RESEARCHING SOCIAL RESILIENCE

5 - 6 AUGUST 2013, SINGAPORE
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Rapporteurs: Eliane Coates, Joseph Franco, Caitriona H. Heinl, Valerie Teo, Jennifer Yang Hui, Su Yin Yeap, Senol Yilmaz
Edited by: Nadica Pavlovskas

This report summarises the proceedings of the conference as interpreted by the assigned rapporteurs and editor of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this report.

The conference adheres to a variation of the Chatham House Rule. Accordingly, beyond the points expressed in the prepared papers, no attributions have been included in this conference report.
The conference brought together international and local academics as well as policy-makers to explore the possible methods to elicit and evaluate policy outcomes from academic research on social resilience to narrow the gap between theory and practice. Six panels were held from 5 to 6 August 2013 at the Marina Mandarin Hotel in Singapore for this purpose, covering a wide range of related themes such as trust and social capital.

Panel One addressed the broad issue of narrowing the theory-practice gap and eliciting policy outcomes from academic research on social resilience. The first presentation was on the Dutch government’s approach to strengthening social resilience, such as providing more room for local initiatives to grow and making information accessible to the public. Next, the use of qualitative research to explore triggers of young people’s involvement in the 2011 United Kingdom riots was explored, with an emphasis on the importance of understanding conditions that turn facilitators into inhibitors of violence. The third presentation assessed the implications of cultural and contextual factors for the development of policies for social resilience.

The second panel focused on trust in government institutions. The presentations addressed different concepts of trust, the relationship between public trust in government institutions and the strength of community resilience, the effect of transparency on trust in government, and insights from the behavioural sciences for research on trust and social resilience. Some of the key issues debated included the potential for transparency to erode, rather than enhance, public trust in government, and the manner in which trust and control may be leveraged as government mechanisms to build sustainable government citizen relationships. It was agreed that a multi-disciplinary perspective was needed when researching trust in government institutions and its links to social resilience.

The third panel was dedicated to the topic of social capital. The relationship between social capital and social resilience was examined from various perspectives by the five speakers on the panel. From the perspective of community resilience, the need for social capital was found to be crucial especially in weathering disasters. In addition, social capital requires the cultivation of social networks. The importance of strong social networks proved to be a cross-cutting theme in the presentations, with speakers further emphasizing the need to cultivate responsive communities, respect, levels of trust and the sense of belonging as some of the key components for sustaining social resilience.

The fourth panel explored the influences of racial and religious identities and organizations on social resilience. The presentations included a framework encompassing both proactive as well as reactive capacities under which religion can be harnessed to deal with societal adversities, the manner in which the concept of trauma could provide a means towards the understanding of social cohesion within different religious communities, the fostering of closer ties between new immigrants and Singaporeans through church attendance and the utility of controlled randomized trials as a method for evaluating the benefits of particular policies on racial and religious issues.

The fifth panel, on inequality, saw the speakers focused on the way in which inequality relates to social resilience. Links between social disparities and social resilience and how they may be measured was discussed. This was followed by research findings on the difficulties of maintaining social harmony between different religious groups and how inequalities can lead to the breakdown of social harmony, based on case studies of the Deep South of Thailand and the refugee situation on the Thailand-Myanmar border. Finally, also explored was whether social inequality is bad for social stability and resilience with a focus on Singapore as a case study and the ways in which Singapore’s policymakers can respond to challenges of rapid change and increased uncertainty by shifting from a vulnerability perspective to a resilience perspective.

The sixth panel, on immigration and citizenship, took a broad view of the relationships between policies and immigration, examining the impact that this had on integration and societal cohesion. Policy considerations surrounding programs and forums to promote contact...
between immigrants and locals were put forth as means towards fostering greater integration. So were multicultural initiatives that could potentially lead to a fragmented pluralism in societies that could have a negative impact on societies. The possibility was also explored of policy tools such as immigration laws and conditions impeding rather than encouraging social cohesion and integration.

WELCOME REMARKS

Associate Professor Kumar Ramakrishna and Head, CENS opened the conference by citing the increasing need of societies to remain united in the face of destabilising crises—man-made or otherwise. One of the key challenges facing states today is balancing the economic imperative of encouraging immigration to offset declining birthrates on the one hand, and the need to manage an increasingly diverse society. He pointed out that care must be taken to prevent fault lines from emerging due to diversity in religion, nationality, and income. He further remarked that another challenge societies face are the “Black swans” events—major paradigm shifting events that were largely unpredictable. These include terrorist attacks such as the Boston Marathon bombing; industrial accidents such as the Bangladesh factory collapse; natural disasters such as the Sichuan earthquake and the Oklahoma tornado; and even extraterrestrial events such as the Russian meteor strike. What ties together these events is that governments are increasingly recognising that attempting to provide “absolute security” against adverse events and future trends is untenable. It is apparent that the states are looking instead towards measures to promote more robust social resilience.

He remarked that social resilience, while an important concept, remains in flux and has a number of definitions. Ramakrishna posited a definition as a “society’s organic capacity to absorb the potentially destabilising impacts of social, transnational, technological, demographic and economic trends; while at the same time retaining the ability to cohere in the face of sudden, systemic man-made or natural shocks”. At the core of this definition is “adaptive capacity”—the complementary ability of a system “to retain its basic and irreducible internal logic while at the same time accommodating and adapting to diverse environmental trends and shocks”.

He then explained that the major objective of the 2013 Social Resilience was to discover ways to operationalise social resilience that both practitioners and policy analysts within and outside governments can use. Ramakrishna pointed out that CENS has always focused on narrowing the theory-practice gap and in that context the key deliverables of the Conference are to explore best practices and tools – qualitative and quantitative to understand social phenomena. These tools could then be used to measure and evaluate policy impacts designed to foster social resilience. Five themes will drive the overall programme: trust in government institutions; social capital; race and religion; equity and equality; and finally citizenship and immigration.
How to Strengthen Resilience in Society

Paul Gelton presented the Dutch approach to social resilience from an operational perspective. He began his presentation by explaining that while floods have shaped and made the Dutch society more resilient, increasing wealth and expectations of government have made individuals less resilient even as the government realises that it cannot counter security threats alone. In this ‘new’ social compact, the government must use the power of society to inform, motivate, stimulate, facilitate and monitor evolving threats to counter the “big ones” and provide an agreed upon minimum level of safety.

Gelton illustrated how the Dutch government has put into action a program aimed at building adaptive capacities in information and communications, community competence, social capital, and economic development. One such example in the Netherlands is the uploading of a risk map online, which visually presents the information of a wide range of risks in Dutch society. Gelton argued that the government has a legal obligation to provide information on the risks in the society, and this online risk map provides trusted information.

The Dutch government has also developed several mobile phone apps to increase citizens’ competence in dealing with emergencies, such as cardiac arrests. In addition, the Netherlands Alert (NL Alert) is a broadcast signal to all mobile phones in the Netherlands disseminating information and instructions on how to react to dangers. Furthermore, the government organises musicals on public safety and Neighbourhood Watches where civilians guard against crime in their own neighbourhood.

Gelton explained that one of the methods the Dutch Government uses to measure social resilience is the Risicodiagram, which assesses capabilities to counter threats at the national level. As threat perceptions at the local levels are influenced by many different factors – familiarity with the nature or cause of the threat, rationalisations of the incident, exposure of vulnerable groups and patterns of expectations of government performance on prevention, information management, emergency services, and levels of personal resilience – the government uses different measures of resilience. For example, the government recently started monitoring social media and conducting web interviews on the NL Alert campaign’s efficacy on the ground. Another project involves measuring and evaluating the risk of fires by plugging different forms of information and demographics into a model of risk of fire.

Gelton ended his presentation by offering the following suggestions to practitioners: provide local initiatives with more room to grow by offering more guidelines and fewer master plans; provide optimum accessibility of information in the public domain to obtain constructive analyses and feedback; be socially inclusive; think in terms of a reciprocal relationships between the government and the people; and pay attention to developments on the ground.
Understanding That Which We Fear – The Role of Qualitative Research in Researching Riots

Carol McNaughton Nicholls spoke about the qualitative methods employed by NatCen Social Research to study the motivations of those involved in ‘man-made’ civil emergencies which undermine social cohesion and confidence. Drawing on the case study of the London riots of 2011, the study explored the triggers of young people’s involvement in the incident.

NatCen undertook unstructured, small sample qualitative research for the project. While the sample size of 50 was small, it was representative and yielded voluminous, deep, rich and diverse data from the perspectives of both young people who were involved and those who were not, community stakeholders, residents and business owners in areas affected by the riots and those that were unaffected. The case study design was particularly effective in giving a clearer view of what happened or did not happen on the ground. It also allowed for the comparison of five affected areas with two unaffected areas similar in demographics and characteristics to sieve out the conditions which may have triggered young people’s involvement in the areas affected by riots. Within these areas, in-depth interviews with 50 young people, including those not involved and those in custody, were conducted. There were severe limitations in transparency, accessibility and protection of respondent confidentiality due to the very high sensitivity of the issue as people caught rioting had been given harsh sentences. Consequently, the task of building trust and rapport with these interviewees was challenging. Synchronous data collection and management that followed a theme- or case-based approach was adopted for data analysis.

Presenting a sample of the findings, McNaughton Nicholls showed how the data was charted by the ‘whats’ or behavioural typology, and the ‘whys’ which include motivations and immediate benefits of rioting. The behavioural typology that emerged included watchers (bystanders and the curious), rioters (protestors, retaliators and thrill seekers), looters (opportunists and sellers), and those not involved (stay aways and wannabees). Catalysts on the night of chaos – group dynamics, information flow, and personal circumstances – were mapped onto more complex underlying factors that were categorised as Nudges (facilitators) and Tugs (inhibitors) at the individual, family/community, structural/societal levels.

McNaughton Nicholls argued that it was important to understand the conditions and factors that turn Nudges into Tugs at the three levels to make effective social resilience policies. The key was to leverage young people’s attachment to society and ensure that they are engaged in meaningful employment. One year on, London exhibited a measure of resilience by successfully hosting the Olympics without any unrest.

Resilience: Psychological and Cultural Perspectives

Gabriel Ong opened his presentation by charting the waves of resilience research from the West in the 1970s then moving through the developmental perspectives that focused on individual factors, to external factors, to protective processes and mechanisms and to the units of analysis problem.

