¹³¹ On the other hand, the creation of MERCOSUR signified the rebirth of political and economic control of Latin America.¹³² In the 1980s and the 1990s, macroeconomic stabilization and economic growth demanded more market-oriented strategies. And this current of privatization and liberalization pushed for the emergence of foreign economic policies with a concentration on foreign investment and the increasing importance of exports.¹³³ According to Faust and Mols, 'financial liberalization and market-oriented regional integration in Latin America, together with comparatively capital-intensive Asian economics, were perceived as matching interests.'¹³⁴ However, it was the Asian crisis that provided the final thrust to the creation of the alliance. It encapsulated the analogous situations and interests of the two regions. For one, both regions were susceptible to globalization and both had to face their governance dilemmas. Second, the Asian crisis revealed the fallibility of the Asian leaders especially with respect to making economic decisions and therefore unshackled Latin America from the aura of superiority of Asian economies. It created an even playing field for the two regions to present their best game strategies. Third, the Asian crisis and the corresponding economic distress in Latin America exposed the inadequacies of the APEC and MERCOSUR.¹³⁵ Through all these, Latin America and Asia uncovered the parallels in their quandaries and experiences. In the process, both regions recognized the undeniable benefits in a partnership. However, this time, they became conscious not only of the economic attributes but also the potentials of expanding towards common political goals.

¹³¹ Manfred Wilhelmy and Stefanie Mann, "Multilateral Co-operation between Latin America and East Asia," in *Latin America and East Asia – Attempts at Diversification*, Faust, et.al.(Muenster: LIT Verlag 2005) , 29.

¹³² Joerg Faust and Manfred Mols, Latin America and East Asia: Defining the Research Agenda, in *Latin America and East Asia – Attempts at Diversification*, Faust, et.al. (Muenster: LIT Verlag, 2005) , 5.

¹³³ Faust and Mols, Ibid. 6.

¹³⁴ Faust and Mols, Ibid,5.

¹³⁵ Faust and Mols, Ibid , 6.

As stated in FEALAC's framework, it sets sights on a wider agenda. And for other members, this is a welcome incentive. As stated by one member,

*FEALAC aims to promote cooperation, better understanding, and political and economic dialogue between East Asia and Latin America in order to achieve more effective, cooperative, and fruitful relations in all areas.*¹³⁶ Or to put in another way, another member explains, *the main purpose of setting up the Forum was to establish cooperation principles between both regions and give dynamism to common projects on which both parts might obtain benefits. This Forum allows both regions to get to know each other and establish relations based on trust, understanding and cooperation.*¹³⁷

Interestingly, apart from the East Asian and Latin American countries, Australia and New Zealand are also members of the organization. New Zealand's Foreign Minister Phil Goff made significant statements on the value of the alliance especially with respect to his countries' participation:

"FEALAC's aims are important to New Zealand, as we have significant ties with Asia and we are committed to developing closer relationships with Latin American countries through the government's Latin America Strategy," Mr Goff said.

"Our engagement with both regions, and our geographical location, makes New Zealand well placed to play a constructive role as a bridge between the two.

"FEALAC also offers an opportunity to engage with countries that we usually have limited interaction with, except perhaps in the UN context. This is especially true of many Latin American nations, and I will be hold bilateral meetings with several of my counterparts while in Manila."¹³⁸

Allegedly, this encapsulated the flexibility of Singaporean diplomacy. On the other hand, this act ignored Malaysia's call for a more restrictive definition when it comes to the East Asian

¹³⁶ Interview, Korea

¹³⁷ Interview, Colombia

¹³⁸ Goff to Attend Regional, Meetings, Beehive, January 28, 2004, <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/node/18796>

region.¹³⁹ However, as its membership is limited to governments, Taiwan and Hongkong are excluded. Nevertheless, FEALAC remains as having the largest contingent of interregional relations. Yet, it transcends this interregional arrangement not only in the number of countries participating but also in the kind of relations FEALAC supports. As such, they recognize that ‘the relationship between East Asia and Latin America has evolved from one marked by political approximation to one that includes a growing dimension of economic, technological and cultural approximation.’¹⁴⁰

In its quest to attain more effective and fruitful relations and closer cooperation between the two regions, it takes a multidisciplinary approach and is open to engagement not only in the public sector but also the private sphere. All its members acknowledge that FEALAC, albeit driven by governments, is in essence a multidimensional forum and thereof welcomed the continued participation of academics, business representatives, parliamentarians and journalists to broaden and deepen trans-pacific interaction.¹⁴¹ FEALAC also takes care to avoid duplication with other existing forums. It is also interesting to note that certain countries such as Cuba that are normally shunned by international associations due to their stained relations with regional powers especially the United States are active participants in FEALAC.

The Manila Plan of Action synchronizes the development of the Forum according to its priorities and direction, calls to address collective approaches to current challenges such as security. In a joint statement of the Second Foreign Ministers’ Meeting, the Forum acknowledges the link between economic development with stability and security. The contention is that this can be achieved through reinforcing the task of the United Nations to uphold and protect international peace and security. Moreover, in the pursuit of sustained and sustainable development, FEALAC operates within mutual respect of the sovereignty of each nation and as an approach places equal importance to collaborative efforts at the national, regional and global levels.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Manfred Wilhelmy and Stefanie Mann, “Multilateral Co-operation between Latin America and East Asia,” in *Latin America and East Asia – Attempts at Diversification* Faust, et.al. (Muenster: LIT Verlag, 2005) , 42.

¹⁴⁰ FMM/2007/02:4

¹⁴¹ FEALAC, IV Political and Education Working Group Meeting POL/2006/18

¹⁴² CO-CHAIRS’ STATEMENT ON THE RESULTS OF THE SECOND FOREIGN MINISTERS’ MEETING OF THE FORUM FOR EAST ASIA-LATIN AMERICA COOPERATION Manila, 28-29 Jan 2004

However, the Plan of Action also calls for projects from the lowest echelons of society such as capacity building, cooperation in enhancing micro, small and medium enterprises. It is important to note that FEALAC places special attention to projects that influence at the community-level.¹⁴³ FEALAC affirms that at the cornerstones of its inception is to enhance economic ties and expand cooperation between the Asia and Latin America, including through South-South Cooperation. Recognizing the trials and tribulations of the global economy, it asserts the important role of the business and academic sectors in socio-economic development, and the part that trade and investments should play in promoting the prosperity of the two regions residents.

FEALAC brings together countries from two very diverse regions for dialogue and cooperation. Again, to mention the Framework of Action, it also encapsulates the values and principles that the Forum operates in. The Forum claims to be forward looking and future oriented. On its working procedures, it follows a voluntary, informal and flexible structure in accordance with the basic principles of international law. According to a representative,

the conception of grouping the two regions together in itself has contributed to enhancing cooperation between the two regions. Also, senior and working-level government officials from both regions are able to better communicate and network among themselves through regular meetings. Enhancing understanding and cooperation is a gradual process. Therefore, the FEALAC regular meetings and other networking opportunities are crucial in enhancing relations between the two regions.

More specifically, FEALAC members assert to abide by the following tenets:

- Respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity;
- Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- Equality, mutual benefit and the common goal of development;
- Respect for each other's unique cultures and social values; and
- Decision-making by consensus

¹⁴³ Ibid.

When asked why, among all the forms to push for Latin American-Asian relations, they choose to have a Forum, interviewees replied that (1) *It reflects the flexible schema that countries of the bi-region have chosen to promote its relations, regarding cooperation and trade as the big parameters*¹⁴⁴ (2) *a forum is a suitable form for the FEALAC since it promotes free exchange of opinions and is of non-binding nature.*¹⁴⁵ (3) *Because this is a space where regional positions arise and can be discussed and negotiated. This space brings both regions the opportunity to commit with each other on common interests, and strengthen our cultural ties. This issue is very important when political, commercial, economic and cooperative issues are at stake.*¹⁴⁶ In a FEALAC communiqué, the group contends that the characteristic that differentiates this forum from other existing forums such as ASEM is that most of FEALAC members are developing countries. Among the FEALAC member countries, developed countries already possess certain social safety nets such as measures for the poverty reduction and social welfare. Yet, in many developing countries, there are certain chunks of the populace that have not been reached by these safety nets. FEALAC allows for member countries to converse about how to address the negative aspects of globalization, including establishment of social safety nets, in each country by sharing experiences and best practices.¹⁴⁷

FEALAC operates mainly on regular meetings conducted at three levels: the Foreign Ministers, the Senior Officials and the Working-Level Officials. Core group meetings are also conducted among FEALAC coordinators and other interested countries to facilitate the FEALAC process. According to the communiqué, the agenda of the Foreign Ministers' Meeting must be pertinent to the concerns of both regions and decided by consensus. The Senior Officials Meetings (SOM) are being held in preparation of the Foreign Ministers' Meetings. SOMs are envisioned to be held at least once a year, as well as back to back with Foreign Ministers' Meetings. As a rule, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of member countries act as the focal points for the Forum. Moreover, the appointment of two Coordinators, one from each region, ensure that there is continued consultations between formal meetings of officials and Ministers. All appointments are to be agreed by consensus within each region therefore an agreement within the Latin American region and the same for the Asian region.

¹⁴⁴ Ecuador Interview

¹⁴⁵ Korea Interview

¹⁴⁶ Colombia Interview

¹⁴⁷ V MEETING OF THE WORKING GROUP ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY OF THE FORUM FOR EAST ASIA – LATIN AMERICAN COOPERATION (FEALAC) February 10th and 11th, 2009 – Panama City, Panama

¹⁴⁸ From the decisions and recommendations of the regular meetings, FEALAC carries out cooperative projects of member countries under the auspices of the following Working Groups:

1. Politics, Culture and Education Working Group
2. The Economy and Society Working Group
3. The Science and Technology Working Group

The Politics, Culture and Education Work Group focused on future directions in the area of political and cultural cooperation.¹⁴⁹ In this work group, emphasis is placed on taking stock of best practices and breakthrough initiatives especially those that can be replicated in other countries of the FEALAC. It gives recognition to the importance of political, cultural, and educational cooperation. Apart from country initiatives, the Work Group recognizes the role of international, regional, or national institutions to support the cooperation in their own respective field and therefore are welcome partners in FEALAC's cooperation programs.

