GENDER AND CONFLICT IN MINDANAO

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I. Introduction: Gender in Conflict Zones

It has been more than a decade since the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 1325, which called upon the international community to actively consider the needs of women and girls in conflict situations, and incorporate them into peace-building and conflict resolution activities. In that time, there has been considerably greater understanding and recognition of women's varying roles in both conflict and peace-building, as well as of the different impacts of conflict on men and women. There is now strong support for the view that -- through their social contributions as citizens, educators, economic actors, mothers, community mediators and leaders of civil society groups -- women hold a vital responsibility for shaping peace.

Yet, for all the rhetorical progress in acknowledging the importance of incorporating gender into conflict mitigation and resolution programming, efforts remain limited. To the degree that such efforts have been undertaken, they often remain confined to a Women In Development-style approach, expanding women's participation into pre-figured, ostensibly gender-neutral programs. This is far from adequate, as this approach frequently fails to incorporate women stakeholders' input into fundamental program design, or to consider how enhancing the quality of women's participation might improve outcomes.

Moreover, "incorporating gender" requires one to go beyond simply considering women's roles to more broadly analyzing the different needs, experiences, and capacities of men and women, boys and girls. We posit that conflict programming will be maximally effective in both reducing conflict and promoting sustainable, equitable peace when a comprehensive gender analysis is utilized. Such an analysis begins with the understanding that both women and men are embedded within dynamic cultural systems that give meaning and power to their lives. As part of this effort, an analysis of the gendered dynamics of power in conflict contexts is fundamental to identifying opportunities and barriers to effective participation of men and women when designing and implementing programs, as well as carefully assessing and tracking the gendered impacts of conflict and peace-building. To date, very few programs incorporate such a comprehensive effort.

This study was commissioned by The Asia Foundation's Women's Empowerment Program in Washington, D.C. and The Asia Foundation Philippines office in Manila. It is a preliminary attempt to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the complex gender dynamics of conflict by looking at the Philippines as a case study. By examining the gender dimensions of a specific conflict where the Asia Foundation has long-standing involvement, this study aims to offer a nuanced look at the intersections of gender and conflict at a local level, makes practical recommendations on how those gender dynamics can be more effectively addressed, and explores the tensions and trade-offs implicit in a more comprehensive approach to gender and conflict.

Focusing on the armed conflict in the Southern Philippines, primarily the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), this research applied a gender lens in order to identify the key issues, challenges, and opportunities for men and women in the context of program activities and community processes related to conflict management and resolution. This was intended as an exploratory effort, and sought in part to identify areas requiring further study. The research

agenda placed a specific focus on women, in recognition of the Philippines' 2010 National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security. To this end, three main questions were posed:

- How does conflict shape the choices, incentives, roles, and opportunities for women living in communities affected by violent conflict?
- How can aid be used to improve the conditions and prospects for women in conflict areas, while strengthening their social status?
- How can aid be used to reduce the risk and vulnerability of women during protracted conflict?

These questions were explored using a variety of research instruments: a literature review and analysis across a broad range of local press outlets, civil society and academic publications; interviews with government, academia and civil society representatives; discussions with Manila-based conflict resolution practitioners; written questionnaires sent electronically to local civil society organizations; and, field-based focus group discussions with conflict mitigation project implementers and local populations in conflict-affected communities.[1] Field research was conducted in August and September of 2010.

Better understanding the role of gender in conflict allows practitioners to move beyond easy stereotypes of women as passive victims, and instead appreciate the roles that women and men can take in transforming a society and helping it rebuild and move forward in the wake of conflict. While considerable work has been done in highlighting the links between armed conflict and sexual violence, as well as women's resilience and creativity in response to specific challenges they face as heads of post-conflict households, the complex role of women in war-time economics and as dynamic actors redefining the political landscapes of societies in conflict has been less well explored.[2] Moreover, there is a need for more analysis of the interplay between conflict's role in shaping society's traditional male roles and definitions of masculinity, and the resulting pressures that men's responses to these changing roles play in influencing, exacerbating, or resolving conflict.[3]

Recognizing the effects of conflict on women and men, as well as the important roles that each can play in peace-building, is clearly essential to conflict resolution work. This report argues that programs that seek to make transformative interventions in zones of war and violence are far more likely to be effective and sustainable if they build upon the commitment, capacity, hopes and needs of all citizens. The larger goal of this study is to offer insights that spark conversations and collaborations, and it has been designed to amplify the voices of Filipino women themselves. Ultimately, we posit that addressing the issue of gender in conflict is not simply additive – bringing in one more stakeholder group to work for peace – but can be transformative. Attending closely to gender can – and should – change the way we look at conflict, and give us innovative new ideas for addressing it.

II. Background: Conflict in Mindanao

A. Geographic and Ethnic Profile

Mindanao is the second largest island in the Philippines, with a population of 21.5 million people covering an area of 37,657 square miles (slightly larger than the U.S. state of Maine.) Although Christians are an overwhelming majority in the Philippines, Mindanao has for centuries been home to both indigenous peoples and Muslims called Moro (from the Spanish word "Moor") or Bangsamoro (the "Moro Nation"). While the Moro share a common identity as Muslims, they are also quite diverse with 13 different ethnic groups,[4] each speaking their own languages.

Mindanao is divided into six administrative regions, including the Muslim-majority Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, or ARMM, which includes the provinces of Maguindanao and Lao del Sur in the mainland, and island provinces like Basilan, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi. ARMM's population is approximately 4.1 million people, largely dominated by Muslims from the Meranaw, Tausug, and Maguindanaon ethnic groups. Following plebiscites in which these majority-Muslim provinces voted for inclusion, ARMM obtained special autonomous status in 1990, with the right to elect its own officials, levy taxes, and set education and development policy.[5]

B. A Brief History of Mindanao's Long-running Conflict

The conflict in Mindanao is one of the world's longest running, with roots tracing back to the colonial era and the dynamics of exploitation and resistance that marked that period. From the 16th century until 1898, Moro sultanates fought against the Spanish colonial regime that dominated the northern Philippines. This allowed the Moro to maintain much of their cultural and political distinctiveness, but it also set the stage for deep-seated mutual mistrust. It was only with the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines from Spain at the turn of the 20th century that Mindanao became incorporated into national structures, and its lands were claimed for settlement. Between 1903 and 1970, Mindanao underwent a drastic demographic transition, with the percentage of non-Moro and non-indigenous settlers rising from 37% of the island's inhabitants to 76%.[6] While Muslims remained dominant in their traditional heartlands of the Sulu archipelago, Maguindanao, and Lanao, their political influence in the rest of the island became attenuated, and by the late 1960s, communal strife had intensified.