He then pointed to several issues with psychological resilience research. First, he argued that there are issues
with how psychological resilience is conceptualised, whether it is a trait, a process or both. Then he argued that there are methodological issues with how resilience is operationalised and measured at different units of analyses. He explained that resilience itself is not directly measured but only inferred based on the direct measurement of risk and positive adaptation. He also pointed out that there are practical considerations. For instance, resilience research has practical utility only if it can be used to predict resilience prior to exposure to challenging situations.

Ong then commented that researching social resilience is just as problematic as researching psychological resilience. Particularly, there is a greater complexity when resilience is studied at different units of analysis, as there is a need to consider social and group processes and group culture. He argued that the social resilience of a community is not necessarily the sum resilience of individuals in that community and may even be greater than the sum of its parts.

Moreover, when applying Western scholarship on resilience to Asian contexts, one must ask if resilience is the same across groups and cultures. For example, in individualistic societies, a sense of personal choice and responsibility is valued whereas in collectivistic societies, the benefit of the community as a whole is prioritised and communal goals are valued. In collectivistic communities, fidelity to family and community may be recognised as a manifestation of resilience, e.g. kapwa/community interdependence in the Philippines, gotong royong/mutual assistance in Indonesia and Malaysia signify the joint bearing of burdens. Moreover, culturally specific practices and cultural inhibitions in the expression of emotions such as anger or sadness must be accounted for. He also explained that personal feelings are minimised in collectivistic societies in order to facilitate greater social harmony. For example, the Japanese may appear stoic and resilient in the face of disaster but underlying that stoic veneer is the shoganai – "it cannot be helped; nothing can be done about it" – passive acceptance.

Thus, when researching social resilience for policy outcomes, there is a need to identify both proxy and objective measures and consider culturally-specific factors.

Discussion
A participant wanted to know if the preferred mode of analysis was a top-down or bottom-up approach. A speaker argued that it was prudent to use the best of both worlds. He stressed that the government is responsible for national level analyses, but the problem is that there are many initiatives, taking place from the bottom-up. Consequently, this poses problems in coordination and identification of responsibilities. In other words, the question is if it is better to go top-down and let the bottom-up grow and then coordinate. This is one of the gaps that policymakers are still trying to fill. The other two speakers agreed that balance of both is the best approach. One of them argued that in Singapore, the government has to take a top down approach but if it wants to buy in from the ground then it will need to incentivise some of these bottom-up initiatives. The other speaker argued that governments should support what people are trying to do and individuals ought to be enabled to make their own decisions.

Another participant asked how in an Asian setting that is affluent, apathetic, and dependent on government action, minds could be changed, to make individuals take personal responsibility. One of the speakers replied that the current society has morphed but this has taken place in the course of 20-30 years and many top down policies have changed. Right now, there is more dialogue and incentivisation. From the psychological perspective, many initiatives are behavioural, e.g. incentivising desired actions. Anoter speaker argued that if we want the society to rise we need to shift responsibility away from the government. He further argued that everyone in society had to agree that the government should be pulling back. In Europe, the governments have insufficient funds to invest in public goods so when they pull back, citizens are forced to act.
PANEL 2:
TRUST IN GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Public Trust in Government in China and South Korea: Implications for Building Community Resilience

Soonhee Kim spoke about public trust in the government of both China and South Korea, as well as the implications for building community resilience. Kim highlighted that there is little agreement over the definition of trust at an institutional level. Public trust in government, she argued, can be assessed by the extent to which citizens have confidence in public institutions to operate in the best interests of society and its constituents. She then turned to explain why trust in governments is important. First, public trust is important for enhancing the legitimacy and effectiveness of democratic governments. Second, it is as an indicator of the public’s underlying feelings about government policy. Third, it serves as an evaluation of the government’s performance, and finally, as a means to encourage compliance with laws and regulations. Kim highlighted that trust in government is essential for community resilience in times of crises as it increases the confidence in the sources of messages and the effectiveness of preparation, response, and recovery.

Kim argued that a complex mix of various factors influence the degree of public trust in government institutions, for instance institutional context, culture, and citizen-state relationships. To illustrate this, Kim showed the results from a comparative analysis of trust towards the government in China and Korea. Generally, compared to non-government organisations, businesses and media, governments have been struggling with low levels of public trust. In Korea, public trust in government institutions is also waning, in particular towards the National Assembly, political parties and the executive branch. In comparison, government institutions in China enjoy a much higher level of public trust.

Kim emphasised that trust, particularly between citizens and governments, is a central component for effective implementation of collaboration-based strategies devised for building resilient communities. She noted that there is a need to enhance transparency and data sharing between the government and citizens so as to increase citizens’ trust in the government.

Kim concluded by suggesting that more research needs to be conducted on government’s trust in local agencies and people during crises and emergency situations. More attention to comparative and longitudinal studies on trust in government is also needed, including analyses of the role of the media, the Internet, and external social networks.

The Effect of Transparency on Trust in Government: A Three-Dimensional Perspective

Stephan Grimmelikhuijsen spoke on the effect of transparency upon trust in government. He began his presentation by focusing on whether transparency can lead to greater trust. While there are divergent opinions in this debate and mixed empirical findings, he argued that transparency can combat corruption, increase government efficiency, and increase resilience by broadening access to information to a wider set of citizens and stakeholders. However, increased transparency can
also lead to lower levels of trust in government, such as was seen during the case of Wikileaks where sensitive government documents and cables were made public.

Grimmelikhuijsen then hypothesised that the effect of transparency on trust is highly dependent on three variables: information content, cultural context and time orientation. Firstly, the informational dimension is important for decision-making, policies and policy outcomes. He argued that it is important to know the deliberations that took place, the type of measures taken and the government’s deliverables. The level of information is also relevant, as information at the political level is already relatively open, yet much less is known of information circulating at the administrative level.

At the cultural level, Grimmelikhuijsen emphasised that cultural values are different in different parts of the world and that some cultural values fit much better with transparency than others. Therefore, he argued that while some cultures, which he labels as ‘high power distance and long-term oriented’, may be opposed to revealing the ‘truth’, other ‘low power distance and short-term oriented’ cultures have values that promote transparency, bringing power closer to the people.

Lastly, he spoke on the temporal dimension – an area which he said is often overlooked. Here, Grimmelikhuijsen spoke on the short-term negative effects of transparency. For example, transparency can bring out scandals and corruption and as a result weaken trust in government institutions.

Grimmelikhuijsen concluded that government officials, in managing transparency and citizen trust in the government, must firstly, do it right- to be realistic about what transparency can achieve, and to have high quality information that is complete and comprehensible. Secondly, they must be adaptive and have layered information as different people from different background react to information differently. And, lastly, they have to be persistent – short term transparency may have negative effects on trust but in the long term it is good.

Why Should We Trust the Police? - The New Zealand Police Force and the October Raids of 2007

Using the New Zealand Police Force and the October raids of 2007 as a case study, Matthew Dentith presented on trust and the police. He focused first on the background of the October Raids and then on the questions surrounding the evidence put forward by the police to justify the raids. He highlighted that while there was no widespread distrust of the police in New Zealand, their handling of the October Raids has caused a general erosion of trust in this specific institution.

Dentith first explained the October Raids as a series of arrests across New Zealand by the police upon the discovery of an alleged paramilitary training camp. The sweep involved 300 police and ultimately ended in the conviction of 4 individuals charged not with terrorism suspicion, but minor gun possession.

Dentith drew attention to the questions surrounding the evidence put forward by the police during the court case to justify the initial arrests. It was revealed that the police had compiled only fragments of conversations taken out of context that suggested potential terrorist activity. Dentith argued that this act potentially demonstrates systemic and institutionalised racism by the police toward the indigenous Maori people of New Zealand. However, if the conversations were not intentionally cherry-picked, then the incident demonstrates incompetence on the part of police investigators. In both scenarios, Dentith emphasised that public trust in the police diminished. He elaborated further on ongoing suspicions in New Zealand that the police force engage in secret and negligent behaviour, citing cases when convictions were overturned because of discrepancies in evidence provided by the police. These case studies suggest that the police sometimes pursue suspects for reasons
other than because they have a good case or sufficient evidence to warrant an arrest and a conviction.

Dentith also put forward arguments as to why the public should trust the police, including that of the police force being a political institution with a truth-seeking purpose. Despite this, he noted that the New Zealand Police Force refuse judicial reviews and are unwilling to accept criticism of their operations, and instead often blame individual officers for errors instead of the police culture which is sometimes to blame.

Dentith's made three suggestions to increase the public’s trust in the police. First, he suggested an increase in the powers of the Independence Police Conduct Authority. Currently this organisation has no ability to start its own investigations and can only make non-binding recommendations. It also often employs former police officers creating an ‘old boys club’ which can be prone to cronyism. Second, Dentith argued for an introduction of measures to better educate the public about the way the police operate by increasing transparency. Third, the laws around the police’s use of intercepted communications and surveillance of the general public should be clarified.

Cultivating Social Resilience: The Impact of Resource Dependency on Trust and Control Strategies in Public Institutions

Eric T.K. Lim spoke on cultivating social resilience and the impact of resource dependency on trust and control strategies in public institutions. Lim defined social resilience as the time taken for a community to rebound from adversity. From this definition, he emphasised the importance of people-to-people connections within the larger community to coordinate communal responses and foster adaption to adversity through collective learning and evolution. He also argued that it is difficult to cultivate social resilience within the community to counter adversity in the absence of well-defined control structures as well as trusting relationships between citizens and governmental institutions.

Lim then proceeded to discuss the government-citizen relationships, which he argued to be resource dependant exchanges that warrant the existence of both trust and control mechanisms for effective governance. In this relationship, the citizen is generally dependent on government for public services and is hence vulnerable (i.e. trusting). The government, being the custodian of citizens’ interests, is reliant on citizen's compliance and cooperation and adopts a paternalistic approach (i.e. controlling). Thus, he argued that trust and control are not mutually exclusive but complementary governance mechanisms.

In analysing social resilience and the roles of trust and control strategies, Lim applied Freeman’s Stakeholder Theory. He first defined a stakeholder as any individual or group who can affect or is affected by the actions, decisions, policies, practices, or goals of the organisation. He then argued that organisations are impacted by groups of stakeholders, and that not all stakeholder groups exert the same degree of influence on an organisation. Basing his argument on the stakeholder theory, Lim argued that organisations should prioritise stakeholder groups according to the scope of influence each group exerts and their ability to mitigate this influence. Adding to this theory, he then explained the three sources of stakeholder influence. These include power that enables stakeholders to impose their will on an organisation; the legitimacy of stakeholders whose actions are desirable, proper, or appropriate within socially constructed system of beliefs, norms and/or values; and the degree of urgency of stakeholders’ claims that is deemed to necessitate immediate attention due to its time-sensitive and critical nature.