The objective of "Economy and Society" Working Group is to confront common challenges plaguing the two regions face in the socio-economic field. The goal is to analyze the trials and travails of globalization and to assess current situation in both regions. As it was recognized in SOM IV held in Bogota, the challenge of "overcoming poverty" is one of the highest priorities of the FEALAC process. Perez Roque, Cuba's top diplomat, articulates that FOCALAE's goals of promoting cooperation and mutual understanding today face the challenge posed by the unjust, unequal and unsustainable international order.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, one of the most important aims of the Work Group is to fortify the bases for sustainable economic growth. Moreover, after the economic crises that affected both regions, social problems were also among the issues that demanded urgent attention and action. In the Work Group's meeting in Tokyo last 2002, the joint statement released afterwards revealed the recognition of Latin America requiring Second Generation Reforms focusing on institutional aspects of development within three categories:¹⁵¹ (1) directives defining the functions and

¹⁴⁸ To ensure continuity and greater partnership, two Deputy Coordinators, who will be the future Coordinators will also be appointed. These will assume as Coordinators at the end of the Ministerial Meetings.

¹⁴⁹ CO-CHAIRS' STATEMENT Forum for East Asia -Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC) Political-Cultural Working Group Meeting 1-3 May 2002, Singapore, 1-2

¹⁵⁰ Ibid

¹⁵¹ The process of structural economic reform and adjustment in 1980s, which is said to be the First Generation Reforms. Second Generation Reforms focuses on institutional aspects of development.

powers of the state; (2) rules governing the interactions between the state and civil society; and (3) rules and enforcement mechanisms encroaching on the activities and transactions of private agents¹⁵²

The objective of the Science and Technology Work Group is to identify synergies and common challenges facing the two regions in order to propose areas for possible future cooperation in education and science and technology. One of the desired aims was to optimize the use of current information technology, particularly the Internet, where possible, for information exchange and other initiatives, such as showcasing national science and technology products and capacity.

What it is clear from the documents that have emanated from the Ministerial meetings is the intention to develop a broader agenda for integration, which aims to move beyond economic issues only. This is in marked contrast to previously established cooperation networks. Thus, trade and investment are not the only interests involved in these initiatives. Cultural as well as political issues have been included as important aims of this agreement. The establishment of the three Working Group is proof of the broad agenda embraced by the Forum. The Working Groups are tasked to develop specific plans for cooperation in these areas and identify national projects and are the first manifestation of the intention to concretise the cooperation between the two regions.¹⁵³

5.3 FEALAC Challenges

5.3.1 Latin America vs. East Asia

Despite the majorly optimistic view of Latin America-Asian collaboration, there have been impediments to building the partnership. The first is the issue of distance disconnecting the two regions.¹⁵⁴ Travelling duration and costs are significantly higher from the two regions than to Europe or North America. Moreover, there is less frequency of flights commuting between Latin America and Asia. Furthermore, Latin America's airline industry has a lot of

¹⁵² CO-CHAIRS' STATEMENT Forum for East Asia -Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC) "Economy and Society" Working Group Meeting 7-8, (Tokyo, Japan March 2002), 4.

¹⁵³ (FEALAC, Co-Chairs' Statement, 2001b).

¹⁵⁴ Manfred Wilhelmy and Stefanie Mann, "Multilateral Co-operation between Latin America and East Asia," in *Latin America and East Asia – Attempts at Diversification* Faust, et.al. (Muenster: LIT Verlag, 2005) , 31.

ground to cover in order to be able to offer competitive prices. Like Europe, Asia has a successful multi-nationally owned Low Cost Carriers (LCCs) that allow travel to be relatively cheap from one Asian nation to another. In order to strengthen the relationship, there has to be a concerted effort to harmonize transportation to facilitate the ease of communication between the two regions. The Latin Americans were long associated with export pessimism and dependency theory. On the other hand, more recently various East Asian governments have espoused the notion of Asian values.

However, although there remains resistance on the part of Asia to the liberal idea, due in part of the devastation experiences during the Asian crisis, it has lowered its guard towards the concept. 'As the leaders in both regions come to share a common understanding of the rationale behind the liberalized global world system, they are likely to develop more common ground across the interregional divide.'¹⁵⁵ Latin America persists to be incapable of financing high rates of capital accumulation and is still highly susceptible to the movements and transmutations in the international market. On the other hand, East Asia saves one third of its GDP and neither endemic inflation nor capital flight has defined its economic perspectives. Arguably, unless these structural differences are taken into consideration, attempts to transfer policies deemed beneficial from one region to another will be doomed to fail.¹⁵⁶

Educational policies are in contrast despite having more or less similar shares of GNP allocated for public education. Moreover, the East Asians fair so much better in educational performance especially in mathematics in science compared to Latin America which has often had poor results in achievement tests. The reason for this could be that fast yet sustained economic growth in East Asia grant strong incentives for students to obtain skills that will be rewarded in the labour market immediately. At the opposite end of the spectrum, the efforts of Latin America to raise educational standards, perhaps has only the potential to augment the supply of applicants to a demand that is so much lower. Laurence Whitehead opines that a symbiotic recognition could be created with East Asians learning from their Latin America's travails and to safeguard their high standard of educational programs from the adverse backlash of budget cuts in the sector. While Latin America be encouraged to improve its basic education structures.¹⁵⁷ Although, it is important to note that Latin America has its

¹⁵⁵ Laurence Whitehead, *Democratization: Theory and Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) , 6.

¹⁵⁶ Whitehead, *Ibid*, 6-7

¹⁵⁷ Whitehead, *Ibid*, 7-8.

share of best practices when it comes to education. Some of their initiatives are discussed further in this chapter.

In Asia, businessmen more or less take it as a given to have the government as an ally of the private sector. The two key features of this relationship are that it generated a shared approach to long-term development issues and that it rested on the presumption that the state would normally support the expansion of domestic business interests. Latin American businessmen took to the neoliberal view shunning state interventionism which is taken to stunt the region's growth. On the other hand, Asia saw the potential of having a harmonious relationship between the state the private sector.¹⁵⁸ It still remains to be seen as to what kind of responses both regions will generate toward the relationship of public-private endeavours. However, it is safe to say that convergences in approaches are taking shape. There is no argument that each region can profit from monitoring and engaging with each other in these aspects. For this reason, FEALAC has created a mechanism to accommodate the differing climates and conditions of government and private sector partnerships in the two regions. In the Communiqué of the Economy and Society Working Group in a meeting in 2002, attendees collectively recognized that sustainable development cannot be achieved solitarily through the mechanisms of the market. They attached importance to appropriate corporate governance as well. True to the neoliberal idea of non-intervention, the group acknowledged that 'unintelligent and excessive public intervention in economic affairs' could be detrimental to sustainable economic development. As a response, they demanded that the transparency of the public administration be guaranteed by appropriate training programs for administrators. They agreed, furthermore, that good administrative governance is fundamental for both political stability and economic development. There was also mention of the creation of an efficient and low-cost social safety net as indispensable for sustainable economic development of the two regions.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, there was concurrence on the notion that "corporate governance" should not be limited only to the governance at the level of individual enterprises. Instead, it must be utilized in a broader sense so that the contribution of the public sector and civil society to advance and safeguard corporate governance can be also considered. Interestingly, although the participation of civil society was welcomed it came under the limits of protecting the political stability of the country which is considered as

¹⁵⁸ Laurence Whitehead, *Democratization: Theory and Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) , 11-12.

¹⁵⁹ CO-CHAIRS' STATEMENT Forum for East Asia -Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC) "Economy and Society" Working Group Meeting 7-8 March 2002, Tokyo, Japan,p.2

paramount and therefore 'not to be sacrificed as a result'.¹⁶⁰ Still, the document revealed that many participants believe that transparency should be a part of good administrative governance to be supported by mass media and civil-society groups.¹⁶¹ Moreover, there was open discussion on the functions and powers of the State, the relationship between the State and the private sector, the participation of the civil society and the rules that affect the activities of the private sector.¹⁶²

5.3.2 FEALAC's Stumbling Blocks

Although FEALAC presents itself as a significant alliance of states from two distant and distinct regions, it is important to note its limitations. On one hand, there is no formal leadership due in part of its informal nature. Moreover, the two coordinators representing each region are tasked to share responsibility to direct the meetings and to be responsible of its course. This is in contrast with most arrangements that appoint only one head. Although noble, this might prove to be a hindrance to the discussions and might be time-consuming as well as invite confusion. As one representative pointed out: *There is a problem of lack of leadership within the forum, resulting in less enthusiasm for its activities than what was desired.*

Secondly, as the representatives during the meetings are officials from the nation-states, there is still a strong control from governments in steering discussions, the issues tackled and to the projects that gain approval. As another representative revealed, *the goals are long-term designed and suited to political decisions.* Indeed, it can be argued that institutionalisation is frail - formed by high-level meetings and working groups of experts on specific topics. Moreover, as an informal forum it offers a loose membership with countries cooperating on an individual basis and not representing the regional groups which they belong to.

Moreover, although one of the strengths of the alliance is its encouragement of country initiatives that are replicated FEALAC-wide, there are deficiencies in handling and coordinating nationally-proposed projects to be replicated to the FEALAC countries:

¹⁶⁰ 'and by watchful participation of civil society although political stability should not be sacrificed as a result.' CO-CHAIRS' STATEMENT Forum for East Asia -Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC) "Economy and Society" Working Group Meeting 7-8 March 2002, Tokyo, Japan,p.2

¹⁶¹ Ibid,p.2-3

¹⁶² Ibid.,p.3

Our principal challenge has been the identification of the objective or required necessity; that is, the total of possible persons to whom the project would be focused on. We have the technical capacity to attend the training necessities but the course design is necessary as well as the profiles identification of ISO instructors who could eventually support the training. We need to count on a formal request by FEALAC, where the interest is stated and the scope of the project to be developed is also raised.