Today, there are multiple armed combatant groups operating in Mindanao, including the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), the communist New People's Army (NPA) and the Rebolusyonaryong Partido ng Manggagawa sa Mindanao (Revolutionary Party of Workers in Mindanao or the RPMM). The Abu Sayyaf terrorist organization also poses a threat to local residents. In 1996, after prolonged negotiations and 26 years of war that cost some 120,000 lives, the government of the Philippines signed a Final Peace Agreement with the MNLF, the cornerstone of which was the reinvigoration of ARMM as a semi-autonomous territory within the framework of national sovereignty. However, a number of splinter factions within the organization resisted the call to disarm, and criticism of the implementation of the agreement has been vociferous. The MILF, which split from the MNLF in 1981, rejected the 1996 agreement in favor of a push for full Bangsamoro independence, and has been engaged in separate negotiations with the government since 1997. Meanwhile, the NPA and its breakaway group, the RPMM, while garnering less international attention than the Islamic forces, have also been waging war since the 1960s, and have engaged the government in sporadic peace talks as they push for a more equitable distribution of Mindanao's resources and greater attention to social development.

While clashes between armed opposition groups and the government dominate headlines, for many people in Mindanao, the persistent threat of localized conflicts has a greater impact on their daily lives. In a 2002 Asia Foundation study, 43% of respondents in Mindanao cited experiences in their communities with *rido* conflict, the periodic outbursts of retaliatory violence between families and clans. Only 38% cited experience with violent conflict between Muslims and Christians or the Philippines military and armed opposition groups.[7] The Asia Foundation's Philippines Representative Steven Rood noted, "Endemic clan conflict sometimes triggers ethnic conflict and even military confrontation. What begins as a dispute between families can end with organized armed forces clashing, as parties to the dispute persuade others to become involved or the Philippine military can mistake a clan clash as a separatist operation and intervene on its own."[8] Without understanding the local dynamics of violence in Mindanao, peace-building interventions are likely to miss crucial opportunities to resolve hostilities or prevent escalation.

The conflicts in Mindanao also need to be placed within their broader social and economic contexts. In Mindanao, poverty and a lack of social opportunity are both drivers and outcomes of conflict. Although the region is agriculturally fertile and resource rich, decades of conflict have left the area among the most impoverished in the Philippines. ARMM fares especially poorly on national economic indicators, with a 2006 official poverty rate of 55.3% and some 58.9% of ARMM women living in poverty. Both those indicators have worsened in recent years.[9] Life expectancy in ARMM provinces has often been at least a decade lower than in urban Manila.[10]

Economic deprivation, when coupled with a sense of injustice, often inflames conflict, and the difficult security situation in ARMM has hampered a broad range of normal economic activity. It remains clear to most ARMM residents that their poverty is not a natural condition, such as an outgrowth of barren land or inhospitable climate, but rather the result of political choices; local

communities perceive willful government neglect, encouraged by deep-rooted discrimination toward ethnic Moros and their adherence to Islam. Although there are many Christian civil society organizations working for peace and interreligious tolerance in Mindanao, a survey by the Social Weather Station found that a majority of ordinary non-Muslims felt little trust toward Muslim ethnic groups.[11]

C. Initial Profile of Gender Dynamics in the Conflict Zone

While the crisis in Mindanao has generated a vast amount of analysis, women's experiences are generally neglected when exploring potential responses. In keeping with the widespread view that the actions of armed combatants and formal "Track One" peace processes are, respectively, the primary drivers of conflict and peace, expert accounts of the Mindanao conflict often assume it to be an arena defined and occupied almost solely by men, or one in which gender has little relevance to the key issues at stake. Analyses that stress needs for identity and recognition, or economic security on the part of the Bangsamoro likewise tend to ignore gender, assuming a homogenous Islamic or ethnic identity to provide the core of social meaning in conflict-affected regions of Mindanao. Even when analyses acknowledge the connections between local disputes and regional and national conflict, women are often viewed largely in passive terms, such as when they become the pretext for clan conflict in cases of adultery or elopement or sexual harassment, with these perceived insults to women provoking the pride and rage of men.

Despite the fact that both the MNLF and the NPA opposition groups have had women combatants among their ranks, and many former MNLF women now hold prominent ranks in government and civil society, discussions of conflict in the region rarely mention women's active political participation or explore the importance of gender in effective peace-building.[12] There are some important exceptions: several scholars have investigated women's roles in conflict resolution in Mindanao, others have analyzed the effects of conflict on women, and local NGOs have published documentation on women's organizing for peace. [13] However, a comprehensive examination of the effects of conflict on Mindanao women and the contributions they can make to peace-building remains lacking.

Mindanao's women do not see themselves as passive observers to the conflict, as the island's vibrant civil society sector makes clear. Local NGOs have focused their attention on mitigating clan-based conflict, providing support to people displaced by conflict, and training citizens in small-scale dispute resolution, with high levels of women's participation. Yet women face numerous challenges in organizing effectively. Women's groups in the region have often fragmented along religious, ideological and class lines, and some groups have faced pressure to subordinate discussions of their core gender issues to claims of nationalist or religious identity.[14] Competition around scarce donor funds also exacerbates divisions. In short, we must approach the issue of gender and conflict in Mindanao with the understanding that neither women nor men can be viewed as a monolithic bloc, and that achieving an effective and sustainable peace will only succeed if it is highly attuned to local gender and power dynamics.