Lim put forward a governance grid that enables a public institution to both reflect on its level of resource dependency in relation to the citizens it serves, and prescribes plausible trust and control strategies to be leveraged by these public institutions to improve governance. Lim proposed identifying stakeholder groups that exert an influence on the organisation; determining the source of influence for each stakeholder group;
Translational Research Approach to the Study of Trust and Social Resilience: Applications from Behavioural Sciences

David Chan discussed a behavioural science research approach to the study of trust and social resilience. Using aspects from behavioural sciences, he explained the concept and development of trust as a mutual relationship of confidence between governments and citizens. He highlighted many aspects of trust, including how trust and distrust are built, the variables to predict and influence the level of trust, the consequences resulting from trust and distrust, how trust or distrust propagate and spiral into positive or negative effects, and how to restore trust.

To analyse the concept of trust, Chan used Singapore case studies of trust violations and repair in Singapore pertaining to recent public transport disruptions, social integration and population policies, the management of the haze, procurement and governance issues, and the integrity of public officers and politicians. For example in the case of transport disruptions, Chan argued that passengers’ trust in the public transport system is disrupted when they feel it is not efficient and safe. This represents a trust violation towards the passengers, and as a result, the public transport sector must then seek to repair the trust deficit.

Chan remarked that public expectations are increasing, particularly in the areas of decision-making, quality of service and the public administration, resulting in closer scrutiny of the public service, public officers, and politicians.

Next, he looked at the criticality of trust. He argued that trust directly influences how people think, feel and act. For this reason, there is the need to approach trust as an essential part of building social resilience. According to Chan, the dimensions of trust perceptions should include ability (competence), intentions and motives (benevolence), and character (integrity). Predictors of trust include the trustor’s propensity to trust, the trustee’s trustworthiness, cultural values and norms, and institutions and practices. Chan also discussed the dynamics of trust, noting that trust levels are constantly changing which could create higher uncertainty.

Chan concluded his presentation by proposing a roadmap to guide the study of trust and social resilience in Singapore with the goal of achieving both rigor in scientific research and relevance to policy outcomes. This entails a review of empirical studies of trust and related variables in Singapore; an assessment of the various dimensions of trust; further research into the nature and origins of trust/distrust, ongoing trust levels and dynamics, trust-in-transition, developing and increasing trust; and repairing trust after a violation.

Discussion
The panel was asked about the similarities between trust and faith. One speaker responded that faith, a necessary component for religion to exist, does not require empirical evidence of its efficacy and is based on set of beliefs which do not have to be proven. However, the building of trust requires empirical evidence from both the past and present of one’s efficacy.

A question was raised about the degree of resilience of ordered social networks as such a network relies heavily on key individuals with connections. A speaker responded that the key individuals in the centre of these social networks are very important as they have already invested a lot of their time and effort in cultivating relationships. He added that governments still have a lot more work to do before they identify the important nodes within complex social networks.
Social Capital and Social Resilience – How Are They Related?

Alison Cottrell shed light on the relationship between social capital and social resilience. She started her presentation by noting that the goal to increase community resilience in the face of disasters has developed into a policy objective internationally. Cottrell focused on the main concepts that are important for a better understanding of social capital and social resilience. She first provided a brief definition of disaster as crises with three distinct characteristics: first they represent a special form of perturbation, second, they inflict losses but at the same time offer opportunities, and finally, disasters can serve as natural "experiments" for demonstrating social resources. She added that each community will differ in how resilience is manifested, how it can be supported, and who defines it. Given that there is no clear and uniform definition of what represents social resilience. Researchers usually link it one of the following concepts: resistance, the ability to return to the state before the disaster, the ability to transform and continue to exist, or definitions of resilience are a combination of these three.

Cottrell then continued to discuss the concepts of social capital as a social structural resource. On the micro level, social capital is embedded in personal networks, which enable actors to acquire more external social resources and help people to obtain information, knowledge and social support. Thus, social capital is helpful for people to achieve a higher social-economic status. On the macro level, social capital is the combination of features of social organisation, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. In this context, it also plays a crucial role in promoting economic performance, making democracy work, alleviating poverty and ensuring sustainable development. She also clarified that that social capital is one of many “capitals” that contribute to resilience. But, unlike human and economic capital, social capital is the one that suffers the least in disasters.

In her field work, Cottrell studied the social resilience and social capital of four different communities and drew four conclusions. First, community resilience requires social capital among other capitals. Second, social capital requires social networks. Third, social capital contributes to disaster resilience differently in different situations. Finally, disasters provide one context for the examination of social resilience.

Cottrell concluded by offering policy recommendations. She suggested that adequate funding is necessary because policy without funding is not policy. Then she argued that it is necessary to take an approach flexible enough to accept the variation while looking for similarities and complexities involved. Furthermore, she argued that it is important not to ‘break’ networks or reduce social capital if some groups differed from the envisioned ideal. Finally, she remarked that there is a need for ongoing relationships between government, community organisations and researchers.
Natalie Bolzan began her presentation by making a clear distinction between natural and technological disasters and between social and community resilience. During a natural disaster, people tend to help each other more while during technological or human-made disasters people try to identify and blame the guilty. Regarding the difference between social to community resilience, she argued that while social resilience is understood as a transformation of social arrangements following a disaster, community resilience is the return to the pre-disaster state of affairs.

She then continued with presenting her study, which revolved around marginalised youth living under the chronic threat of poverty in rural and regional Australia and how they understood social resilience. She noted that with a small sum of support money and the help of a youth worker, the young people were able to invoke social resilience and challenge the assumption their community held about them.

In her research, she found seven dimensions of social resilience. The first dimension is agency, meaning that community members have control over action, resources and how resources can be located and used. It also means that those affected should be intimately involved in any planning since they can identify both, existing resources and the lack of resources. Second, it proved important to reduce neither the identities of the youth nor of the adults in the community to a few characteristics. She contended that having a non-totalising identity can open up new opportunities to respond differently to challenges. Third, she argued it is important to include people in an active manner and making the success of a project dependant on their contribution. If people feel that they are merely being kept busy while receiving orders without active participation, engagement decreases. Fourth, the reaction of the community around the active network of people is very important since they can support those who are actively working. A constant flow of information is a precondition for positive reactions from bystanders. Fifth, it is necessary for the action to take place in public. This way, more people get and stay informed of the action and shared memories and stories can evolve. Furthermore, she argued that the opportunity to be publically visible and address a wide audience could send a signal that the members of the community are not only victims but people who have taken action in the face of adversary. Sixth, being aware of the respect and trust of those around oneself was identified as important for social resilience. Lastly, she explained that hope, or the belief that the situation will change for the better, plays an important role.

Bolzan concluded that social resilience is the ability to solve problems with all affected parties.

Paul Dekker began his presentation by providing a brief overview of the social capital literature. Conceptually, he distinguished between individual/functional social capital on the one hand and collective/normative social capital on the other. According to Dekker, individual social capital centres on the sources that individual can use, as for example asking for a friend’s advice or borrowing a neighbour’s car. Collective social capital is produced and used by communities and often develop into norms or rules. By using Robert Putnam’s definition on normative social capital, Dekker argued that the existence of a civic community is a precondition for...
social capital. He explained that civic community is made up of members described as active participants in public affairs who share a sense of responsibility for collective endeavours. Therefore, social capital is high when there is trust, networks and norms, which are features of an active civic community.

He then proceeded to give an overview of some of the Dutch social capital policies. He pointed out that in the Netherlands, social capital was related to concepts such as social cohesion, cultural integration, the empowerment of citizens, citizenship, civil society, a caring society, and big society. In his discussion on Dutch social capital policies, Dekker explained that there was a lack of empirical evaluation studies and claimed that at times policies were ideologically driven.

Dekker discussed his research and findings on the successes of social capital policies in the Netherlands. First, on the question of which approach yielded higher gains in social capital - the construction of modern and functional buildings, which he termed empowered neighbourhoods, or financing public celebrations to bring people together – he found the former, which provides safety, liveability and better socioeconomic outcomes, to be more successful than the latter. However, he cautioned against expectations of immediate results from such policies. Second, he researched whether a “big society” approach where responsibility largely rests on citizens (or the “responsabilisation” of citizens) could be more successful than private-public partnerships. According to his findings, Dutch citizens tended to be reluctant to take initiatives and local governments are needed to provide some leadership. Therefore, the “responsabilisation” of citizens should be limited and help should be provided by the government.

Finally, Dekker made three conclusions. First, social capital is a metaphor that could be a useful lens to appreciate social relations but this does not necessarily mean that achieving social capital needs to be an operational target. Second, when attempting to increase social capital, it could be better to concentrate on building networks, especially links between citizens and governments. Finally, for a more resilient society, an active government is needed.

Social Resilience at the Grassroots?

Ho Kong Chong and Vincent Chua presented findings of their research on the social resilience of Singaporeans at the grassroots level. They began by highlighting the importance of neighbourhoods as a source for social capital, as it is precisely in the neighbourhoods where the state develops its first contact with the people.

Through a survey, they tried to determine the interaction and trust levels among the citizens living in public and private property. Their findings indicated that the higher the degree of intimacy necessary for an interaction, the less people engage in it. For example, the vast majority of Singaporeans greet and talk with their neighbours. However, only 40 percent help their neighbours with errands, 30 percent visit their neighbours, and less than 20 percent go out with their neighbours.

Their research on the interaction in private and public housing showed that people living in public housing reported higher degrees of engagement in a range of activities than residents in private housing. Also, within the group of private housing residents, those dwelling in private-landed property engaged the least with their neighbours. Residents of private housing are less likely to
think that it is a good idea for residents of different races to live in the same neighbourhood. This was more so in 2009 than in 2001.

Trust levels were also found to be higher among neighbours living in public housing rather than those who live in private housing. Furthermore, the trust levels among neighbours in private housing tended to decrease over time.

Finally, Ho and Chua found that the higher the level of engagement in the aforementioned activities (greeting, chatting, helping, visiting, going out), the higher the levels of trust, sense of belonging, and preference for a multicultural environment. This consequently leads to increased levels of awareness of civic responsibilities which translate into action to improve one’s neighbourhood.

