

Tokyo Peacebuilding Symposium 2008  
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“Peacebuilding Experience and Knowledge from Asia to the World”  
Part 2: Asian Contribution to Peacebuilding—Sharing Best Practices in the Field  
Session 3: State Building and Governance – Beyond Elections

Steven Rood, Ph.D.  
Philippine Country Representative and  
Regional Advisor on Local Governance  
The Asia Foundation

1. Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) elections monitoring May 2007
  - 1.1. Nationwide support to Parish Pastoral Council for Responsible Voting (PPCRV)
  - 1.2. Agreement of Muslim civil society organizations with Catholic-based PPCRV
  - 1.3. Muslim CSOs hosted 21 observers from 6 Asian countries through ANFREL
2. Survey of Opinion of Muslim Mindanaoans in ARMM and adjacent areas
  - 2.1. Bottom-line is that they accept electoral results
    - 68% satisfied proclaimed winners did indeed get the most votes (only 11% not)
  - 2.2. However, they are less approving of existing electoral procedures
    - 76% would be more confident if votes counted at precinct (instead of municipal)
  - 2.3. Particular worries about violence lead to endorsement of uncompetitive elections
    - 61% say election-related violence is serious in their locality
    - 62% say “It is good to have an unopposed candidate in an election since it reduces campaign violence...”
3. Elections shape the governance context, but we need to move beyond them
  - The Asia Foundation in the Philippines has supported participatory good governance in more than 100 municipalities and cities
  - Improved services, better business climate, lower procurement costs
4. Direct citizen participation between elections
  - 4.1. Helps transmit information on citizen preferences
    - Elections at best say which candidate/party, but not what part of platform (if any)
  - 4.2. Has a demonstrable effect on project choice
    - Participatory budgeting more likely to chose social services than infrastructure
  - 4.3. Is endorsed by some local chief executives as useful, and popular
    - Gives them a better idea of what their constituents want; local governments match Asia Foundation support for village-level exercises
5. Governance difficult in complex conflict situation
  - 5.1. *Rido*: clan conflict
    - 5.1.1. Most prevalent source of violence in the communities
      - 43% have experienced it (versus 38% for separatist-related conflict)
    - 5.1.2. Often linked to elections
      - 21% of *ridos* caused by politics (35% by land conflicts)

- 5.2. RPMM: regional faction of communist NPA insurgency
  - Local “peace talks” a thrust of the government, an anathema to the NPA
- 5.3. Mining and natural resources
  - Conflicts within communities, between communities and outside agencies
- 5.4. Human rights
  - Extra-judicial killings deplete legitimacy of government actions
- 5.5. MNLF and MILF (Moro *National* and Moro *Islamic*) Liberation Fronts
  - Separate, parallel, peace talks ongoing
6. Inadvertent exacerbation of conflict
  - 6.1. Project selection can favor one faction over another
    - Placement of, for example, water project
    - Partners or implementing organizations often have ties to particular groups
  - 6.2. Excessive focus on one conflict aspect skews solutions
    - Typically in Mindanao, focus is on negotiations regarding separatist conflict
    - *Rido* can trigger “Small War” clashes that escalate into “Big War”
  - 6.3. The lesson is that conflict analysis must be built into state building and other development projects
7. Donors must work with local communities, governments, organizations
  - 7.1. Partnership: if merely “contractual” does not build legitimacy
    - Goals of indigenous groups must be supported
    - This often means capacity-building at this local level
  - 7.2. Examine possibility that central state contributes to instability
    - In Asia, many of the conflicts are center-periphery: Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka, India
    - Peripheral population may perceive state authority in their area as illegitimate
    - Grievances of this population must be addressed
8. State Building, like peacebuilding, is a protracted process
  - Government often has poor planning, budgeting, treasury, personnel functions
  - Private sector undeveloped, asymmetric response to “market driven” development
  - Associational structures are weak; social capital helps in state building and “bridging”  
social capital helps in peacebuilding