FEALAC also does not have a formal Secretariat and relies on appointed coordinators from each region to continue operating. Funding is also a concern. The projects that are initiated by the countries are carried-out under the assumption that this will be funded by the country organizing it. The replications of projects in other countries are dependent upon the approval of budget from the national governments and therefore take times. However, one of the most important stumbling blocks of FEALAC is its lack of visibility. Its meetings and projects slip through media attention and as a consequence are not known by the general public. As revealed by a FEALAC member, *for now, FEALAC is experiencing a problem of low awareness. The public, in many cases, is not aware of its existence. The main reason is that East Asia and Latin America are not each other's priority in terms of strategic importance. The two regions should actively seek a common interest and identify concrete strategic gains that can be earned from cooperation in order to create a shared perception that the FEALAC is meaningful and important.*

In order to be effective, FEALAC has to address these challenges. Moreover, it has to carefully reposition itself in the global arena to have a more influential say in international affairs. The structural dynamics, funding schemes as well as its logistical administration have to be strengthened as well in order for their objectives be carried out and their aims to be met.

5.4 Building Blocks of Civil Society Engagement

5.4.1 Rise of Epistemic Communities

Since its early stages particularly upon the creation of its working groups, FEALAC has provided a crucial venue where regional experts are encouraged to participate and exchange views as well as exchange best practices. It is the position of this paper that among the tangent accomplishments of the FEALAC is the emergence of a transregional scientific community which plays a definite role in the struggle between economic political concerns, promoting cooperation and exchange of knowledge.

Epistemic communities are channels through which new ideas circulate from societies to governments as well as from country to country. FEALAC-initiated and supported projects including non-governmental groups with different nationalities from different regions in order to meet and discuss issues significant to both Latin America and East Asia allow these networks of experts a role to play in multilateral discussions on how to tackle transregional challenges. At the same time, their efforts are confidence-building, leading to an open, consultative and inclusive political climate in the region. The formation of such a community is of significant importance as integrating knowledge in an interdisciplinary manner may not only strengthen the relationship between the two regions, it will also open up new approaches to solutions to persisting problems in each of the regions and in each of the countries. Moreover, the wealth of knowledge generated through the interaction between experts with their skills and expertise-despite the fact that it cannot be statistically measured-cannot be discounted.

Even at its initial stages, FEALAC (then EALAF) recognized the potential of networks. From February 20-21, 2001, a symposium for intellectuals from East Asia and Latin America (SIEALA) was held in Tokyo with the participation of intellectuals of the East Asia / Latin America regions from China, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, the Republic of Korea, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico Japan chaired the symposium and played the role of coordinator. The symposium was an international brain storming exercise, with a view to creating an innovative framework for future cooperation between East Asia and Latin America in the context of EALAF. The goals of the discussion was to offer new ideas regarding the Framework Dialogue With the hope that the results of the discussion will offer

new ideas on the framework dialogue in the EALAF whose first Foreign Ministers' Meeting was scheduled from March 29-30 in Chile of the same year. In their collective statement, participants claimed that mutual understanding through cultural exchanges is highly important as the first step for deepening cooperative relations. One of the breakthrough recommendations given during that summit was the idea of establishing an EALAF Foundation or East Asia-Latin America Cultural Foundation as the institutional base of such exchanges. Other important exchanges could also be done by this specific initiative such as between the mass-media, young politicians and youth leaders, as well as between academics.¹⁶³ This has been taken up by scholars such as Wilhemy and Mann¹⁶⁴ as the major handicap of the Forum. Sans Foundation, it requires a great effort to comprehend how Latin America and East Asia will accomplish and sustain a synergetic relationship. It can be argued then that at the very onset, this basin of intellectuals have contributed to a new political regime or political behaviour in the two regions.¹⁶⁵

Another running project is the Journalist Visitors Project - a national project proposed by Singapore for FEALAC. The goal of the programme is to increase understanding between East Asia and Latin America at the people-to-people level. Invitations were sent to all Latin American FEALAC member countries to nominate journalists for the JVP.¹⁶⁶ Journalism is one of the most important professions in a networked world. What journalists publish and broadcast compose the main avenues where to get information about public life in their societies. In the process, it empowers and enables them to play the role of active participants in democratic life. Moreover, the media, considered as the fifth element of the state, is particularly important as a provider of independent information about government, and therefore as one of the main watchdogs on the power of the state. Furthermore, it also has the capacity to monitor the activities of large, powerful institutions in the private and non-profit sectors. Therefore, an exchange of ideas between journalists from both regions as well as exposure to a different culture will open the gates of understanding that has the potential to multiply exponentially due to the sphere of influence that these individuals have.

¹⁶³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/latin/fealac/summary0202.html> (accessed January 30, 2010).

¹⁶⁴ Manfred Wilhelm and Stephanie Mann, "Multilateral Co-operation between Latin America and East Asia," in *Latin America and East Asia - Attempts at Diversification*, Jörg Faust Hamburg and Manfred Mols, eds. (Munster: LIT Verlag, 2004), 31-46.

¹⁶⁵ Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination" *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No.1, (Winter 1992), 2.

¹⁶⁶ Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Singapore. <http://www.mfa.gov.sg/internet/foreignpolicy/JVP04.pdf> (accessed February 1, 2010).

FEALAC has also called for public-business sector partnership to promote socio-economic development and create opportunities to help overcome poverty and facilitate individual and social progress. Specifically, it collectively appealed for an increasing role of the various economic agencies in their respective countries to better interface between FEALAC's public, business, and academic sectors. Accordingly, it recognized that there is a necessity to promote exchanges of Best Practices to, among others, 'enhance governmental infrastructure to combat corruption, minimize red tape in bureaucracy, and strengthen the enabling environment for business and sustainable socio economic development.'¹⁶⁷ In its communiqué, FEALAC distinctively declare the importance of the FEALAC Business Council and a FEALAC Academic Exchange Program as important means to strengthen partnerships between the two regions. Additionally, it embraced the conduct of the two synergetic activities that were conducted in Brasilia, alongside and in the framework of the III FMM, namely the Business Seminar between East Asia and Latin America, as well as the Academic Seminar that congregated members of research institutes of the two regions and took note of their recommendations.¹⁶⁸ At the FMM II Manila, the Ministers recognized the idea of creating the FEALAC Business Council (FBC), as crucial vehicle to strengthen partnership between the two regions. It was acknowledged that the FBC will facilitate the creation of venues for dialogue and cooperation among FEALAC member countries entrepreneurs and the exchange of information related to trade and investment.¹⁶⁹ During this specific meeting, FEALAC representatives were a captive audience to businessmen from member countries who gave their expert opinion on concerns with respect to the market and the economy. Through these official recognitions, FEALAC portrays its support for participation of members from the media and the NGOs in events as a valuable contribution to FEALAC activities and in harmony with its objectives.

FEALAC has underscored the importance of relationship building and people-to-people contacts, including the possibility of scholarships or virtual scholarships to students, teachers, researchers, scientists and others working in the sphere of education, science and technology. The group believes that exchanges of young graduates could assist industry, particularly

¹⁶⁷ Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination" *International Organization* , Vol. 46, No.1, (Winter 1992) , 2.

¹⁶⁸ FMM/2007/02: 7

¹⁶⁹ 3rd MEETING OF THE "ECONOMY AND SOCIETY" WORKING GROUP FORUM FOR EAST ASIA-LATIN AMERICA COOPERATION (FEALAC) FINAL REPORT,p.2

SMEs, develop networks between the two regions. It has been said that in complex circumstances, as after a crisis or when new information on complex issues appears, epistemic communities may help states realise their interests, frame the issue-specific political agenda and forward policy-recommendations.¹⁷⁰ With the kind of engagements that FEALAC supports it can be assured of a rich cadre of experts to inform policy and provide intelligent opinions in the next steps to be taken by the two regions.

5.4.2 Melting Pot of Leaders

FEALAC provides a space for national governments to invite the future leaders of both regions to engage in their national projects aimed at strengthening their foreign policies and overseas image. East Asia is a pioneer in these practices and several countries in the region sponsor initiatives for this purpose. Japan has the Japanese Language Programme for Foreign Service Officers from East Asia and Latin America. Under the programme, young diplomats from various regions are invited to Japan to study the Japanese language and culture for nine months. A similar initiative is funded by China dubbed the Latin American and Caribbean Junior/Senior Diplomats Workshop and Seminar. This is treated as an important stage for achieving better understanding between diplomatic members of both regions. FEALAC Young Parliamentarians Forum sponsored by Singapore offers a platform for the younger members of national legislatures to discuss and debate with their counterparts as well as develop greater awareness and understanding of external issues that affect political, social, and economic developments of the Latin American and East Asian region. The Young Leaders Symposium sponsored by Singapore provides the future movers and shakers in both regions a venue to create and bolster mutual understanding and cultural appreciation while discussing issues pertinent to both.

The creation of human networks between these two regions enriches social capital in both regions. As argued by, Brown and Lauder, as individuals, we possess only the potential for intelligence. It is through the developments in the social world that stimulate the mind's potential for new forms of feeling, reasoning, and understanding which have to be learned. The development of social capital within organizations is necessary for the creation of intellectual capital and therefore innovation. Moreover, innovation as a result of collective

¹⁷⁰ CO-CHAIRS' STATEMENT FEALAC WORKING GROUP MEETING 2002 "Fostering Innovation: The Bridge between Education and Creative Development in Science and Technology"

problem-solving will generate new ideas.¹⁷¹ Through the activities promoting people-to-people interaction, FEALAC has created an expanding collective intelligence that has the potential to create and innovate in a globalized world.