Discussion
With reference to the final presentation, a participant wondered whether richer people who live in private housing may simply be more anti-social. The speakers responded that they merely controlled for the education level of the respondents and not on the level of wealth. Another participant asked whether the frequency of greetings was measured as well. The speakers responded that the frequency of greetings was not measured.

A question was raised on whether findings from a deprived, multicultural urban area could be applied to other settings. One speaker suggested that there might be indeed differences in social resilience and social capital depending on context. For example, in rural areas people may help each other more since they know their neighbours intimately. He concluded that local governments should play a more active role to bring people together.
Proactive Capabilities, Reactive Capabilities: Managing and Harnessing Religion for Social Resilience

Lily Kong offered a conceptual scaffold to facilitate the understanding of the manner in which religion might be managed and harnessed to deal with societal adversities. She discussed “proactive capacities”, which referred to the way in which people anticipate adversities and attempt to create options to prevent, minimise or avoid vulnerable circumstance. She also outlined “reactive capacities”, which referred to how people cope with adversities and recover from and adjust to vulnerable circumstances.

Kong defined social resilience as the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political, environmental and economic change. She argued that changes that might impact upon social resilience are necessarily adverse and generally at a significant scale that affects large groups of people. Therefore, she contended that all public policies aiming to bolster social resilience must address both proactive and reactive capacities. In building proactive capacities, policy makers need to anticipate religious-linked adversities and to harness religion for social well-being. In developing reactive capabilities, policy makers will need to limit damage from religious-related adversity, to rehabilitate adverse religious elements, and to harness religion to deal with non-religious adversities. She pointed out that academic research which enhances our understanding of how religious-linked adversities arise and escalate into conflict and violence, how such conflict and violence de-escalate, how religion contributes to social welfare and well-being, and how religious rehabilitation occurs can usefully aid the management and harnessing of religion for social resilience.

Noting that the relationship between research, policy, and practice is often not straightforward, particularly in research into religion where each context is unique, Kong emphasised that it is desirable to avoid linear relationship for research and policy making. She suggested that the fundamental position in closing academic-policy gap is the emphasis on the value of research-driven, evidence-based policy-making. This kind of research and evidence as well as their hierarchy according to the types of research and policy in question are crucial in establishing what is useful to policymakers.

Metastatic Traumatisation

In his presentation, Michael Jerryson noted that the concept of trauma had always played a role in religious narratives. While not consciously infused, it is present in early communal survival memories and part of mythological memorials for the majority of global religious systems. Drawing on the theories of Paul Ricoeur and clinical psychology, he observed that religious adherents experience psychological effects that elicit psychological symptoms through the medium of narrativity. Paul Ricoeur, in accordance with Aristotle and his notion of mythos, stated that a narrative is an organisation of events. In turn, events are a form of storytelling, which hold a special meaning for the audience that feel connected to the plot.
Jerryson noted that religious adherents experience traumatic symptoms through rehearsal and internalisation of trauma narratives, which he calls *metastatic traumatisation*. He observed that there is a considerable amount of scholarship on the relationship between Abrahamic myths and violence throughout the centuries, from large-scale violence such as pogroms and crusades, to individualised acts of violence such as martyrdom brigades. However, the role that trauma has in religious narratives in general is less acknowledged and largely overlooked. For instance, when a Jew participates in the commemoration of Passover, a Christian imagines the crucifixion of Jesus, or a Shia Muslim recalls the death of Husayn, the traumatic events become ways for them to reconstruct and affirm their respective religious identities. In many ways, the religious significance of the act bridges the past to the present, as the sacred is atemporal in nature.

To Jerryson, whether these traumatic events actually took place was less significant than the fact that believers are convinced of their actual occurrence. Consequently, religious practices and ceremonies tend to center on myths with traumatic events. Jerryson hypothesised that social cohesion in religious communities could be explained as a result of the metastatic traumatisation, which is experienced through the narration and internalisation of traumatic myths. Metastatic traumatisation contributed to profound social impacts such as acts of violence, greater states of psychological resiliency and tighter community bonds. It also allowed many global religious systems to sustain themselves throughout the centuries.

Jerryson acknowledged that while this causal theory is in its infancy, it may provide much needed information on the nature of intergenerational and inter-communal relations. He stressed that experimental research is needed to test the hypothesis that religious narratives are transferable and evoke psychological trauma. This is needed in order to assess the ways in which these narratives contribute to acts of communal violence, the reasons for social resistance to diversity programs as well as the damage of political trauma narratives.

**Church as a site for fostering friendships between Chinese new immigrants and locals**

Esther Goh defined community resilience as the potential for communities to facilitate the mobilisation of resources to recover from dramatic change, sustain adaptability and support new growth. Situating her study in the Singaporean context, Goh noted that dramatic change in the local demographic landscape had caused pervasive public disgruntlement. The sudden influx of immigrants was perceived by the locals as a cause for numerous problems that had to be dealt with. Goh’s study thus explored the possibility of religious sites as common grounds that promoted interaction between immigrants with locals. The study compared the nature of relationships of two groups of new Chinese immigrants with local Singaporeans to explain the role churches can play in promoting intergroup relations. One group comprised of those who voluntarily attended local-dominated Mandarin-speaking church, while the other group did not participate in any religious activities.

The results from focus group discussions with 20 immigrant participants and in-depth interviews with 30 immigrants show that the church-attending group tended to consider the locals as friends and support networks and empathised more with the locals, as compared to their non-church attending counterparts. Consistent with the general findings, the church attending group had more positive than negative stereotypes of locals. Nevertheless, this positive view tended to be ambivalent. While generally acknowledging local Singaporeans to be friendly, respondents noted that such friendliness and warmth needed to be tested to see if it was due to mere interest to add to church numbers. The group noted as well that local Singaporeans do not tend to share as much or openly to them as to fellow locals. The secular group did not have overly negative perceptions.
of the locals. Qualitative insights from this study however support the view that the primary contacts made possible through the intimate interactions with locals within the church milieu resulted in positive emotional ties between the new immigrants and the locals. These affective bonds with the locals would contribute more to intergroup outcomes than to cognitive stereotypes, which were more typical for the non-church attending group members who lack affective relationships with the locals.

Goh observed that Mandarin-speaking churches appear to be better able to contribute to fostering friendship between new Chinese immigrants and local Singaporeans. In contrast, churches that comprise purely of new Chinese immigrants appear to be less effective or may even put a brake on integration and cultivating social resilience as the loyalty of its members are still to their country of origin.

Harish observed that the use of CRTs could allow policy makers to evaluate existing policies and bridge academic research and policy outcomes, such as policies on ethnic pluralism and social cohesion in Singapore. Whether or not a policy works is determined by comparing the level of the desired outcome observed in a world where the policy in question has been implemented with a counterfactual world where the same policy does not exist, but where everything else remained the same. The difference in the outcome is then attributed to the policy.

Outlining the operationalisation of CRTs, Harish explained that the benefit of CRTs was that it can be carried out in a lab, in the field, within surveys, or a combination of areas. This method has been useful in identifying discrimination such as racial discrimination in the labour market in the US and may be similarly applied to study the effects of social campaigns, social media and crises in Singapore.

The limitations of CRTs were also outlined in the presentation. Harish noted that CRTs could be more effective in identifying what aspects of a policy may or may not work if implemented in the piloting phase of a policy rather than after it has been implemented as official policy. Hence the earlier policy-makers engage academics in the policy-making process, the more likely they are to maximise their contributions. Policy-makers should also be willing to tweak policy till they get it right before implanting them.

In conclusion, Harish suggested that more dialogue between academic and policy makers is needed in order to better understand each other’s needs and capabilities. He was also optimistic that the benefits of CRTs could be extended beyond the issues of race and religion in Singapore.

Discussion

The application of academic research to study the potential of religious groups to harness social resilience was the core subject of discussion. The speakers, for example, stated that the majority of their research took place in multi-religious settings where no religion could claim a place as the single unifying element and where agnostic segments were also present. In such areas, the potential for conflict and violence were latent. One speaker stressed that it was also possible to study...
religious sources of social resilience in largely agnostic societies because no one society was ever completely agnostic. Thus research on social resilience could emerge not just from an analysis of religious groups but also secular groups. One of the speakers noted that the notion of secularism had always been borne out of religious conflicts. It was therefore crucial for policy makers to ponder over how to connect these groups to civil societies. A participant argued that the underlying reasons for conflict can be multifold although on the surface it could look as a religious conflict. One of the speaker agreed that at times the manifestations of a particular conflict may appear to be religious, but is actually caused by other factors. For instance the current situation in Myanmar highlighted a nationalistic conflict that appeared to be a religious one on the surface.

Also, the ethical and normative dimensions of academic research for policy-making were discussed. For instance, one of the speakers mentioned that in the use of CRTs to test the efficacy of a particular policy it was entirely possible that one group in the experiment bears the cost as a result. He observed that this was an issue that all researchers faced and suggested that one possible solution would not be to employ CRTs experiments in the field right away but instead to conduct the experiment in a laboratory and show policy makers the results first. He also acknowledged that, in view of such concerns, convincing stakeholders of the necessity of employing CRTs may not be an easy task.
The Strength of Distinction; Socioeconomic Disparities and Social Resilience in Theory and Practice

In his presentation on socioeconomic disparities and social resilience J. Cok Vrooman focused on how the various aspects of inequality can be measured and how inequality relates to social resilience. He discussed the different concepts of social disparities, provided examples of measures, the theoretical links between social resilience and disparities, and correlations between measures of disparities and social resilience in 19 EU member countries.

Vrooman described social inequality as the differential allocation of social positions in a community. He then discussed the formation of elites, economic inequality, poverty and lastly, social exclusion. He then provided a short overview of income inequality, its many different operational measures, and the latest OECD report which looks at the way income equality has evolved in developed countries over the last three decades and the reasons behind the rise of income differentials in these countries.

Vrooman mapped out income inequality in the Netherlands using Pen’s imaginary ‘parade of dwarfs and giants’. Income distribution is conceptualised as a parade which lasts an hour during which the entire population marches by starting with the shortest individual and ending with the tallest. The height of particular segments of the population represents their average income – the lower one’s average income is, the shorter the individual and the higher one’s average income, the taller they are. It is typical to see many dwarfs, which represent people drawing an income that is below average, and a rather small group of giants, which represents individuals who draw income that is significantly above average. He then applied this model to Singapore, and his findings indicated the following results. First, the proportions of dwarfs are more or less the same as in the Netherlands but the dwarfs in Singapore are smaller, which indicates that they are earning less than their Dutch counterparts. Second, there is a relatively small group of people of normal height compared to other countries which suggests that there are few people with normal incomes. Third, there is a very large numbers of giants in Singapore.