The Philippine Government's 2010 National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security presents a new opportunity to embrace this understanding. Created in response to United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820, which call for the mainstreaming of women and gendered

perspectives in conflict resolution and peace-building, the development of the Action Plan has already provided an opportunity to draw diverse women and a variety of organizations together. [15] Women from Mindanao-based organizations -- including the Bangsamoro Women Solidarity Forum, the Federation of United Mindanawon Bangsamoro Women Multi-Purpose Cooperatives, Inc., the Mindanao People's Caucus, and the Consortium of Bangsamoro Civil Society -- joined with women's groups from elsewhere in the country for the consultations that led to the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security. With its comprehensive set of goals, the National Action Plan places the Philippines at the forefront of acknowledging the importance of gender and conflict issues, but implementation details are, as yet, elusive.

III. The Impact of the Conflict on Women, and on Gender Dynamics in Mindanao

Violent conflict disrupts society on many levels. While women are often disproportionately affected, the impact conflict has on women and girls is often misunderstood, manipulated, or ignored. Virtually every person interviewed in Mindanao acknowledged that decades of conflict have wrought substantial changes in women's lives, as well as in male-female relationships. There were important differences between communities, as well as among individual women, that shaped their experiences of conflict. At the same time, strong commonalities emerged across diverse constituencies. It is crucial to understand the various, and sometimes divergent, impacts of conflict on women and on gender relationships if women are to be effectively empowered and engaged in local and national peace processes, and if both men and women are to fully benefit from efforts to reduce and eliminate conflict.

A. Gender and Mobility

The research indicated that one of the primary impacts of conflict in Mindanao is on mobility. Men's mobility was frequently severely constrained by conflict, leading to feelings of frustration and marginalization, challenges to cultural definitions of masculinity, and long-term disadvantages, including curtailed education and less opportunity for formal employment or involvement in agricultural activities. For women, mobility is often increased, leading to enhanced opportunities for leadership, formal employment, and decision-making, but also greatly expanding the demands placed on women's time and safety.

Conflict-related shifts in mobility were cited in every focus group discussion as a major concern for communities. When violence flares, people in local communities may be trapped in their homes, unable to access employment, education, healthcare, or markets. As conflict intensifies, people may become refugees, forced to leave their lands and livelihoods to seek safety. In Mindanao, these mobility restrictions and displacements have been both short-term and prolonged, depending upon the local dynamics of conflict. Many people suffer the experiences of both having their mobility severely curtailed and being forced to move. Substantial numbers of those interviewed endured repeated cycles of fleeing for refuge and returning to their lands. Even in the absence of physical violence, conflict shifts people's social interactions, such as with the introduction of checkpoints that limit their movements, or when borders between safe and dangerous areas become difficult to determine. At the same time, places that were once deemed

to offer security, including homes and ancestral lands, become rife with new uncertainties as conflict extends past the formal political domain and touches the lives of kin and neighbors. Conflict creates new forms of risk, vulnerability, and fear.

Restrictions in mobility as a result of conflict are highly gender-specific. During *rido* conflict (the aforementioned periodic outbursts of retaliatory family and clan violence), men are especially vulnerable as the primary targets for revenge, and it is common for them to respond by drastically limiting their social movements to avoid attacks. Women are far less frequently targeted for *rido* killings, which means that they often must go out to undertake the activities traditionally performed by men. Similarly, in cases of conflict between armed combatant groups, men run the risk of being mistaken for combatants by state forces, or of being pressured to join insurgent groups, leading them to restrict their travels outside of the home and to rely upon women's greater ability to move in public spaces.

For Mindanaoan men, this restriction of mobility often creates a deep sense of social and political paralysis. Men in conflict-affected regions of Mindanao expressed feeling as if they were being "sandwiched" between rival combatant groups, or compared themselves to a kind of local rice cake (*bibingka*) that is toasted on both sides. Ultimately, this feeling of paralysis often leads to long-term effects, even calling into question deeply embedded cultural definitions of masculinity. (*See Section F of this chapter for a full discussion*) The severe curtailment of men's mobility during conflict has serious impacts on multiple aspects of social life, from local economies and political processes to men's relationships with women in their families and communities. With men subject to suspicion as potential combatants or under direct physical threat, women are often required to take on new livelihood or leadership responsibilities outside of the home. Common tasks include tending fields and livestock, bringing goods to market, escorting children to school, searching out wage labor, or working to help identify and resolve community concerns. In cases of armed violence between rival combatant groups, women also may take on the roles of emergency medics and rescue agents, risking crossfire or interrogation by armed forces to retrieve the dead and wounded. Since women are seen as less likely to be physical threats, they may also be tasked with negotiating with occupying forces for access to subsistence needs during conflict.

In discussions, women emphasized both the opportunities and the burdens of their travel and work outside of the home. They referenced the pride and satisfaction they felt at their capacities, as well as exhaustion from performing a "double role" in the absence of male support. Women also acknowledged that while they were indeed less likely than men to be mistaken for partisans or combatants, it was still dangerous for them to travel in conflict zones, where they risk getting caught in crossfire or face the threat of sexual violence or intimidation (although rape has generally not been deployed as a weapon of war in conflict-affected regions of Mindanao). A nuanced picture emerged of some degree of gender role transformation taking place, at least in the short-term. Women are occupying new space in Mindanao and performing new roles, but are often severely challenged in the process.

B. Displacement

In Mindanao, as in most displacement situations, the majority of internally displaced persons (IDPs) are women and children. IDPs face new forms of conflict and insecurity when religious and identity tensions emerge within communities where they find refuge. Those IDPs who settle in camps represent an easily exploited labor force. They face a daily struggle to make ends meet, access clean water, and obtain sufficient food. Humanitarian agencies have begun placing greater emphasis on the involvement of women as agents of change, yet without broader social and economic changes, these women will likely remain frustrated, exhausted, and disempowered.