5.4.2 Sharing of Country Best Practices

As part of its novel approaches, participating countries in FEALAC are encouraged to submit specific projects with interregional scope. In line with the aims and objectives of the Forum, a project is a proposal geared towards raising awareness and to cultivate better understanding between East Asia and Latin America. The process involves one or more countries pledging to implement within a certain period of time. As a rule, at the initial stage, projects should be modest in scope and in their numbers. Initiators of projects should be responsible for securing funding. The discharge of projects is voluntary in nature. However, projects are categorized to be mutually beneficial and contribute towards advancing, the overall objectives of the Forum.¹⁷² Since its creation, there have been several initiatives forwarded by countries. However, two of these projects are deemed worthy of mentioning due not only to its practicability but also to its potential to be replicated without many problems in other places. One is *Chile Solidario*, a social protection system initiated by Chile and heralded by the FEALAC for its innovativeness. Chile was encouraged to discuss this project in detail so that the other FEALAC members learn from its success. Second, is the Cuban project, *Yo Si Puedo*, (Yes I Can), which is an inventive and ground-breaking approach to combat illiteracy. One of the most important points to consider with this initiative is that it comes from Cuba – a country repeatedly sidelined by the international community. The fact that it has novel ideas that can help reach the MDGs is a crucial contribution.

FEALAC's main focus is on the alleviation of poverty and in this connection prompted Chile to share its government strategy at overcoming extreme poverty. Dubbed "Chile Solidario", it is a social protection system targeted on extreme poverty which incorporates social assistance programs to tackle poverty in an integral manner. Created in 2002, it also aims for the consolidation of an institutional network to support social integration, the creation of

¹⁷¹ Phillip Brown and Hugh Lauder, "Human Capital, Social Capital and Collective Intelligence" in *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*, eds. Stephen Baron, John Field and Tom Schuller (New York Oxford University Press, 2000), 230-237.

¹⁷² FEALAC, Framework Document, 2001

mechanisms for increasing opportunities available to people in the territories and the establishment of a Social Security which allowed the program to extend its coverage to other groups, generating various initiatives to address vulnerabilities that affect the population.¹⁷³ FEALAC recognized that it was important that Chile possibly in collaboration with other countries willing to join this initiative, organizes a seminar or an exchange program aiming at promoting mutual learning on the important task of social protection. From this and other country initiatives, it was collectively decided to create a taskforce study group that collectively identifies key parameters of institutional innovation and adaptation through learning from successful application and experience as well as lesson learned in both regions.¹⁷⁴

In the world there are over 860 million absolute illiterates, 98.5% of which is concentrated in the third world countries, not counting those that are added by the lack of school attendance in the early ages of basic education, where more than 130 million children are out of school. The Cuban method "Yo Si Puedo," centered on audiovisual means and on a facilitator to pass on knowledge, recently received the Rey Sejong award, granted by United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). FEALAC members such as New Zealand, Nicaragua, Mexico, Ecuador, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Honduras and Venezuela have incorporated that method in their educational systems, taking advantage of the programs ability to adjust to several languages. Other nations outside of the Forum, like Haiti, Nigeria, Mozambique have also recognized the effectiveness of the approach. According to official data, more than two million people in the world have used the method, a fact that shows Cuba's intentions to help fulfil the UN Education for All goals.

5.5 Democracy and Democratic Ideals

In Latin America, the first democratization had already progressed by the end of the 1970s. Democratic transitions in Ecuador, the Dominican Republic and Peru initiated a region-wide trend that ended with the transitions in Panama, Paraguay, Chile and Nicaragua in 1990. Amidst the considerable uncertainty and areas of unresolved social conflict, in general, the

¹⁷³ Que es CHS, Chile Solidario, <http://www.chilesolidario.gov.cl/sist/sist1.php> (accessed February 15, 2010).

¹⁷⁴ CO-CHAIRS' STATEMENT Forum for East Asia -Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC)"Economy and Society" Working Group Meeting 2003, Tokyo, Japan, 3.

public welcomed the advent of democracy.¹⁷⁵ At the moment the Berlin Wall collapsed, all of South America had already experienced democratic conversions. On the other hand, it was only in 1986 when East Asia had its first democratic metamorphosis through the People Power Revolution in the Philippines.¹⁷⁶

As democratic regimes become the international norm in both regions, the scope for mutual recognition is reinforced, not merely on the grounds of shared economic realities but also on the basis of common political norms and practice. However, it has to be said that although there seems to be acquiescence to democratic paths, there are limitations to how both regions embrace this structure.¹⁷⁷ Both regions persist to be regional blocks with uncertain collective democratic futures. Latin America is still home to fragile democracies such as Cuba, Venezuela and its one of its newest members, Honduras. Many argue that President Hugo Chavez' view on democracy is in contrast to his socialist rhetoric. Moreover, a lot has been said on the state of democracy in the country and has been questioned especially by Western governments especially the United States. However, while critics may perceive Chávez's Bolivarian revolution as an authoritarian project, majority opinion in Venezuela judges it democratic. As the Latinobarometro survey has regularly illustrated, Venezuelan public opinion is one of the most democratic in the region and strongly opposed to autocracy. Venezuelans have an unswerving support for political model, and confidence in the democratic system is constantly above the regional average.¹⁷⁸ Honduras, the newest member of FEALAC is plagued with political instability. This is significant because it signals a dramatic shift of democratic processes in the country and hence, the resolution of which determines the future of Honduras. Moreover, it is also a historical point of query and crucial to the question of democratic strategies in the region. As encapsulated by Patricio Navia of Infolatam:¹⁷⁹

But it is clear to all that Honduran democracy appeared quite ill before the overthrow of Zelaya. However, it is understandable that some want to reinstate him to the

¹⁷⁵ J. Mark Payne, "Democracies in Development: Politics and Reform in Latin America," *Inter-American Development Bank*, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (New York, 2002), 26-27.

¹⁷⁶ Laurence Whitehead, *Stirrings of Mutual Recognition* in Whitehead, Laurence, *Emerging Market Democracies: East Asia and Latin America*, John Hopkins University Press, Maryland, 2002, p.3

¹⁷⁷ Laurence Whitehead, *Ibid*:13

¹⁷⁸ Julia Buzton, Chavez: Tides of Victory, *Open Democracy*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/hugo-chavez-tides-of-victory>. 20 February 2009 (accessed February 10, 2010).

¹⁷⁹ Patricio Navia, "América Latina a 90 Días de las Elecciones Presidenciales en Honduras," *Informacion y Analisis de America Latina*, August 20, 2009, http://www.infolatam.com/analista/patricio_navia_-89.html. (accessed December, 1, 2010).

presidency so as not to legitimate the first coup in Latin America since 1976. However, it seems much more important to concentrate on those causes that led to the breakdown of democratic processes in Honduras. After all, unless these problems are solved, the instability will be the constant in this country regardless of who occupies the presidency after the constitutional period of Zelaya comes to an end in January 2010 (translation mine).¹⁸⁰

The issue then expands to the concern on the future of democracy and its application in the Latin American continent. As Sergio Aguayo Quezada so eloquently put it, 'Latin America is experimenting with solutions in which, with the exception of Cuba, electoral democracy is accepted, but the place of participative democracy is under debate; in which the market economy is taken as given, but the regulatory role of the state is up for discussion; in which the inevitability of globalisation is recognised, but there is disagreement about the form that it should take.'¹⁸¹ On the other hand, Cuba may be labelled as a totalitarian government especially by Western standards. However, as argued by Greenwood and Lambie, while Cuban local government may not provide local democracy in the liberal democratic form, it consents to active citizen participation. And with the latter, a space is formed that brews a considerable force for local innovation and self-help. This, the authors argue, may provide the vehicle for the further development of a uniquely Cuban model of democracy.¹⁸²

East Asia also has its issues. Malaysia and Singapore continually espouse 'Asian Values' as an alternative to 'Western democracy.' Both countries believed that the "Asian way" of strong government, social conservatism and free market economics is superior to that of Western individualism and liberalism. Under the appropriate leadership it is a framework for economic prosperity, progress, harmonious relations between citizens, and law and order".¹⁸³ As

¹⁸⁰ *Pero es evidente a todos que la democracia hondureña aparecía bastante enferma antes del derrocamiento de Zelaya. Por eso, si bien es comprensible que algunos quieran la restitución de Zelaya-para no legitimar el primer golpe de estado exitoso contra un presidente democráticamente electo en América latina desde 1976 - parece mucho más importante abocarse a las causas que llevaron al quiebre de los procesos democráticos en Honduras. Después de todo, a menos que se solucionen esos problemas, la inestabilidad será siendo la constante en ese país independientemente de quién ocupe la presidencia después de que el periodo constitucional de Zelaya llegue a su fin en enero de 2010*

¹⁸¹ Sergio Aguayo Quezada, *Washington Vs. Latin American democracy*, 29 November 2005 , http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-protest/fox_chavez_3070.jsp (accessed February 20, 2010).

¹⁸² John Greenwood and George Lambie "Local government in Cuba: Democracy through participation?," *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 25, Issue 1 (Spring 1999) : 55 – 74.

¹⁸³ Takashi Inoguchi and Edward Newman, INTRODUCTION: "ASIAN VALUES" AND DEMOCRACY IN ASIA," Proceedings of a Conference Held on 28 March 1997 at Hamamatsu, Shizuoka, Japan, as Part of the First Shizuoka Asia-Pacific Forum: The Future of the Asia-Pacific Region, <http://www.unu.edu/unupress/asian-values.html>. (accessed February 20, 2010).

discussed earlier in this dissertation, Asia although recognizing the dominance of democracy still leans toward authoritarian forms of government. The Asia Democratic Study¹⁸⁴, a study that surveys the perceptions of politically aware citizens on the democratic development of their respective political systems, revealed that the average percentage score for all the countries/territories studied is 46.73%. This has been interpreted as not signifying a strong score and demonstrates the overall weakness of democratisation in Asia. Moreover, with its economic success and champion of the creation of novel alliances, Singapore ranks second from the bottom, just one place higher than Myanmar. Japan, Latin America's first Asian trade partner, is considered to be the most democratic state in Asia today.