Vrooman defined social resilience as the capacity of a social entity to bounce back or respond positively to adversity, which requires abilities to cope, to adapt and to transform. He then compared two parts of social resilience – the formation of social security and the degree of social trust. His findings suggest that there is a strong correlation between formal institutions and social trust, indicating that a high degree of social security might go hand in hand with a high degree of social trust.

In conclusion, Vrooman suggested the following policy recommendations. First, rather than to narrowly focus on decreasing inequality per se to the lowest possible level, decrease it to socially acceptable inequality levels. Second, build social resilience through strengthening formal and informal institutions and strengthening social networks. Third, provide aid to the most vulnerable groups, as they cannot produce the effects of big society on their own. Therefore in order to build social resilience, joint cooperation of all actors including the national government is needed.
Social Resilience and Inequality: Cases of the Deep South of Thailand and the Refugees from Myanmar

Ora-orn Poocharoen presented research findings on social inequality and resilience among the population in the Deep South of Thailand where there have been insurgency movements and violence over the last seven to eight years. She shared her findings of the study she carried out among the refugees from Myanmar in Thailand to illustrate difficulties in the process of nation state formation and maintaining social harmony between different religious groups, and the manner in which inequalities can lead to the breakdown of social harmony.

She pointed out that it is essential for such studies to identify who the inequality is between and the level of society being studied. Furthermore, she argued that when researching social resilience and inequality, it is important to “zoom in and zoom out” to see all the complexities between individuals within society. For instance, this involves zooming in on inequalities between individuals in villages and communities and zooming out on the issue at the national or regional levels.

The key findings of her study of the Deep South of Thailand were as follows. First, inequalities exist between the Buddhist and Muslim population in the conflict zone, between the Deep South and other regions, between urban and less urban towns, and between Thai and Malays, and between authorities and citizens relating to injustice in the system. Second, contrary to the general Thai consensus, her findings indicated that people closer to the border feel more Thai than Malay because crossing the Thailand-Malaysia border using their identity cards makes them realise that they are foreigners in Malaysia. Third, a sense of inequality is correlated to a person’s sense of identity and where they live in the south. Fourth, more Muslims are against the use of violence than Buddhists. Fifth, in terms of economic inequality, whether perceived or real, Muslims perceive themselves to be worse off than Buddhists. Sixth, in terms of education levels, more Muslims only complete primary education while more Buddhists complete high school and tertiary education. Seventh, measuring social inequality using health indicators, Muslims have a higher percentage of children significantly underweight in all four provinces studied. Eighth, regarding the level of trust toward the national and local governments, the level of trust is surprisingly higher for those in conflict zones. However, this level of trust falls drastically relative to the paramilitary and police. Finally, a culture of weapons and self-protection leads to a further vicious circle of grievances and violence as well as the breakdown of social harmony.

Does Social Inequality Spell Trouble for Social Stability and Resilience? Evidence from the Singapore Case

Drawing on the Singapore case study, Tan Ern Ser discussed the relationship between social inequality on the one hand and social stability and resilience on the other. He focused on how key Singaporean politicians understood inequality, provided an overview of his findings on inequality and concluded with a set of policy recommendations.

Tan first discussed how the three Prime Ministers since independence – Lee Kuan Yew, Goh Chok Tong, and Lee Hsien Loong – understood social inequality. First, Lee Kuan Yew believes that inequality is given as societies are not equal and people are not born equal. Therefore, rather than to eradicate inequality altogether by striving for the equality of rewards for all, it is better to provide
for the equality of opportunities. As long as those who are doing well identify with the wellbeing of the majority and help those who are not as well off, social cohesion can be achieved. Second, Tan discussed Goh Chok Tong’s notion of a compassionate meritocracy. A meritocratic system, while not perfect, is the best means to harness talents of society and to maximise potential. The successful have the responsibility to help the less fortunate and less able with compassion. Third, Tan examined PM Lee Hsien Loong’s recent speech, in which he discussed the need to help vulnerable groups such as older Singaporeans and low income Singaporeans. PM Lee Hsien Loong spoke about solidarity and cohesion, the need for the well off to help the less well off, the pooling of resources and involvement of the government, community and individuals. Individuals are still expected to be self-reliant – to be able to help themselves and not rely on handouts – with the government and community supporting their efforts to this end.

Tan then argued that people care more about fairness than about relative income, since fairness was seen as a more important issue than inequality. He discussed some of his findings from a 2011 survey: the perception among Singaporeans that there is no level playing field in Singapore and that Singapore is not a perfect meritocracy; expectations among the lower class for assistance from those who are better off; the perception among the lower class that the gap between rich and poor is too large; the belief among the upper class that they deserve higher rewards; and finally, the sensing among the lower class of a widening income and wealth gap.

In conclusion, Tan argued that equality of opportunities must be ensured and a level playing field created, thereby ensuring a well-functioning meritocracy. Rather than to merely focus on creating economic capital, he suggested that attention should also be paid to enhancing social and cultural capital. He also mentioned the need to ensure that those at the bottom have a living wage and that those at the top express solidarity with those at the bottom. Finally, he stressed that focus should be on achieving an expanding middle class rather than a classless society.

Resilience Thinking and Implications for Singapore’s Economic and Social Policies

Donald Low remarked that until now there has been a real lacuna of rigorous research and data on inequality in Singapore and also on how society views inequality. He pointed out that inequality is highly context dependent and argued that much attention has been paid to economic factors like wealth but less so on the social factors, such as social and cultural inequality.

He then pointed out that over the last 15 years, Singapore has experienced increased levels of volatility and political complexity compared to the previous 30 years, and that there have been a number of political black swan events that have hit Singapore in the last two years. Regarding inequality itself, he pointed out that it has been on a long-term rise and it has not really been tempered by aggressive redistributive measures by the state to lower inequality, noting that Singapore government’s redistribution efforts have only reduced inequality by 5%. He further noted how digital technology, in particular social media, has refashioned the political landscape, relations between the state and citizens, and between the elites and the rest of society.

Low identified “the vulnerability perspective” through which Singapore has been understood and consequently governed. According to him, the main narrative has been that Singapore is inherently, immutably and permanently vulnerable and this perspective frames issues and policy making in certain ways, such as the development of a risk avoidance mindset and a desire for control and to suppress shocks. The vulnerability perspective has provided the framework for thinking about policy making in particular how the government should respond in the context of potentially disruptive, complex and volatile changes. He further argued that
the ‘vulnerability perspective’ creates a yearning and hankering for harmony and order, and makes the government unwilling to leave anything to chance, thus effectively trying to carefully manage and orchestrate sensitivities. The end result of this is elite governance that relies on a small group of elites rather than on institutions and robust, resilient systems.

He also argued that the vulnerability perspective does not increase resilience. In ecological terms, true exposure is real resilience because systems develop a variety of responses. Resilience is the ability to develop an array of policy options and responses for dealing with a rapidly changing environment. Therefore, emphasis should instead be placed on developing trusted institutions. Institutional flexibility, shock absorbers, a leveraging of distributed intelligence, resilience, and experimentation as a preferred tool of governance, should ensure a system has the variety of options to respond and to constantly adapt. Low then discussed the Population White Paper as a case study to show how the failings of the vulnerability perspective and mitigation mindset led to a misdiagnosis of the challenges. If a resilience perspective had been adopted instead, it would have focused on how we can help our economy and society adapt in the face of ageing rather than try to reverse the trend.

Low then discussed the various dimensions of resilience. Regarding economic resilience, he described the “4 Rs” as Robustness, Redundancy, Resourcefulness, and Responsiveness plus one “D” for Diversity, concluding that Singapore’s economy shows these attributes. Then he turned to discuss whether Singapore displays social resilience and argued that social relations are organised and managed top down rather than allowed to develop organically, which is making Singapore less socially resilient.

Discussion
A participant asked about perceptions of inequality, specifically which is worse – that there is inequality which people do not perceive, or that people perceive inequality where none exist. A speaker responded that perceptions are important and more indicators should be used to measure it. Inequality is a powerful tool which can mobilise people so it cannot be taken lightly, whether perceived or not, and it is therefore best to have available data to show ways of understanding it. Certain mitigating factors in Singapore were mentioned such as common spaces like hawker centres where there is an element of social mixing as people of all social classes eat together.

On the issue of meritocracy in Singapore, a participant asked whether the variety of differences in terms of academic performance among ethnic groups is reflected in government. A speaker responded that there is insufficient diversity in government ranks. A participant then asked whether there is a need to downplay meritocracy in Singapore. A speaker responded that although there are efforts to equalise opportunities, they are not necessarily effective. Meritocracy is extreme in Singapore and it is uncertain if the ranking and sorting of people raises performance. Moreover, while this is meant to raise average performance, it can demoralise people at the bottom rather than to motivate them to do better.
Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policy in Europe: Policy Frameworks and Experiences

Elizabeth Collett’s presentation focused on the concept of mainstreaming as a means of facilitating immigrants’ integration in Europe. The concepts of social cohesion and social inclusion are employed to analyse immigrant integration in Europe as the arrival of immigrants is often viewed as a shock to the rest of society that they have to adapt to. Collett explained that in the current political climate, European governments face many challenges in coming up with innovative and creative policies for the integration of immigrants.

Drawing from ongoing research into the mainstreaming of immigration issues in public services, Collett argued that the idea was not to create a stand-alone policy but rather to adapt existing policies to serve a diverse community and find ways to include immigrants in the mainstream service provisions. The first definition of mainstreaming service provisions developed in Europe can be found in the “European Integration Handbook”, which states that the immigrants’ perspective should be incorporated into all mainstream policies with equal access to all services. More importantly, the handbook argues that there should be a balanced, mainstreamed approach for targeted measures. In practice, this concept has three dimensions: mainstreaming in governance in ensuring coordination between agencies and departments responsible for immigrants’ integration; mainstreaming in discourse, in particular the areas of public narratives; and mainstreaming in policies to ensure that services reach the whole population.

The idea of mainstreaming has re-emerged due to a number of reasons. First, she argued that there has been a growing number of second generation immigrants in Europe who today make up a significant part of European societies. Second, the recognition that a number of existing integration policies are not working. Namely, integration policies, such as those concerning education, tend to be added on rather than integrated into a mainstream system. These existing systems have not been adapted to accommodate diversity. Lastly, recession and austerity measures are affecting governments’ spending on integration policies such that they are looking for ways to address the immigration population without access to specific budgets.