Over the past decade, an estimated three million Mindanaoans have become temporarily or permanently displaced, fleeing repeated and localized outbreaks of armed warfare, counterinsurgency operations, paramilitary violence, and clan conflict. Most recently, the 2008 collapse of the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain between the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front led to as many as a million people being displaced.[16] According to the International Displacement Monitoring Centre, as of June 2010, there were some 26,000 families – at least 128,000 individuals – who remained displaced in Mindanao.[17] Renewed peace talks between the government and the MILF have stemmed the flow of displacement and returns have accelerated considerably. Yet even among those who have been able to return home, the strains of having been recently uprooted may linger for extended periods of time. For example, families may struggle to surmount the debts they have incurred, to rebuild homes and businesses, to recuperate from ill health, and to return children to schools.[18]

The localized triggers of displacement, and variations in the numbers of those fleeing – ranging from several families to thousands of people – make tracking and responding to displacement complex. The national government has been accused of underestimating the total numbers of those displaced from ARMM, and of failing to count those IDPs who take shelter in places other than registered evacuation centers.[19] While IDPs who register are eligible for subsistence aid provided by the government and international organizations, IDPs who settle with kin or host communities or in temporary makeshift camps may have little access to services. Informal displaced camps may not fall on the radar of international organizations, leading to reliance on host communities or local government units that are unfamiliar with the holistic range of support the displaced need, and whose commitment and levels of resources may be highly variable.

While some IDPs have integrated into the life of Mindanao's cities and found new social and economic opportunities, others face new forms of conflict and insecurity when religious and identity tensions emerge within communities where they find refuge. For example, when a group fled from Pikit to Kidapawan and began to put up temporary shelters in the municipal plaza of Kidipawan City, the local government council passed an ordinance banning "informal dwellers." In other settings, majority Christian host communities have viewed majority Muslim IDPs with suspicion and animosity. Displaced women may also bear the brunt of everyday discrimination in host communities, as Muslim women tend to be easily identified by their headscarves. In focus group discussions, communities described how they have sometimes hidden their religious identities in order to find work.

As is common worldwide, women and children constitute a majority of IDPs in Mindanao. They
are vulnerable to violence and human rights
abuses, economic distress and marginalization,
physical and mental health problems, political
powerlessness, and deep-rooted social
uncertainty. Women IDPs also face additional
labor burdens when their male kin are unable to
work at their previous occupations. For all IDPs
who settle in camps, the daily struggle to make
ends meet is compounded exponentially by the
constraints of camp life. Women, who have
been forced to run, leaving homes and
resources behind, with children and elders who
require care, are severely hampered in their ability to perform culturally expected tasks such as
cooking, and also earn subsistence income. Even when work is available, IDPs constitute an
easily exploited labor force, because, in desperation, they may be forced to carry out harsh
menial labor for substandard wages.

While persons registered by the government as IDPs and given shelter in formal camps may have
at least sporadic access to medical care, the tens of thousands living in unregistered makeshift
camps, or with host communities or kin, may have no access to health services at all. In addition,
a 2008 study by the World Food Program found that nearly half of the population of conflict-
affected areas in ARMM was food insecure. Among IDPs this rate rose to over 80%.[20] Most
IDPs do not have sufficient access to water, with a 2009 study of 42,000 displaced people in
Maguindanao and Cotabato counting one water collection point for every 680 people and one
latrine for every 252 people.[21] Lack of food, clean water, and sanitary facilities promotes disease,
with diarrheal illnesses and pneumonia as the major causes of IDP deaths.[22] While the physical
effects of malnutrition and illness are, in themselves, gender-neutral, women bear the greater
burden of finding and carrying water, devising ways to feed their children, and treating family
health problems. In situations of extreme food insecurity, women may also limit their own
nutritional intake in favor of their children, with deleterious effects on their own health.

Women also face specific security concerns in IDP camps, with many women complaining that a
lack of privacy for bathing or dressing and the constant presence of unknown armed men led
them to feel increasingly fearful of sexual harassment or assault. In Datu Piang, IDPs recounted
at least two cases of school-aged girls being offered money for sexual favors by armed men,
while in other locations, women noted that rumors of rape made them fearful. In addition to
physical security concerns in IDP camps, women IDPs are highly vulnerable to human
trafficking and dangerous or unfair migrant work arrangements. Every community interviewed
could count members – especially young, undereducated women – who had migrated from rural
to urban areas in Mindanao, to the capital of Manila, or overseas. Family and friends left behind
hoped that these women had indeed found better lives as domestic or factory laborers, but
acknowledged that a lack of reliable communication between migrants and their refugee families
intensified their worries about what could happen to women working far from their structures of
community support and protection.

Humanitarian agencies have begun to emphasize the importance of women's participation rather than simply seeing them as recipients in need of assistance, with the UNHCR asserting that "Women are active and positive change agents – when given the proper resources – and are capable of improving their lives and the lives of their children, families and communities."[23] Women IDPs interviewed echoed this statement, describing how they were able to take charge of equitable relief aid distribution, mediate conflicts that occurred in the camps, and gather and evaluate information from their social networks about whether and when it was safe to return home. In addition to these leadership roles, they played active parts in seeking income-generating opportunities and caring for family needs.

At the same time, it is equally important to recognize that women's "agency," in the sense of the ability to make choices and changes in one's situation, does not always easily translate into women's empowerment. The creativity and resilience displaced women demonstrate constitute absolutely vital resources for community well-being. Yet many of the active choices women IDPs are able to make may amplify their personal vulnerability, as when a young woman decides to risk becoming a migrant worker abroad rather than remain in the desperate confines of a camp, or when a mother damages her own health by feeding her children rather than herself. Programs that use languages of agency and participation to shift increased burdens of responsibility onto women in the absence of essential structural and societal changes – such as providing income-generating opportunities, ensuring healthy and safe living conditions, and reducing the burden of care that women maintain in the home as they take on added economic, leadership and organizational roles outside the home – not only risk failure at achieving their stated goals but of increasing women's disempowerment.