FEALAC does not have a membership of only democracies. And even those that profess to be so, have different ideas about the applications of the democratic processes and its dynamics. When members were asked if they would say that aside from strengthening Asia-Latin American relations, FEALAC is promoting democracy, one member answered candidly:

*Not necessarily. FEALAC was not intended to promote democracy. There are other multilateral mechanisms that could fulfil this objective.*¹⁸⁵

However, another member remarked, '*Since the FEALAC is basically based on conversation and understanding, it certainly contributes to promoting democracy of which basic component is a free exchange of opinion. The meetings at all levels are conducted reflecting a basic principle of democracy, discussion and compromise.*'¹⁸⁶ In general it is safe to assume that there is a growing space for 'mutual support and encouragement' on democratic movements intra and inter these two regions. However, due to this interconnectedness, it could have serious repercussions on an interregional scale. A failure of democracy in one would mean catastrophic effects to all.

The FEALAC as an organization, in general, espouses democratic ideals. Although, its members institutional mechanisms, location of power and representation may question or challenge democracy, from a Habermesian perspective, the Forum through its project and its

¹⁸⁴ Paul D. Scott, "Myanmar ranks at the bottom; Japan tops the Asia Democracy Index 2005", *Asia Democracy Index*, Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia, http://www.asiademocracy.org/content_view.php?section_id=11&content_id=586. (accessed February 9, 2010).

¹⁸⁵ Interview Ecuador

¹⁸⁶ Interview Korea

fundamental structure embraces a democracy. It can be remembered that Jurgen Habermas comprehends democracy as any institutional order whose legitimacy depends on collective will-formation through discourse. He opines that democracy “is a question of finding arrangements which can ground the basic presupposition that the basic institutions of the society and the basic political decisions would meet with the unforced agreement of all those involved, if they could participate, as free and equal, in discursive will-formation.”¹⁸⁷ Following this line of argument, the question that determines democratic legitimacy is: "How would the members of a social system, at a given state in the development of productive forces, have collectively and bindingly interpreted their needs (and which norms would they have accepted as justified) if they could and would have decided on the organization of social intercourse through discursive will-formation, with adequate knowledge of the limiting conditions and functional imperatives of their society?"¹⁸⁸

FEALAC is in harmony with Habermas' key institutional embodiment of discourse which is the public sphere, that is, an arena in which individuals participate in discussions about matters of common concern, in an atmosphere free of coercion or dependencies that would incline individuals toward acquiescence or silence. In accordance with the liberal tradition, Habermas perceives public spheres not as institutions of political power and action, but as arenas of judgment and decision-arenas that are institutionally separated from collective powers of action, while also serving as their source of direction and legitimacy.¹⁸⁹ Despite the fact that its members are representatives of nation-states, it goes beyond an intergovernmental association by its decision to engage civil society. And as empowering civil society is a central concern for the project of democracy, it inadvertently supports its continued dominance and application. Moreover, the fact that FEALAC operates within the auspices of a Forum, its informal nature allows it to avoid binding state to state agreements while having the flexibility to engage in collective pursuits among its members and with their respective sectors (i.e. the business community, academic community, youth, etc.).

FEALAC's characteristics and organisational structure fits the categorization of a transregional structure and therefore is a pioneering alliance. Yet, it is not without its critics.

¹⁸⁷ Jurgen Habermas, *Communication and the Evolution of Society*, T. McCarthy (Tr.) (Boston: Beacon Press 1979) , 186.

¹⁸⁸ Jurgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*, T. McCarthy (Tr.) (Boston: Beacon Press., 1975).

¹⁸⁹ Jurgen Habermas, “Jurgen Habermas on Politics and Society”. S. Seidman ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989) 231-232.

Maria Cecilia Olivet has contended that FEALAC does not match the balancing roles identified as key for interregionalism within the Triad. Moreover, despite the promising signs and its importance for the future of East Asian and Latin American countries, FEALAC's political and economic weight is marginal in comparison to other interregional processes. She argues that as of yet, 'it cannot be considered as a means to balance the structure of international system or as a way to contribute to the construction of the global governance structure.'¹⁹⁰ However, as FEALAC is still a newly-formed group, it is still early to firmly decipher its role in the global community. It is the position of this paper that although opaque achievements are not yet clearly there, the dynamics of the world system especially the shifts of economies and markets as a consequence of the recent financial crisis, will generate a tilt in the balance of world relations. Perhaps, what can be generated is not anymore a Triad but a Quad involving Latin America. Moreover, the interactions of non-state actors are not to be discounted. These interfaces are producing waves of change in local and international relations and as a consequence has the potential of affecting conditions of social engagement expanding to economic and political decisions from top to bottom and vice versa. While not statistically measurable, this presents one of the most credible accomplishments of the alliance.

Moreover, as FEALAC draws different regions together it is also imperative to expound on how this affects the peace project. Famously, Huntington wrote that "the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural... [The] principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics."¹⁹¹ These arguments decline and deny the homogenizing results of globalizing forces an example of which is the existence of the FEALAC. In contrast to Huntington's statements, FEALAC has initiated a harmonious relationship between two distant strangers and have bridge gaps between the differences. Of course, much is left to be desired with the relationship. And there are potholes that need to be fixed. However, as Francis Fukuyama has argued, the spread of free market economics and democratic politics is a process which "guarantees an increasing

¹⁹⁰ Maria Cecilia Olivet, "Unravelling Interregionalism Theory: A Critical Analysis of the New Interregional Relations between Latin America and East Asia," VI REUNIÓN DE LA RED DE ESTUDIOS DE AMÉRICA LATINA Y EL CARIBE SOBRE ASIA-PACÍFICO REDEALAP AUDITORIO RAÚL PREBISCH INTAL BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA 12 Y 13 DE OCTUBRE DE 2005.

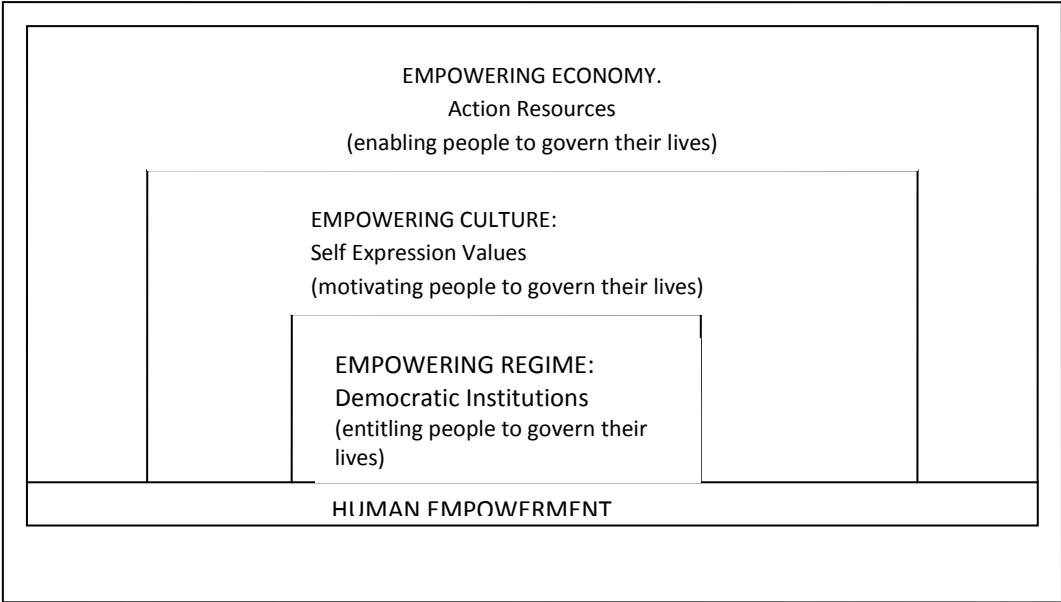
¹⁹¹ Samuel P Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

homogenization of all human societies, regardless of their historical origins or cultural inheritances."¹⁹² FEALAC has definitely done this in many aspects and will continue to do so. And it through this end that it can be said that it can aid in the creation of cultures of peace.

6. Case Study 2: Goals for Peace

Christian Welzel and Ronald Inglehart claim that democracy can be effective only if power is vested in the people. And to this end they have created a human-empowerment sequence that consists of three elements: action resources, self-expression values, and democratic institutions. (See figure)¹⁹³

Figure 4: The Human Empowerment Model



Source: Welzel and Inglehart, 2008:129

The following case study aligns with a particular trend of research argues that informal ties to the community increase individual political participation.¹⁹⁴ We argue that social capital is manifests in the existence of individuals with the intersectoral relationships that enabled contact among parties with different interests and backgrounds. In this case, the actions were emanating from individual interests for promoting the empowerment of vulnerable sectors of

¹⁹² Huntington, *Ibid.*
¹⁹³ Christian Welzel and Ronald Inglehart, "The Role of Ordinary People in Democratization," *Journal of Vol. 19, No.1 Democracy* (2008) : 19.
¹⁹⁴ Avery M. and R. S. Orpessa, "Informal Social Ties and Political Activity in the Metropolis.," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* Vol. 21, (1986) : 550- 74

society in the Global South. Later, creating symbiotic relations in the creation of a project aimed at encouraging local communities to take control of their destinies through active participation in civic affairs. Moreover, linking with established organizations in the actual implementation of the project. In the two projects, one in Bais City Philippines and the other in Bogota Colombia the “bridges” that have been created between sectors allows the recognition of common problems and shared interests in problem solving. The manner and mechanisms through which this is done are described in the next section.