Conducting research into mainstreaming across four countries – Denmark, Germany, France and the United Kingdom – Collett explained that initial findings have indicated the need to coordinate mainstreaming efforts with all actors involved and to assign final responsibility to a particular agency. This would ensure the absence of policy gaps between agency portfolios. In terms of context, she noted that practices should not be transplanted but rather adapted from successful practices. Finally, there should be clear objectives in designing policies as well as ensuring the sustainability of such measures. In fact, many mainstreaming initiatives come from bottom-up, low-cost efforts. In conclusion, mainstreaming approaches provide a basis to think of societies as a whole rather than taking an institutionalised “them vs us” approach.
Social Cohesion and Religious Diversity from a Muslim Activist Point of View

Aje Carlborn's presentation focused on the integration of Muslims and the formation of ethnic or religious enclaves in Sweden. While debates on integration have been ongoing for the past 40-50 years, they have yet to be translated into policy solutions on how to cope with social marginalisation and exclusion. Taking a Muslim activist point of view, Carlborn explained that the basis of his research sought to explore the ideas of multiculturalism as part of an opportunity structure in Europe for the construction of Muslim cohesion and resilience. The Muslim activists in question are positioned as active promoters of a fragmented pluralism rather than driving societal integration.

Carlborn argued that the Muslim activists in his study are being distinguished through the active roles they play in bridging the public and private divide in religious matters. This is being achieved through the roles played as self-proclaimed representatives of Islam with social and political relations in the parliamentary and academic context. The essence of the ideology driving their activism is the protection of the Islamic identity of Muslims by safeguarding “the inner emotional and cognitive self” through the provision of social and public structures in support of the Muslim identity. Such structures include the construction of mosques, Islamic cultural centres and private schools, day-care centres, as well as institutions for social work and family counseling. Carlborn noted that there have also been calls for the setting up of Islamic courts applying Sharia law. In sum, this policy aims at leveraging control over the socialisation of different generations of Muslims in Europe.

For Carlborn, many European policy-makers take the view that the formation of cultural or religious pluralism will eventually lead to a cosmopolitan continent where ethnic and religious boundaries become obsolete. On the other hand, the policy of Muslim activists is to move towards a fragmented pluralism with assimilation into an Islamic structure of institutions, norms and values. This is possible under policies of multiculturalism that emphasise the “right to be different.” In this case, the Muslim activists have claimed their “right to be different”, leading to the establishment of parallel societies and placing obstacles upon social relations between the minority and majority members of the society.

In conclusion, Carlborn reiterated that policies that support multiculturalism could also provide opportunity structures for Muslim activists to support social structures that separate minority Muslims from other citizens. Hence, while aiming for social cohesion and resilience among Muslims, such structures instead encourage social marginalisation and inequality, especially for second and third generations of Muslim immigrants, and could potentially lay the basis for the radicalisation of the more marginalised parts of the society.

Integration of Non-European Citizens as a Contractual Obligation in the European Union: Theory, Practice and Legality

Diego Acosta's presentation focused on the relationship between immigration law and the integration of third-country nationals in the European Union (EU). Third country nationals refer to immigrants who are not governed by EU citizenship laws. He examined the extent to which immigration laws were the right tools to address the integration of non-EU nationals and whether such laws could enhance or impede social cohesion.
Acosta referred to the two most important areas governing third-country nationals: directives on obtaining permanent residency and family reunification. In 1999, when the EU was granted competence to regulate migration issues, EU Member States decided that third-country nationals should be given similar treatment to those of EU nationals. There are a number of conditions for obtaining permanent residence, including having to reside in an EU country for five years continuously, regular and sufficient income and adequate health insurance, and not posing a threat to public security. However, the implementation of EU legislation may vary across the individual Member States. In addition, there are non-compulsory requirements, such as integration conditions that can be imposed on third-country nationals seeking permanent residency.

While secure residence status and equal treatment would facilitate integration, there is another underlying basis: that permanent residency and the granting of certain rights is seen as the remuneration for successfully completing steps towards integration. The non-compulsory integration conditions imposed vary from state to state. Certain countries impose integration conditions before the arrival of family members of a third-country national under the family reunification process. Other states, however, require integration processes to begin from the time of arrival in the country. In addition, there are states that impose integration conditions only when the third-country national applies for permanent residency. Lastly, there are countries that do not require integration conditions to be met to obtain permanent residency. These countries consider a person who has met permanent residency requirements as someone who has successfully integrated into the surrounding society.

The imposed integration conditions normally include the knowledge of the language as well as civic knowledge history, geography, laws or culture of the country concerned. This has proven to be rather controversial due to evidence that a large percentage of the nationals of the country itself may not be able to demonstrate the civic knowledge expected from third-country nationals. The official rhetoric behind arguing in favour of such conditions is to improve integration. While this might be true, there also exists the hidden agenda of imposing restrictions to prevent more people from residing in the EU. However, from a legal point of view general principals of EU legislation must be respected when Member States consider the imposition of integration conditions.

In conclusion, Acosta took the view that integration and social cohesion were not matters to be dealt with under immigration laws but rather in the context of other types of measures, such as labour market or social programs. In fact, there was no empirical proof that compulsory integration requirements met the objectives of facilitating integration. On the contrary, it may even impede it and have the unintended effect of contributing to social exclusion.

**Perspectives on Integration of Immigrants in Singapore**

Jayashree Mohanty spoke about the integration of immigrants in Singapore. She noted that since 2000 there had been a steady increase in the number of permanent residents from 287,500 to 533,100 in 2012. Out of the total population in 2012, 61% are Singaporean citizens, 28% non-residents and 10% permanent residents. Mohanty explained that most studies of immigrant integration used two-dimensional models that include the maintenance of the native culture and adherence to the host culture. Accordingly, there are four acculturating strategies: integration that emphasises the retention of the immigrant’s heritage culture while at the same time adopting the host culture; assimilation, where the heritage culture was being rejected and the host culture was being adopted; separation, where the heritage culture was being retained and the host culture was being rejected; and marginalisation, where both the heritage culture and the host cultures were being rejected.
Bearing this in mind, Mohanty’s research seeks to analyse the acculturation strategies immigrants in Singapore choose to adopt. The study applied qualitative methods through interviews conducted with seven focus groups of permanent residents and new citizens, with a sample size of 40 individuals. The study focused on questions surrounding Singaporean culture and norms, adjustment and acculturation experiences, factors leading to adjustment and feelings of belonging, identification with ethnic and national identity as well as the views and perceptions of Singaporeans towards immigrants themselves. Mohanty noted that the findings should not be generalised to any particular group of immigrants but were rather an attempt to understand adaptation experiences in Singapore.

Based on this, four major themes were derived from the study. The first concerns retaining one’s heritage culture as being beneficial to the immigrants concerned. This is done through efforts to speak in their own native language, cooking native food and maintaining traditions at home. The second theme concerns “feeling at home” in Singapore. These individuals are more open to learning and adopting local behaviour and languages. The third theme concerns participants who reported having faced discriminatory behaviour but who were able to cope through “finding personal space” in Singapore. The last theme concerned feelings of marginalisation with participants saying that they neither belong to Singapore nor to their country of origin. These participants did not have many local friends, had a poor grasp of local languages and expressed interest in returning to their home country.

To conclude, Mohanty noted that future research initiatives should explore how different acculturation strategies relate to the positive psychological and socio-cultural adaptation of individual immigrants in Singapore. Moreover, policies for achieving integration should provide for forums where issues relating to immigrants and their cultures can be shared. Finally, programs should be developed to increase inter-ethnic contact among different immigrant groups to reduce prejudicial attitudes.

Discussion

A question was raised on whether it was possible to both integrate immigrants into Swedish society while at the same time allowing them to maintain their distinct Muslim identity. A speaker responded that the average process of integration takes at least seven to ten years for an educated individual. In Sweden however, there are many immigrants who are not able to read and write, hence integration has become a permanent problem. It is not possible to maintain one’s identity in a new place as culture and identity are not static features but are constantly in flux. Furthermore, there is a need to change to become part of the new social context.

Another question raised was whether learning the language(s) of the host country was an important factor in gaining permanent residency as Singaporeans felt that language is an important component of identity and culture. A speaker responded that while learning the new language is an important component for integration, making it compulsory might not necessarily facilitate the integration process.

A participant asked whether there was any indication of voting patterns of immigrants. A speaker noted that for Sweden immigrants largely voted for the Social Democratic Party. Another speaker noted that third-country nationals are not allowed to vote at the national level in the UK except nationals from Commonwealth countries who may be allowed to vote at the local level.

A question was raised as to whether there are any lessons for Singapore to be learnt from policies, governance or politics for integrating transient workers or immigrants in European countries. A speaker responded that what would be useful in Singapore’s context would be to refer to integration processes in big cities.
CONFERENCE AGENDA

Monday 5 August 2013

0800 – 0830hrs  Registration
Venue:
Marina Mandarin Ballroom Foyer
(Level 1)

0830 – 0845hrs  RSIS Corporate Video + Welcome
Remarks by Kumar Ramakrishna,
Head, Centre of Excellence for National
Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU
Venue:
Marina Mandarin Ballroom (Level 1)
Attire:
Smart Casual (Long-sleeved shirt
without tie)

0845 – 0935hrs  Panel 1: When Theory Meets Practice:
Eliciting and Evaluating Policy
Outcomes from Academic Research
on Social Resilience
Venue:
Marina Mandarin Ballroom (Level 1)
Chairperson:
Kumar Ramakrishna, Head, Centre of
Excellence for National Security (CENS),
RSIS, NTU
Speakers:
How to Strengthen Resilience in
Society by Paul Gelton, Director,
Resilience Department, Ministry
of Security and Justice, National
Coordinator for Counterterrorism and
Security, The Hague, Netherlands
Understanding That Which We Fear -
The Role of Qualitative Research in
Researching Riots by Carol
McNaughton Nicholls, Senior Research
Director, Crime and Justice Research,
NatCen Social Research, UK

0935 – 0950hrs  Tea Break
Venue:
Marina Mandarin Ballroom Foyer
(Level 1)