C. Economic Burdens

Conflict takes a tremendous toll on wealth and prosperity, placing enormous stress on individuals, families, communities, and society as a whole. Conflict has sharpened class inequalities in Mindanao and intensified gender divisions, yet paradoxically has opened up new spaces for women to occupy as they take on new socioeconomic roles. Long-standing conflict-related limitations on men's mobility have led in some places to a clear gap between the educational attainment of women and men. In the long-term, this leaves men qualified only for low-skilled manual labor jobs, and places a greater income generation burden on women. Although women in Mindanao spoke with pride about how their work to find creative ways to stretch resources was recognized as crucial to community well-being, these women overwhelmingly tended to view their economic contributions during conflict less as examples of empowerment and more as an exhausting strain.

Conflict economies do not distribute wealth equally, and field research demonstrated just how violence has impoverished the majority of people in conflict-affected areas, while allowing a privileged few to amass substantial wealth. As one woman in Cotabato lamented, "How can we save for our future when we're always running?" Political and economic influence is often secured at the point of a gun, marginalizing those Mindanaoans who do not align themselves with local power brokers or combatant groups, and encouraging corruption and banditry. Rural communities, and Muslim-majority communities whose residents are most prone to being

suspected of separatist activities, often experience these effects most deeply, further exacerbating economic inequalities along existing urban-rural and Christian-Muslim divides.

Without exception, all those interviewed in conflict-affected areas stressed the direct links between conflict and increased economic hardship for their families and communities. When the threat of violence traps people in their homes, they can no longer access jobs or markets. Economic activity becomes subject to new risks and insecurities, as when investments in homes, livestock or trade goods are lost due to the need to evacuate, or when crops fail due to the inaccessibility of fields during firefights or security blockades. The factors necessary for lasting economic growth – roads, the free flow of goods and information, educational opportunities and healthcare – are often absent during armed conflict, deeply exacerbating community vulnerabilities.

As conflict has sharpened class inequalities in Mindanao, it has also intensified gender divisions. As previously noted, when men become primary targets of violence, women are left to take on the responsibilities of generating income for families. For example, in an agricultural community in Cotabato, where armed conflict between the PAF and the MILF has been a regular occurrence, women were forced to tend to fields and livestock alone in addition to their traditional duties of caring for homes and families. This situation has led to fear among women of being caught in frequent crossfires or being sexually abused, as well as to feelings of humiliation and frustration among men at not being able to help protect and support their families. In a community in Lanao, where *rido* conflicts extend back generations, women described how long-standing limitations on men's mobility have led to a clear gap between the educational status of women and men. Some men have been forced to drop out of school as early as the primary grades, leaving them unable to qualify for anything but low-skilled manual labor, and placing a larger burden of income generation on women. As protracted conflict lingers, such gender divisions may harden from temporary expediencies into social realities that are difficult to reverse.

In cases of *rido* conflict, women also identified men's perceived need to violently defend life and honor as an additional strain on household economies. When a family is involved in *rido*, men feel they must arm themselves with guns, purchase ammunition, and, if possible, ensure the family has transportation ready in case they need to flee. One NGO worker involved in *rido* resolution in Lanao province explained that in her experience, families affected by *rido* would prefer to "let their houses fall apart in order to buy a car," anticipating the need to suddenly transport family and possessions to safety. For the middle-class minority in Mindanao, the pressure to make such economic choices may have little effect upon family well-being. But for a majority of families, whose limited income already places them near or below the poverty line, preparing for *rido* may mean sacrificing food, healthcare, and school fees. Indeed, men in this community acknowledged that their need to buy bullets was a source of regular family conflict, as women struggled to make ends meet after a reduction in their already strained household budgets.

The intimate links between poverty and conflict – what Susan Rice provocatively called a "doom spiral" in which poverty and insecurity work to reinforce each other – clearly have strong gender dimensions that are crucial to recognize. [24] As many international organizations and scholars are now recognizing, the drastic social shifts that mark conflict may paradoxically create spaces for

women's power and creativity to emerge as they take up new socioeconomic roles.[25] Most women interviewed were grateful for the skills and determination they could bring to the effort to keep families fed and sheltered under fire, and hopeful that in a peaceful future they could gain the education and opportunities that would allow them to expand their economic activities. However, few local programs or support structures exist to help women with these challenges. In the absence of skills training, access to capital, psychosocial support, dependable childcare or healthcare, guarantees of physical security while working, or opportunities for men to also contribute their share, women overwhelmingly tended to view their economic contributions during conflict less as examples of empowerment and more as an exhausting strain. Women's empowerment, in this case, clearly cannot be measured solely in terms of economic participation, much less the limited tabulation of income, but needs to be seen in a broader social light that acknowledges the multiple determinants of women's well-being.[26]

D. Young Women and Girls

Generational differences among women and girls play an important role in determining needs and capacities, yet attention to the specific needs of young women and girls - and to youth in general - is often lacking in program design. Developmentally, young people may have less resilience to the physical and emotional stressors of conflict. Dismally low completion rates at the elementary level, coupled with the negative physical and psychological health impacts of conflict, may lead to future generations with greatly reduced prospects.

While recognizing the specific gender effects of conflict is vital to the design of more effective programming, it is also crucial to recognize that women are not a monolithic category. Women's concerns vary substantially based on geography, ethnicity, religion, and class. Generational differences are among the most important determinants of women's experience, yet attention to the specific needs of young women and girls is often sorely lacking when designing programs. Where specific efforts are undertaken to empower youth, those initiatives frequently fail to acknowledge the importance of gender. Yet when the needs of young women are ignored, their disempowerment may have effects that linger for generations

One of the most serious challenges youth face is in acquiring the tools needed to transform their futures, particularly related to education. The elementary school completion rate in ARMM stands at a dismal 34.76%, the lowest of any province in the country and a full 50% below the rates in metropolitan Manila. Moreover, in many areas girls are less likely to participate in schooling compared to boys. In ARMM, schooling is often interrupted when schools close due to conflict, families are displaced, or conflict-related poverty pushes children into employment or early marriage. Women explained during interviews that even when their children were able to return to school, the effects of long displacements or emotional disturbances often disrupted educational progress. For a generation of youth, limited educational attainment risks becoming a barrier to their future participation in civic and economic life.