6.1 Introduction

It is well known that soccer is the most popular sport in the planet both in terms of spectatorship and participation. Because of unique characteristics which include the simplicity of the game and its rules, the sport has adopted a universal character and has been able to break through all kind of geographical, political and economic barriers. Moreover, during the last twenty years, football has become a platform to connect people and to build their capacities to make this sport one of the most effective tools to contribute to peace and development processes. Based on this information, several claims were decided upon:

1. Because of its universality, soccer is appealing to most youth.
2. Football may serve educational purposes in addition to being a recreational activity.
3. Football integrates communities around a common activity.
4. Football serves as a platform for the advancement of higher ideals and provides a space for social inclusion and participation.
5. Positive behaviour (as well as negative) learned or transmitted during games may be replicated in daily life.

6.2 Objectives

The objective of the Goals for Peace Project and research are two-fold: On one hand, the project sought to raise awareness on the situation of displaced people, youth in particular, in the area of Ciudad Bolivar, home to the second largest internally displaced population in the world as well as to foster engagement and participation at the community level. On the other hand, the research component of the project was designed to assess qualitatively the power of soccer as a tool to (1) facilitate inclusion and integration as well as to enhance socialization of at-risk children; (2) foster self steam and empowerment; (3) challenge gender norms ;(4)

provide opportunities for leadership and achievement; (5) enhance physical and mental health and (5) promote a culture of peace particularly in disadvantaged communities. The research was carried out using open-ended interviews and participant observation and activities took place in the *barrio Sierra Morena* of the locality of Ciudad Bolivar in Bogota, Colombia.

6.3 Research Methods

Two main research methods were deployed within this research project – open-ended interviews, and participatory observation. Yin explains that open-ended interviews expand the depth of data gathering as well as it increases the number of sources of information. The interviews were conducted with participants both children and adults during and after the course of activities.¹⁹⁵ Participant observation, on the other hand, provides several advantages as this method combines, according to Denzin, document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation and introspection.¹⁹⁶ All interviews (22) yielded significant qualitative results and therefore, not all results were amended to statistical analysis. This allowed for analytical conclusion to be drawn regarding the assumption that football is indeed a tool for social transformation. However, a few quantitative figures that provided information about the project participants was generated in the form of tables and charts.

6.4 Goals for Peace Project in Ciudad Bolivar


The first Goals for Peace Project took place in Ciudad Bolivar on Saturday, February 28, 2009 and a week later on March 7 in the neighborhood of *Sierra Morena*, locality of Ciudad Bolivar. *Sierra Morena*, unlike many of the neighborhoods in this locality, has witnessed in the last years, a rapid development in infrastructure, most notably, roads, school facilities and playing grounds. In addition, security in the area has been significantly improved due in part to the recent opening of a police station, one of the largest and most modern in the city. A

¹⁹⁵ Robert Yin , *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984).

¹⁹⁶ Norman Denzin, *The Research Act: a Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1989) 157-158.

brief background on the origins, evolution and social dynamics of this locality is provided in order to introduce the reader to the multiple issues affecting Ciudad Bolivar today. In

Table 1: The Goals for Peace Project

| | |
|--|--|
| The Goals for Peace Project | |
|  | <p>The Goals for Peace Project was born both as an academic and a grass-roots initiative in the areas of conflict transformation, community development and peace building, civil society engagement and South-South cooperation. This project, to the best of our knowledge and as expressed by both concerned Colombian and Philippine authorities, is the first cooperation between the two nations at the grassroots level. Using the power of football, Goals for Peace is a sports and development project aimed at empowering young people to initiate change, promote pro-active reform and develop a culture of peace in their communities. It is also an information drive with the objective of creating awareness in pressing issues affecting the world today. Its motto <i>“Pro-action, innovation and cooperation in creating cultures of peace”</i>, suggests the importance of ground –breaking approaches to address critical issues in today’s globalized while emphasizing cooperation and engagement to bring about the change we want to see in our communities.</p> |
| Components | |
| <p>The basic components of the program are two: (1) football training and (2) both capability building seminars and activity-based modules in four areas: leadership, teamwork, conflict transformation /peace building and compromise. For each of the topics, activities that include theater, games, painting and other participatory activities are performed. At the end the end of every session feedback is conducted in order to guarantee an in-depth reflection and understanding by the participants on the daily life application of lesson learned during the activities. In addition to football training and seminars, the Goals for Peace offers to participants: t-shirts with the logo of the program; posters in which participating partners are included; refreshments for the duration of the activities (2 snacks per day); certificates of participation and school appliances for each of the participating children.</p> | |
| Partners | |

The program initiates partnerships with community organizations and local leaders who provide the venue where the activities and the games will take place as well as some of the necessary materials for the training sessions. Organizations choose the children who will take part in the activities and upon agreement, they may modify, the initial program. Members of the community with proven experience in human rights issues, community development and advocacy are invited to conduct talks and to moderate some of the seminars. Local organizations also are responsible for obtaining a written consent from parents or relatives authorizing the children to participate in the program and as well as for providing a well-balanced lunch for the children for the duration of the activities. In addition, the project makes use of local talent and knowledge and encourages community members to become involved in the activities so that similar initiatives may consequently be replicated.

Source: Own Table

addition, this background seeks to validate the choice of Ciudad Bolivar as the venue for the first Goals for Peace Project and to raise awareness on the importance of conducting more initiatives of this kind as a way to promote social development and community participation.

6.4.1 Ciudad Bolivar (Background)

The development of informal settlements in Bogota's periphery has been fueled by the massive arrival of rural immigrants to these areas. The search for economic opportunities, however, is not the only reason for migration as a large percentage of these migrants have come to the city in order to escape rural violence. In Ciudad Bolivar, the first informal settlements developed 1950's when a massive influx of internally displaced people, most of which were peasants, arrived from the states of Boyaca, Tolima and Cundinamarca. Too poor to afford rents in proper houses, newcomers had to find alternative solutions such as building their own housing. As a consequence, informal settlements multiplied in the 60's and 70's initiating a process of rapid pirate urbanization during these decades. In the 1970's, the city invested in the development of public infrastructure that, although very limited, provided basic sanitation and public services to a small number of residents. In the 1980's, legal urbanization took place and infrastructure was developed. Populous neighborhoods such as

Juan Pablo II, Jerusalem and *Sierra Morena* were born and in 1983 the city inaugurated an ambitious housing project in the area which was named Ciudad Bolivar, defining in this way the limits of the new locality. Nevertheless, in the 1990's the process of illegal appropriation of land, particularly in areas of high geological instability, predominated. These last years have witnessed the worsening of the internal conflict particularly in rural areas. This continues to force thousands of people every year to leave their places of origin and settle in the locality adding to the precarious social and economic situation of some of Ciudad Bolivar's 130 neighborhoods.

6.4.2 Geographic Location and Demographics

The locality of Ciudad Bolivar is situated in the Southwestern part of Bogota bordering to the north with locality of *Bosa*, and the *Autopista Sur*. To the west it borders the municipality of *Soacha* and to the east with the localities of *Usme* and *Tunjuelito*. To the south, it borders with the locality of *Usme*. Ciudad Bolivar is 90% mountainous and according to an estimate by the DANE, National Center for Statistics, the population in the locality will reach in 2010 855,2589 inhabitants. In 1993, Ciudad Bolivar was the fifth most populous locality in Bogota (7,69% of the total population in the city) and its population under 15 years of age was 33,55%. Ciudad Bolivar residents belong in its majority to the lower classes (strata 1 and 2). Strata 1 is made up of 59,72% in this locality while strata 2 is represented by the 35,67% of the residents. Strata 3 represent only 4.60% of the total population of Ciudad Bolivar.

6.4.3 Social Conditions

According to official data, Ciudad Bolivar has the largest population living under poverty levels in the city and by most indicators it has one of worst social conditions in the country. The most relevant social problems are associated with migration by internally displaced people, the lack of spaces for recreational activities, the improper management of solid waste and violence. It is estimated that in 2001, 6,597 internally displaced people arrived in Ciudad Bolivar because of the armed conflict and most of the victims settled down in the periphery of the locality. Homicide is one of the main manifestations of violence in the area. In 2005, 219 deaths caused by physical aggression were registered. Of the total, 121 were youth ages between 15 and 25.

6.4.4 Community Initiative and Participation in Ciudad Bolivar

Community initiative and participation revolves around the urgency to satisfy the needs that the local authorities are not able to fulfill. Poverty, which is reflected in the lack of basic infrastructure and absence of public services, has become, however, the engine that fuels social mobilization and community participation in this locality. Areas that have improved due to community initiatives are education and public services (particularly electricity and water), while safety continues to be an issue around which residents express growing concern and willingness for action.¹⁹⁷

6.4.5 Goals for Peace Partners in Ciudad Bolivar

Proseder: Non-profit organization which operates in the area of community development. In Ciudad Bolivar, Proseder manages a soup kitchen program where children and seniors receive meals free of cost. Children must be enrolled in school and be in good academic standing. Social workers and psychologists provide assistance to children and families in need.

Fundacion Matiombolumba : This NGO promotes proper access to medical care and after school activities for disadvantaged children in Bogota.

Participating Children: 30 girls and boys ages 10 to 14 chosen by *Proseder* participated in the training. Age, gender distribution and strata of participants are presented in table 2.

Table 2: Age, Gender and Strata Distribution of Participants Goals for Peace Project Ciudad Bolivar

| | Girls | Boys | Total |
|------------------------|-------|------|-------|
| Number of Participants | 15 | 15 | 30 |
| Ages 10-12 | 8 | 10 | 18 |
| Ages 12-14 | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| Strata 1 | 12 | 10 | 22 |
| Strata 2 | 3 | 5 | 8 |

Source: Own Table

¹⁹⁷ Veeduría Distrital n.d., *Diagnostico de las localidades de Bogota: Localidad de Ciudad Bolivar*, Bogota, 13-18.