0950 – 1110hrs  Panel 1: When Theory Meets
Practice: Eliciting and Evaluating
Policy Outcomes from Academic
Research on Social Resilience (Cont.)
Venue:
Marina Mandarin Ballroom (Level 1)
Chairperson:
Kumar Ramakrishna, Head, Centre of
Excellence for National Security (CENS),
RSIS, NTU
Speakers:
Resilience: Psychological and
Cultural Perspectives by Gabriel Ong,
Senior Psychologist/Assistant Director,
Resilience, Safety & Security Psychology
Branch, Home Team Behavioural
Sciences Centre, Home Team Academy,
Ministry of Home Affairs
Resilience to Natural Disasters:
Building a National Resilience Index
by Suman Kumari Sharma, Lecturer
(Part-Time) and Researcher, Division
of Economics, School of Humanities and
Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological
University
Q & A

1110 – 1200hrs  Panel 2: Trust in Government
Institutions
Venue:
Marina Mandarin Ballroom (Level 1)
Chairperson:
Majeed Khader, Director, Home Team
Behavioural Sciences Center, Home Team
Academy, Ministry of Home Affairs
Speakers:

**Public Trust in Government in China and South Korea: Implications for Building Community Resilience**
by Soonhee Kim, Professor of Public Administration, Campbell Public Affairs Institute, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University

**The Effect of Transparency on Trust in Government: A Three-Dimensional Perspective** by Stephan Grimmelikhuijsen, Postdoctoral Researcher, Faculty of Law, Economics and Governance, Utrecht School of Governance, Utrecht University

**Why Should We Trust the Police? - The New Zealand Police Force and the October Raids of 2007** by Matthew Dentith, Lecturer, Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Arts, University of Auckland

**Cultivating Social Resilience: The Impact of Resource Dependency on Trust and Control Strategies in Public Institutions** by Eric T.K. Lim, Lecturer, School of Information Systems, Technology and Management, Australian School of Business, University of New South Wales

**Translational Research Approach to the Study of Trust and Social Resilience: Applications from Behavioural Sciences** by David Chan, Lee Kuan Yew Fellow and Professor of Psychology, Director, Behavioural Sciences Institute, Singapore Management University

Q & A

**Tea Break**
Venue: Marina Mandarin Ballroom Foyer (Level 1)

**Panel 3: Social Capital**
Venue: Marina Mandarin Ballroom (Level 1)

Chairperson: David Chan, Lee Kuan Yew Fellow and Professor of Psychology, Director, Behavioural Sciences Institute, Singapore Management University

Speakers:

**Social Capital and Social Resilience – How Are They Related?** by Alison Cottrell, Associate Professor, Centre for Disaster Studies, School of Earth and Environmental Sciences, James Cook University

**Sustained Social Resilience: Transformation in the Face of Chronic Adversity** by Natalie Bolzan, Margaret Whitlam Chair of Social Work, University of Western Sydney

**Social Capital, Public Policies and Social Resilience: Some General Reflections and Dutch Experiences** by Paul Dekker, Paul Dekker, Professor of Civil Society at Tilburg University and Head, Participation, Culture and Living Environment Sector, The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP)
Social Resilience at the Grassroots?
by Ho Kong Chong, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Vice Dean (Research), National University of Singapore & Vincent Chua, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore

Q & A

1730hrs End of Day 1 Conference

1830 – 2100hrs Conference Dinner
(by Invitation Only)
Venue: Aquamarine Restaurant (Level 4)

Tuesday 6 August 2013

0800 – 0900hrs Registration
Venue: Marina Mandarin Ballroom Foyer (Level 1)

0900 – 0950hrs Panel 4: Race and Religion
Venue: Marina Mandarin Ballroom (Level 1)
Chairperson: Damien D. Cheong, Research Fellow, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU
Speakers:
Lily Kong, Professor, Department of Geography and Vice-President (University and Global Relations), National University of Singapore

Metastatic Traumatization by Michael Jerryson, Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Youngstown State University

Q & A

1130 – 1245hrs Lunch
Venue: Pool Garden (Level 5)

1245 – 1455hrs Panel 5: Inequality
Venue: Marina Mandarin Ballroom (Level 1)
Chairperson: Yolanda Chin, Research Fellow, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU
Speakers:
The Strength of Distinction; Socioeconomic Disparities and Social Resilience in Theory and Practice by J. Cok Vrooman, Head, Labour and Public Services Sector, The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP)

Inequality and Social Resilience by Ora-orn Poocharoen, Assistant Professor, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy National University of Singapore

Does Social Inequality Spell Trouble for Social Stability and Resilience? Evidence from the Singapore Case by Tan Ern Ser, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore

Resilience Thinking and Implications for Singapore's Economic and Social Policies by Donald Low, Senior Fellow and Assistant Dean (Research Centres), Institute of Policy Studies and Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore

Q & A

1455 – 1510hrs Tea Break Venue: Marina Mandarin Ballroom Foyer (Level 1)

1510 – 1720hrs Panel 6: Immigration and Citizenship Venue: Marina Mandarin Ballroom (Level 1)

Chairperson: Norman Vasu, Deputy Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU

Speakers:
Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policy in Europe: Policy Frameworks and Experiences by Elizabeth Collett, Director, MPI-Europe / Senior Policy Advisor, Migration Policy Institute

Social Cohesion and Religious Diversity from a Muslim Activist Point of View by Aje Carlbom, Senior Lecturer, Department of Social Work, Faculty of Health and Society, Malmö University

Integration of Non-European Citizens as a Contractual Obligation in the European Union: Theory, Practice and Legality by Diego Acosta Arcarazo, Lecturer, Faculty of Law, Bristol University

Perspectives on Integration of Immigrants in Singapore by Jayashree Mohanty, Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, National University of Singapore

Q & A

1720 – 1730hrs Closing Remarks by Norman Vasu, Deputy Head, Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), RSIS, NTU

1730hrs End of Day 2 Conference

1800 – 2100hrs Dinner (by Invitation Only) Venue: Peach Blossom Restaurant (Level 5)
LIST OF SPEAKERS AND CHAIRPERSONS

SPEAKERS

Diego Acosta Arcarazo
Lecturer in Law
Faculty of Law
University of Bristol
Wills Memorial Building,
Queen's Road,
Bristol, BS8 1RJ,
United Kingdom
Email: d.acosta@bristol.ac.uk

Natalie Bolzan
Professor
Margaret Whitlam Chair at Social Work
University of Western Sydney
Locked Bag 1797
Penrith NSW 2751
Email: n.bolzan@uws.edu.au

Aje Calbom
Senior Lecturer
Department of Social Work, Faculty of Health and Society
Malmo University
S-205 06 Malmo
Sweden
Email: aje.carlbom@mah.se

David Chan
Lee Kuan Yew Fellow
Professor of Psychology
Director, Behavioural Sciences Institute
Singapore Management University
Administration Building Level 9
81 Victoria Street
Singapore 188065
Email: davidchan@smu.edu.sg

Vincent Chua
Assistant Professor
National University of Singapore
Department of Sociology
AS1, #04-27
11 Arts Link
Singapore 117570
Email: socckhv@nus.edu.sg

Elizabeth Collett
Director, MPI-Europe
Senior Policy Advisor, MPI Transatlantic Council on Migration,
Migration Policy Institute
Residence Palace
Rue de la Loi 155
1040 Brussels
Belgium
Email: ecollett@MigrationPolicy.org

Alison Cottrell
Associate Professor
Centre for Disaster Studies
School of Earth and Environmental Sciences
James Cook University
Townsville, Qld 4811
Australia
Email: alison.cottrell@jcu.edu.au

Paul Dekker
Professor of Civil society at Tilburg University
Head, Participation, Culture and Living Environmental Sector
The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP)
SCP, Postbus 16164
2500 BD Den Haag
Email: p.dekker@scp.nl

Matthew Dentith
Lecturer
Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Arts
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142
New Zealand
Email: m.dentith@episto.org

Paul Gelton
Director
Ministry of Security and Justice
Resilience Department
P.O. Box 20301
2500 EH The Hague
The Netherlands
Email: p.t.gelton@nctv.minvenj.nl
Carol McNaughton Nicholls
Senior Research Director
Crime and Justice Research
National Centre for Social Research (NatCen Social Research)
35 Northampton Sq
London
EC1V 0AX
Email: Carol.McNaughtonNicholls@natcen.ac.uk

Gabriel Ong
Senior Psychologist / Assistant Director
Resilience, Safety & Security Psychology Branch
Home Team Behavioural Sciences Centre
Home Team Academy
501 Old Choa Chu Kang Road
Singapore 698928
Email: Gabriel_Ong@mha.gov.sg

Ora-orn Poocharoen
Assistant Professor
Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy
National University of Singapore
469C Bukit Timah Road
Singapore 259772
Email: spppo@nus.edu.sg

Tan Ern Ser
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology
National University of Singapore
AS1, #03-15
11 Arts Link
Singapore 117570
Email: soctanes@nus.edu.sg

J. Cok Vrooman
Head, Labour and Public Services Sector
The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP)
P.O. Box 16164
2500 BD, The Hague
The Netherlands
Email: c.vrooman@scp.nl

CHAIRPERSONS

David Chan
Lee Kuan Yew Fellow
Professor of Psychology
Director, Behavioural Sciences Institute
Singapore Management University
Administration Building Level 9
81 Victoria Street
Singapore 188065
Email: davidchan@smu.edu.sg

Damien D. Cheong
Research Fellow
Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS)
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Block S4 Level B4
Nanyang Avenue
Singapore 639798
Email: isdcheong@ntu.edu.sg

Yolanda Chin
Research Fellow
Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS)
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)
Nanyang Technological University
Block S4 Level B4
Nanyang Avenue
Singapore 639798
Email: istlchin@ntu.edu.sg

Majeed Khader
Director
Home Team Behavioural Sciences
Home Team Academy
501 Old Choa Chu Kang Road
Singapore 698928
Email: Khader_Majeed@MHA.gov.sg
LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Audrey Ang
Head
National Security Coordination Secretariat
55 Newton Road, #15-01
Revenue House
Singapore 307987
Email: audrey_ang@nscs.gov.sg

Au Yong Pei Ching
Population Executive
National Population and Talent Division
5 Maxwell Road, #14-00
Tower Block, MND Complex
Singapore 069110
Email: au_yong_pei_ching@nptd.gov.sg

Rahayu Buang
Deputy Director (Family Policy)
Ministry of Social and Family Development
512 Thomson Road
MSF Building, #09-00
Singapore 298136
Email: rahayu_buang@msf.gov.sg