Young women and girls suffer disproportionately from the negative physical and psychological impacts of conflict. Armed violence and the increased poverty and isolation that accompany it interrupt the provision of basic medical services, including vaccinations, preventative care and, for young women, reproductive healthcare. Meanwhile, children, like the elderly, are most

vulnerable to the diseases, including diarrheal illness, pneumonia, and dengue hemorrhagic fever, common among the displaced living in crowded and unsanitary conditions. Developmentally, young people may have less resilience to these physical and emotional stressors of conflict. While comprehensive recent assessments of the health impacts of conflict in Mindanao on young people are lacking, a 2004 University of the Philippines study found that an alarming 94% of 1,200 children surveyed demonstrated symptoms of trauma, while a 2006 UNICEF report described a host of psychological disturbances to be found among children, including deep anxiety, feelings of vengeance and anger, confusion and lack of self-confidence, hopelessness in the future, and a persistent sense of loss.[27]

While little quantitative data is available on how gender shapes the psychosocial effects of conflict on young people in Mindanao, field research offered young women a space to express their serious concerns. They spoke especially forcefully about how their physical and emotional security has been threatened by conflict. The presence of armed men in their communities, and the extreme power disparities between combatant forces and local residents or the displaced, often left women anxious and fearful of going out, and they spoke of sleeping with cell phones under their pillows in case of an attack during the night. Many young women stressed their desire to help bring peace to their communities by contributing to the work of non-governmental organizations or through informal means. However, some young women were adamant that the only hope they had was to find a way to leave Mindanao entirely.

E. Psychosocial Effects

Little research has been done on the precise nature or extent of conflict-related psychological disorders in Mindanao, how they may impact the social functioning of women and men, or how they may be more effectively addressed. Yet virtually all respondents provided examples of the impacts that high levels of psychological distress were having in their communities. While some positive local examples exist of ways community members, especially women, are seeking to alleviate these psychosocial impacts, the capacity to creatively address social stresses may be limited by the structural constraints of conflict. This remains an area where more research and action is required.

Focus group discussions in ARMM highlighted the drastic effects of conflict, especially repeated violent conflict and evacuation, on the psychosocial well-being of both women and men. Virtually everyone interviewed could speak at length about high levels of psychological distress in their communities and about family members and neighbors whose social functioning had been seriously disturbed after having witnessed violence or coming under attack. Women spoke emotionally about children who showed typical signs of post-traumatic stress disorder such as startle reflexes, nightmares, and anxiety. They shared stories of people who panicked at the sound of slamming doors or backfiring motorbikes, people compelled to hide in their homes when planes flew overhead, and people who had sunk into depression. Cycles of displacement to evacuation centers and return to damaged homes and fields intensified feelings of hopelessness and confusion, as did the lack of economic opportunity. Many women also suggested that the intense stress that conflict places on families has led to increasing levels of domestic violence.

The psychosocial impacts of conflict risk being ignored, in large part because psychosocial work is often seen as less urgent than addressing macro-level political structures in peace-building or meeting physical needs such as providing food and shelter. Little research has been done on the precise nature or extent of conflict-related psychological disorders in Mindanao, how they may impact the social functioning of women and men, or how they may be more effectively addressed. Recognition of the magnitude of mental health problems in Mindanao has also been hampered by stereotypes of Mindanaoans as a "tough" or "warlike" people for whom violence has become normal. Indeed, the head of the Philippine government's Social and Welfare Department stated in 2008 that "Some [IDPs] need some counseling, most do not. A lot of them are used to it. It's not the first time this has happened."[28] Yet research in other settings has shown that people do not become "used to" violence; rather, repeated exposure to traumas may produce chronic or complex post-traumatic stress disorder that impacts social functioning. [29]

In this context, it is also important to acknowledge the agency and resilience of women during conflict. Sometimes, the shared experience of coming under fire by armed combatant groups creates a sense of group solidarity that can be drawn upon to strengthen relationships of mutual support. In many communities, women described being able to discuss their fears and concerns with other women, and pooling resources and information to ensure families are fed and warnings about encroaching armed skirmishes are disseminated. Several communities have created alert systems using cell phone technology, sending text messages along a chain of recipients in cases of spreading violence.[30] In many displaced settings, women have gathered information about families' needs to ensure aid is fairly distributed, or set up dialogue meetings between host community and displaced community women to prevent local conflicts from occurring. However, this capacity to creatively address social stresses may be limited by the structural constraints of conflict. For example, women whose families are involved in *rido* conflict often reported a distinct sense of social isolation, when friends and family members maintain greater distance to avoid being identified as partisan. During *rido*, women may not only fear for their physical safety, but may worry that expressing their feelings and worries publicly may risk intensifying conflict by provoking men's emotions and their desire to engage in retaliatory violence. This may have devastating psychological consequences on women, as it couples fear and stress to silence, leaving them to grapple with social and emotional challenges in isolation.

F. The Nexus of Gender Role Transformations and Cultural Values

In the literature on gender and conflict, in-depth examinations of the relationships between masculinity and conflict have been relatively rare. [31] Young men, in particular, are often subject to stereotypes that they are biologically prone to violence, while women are stereotyped as either natural peacemakers or passive victims. Applying a nuanced gender analysis of needs, interests, and opportunities helps move beyond these stereotypes and aid in identification of effective policies and programs to cut the cycle of conflict and resolve long-standing feelings of injustice.

<u>Transforming Women's Roles</u>
In Mindanao, when clan or ethnic identity is perceived to be under attack, scripts for "appropriate womanhood" may become more central to identities, circumscribing roles and even creating divisions among women. In an atmosphere defined by extreme fragility, practitioners

have struggled to address complex questions of female identity and their deep religious, historical, and cultural roots. To the extent that there has been some conflict-related transformation in traditional gender roles, there is also frequently a profound struggle taking place both within communities and among external agents about whether, and how, partial or significant gains in transforming gender roles can be maintained or even nurtured.