6.5 Activities

6.5.1 Soccer Training

Picture 1: Girls and Boys Playing Football in Ciudad Bolivar



Source: Own Photo

4 mixed teams of 7 participants and 2 substitutions were organized. . Emphasis was placed on teamwork and cooperation regardless of the final score. Technical skills included a brief instruction on controlling and passing the ball. Basic instruction on proper stretching and warm- up exercises was provided. Some basic rules were established: (1) Games would feature two halves of 20 minutes each. (2) Captainship is given to both boys and girls and he or she would be the intermediary between the referee and the team. (3) At least one of the goals has to be scored by a girl.

6.5.2 Seminars and Training

Capability building seminars and activity-based modules in four areas: leadership, teamwork, conflict transformation /peace building and compromise (see tables 3 and 4 for an explanation of activities and objectives). Instructions and objectives were clearly established at the

beginning of the activities. Feedback was conducted after the seminars in order to guarantee an in-depth reflection and understanding by the participants on the daily life application of lesson learned during the activities. After each module, soccer games took place among participating teams.

6.5.3 Community Participation

Community involvement was important during the course of the activities. Three university students from the locality joined the initiative as module coordinators and several high school students provided logistic support to the program. The National Police was also present during the two days of the event and supported the initiative not only by providing a watchful eye on the event but they participated actively in some of the modules. Moreover, the program also served as a platform to strengthen the National Police's ties with the community. One international guest, Milena Ophuls a Colombian-American psychologist with extensive experience in meditation and art joined Goals for Peace and coordinated the painting module. In addition, Gloria Heppler, a Colombian actress with years of experience in theater and TV coordinated the Theater of the Oppressed. Involvement by the partner institutions was notorious as they were not only engaged in the logistics of the program, but they also coordinated some of the modules. Mr. Alvaro Gomes, representative of the *Fundacion Matiombolumba* and whose field of expertise is humanitarian intervention and child protection, conducted several talks on community development and cooperation and drug prevention. Unfortunately, although ample time was allowed to advertise Goals for Peace in the locality and children's families were especially targeted to become involved during the event, only members of three of the children's families joined the activities.

6.6 Results and Analysis

6.6.1 Interaction: Teams' Successes and Difficulties

Interaction among children and between coordinators and children was particularly challenging at the beginning of each of the training sessions including soccer games. Lack of focus and concentration during the most demanding activities was predominant in the first session, but improved in the second thanks to the assistance of coordinators. Improper language was sometimes employed by the children in their interaction with teammates, which led us to suspend activities temporarily to create a poster in which the rules of the house were

Table 3: Activities and Objectives Goals for Peace Day 1

| Theme | Activity | Description | Objective |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|--|---|
| Leadership | Taxi | Teams form a straight line. The child at the end of the line is the driver and will pass these 5 signals to the child in front: patting on the head means go forward; on the left shoulder means go left; on the right shoulder means go right; on the back means reverse and no patting means stop. The child in front is the taxi and he will be blindfolded. Without talking, the teams should avoid crashes among each other. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Foster team cooperation. 2. Observe yourself in a leading position as well as in a following one. 3. Recognize difficulties of teams and leader. |
| | Magic Stick | Groups of 6 to 12 people. A bamboo stick (2 meters long) or similar, participants stand half/half at each side of the stick, holding it with their pointing finger, with their arms stretched out straightly. Each finger has to come together with a finger from another person at the other side of the stick. The aim of this exercise is as simple as to bring the stick down to the ground. It seems easy but it is actually not. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Team cooperation is crucial. Children alone have to decide on the best strategy to bring the stick down at the same time. 2. Leaders should identify the weakest links and encourage them to make it a success. |
| Soccer | Soccer Training | Team A Vs Team B Team C Vs. Team D | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Improve technical and tactical skills. Foster positive attitudes and healthy habits. |
| Feedback and Talk | Round Table | Community leaders give a brief talk on the importance on the activities performed and their application in daily life. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Children are encouraged to provide feedback on what they have learned, challenges and positive outcomes on he activities. |
| Team Work | The Longest Line | In a one-minute-time spam, teams should make the longest line possible on the ground using the materials provided. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Foster team cooperation. 2. Raise awareness on the important role that each member plays in the success of the team. |
| | The Paper Tower | Using only paper, the tem should build the tallest and most resistant paper tower. Allocated time: five minutes | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Foster team cooperation. 2. Raise awareness on the important role that each member plays in the success of the team. |
| Soccer | Soccer Training | Team A Vs. Team C Team B Vs. Team D | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Improve technical and tactical skills. Foster positive attitudes and healthy habits |
| Feedback and Talk | Round Table | Community leaders give a brief talk on the importance on the activities performed and their application in daily life. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Children are encouraged to provide feedback on what they have learned, challenges and positive outcomes on the activities. |

Table 4: Activities and Objectives Goals for Peace Day 2

| Theme | Activity | Description | Objective |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|---|
| Peace and Conflict Resolution | Mandala Painting | Teams use the power of painting for self-expression and creativity. Each team creates a painting with the topic being “How I imagine a peaceful community:” At the end of the module, each of the participants explains what their vision of living in a peaceful community is like. Paintings are put together as a single piece and exhibited in the community center. | 1.Foster team cooperation. 2. Platform for self-expression. 3. To visualize their communities as they would like them to be and to identify the ways in which children can contribute to the betterment of their societies. |
| | Theater of the oppressed | Participatory theater that fosters cooperative modes of interaction among the participants. Children represent a problem, participants intervene and adopt any role they want (teacher, son, classmate) and together, possible solutions for the critical situations are explored. | 1. Identify and analyze situation of conflict. 2. Explore possible solution to the problem. 3. Get familiar with the different points of view and actors involved in the conflict. |
| Soccer | Soccer Training | Team A Vs Team D Team B Vs. Team C | 1. Improve technical and tactical skills. Foster positive attitudes and healthy habits. |
| Feedback and Talk | Round Table | Community leaders give a brief talk on the importance on the activities performed and their application in daily life. | 1. Children are encouraged to provide feedback on what they have learned, challenges and positive outcomes on the activities. |
| Compromise | Web of Life | Participants make a circle and toss around a ball of twine. Every time a participant receives the twine, she or he makes a commitment to the group. A web of compromise is created. | 1. Show how closely related kids are to each other so positive results will arise if we all compromise to ourselves and to our team. |
| | Fire of Compromise | Children write on a piece of paper any negative experience, behavior or thought they want to get rid of. Papers are then burned and on a new piece of paper positive characteristics of one-self are written and kept on a safe place as a reminder of the potential of each participant. | 1. Remind children that negative experiences and attitudes can be replaced by positive ones. 2. Encourage compromise and dedication on reaching one’s fullest potentials. |
| Soccer | Soccer Training | Semifinal Final | |
| Closing Ceremony | Final words and awards | Award ceremony and mention of distinguished participants based on fair play, leadership and cooperation. | |

set. Cordial communication at all times was one of these rules. Children made a commitment to respecting these rules and were successful in doing so.

6.6.2 The Modules

Based on the open-ended interviews and participant observation, painting was the favorite activity for both boys and girls, followed by the theater of the oppressed (See Figure 5). Among boys, however, football was the best-liked activity of the program. In regard to the peace and conflict resolution module as being the favorite one, psychologists and social workers at Proseder, commented that reason for the outcome was that these were some of the few instances in which children had the opportunity to let their voices be heard in a creative way in a community that sometimes disregards children's opinions and points of view. The theater of the oppressed, "provided a venue in which children assumed different roles so that they were able to understand and appreciate multiple sides in a situation of conflict", commented Martha, a social worker at the locality of Ciudad Bolivar. "It was very moving to see how Victor, a child whose family is little involved in his education and recreational activities, assume a forgiving role towards his parents when he said that no matter how they are we should always love them", commented the professional. Karen, a 11-year-old girl pointed out that creating the Mandala along with her teammates was one of the best experiences of the program: "I had a lot of fun painting and participating with my friends as a team. My family and I were very proud to see our painting at the community center. That made me feel important", said Karen. Parents were eager to express their opinion on Goals for Peace:

"It was good to see our kids playing soccer not just for the sake of playing but knowing that they are also learning new things", said Dona Julia, mother of Leidy, an 11-year-old girl.

6.7 Accomplishments Attained

6.7.1 Ability to Coexist and Interact

The teams' attitudes and behavior were improved, particularly during the second session as children demonstrated more respect and better interaction towards their teammates. Communication with both their peers and coordinators, although difficult at times, showed in general a positive change throughout the event.

Picture 2: The Theater of the Oppressed. Children participate in the Peace and Conflict Transformation module by acting in the “Theater of the Oppressed, an activity that fosters cooperative modes of interaction among the participants.