John Chao
Character and Citizenship Education (National Education) Officer
Ministry of Education
Blk 2 Level 3
51 Grange Road
Singapore 249564
Email: John_Chao@moe.gov.sg

Chen Fuwei
Assistant Director (Resilience Policy & Research Unit)
National Security Coordination Secretariat
55 Newton Road, #15-01
Revenue House
Singapore 307987
Email: chen_fuwei@nscs.gov.sg

Chia Wei Li Bernissa
Curriculum Planning Officer
Ministry of Education
1 North Buona Vista Drive
Level 11
Singapore 138675
Email: Bernissa_Chia@moe.gov.sg

Ruth Chin
Assistant Manager
Ministry of Social and Family Development
512 Thomson Road
MSF Building, #15-00
Singapore 298136
Email: chin_jen_yuin@msf.gov.sg

Adeline Chong
Head (Research)
People’s Association
9 King George’s Avenue
Singapore 208581
Email: Adeline_Chong@pa.gov.sg

Chong Soo Yuen
Assistant Director Research (Socio Econ)
Ministry of National Development
5 Maxwell Road, #21/22-00
Tower Block, MND Complex
Singapore 069110
Email: chong_soo_yuen@mnd.gov.sg

Magdalene Choo
Assistant Director
National Security Coordination Secretariat
55 Newton Road, #15-01
Revenue House
Singapore 307987
Email: magdalene_choo@nscs.gov.sg

Justin Chua
Senior Assistant Director
National Security Coordination Secretariat
55 Newton Road, #15-01
Revenue House
Singapore 307987
Email: chua_june_peng@nscs.gov.sg
Audrey Low
Executive (Research)
Ministry of Communications and Information
140 Hill Street
Old Hill Street Police Station
Singapore 179369
Email: Audrey_LOW@mci.gov.sg

Beverly Low
Senior Manager (Strategic Development), Nexus
Ministry of Defence
5 Depot Road, #10-01
Defence Technology Tower B
Singapore 109681
Email: Low_Yuen_Wei@starnet.gov.sg

Junie Neo
Senior Assistant Director
Ministry of Culture, Community & Youth
140 Hill Street, #03-00
Old Hill Street Police Station
Singapore 179369
Email: junie_neo@mccy.gov.sg

Charlotte Ng
Senior Analyst
National Security Coordination Secretariat
55 Newton Road, #15-01
Revenue House
Singapore 307987
Email: charlotte_ng@nscs.gov.sg

Ng Hui Leng
Senior Research Specialist
Ministry of Education
285 Ghim Moh Road
Singapore 279622
Email: ng_hui_leng@moe.gov.sg

Roland Ng
Director, Nexus
Ministry of Defence
5 Depot Road, #10-01
Defence Technology Tower B
Singapore 109681
Email: roland_ng_kian_huat@mindef.gov.sg

Oh Kheng Hoe
Director (Information & Knowledge Management Systems)
People's Association
9 King George's Avenue
Singapore 208581
Email: oh_kheng_hoe@pa.gov.sg

Sarah Ong
Head Organisation Diagnosis Group
Ministry of Defence
5 Depot Road, #16-01
Defence Technology Tower B
Singapore 109681
Email: sarah_ong@mindef.gov.sg

Ong Yen Cheng
Deputy Director (Research)
People's Association
9 King George's Avenue
Singapore 208581
Email: Ong_Yen_Cheng@pa.gov.sg

Paul Ow
2 Deputy Director (Ops Network Branch)
Ministry of Home Affairs
New Phoenix Park
28 Irrawaddy Road
Singapore 329560
Email: paul_ow@mha.gov.sg

Pang Lee San Natalie
Assistant Professor
Wee Kim Wee School of Communication and Information
31 Nanyang Link
WKWSCI Building
Singapore 637718
Email: nlspang@ntu.edu.sg

Jane Quek
Psychologist
Ministry of Home Affairs
501 Old Choa Chu Kang Road
Home Team Academy
Blk 11, #03-17
Home Team Behavioural Sciences Centre
Singapore 698928
Email: quek_jane@mha.gov.sg
Ivy Zhang
Research Economist
Ministry of National Development
5 Maxwell Road, #21/22-00
Tower Block, MND Complex
Singapore 069110
Email: ivy_zhang@mnd.gov.sg

Juline Zhang
Assistant Director (Information Policy)
Ministry of Communications and Information
140 Hill Street, 6th Storey
Old Hill Street Police Station
Singapore 179369
Email: juline_zhang@mci.gov.sg

Zhuang Kai Quan
Senior Research Economist
Ministry of National Development
5 Maxwell Road, #21/22-00
Tower Block, MND Complex
Singapore 069110
Email: zhuang_kai_quan@mnd.gov.sg
The Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) is a research unit of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Established on 1 April 2006, CENS is devoted to rigorous policy-relevant analysis of a range of national security issues. The CENS team is multinational in composition, comprising both Singaporean and foreign analysts who are specialists in various aspects of national and homeland security affairs.

Why CENS?

In August 2004 the Strategic Framework for National Security outlined the key structures, security measures and capability development programmes that would help Singapore deal with transnational terrorism in the near and long term.

However, strategising national security policies requires greater research and understanding of the evolving security landscape. This is why CENS was established to increase the intellectual capital invested in strategising national security. To this end, CENS works closely with not just other RSIS research programmes, but also national security agencies such as the National Security Coordination Secretariat within the Prime Minister’s Office.

What research does CENS do?

CENS aspires to be an international research leader in the multi-disciplinary study of the concept of resilience in all its aspects, and in the policy-relevant application of such research in order to promote security within and beyond Singapore.

To this end, CENS conducts research in three main domains:

• Radicalisation Studies
  The multi-disciplinary study of the indicators and causes of violent radicalisation, the promotion of community immunity to extremist ideas and best practices in individual rehabilitation.

• Social Resilience
  The inter-disciplinary study of the various constitutive elements of social resilience such as multiculturalism, citizenship, immigration and class. The core focus of this programme is understanding how globalised, multicultural societies can withstand and overcome security crises such as diseases and terrorist strikes.

• Homeland Defence
  A broad domain researching key nodes of the national security ecosystem. Areas of particular interest include the study of strategic and crisis communication, cyber security and public attitudes to national security issues.

How does CENS help influence National Security Policy?

Through policy-oriented analytical commentaries and other research output directed at the national security policy community in Singapore and beyond, CENS staff members promote greater awareness of emerging threats as well as global best practices in responding to those threats. In addition, CENS organises courses, seminars and workshops for local and foreign national security officials to facilitate networking and exposure to leading-edge thinking on the prevention of, and response to, national and homeland security threats.

HOW DOES CENS HELP RAISE PUBLIC AWARENESS OF NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES?

To educate the wider public, CENS staff members regularly author articles in a number of security and intelligence-related publications, as well as write op-ed analyses in leading newspapers. Radio and television interviews have allowed CENS staff to participate in and shape the public debate on critical issues such as radicalisation and counter-terrorism, multiculturalism and social resilience, as well as crisis and strategic communication.
HOW DOES CENS KEEP ABREAST OF CUTTING EDGE NATIONAL SECURITY RESEARCH?

The lean organizational structure of CENS permits a constant and regular influx of Visiting Fellows of international calibre through the Distinguished CENS Visitors Programme. This enables CENS to keep abreast of cutting edge global trends in national security research.

For more information about CENS, visit http://www.rsis.edu.sg/cens

ABOUT RSIS

The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) was officially inaugurated on 1 January 2007. Before that, it was known as the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), which was established ten years earlier on 30 July 1996. Like its predecessor, RSIS was established as an autonomous entity within Nanyang Technological University (NTU). RSIS’ aim is to be a leading research institution and professional graduate school in the Asia Pacific. To accomplish this mission, RSIS will:

• Provide a rigorous professional graduate education in international affairs with a strong practical and area emphasis
• Conduct policy-relevant research in national security, defence and strategic studies, international political economy, diplomacy and international relations
• Collaborate with like-minded schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence

GRADUATE EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RSIS offers a challenging graduate education in international affairs, taught by an international faculty of leading thinkers and practitioners. The teaching programme consists of the Master of Science (M.Sc.) degrees in Strategic Studies, International Relations, International Political Economy and Asian Studies. Through partnerships with the University of Warwick and NTU’s Nanyang Business School, RSIS also offers the NTU-Warwick Double Masters Programme as well as The Nanyang MBA (International Studies). Teaching at RSIS is distinguished by its focus on the Asia Pacific region, the professional practice of international affairs and the cultivation of academic depth. Over 230 students, the majority from abroad, are enrolled with the School. A small and select Ph.D. programme caters to students whose interests match those of specific faculty members.

RESEARCH

Research at RSIS is conducted by six constituent Institutes and Centres: the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS); the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR); the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS); the Centre for Non-Traditional Security (NTS) Studies; the Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade & Negotiations (TFCTN) and the Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS). The focus of research is on issues relating to the security and stability of the Asia Pacific region and their implications for Singapore and other countries in the region. The School has four endowed professorships that bring distinguished scholars and practitioners to teach and do research at the School. They are the S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies, the Ngee Ann Kongsi Professorship in International Relations, the NTUC Professorship in International Economic Relations and the Bakrie Professorship in Southeast Asia Policy.

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

Collaboration with other professional schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence is an RSIS priority. RSIS maintains links with other like-minded schools so as to enrich its research and teaching activities as well as adopt the best practices of successful schools.

For more information about RSIS, visit http://www.rsis.edu.sg
ABOUT NSCS

The National Security Coordination Secretariat (NSCS) was set up in the Prime Minister's Office in July 2004 to facilitate national security policy coordination from a Whole-Of-Government perspective. NSCS reports to the Prime Minister through the Coordinating Minister for National Security (CMNS). The current CMNS is Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Home Affairs Mr Teo Chee Hean.

NSCS is headed by Permanent Secretary (National Security and Intelligence Coordination). The current PS (NSIC) is Mr Benny Lim, who is concurrently Permanent Secretary (National Development) and Permanent Secretary (Prime Minister's Office).

NSCS comprises two centres: the National Security Coordination Centre (NSCC) and the National Security Research Centre (NSRC). Each centre is headed by a Senior Director.

The agency performs three vital roles in Singapore's national security: national security planning, policy coordination, and anticipation of strategic threats. It also organises and manages national security programmes, one example being the Asia-Pacific Programme for Senior National Security Officers, and funds experimental, research or start-up projects that contribute to our national security.

For more information about NSCS, visit http://app.nscs.gov.sg/public/home.aspx