When clan or ethnic identity is perceived to be under attack, ideas about how to define one's group and the limits of permissible behavior can become more rigid and conservative, thus limiting the space for dialogue on how gender patterns might be able to shift in contemporary Mindanao. Scripts for "appropriate womanhood" may become more central to these identity definitions, circumscribing women's roles. According to The Asia Foundation's sponsored 2008 research on *rido*, as many as 20% of clan conflicts are triggered by incidents involving perceived slights against women and the honor of their families. Cases of elopement or romantic involvement across religious or ethnic lines were frequently cited as providing a rationale for revenge killings. Many young women expressed unease at the restrictions this created on possible marriage partners and worried that they would be torn between their own choices and concerns about triggering potential violence. By intensifying cultural values of clan and ethnic identity, and tying them to women's propriety, *rido* not only risks harming women by the threat of physical violence, but of intensifying systems of structural violence. *Rido*, in other words, positions women as a highly charged site for social identity formation.

In a number of local conflict resolution cases, the fundamental rights of women were a distinct afterthought to efforts to contain conflict. For example, in one case, a young woman's complaints to her family of being sexually molested by an older relative were "resolved" by her forced return to her abuser.[32] In another case, advertised by a local NGO as a success story for its alternative dispute resolution program, a young Muslim woman and a young Christian man eloped, to the great distress of the woman's family. When violent clan conflict threatened to break out between the families, a resolution to the conflict was brokered, concluding in the young woman being returned to her family, convicted of *jinnah*[33] under Islamic law, and sentenced to a beating of 100 lashes. While this resolution ensured peace in the limited sense, it could certainly not be described as just. When these tensions were raised in an interview with the NGO, the response was: "We need to respect their culture." In such cases, women become the grounds on which to enact increasingly homogenous versions of identity, at the same time as they speak of broader gendered tensions between conflict resolution and human rights approaches.

As cultural scripts for "proper femininity" are amplified during conflict, they also may work to create divisions among women. Women who manage to climb the "empowerment ladder" by finding outside employment or by starting businesses in IDP camps may feel guilty for not being able to fully perform their traditional roles; they may also place these burdens on the shoulders of their less empowered, or less educated, younger female relatives or neighbors, who are themselves pushed further back into poverty.

The highly charged environment of conflict makes it difficult to openly discuss cultural patterns and how these may be impacting women. For Philippines peace-building or human rights activists working in Mindanao, strong tensions around issues of Christian/Muslim religious

difference and discrimination mean that questions of how resurgent religious identity may be affecting the choices available to women are difficult to raise, with few safe spaces in which to begin the dialogue. For example, some rebel leaders explicitly eschew discussions of gender, claiming that the issues central to their struggle are those of sovereignty, economic and political marginalization, and Bangsamoro identity. Meanwhile, one Manila-based government official active in peace negotiations with the MILF stated during an interview, "It is my perception that women are not equal in Islam, so if we push a gender agenda, we might offend the Muslims we are negotiating with." Such well-meaning "respect for Islam/Christianity," while laudable in one sense, also serves to marginalize the voices of Muslim women advocates for gender justice, and suppresses a vital and overdue dialogue that is important for women's peace and development.

Transforming Men's Roles

The dramatic social shifts that have accompanied armed violence in Mindanao, in which men feel their mobility and agency to be radically constricted and their social and economic lives to be insecure, often coalesce emotion and action around powerful themes of honor and pride. For some men, joining in violence seems to offer a chance to regain social prestige and dignity. Others felt that their sense of themselves as an oppressed Moro Muslim minority had been heightened within a constant cycle of conflict and impoverishment.

During field research in Mindanao, complex links between conflict and concepts of masculinity emerged. Interviews with both men and women (separately and in mixed groups) illustrated how the structural constraints and opportunities that have accompanied conflict have had a substantial effect on shaping male social roles. The presence of armed conflict in communities, coupled with heightened surveillance by both the military and separatist forces of men suspected of combat or collaboration, decreases men's physical and social mobility. These restrictions on men's ability to engage in their communities lead directly to educational gaps, underemployment, and an inability to participate fully in civil society. For many men, the best opportunity to break free of these restrictive structures lies in the relative power, safety, and autonomy that accompanies participation in armed combatant groups, and the possibility of attaining greater wealth. Such choices may reflect the desire for individual gains, the surrender to social pressure or desperation, ideological commitments to the causes evoked to justify combat, or deep compassion for families thought to have no other means of survival. Even for those men who stay on the path of peace, the effects of these socially-embedded constraints may persist long after the immediate dangers of violent conflict subsides, when powerlessness, poverty, and lasting psychosocial difficulties mar hopes for individual opportunities, and ultimately, risk a lasting peace.

Although Mindanaoan men are often described by both outsiders and themselves as highly invested in local cultural values of honor and family/ethnic pride that demand violent defense against perceived slights, field research painted a more complex portrait. Like women, men in Mindanao's conflict zones openly acknowledged high levels of psychological distress due to violence and the persistent stressors of poverty, ill health, insecurity, and fear. Few described violent conflict as natural, pleasurable, desirable, or inevitable; instead, they talked about how conflict severely disrupted their lives. Unlike women, however, men tended to describe their experiences using a culturally-coded masculine language of dignity and honor, referencing the

ways conflict had in fact made it more difficult for them to live up to idealized images. For some of these men, joining in violence seems to offer a chance to regain social prestige and dignity.