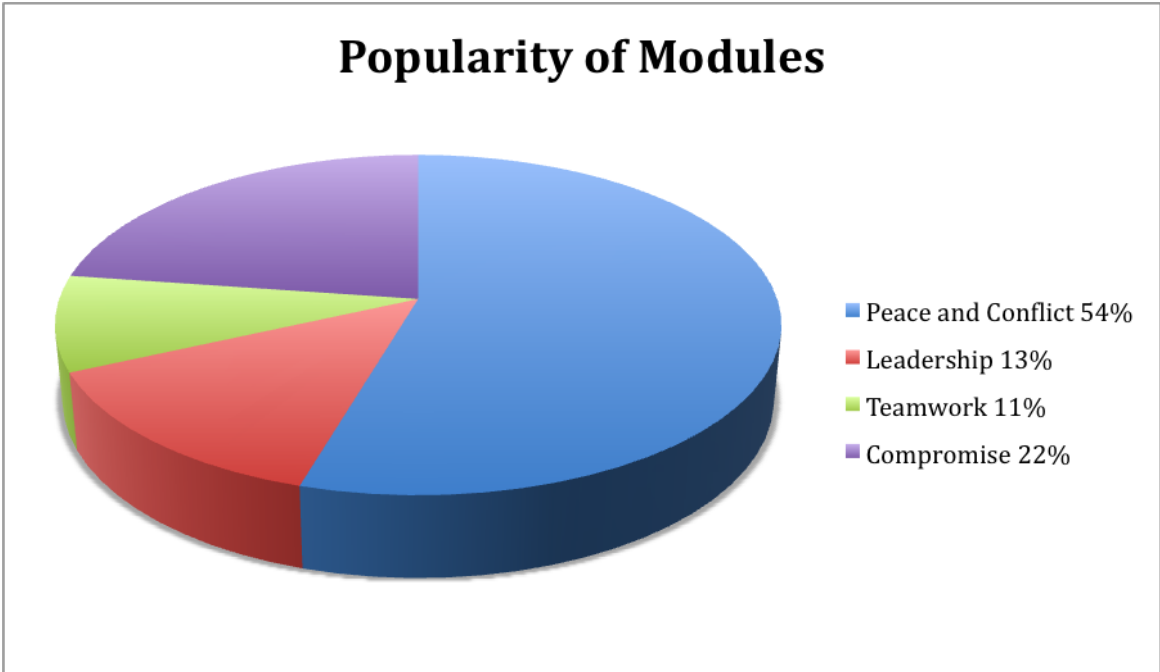


Source: Own Photo

6.7.2 Gender Roles

At the initial soccer match, boys were clearly apprehensive to share a team with girls. Equally, girls expressed their interest in forming a team made up only of female players. Little by little interaction between both male and female team members became more natural and team success rather than gender predominance characterized the soccer component of the program. We were pleased to see that, compared to years ago when we were their age, girls do play soccer now and some of them are actually very good at it. Yuberly, a girl age 13 was the best player of the tournament and scored more goals than any of the boys. In fact, she was such a skillful player that constantly Yuberly was asked by the boys to play in their respective teams.

Figure 5: Popularity of Modules Project Goals for Peace Ciudad Bolivar



Source: Own Chart

6.7.3 Social Inclusion

Sports and activities such as those presented in the program help reduce youth vulnerability to drugs and gang activity by offering a sense of belonging and purpose. Participating children, some of whom have migrated to the city with their families, as they were victims of rural violence, find in these types of games and activities a venue to build their confidence and gain access to a larger community. However, the most significant example of social inclusion that took place during the event, involved a group of children who were initially not registered in the program. Julio, an 11-year-old boy approached me to demand that the football field that we were using be given back to him, as this was his time and place to play. He explained that he only had an hour to play and that in the case that he would show up home later than allowed by his mother, she would hit him very badly for disobeying. Julio was asked to kindly wait or use another space to play but he reacted aggressively and threatened to sabotage the training. Soon, he and his friends were throwing little stones at the children and interrupting the sessions. We invited Julio and his friends to join the painting session by creating their own Mandala to which they were very happy. Their aggressive behavior turned

instantaneously into creative art and the new group showed an exemplary behavior throughout the activity. Later, Julio came to us and apologized for his earlier attitude. We learned through Olga, a social worker who was very pleased with Julio's sudden change of attitude, that he was one of seven kids who had just arrived with his mother to Ciudad Bolivar from the countryside escaping from poverty and rural violence.

Pictures 10,11,12,13: Goals for Peace Activities in Ciudad Bolivar



Source: Own Photos

6.7.4 Leadership Skills

Social skills were enhanced during the seminars in a way that effective forms of communication and cooperation were developed. Leadership roles were adopted by the children in several scenarios which helped build their self-confidence and self-esteem. Although a few children showed some degree of difficulty in assuming leadership roles, they soon became more confident thanks to the support of their teammates. According to Carmenza Trujillo, director of Proseder at Ciudad Bolivar, the activities helped children develop their social and leadership skills. “Diana”, a tall and skinny 12-year-old girl, who was made team captain, “showed a significant progress at delegating functions in the soccer field. She had played football many times before but I had never seen her so confidently organizing her team and supporting her peers”, commented Mrs. Trujillo.

6.7.5 Additional Accomplishments

Children developed their ability to socialize and play especially in unknown games. In addition, the sense of community and belonging was strengthened thanks to the group activities and the concepts of solidarity and reflection were, according to Proseder staff, greatly stimulated and enhanced.

6.8 Reflections

After an analysis and evaluation of the research and project results in Ciudad Bolivar, the following observations are pertinent: (1) on the research side, it would have been more beneficial to complete more interviews including not only children but also parents and tutors; (2) questionnaires, additionally, should be included in subsequent projects to assess in a more precise manner, the impact of the sport as a social development tool in needy communities; (3) for future investigation, a longer project may be of benefit as this would allow us to conduct a follow-up on the before-and-after performance and behavior of the participating children. However, in the two days of activities we were able to assess through both participant observation and children and instructors testimonials, the positive impact of the activities, games and talks on the participants’ overall behavior and attitudes; (4) family

participation should be regarded as a vital component of the activities. Families must be encouraged to take part in the activities, so that a greater impact can be achieved.

Table 5: Goals for Peace in Bais City, Philippines.

Goals for Peace in Bais City, Philippines

On August 22 and 23, 2009, a second Goals for Peace Project was conducted in Bais City, Philippines. A partnership was forged between Goals for Peace and the local government and activities were aimed at strengthening community ties as well as to raise awareness on issues regarding cooperation, peaceful co-existence and community building through the practice of soccer.

Picture 7: Goals for Peace Bais City, Philippines

Picture 8: The Magic Stick



Picture 9: Soccer Training

Picture 10: Round Table



The modules taught were similar to those in Bogota, Colombia and participation by members of the community was notable. The participating children were all members of the Bais soccer Club Association ages between 10 and 15 and demonstrated through the activities, a great disposition for learning and cooperating. There were, however, no female participants in this program as soccer is not a popular practice in the Philippines and girls rarely play the sport. Moreover, football is often times associated with the elite and is practiced by a reduced sector of the population in this part of the world in which basketball remains the most popular sport.

Reflections

The social reality of a peaceful little town in the Philippines where football is not a popular practice contrasted radically with the initial project in Ciudad Bolivar, Colombia, home to the second largest internally displaced population in the world and where, as in the rest of the country, soccer is the king of sports. Due to the social dynamics of Bais City, more emphasis was placed on activities aimed at community building and leadership and although conflict transformation remained an important component of the program, this module did not play a key role as it did in Ciudad Bolivar. In this connection, the program was conducted in a smooth manner yet, always aware of educational effect of the modules. Wilson Laxina, a twelve year-old boy from Bais pointed out that the activities helped him to “develop a closer friendship with other players and to foster moral values like sportsmanship”, while Carlos Catacutan 13, observed that the program was of great help to him to “learn how to respect others and to learn other techniques in soccer”. Additionally, throughout the two days of the program, children pointed out to the local authorities the need for more support from the city so that they can continue with the practice of football both informally and at a competitive level.

Source: Own Table

7. Conclusion

These cases suggest that social capital is a crucial basin for cooperation across sectors and power differences as well as an important product of such engagement. The presence of individuals and organizations with transsectoral engagements, actions and relationships represent higher levels of social capital for cooperative problem-solving which arguably can aid people in untangling themselves from the increasing complexities of the globalized world. For the part of the FEALAC, in the course its operation and corresponding programs, state relationships were strengthened or created especially those that were not normally in contact. Moreover, its non-formal nature allowed certain topics to be discussed which were traditionally not open for debate. Also, through its existence, the bridging of epistemic communities was made possible through the expanded activities of different sectors. In the case of Goals for Peace, the fact that the initiative stemmed from individual goals (2 individual persons from opposite sides of the planet) indicates the presence of social capital that transcends geographical location or any other condition. Moreover, it proves that vulnerable groups may become recipients or implementors of programs as well as have a say on decisions that shape project goals, plans, and outcomes. In both cases, norms of reciprocity, cooperation and trust were established even among previously unrelated or antagonistic parties.

"Freedom of association," Tocqueville mused, may, "after having agitated society for some time, ... strengthen the state in the end."¹⁹⁸ By enhancing the accountability, responsiveness, inclusiveness, effectiveness and hence legitimacy of the political system, a vigorous civil society gives citizens respect for the state and positive engagement with it. In the end, this improves the ability of the state to govern, and to command voluntary obedience from its citizens. In addition, "By bringing people together in endless combinations for a great diversity of purposes, a rich associational life may not only multiply demands on the state, it may also multiply the capacities of groups to improve their own welfare, independently of the state, especially at the local level."¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. 2 (New York: Vintage Books, 1945), 124.

¹⁹⁹ Larry Diamond, "Civil Society and the Struggle for Democracy," in *The Democratic Revolution*, ed. Larry Diamond (New York: Freedom House, 1992), 11.

These cases indicate that cooperation across different regions, engaging from different sectors and recognizing that social capital emanates from different sources can create avenues to work together to improve the quality of life of vulnerable populations. Such cooperation does not always work, but sometimes joint efforts can improve the lives of thousands of people, even more, it transcends distances and destroys barriers. Or it could create starting initiatives that can be sustained because the seeds of social capital have been planted. Both cases have all achieved some level of success. No matter which form it is, these new patterns of social capital creation requires nurturing especially when such engagements do not exist at the beginning of the program. In this sense, interactions with civil society in different forms have the potential of creating changes. Yet, we should be mindful of the means to which we engage, coalesce or collaborate. After all, each nation is different, more so, each individual is different. It is within the recognition of a person's uniqueness as is with his/her potential to become involve to which the globalized world now demands that it is possible to comprehend the logic of human destiny – to what extent one can engage, whether individual or collective and for which ends.

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International : AIEJ Scholarship by the Japan Ministry of Education

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