In discussing their experiences, men often described how the increased poverty and immobility they faced due to conflict made them increasingly vulnerable to economic exploitation, which in turn intensified their sense of having their ethnic and religious identity violated. This sense of injustice sometimes led them to consider taking on combat roles. For example, in a majority-Muslim community in Lanao del Sur that has repeatedly been caught in the crossfire between the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, men reported that their inability to properly tend their fields due to the dangers of accidental injury, conflict flare-ups, or the risk of being mistaken for combatants meant their harvests had decreased. Non-Muslim moneylenders have taken advantage of their predicament, charging them high rates of interest – up to 300% – for agricultural loans. Men used words like "degraded" and "hopeless" to describe their situation, stating that their sense of themselves as an oppressed Moro Muslim minority had been heightened within this constant cycle of conflict and debt, especially given Islam's prohibition of the charging of interest on loans.

> In a *rido*-plagued hamlet, one man eloquently recounted how decades of clan conflict had forced him to leave school and, most recently, his employment as a fisherman when he and his brothers became targets of revenge. Alternate bouts of depression and anger had taken their toll on his marriage, and he vacillated between shame and gratitude that his wife was now supporting the family by work outside the home. He worried that his wife resented him, and grew increasingly suspicious that her employment would tempt her into adultery or divorce. "I started feeling that my wife loved me only 30 percent," he explained. "But now that I have decided to join my family's *rido*, to arm myself and protect my family's honor, my wife loves me 98 percent. Now she respects me, and she cries, worrying that I will die." Here *rido* became both the source of painful personal disruption, and a strategy for restoring a social order in which male bravery elicits female respect and compassion.

This sense of being trapped by structures outside of their control had a clear resonance, with men describing anguished feelings of frustration and anger at not being able to fulfill what they saw as their male responsibility to provide for, and protect, their families. "We already feel like 'wanted men'," one man explained, "so, why not fight for our families rather than wait to be shot?"

Meanwhile, discussions with women in the same community provided insight into other repercussions of these dynamics: increased levels of domestic violence as some men turn their rage and distress on women, and a rise in the prevalence of polygamy, as unemployed men "spend their time sending text messages to girlfriends," or pursuing new wives as symbols of virility and influence. In the absence of clear strategies for nonviolent social and economic change, the frustration of men's need for a socially-accepted sense of dignity may clearly act as a conduit for new recruits to violence.

IV. Women's Roles in Peace-building

It has become increasingly clear over the past decades that women across the globe may direct the forces of war, serve as combatants, offer their political and social backing to armed conflict, or serve in symbolic roles as "mothers of the nation" who sacrifice their children to armed struggle. [34] By mitigating the negative impacts of conflict on communities through their creativity and resilience, women can become essential to the continuation of war, lending it political legitimacy alongside pragmatic support.[35] At the same time, women have a unique perspective on the human costs of conflict and often have an intimate view of the disproportionate impact of armed conflict on children. While it is often assumed that women tend to be silenced due to unequal gender relations, and that the absence of women's voices is intensified in situations of conflict, the shifting landscapes prompted by conflict may actually provide new opportunities for women to speak and act.[36] Widowed heads of households, or young women forced to survive on their own, may find the social space to experiment with peaceful means of resolving conflict in their communities. Having suffered so much in war can push women to assert the necessity of non-violence.

> A dozen women in a rural community in Cotabato gathered to tell their stories. Since 2003, their village had been a site of frequent armed conflict between the military and the MILF. In 2007, the situation worsened dramatically when the military set up a local base in their village, radically limiting residents' mobility. Men had to ask for permission from the soldiers to go to their fields or to fish in the nearby lake, and women's access to markets was often blocked. As the conflict grew more and more heated, the military instituted a total blackout in the village, and banned residents from traveling. Finally, one woman in her fifties decided she could no longer stand seeing her family and neighbors suffer. "Nobody in the *barangay* had rice," she explained. "Everyone told me that to try to mediate with the army would be suicide, but I was desperate." Drawing upon the skills she had used as a mediator of community disputes, she went to both the mayor of the village and the leader of the local Armed Forces battalion to request that the women be allowed to travel in and out of the village. "A man couldn't have done what I did," she explained. "He might have been hurt, or gotten angry. But I was able to act as the conscience of the soldiers and the mayor, to remind them, as a mother, of what was right."

The devastating effects of conflict on women in Mindanao are undeniable. But in considering women's current and potential contributions to peace-building in Mindanao, there are also reasons for optimism. The Philippines has a long and rich history of civil society activism, which has bred openness to critical and diverse perspectives among residents of Mindanao. Especially among the ethnic groups of Muslim-majority ARMM, there has been a long-standing acknowledgment of women's power and potential. In part as a result of conflict, women in ARMM are not secluded in a closed-off domestic sphere, nor are they prevented from taking advantage of educational opportunities. Their words may compel social respect, and they may rise to important leadership positions. But perhaps most importantly for the prospect of peace, women across the social spectrum in Mindanao often draw upon long-standing traditions of women's participation in community conflict resolution and mediation. While such empowerment of Muslim women is far from universal and is often strongly linked to class, education and family prestige, it provides a strong counter to predominant stereotypes.

One of the most striking findings of field research was the gap between what elite Filipino actors assumed women in Mindanao to be capable of as active mediators of conflict and what local women themselves described as their roles and abilities. Manila-based NGO staff, academics and government personnel acknowledged that Mindanao women could play important roles in working for peace, but they clearly distinguished between what they considered to be women's inability to participate in Track One negotiations or serve a key role in the resolution of major *rido* conflict versus their roles as mediators of small-scale disputes. As one metropolitan activist explained, "Women can resolve conflicts when someone's goat eats a neighbor's vegetables, but it's hard to imagine women being taken seriously at the negotiating table with the MILF." Many activists expressed the idea that gender-balanced participation in formal peace talks was not only impossible given the "conservative" stance of the MILF on gender issues, but that pushing for women's inclusion in Track One or even potential Track Two peace processes was, in some ways, premature. Under this reasoning, what was first needed was a peace agreement that would put an end to the armed conflict, while women's roles were seen as a secondary issue that could be dealt with later, along with other development issues like poverty, public health and rebuilding infrastructure.

Both women and men in conflict-affected Mindanao who were interviewed for this paper voiced the idea that women could provide Track One processes with useful insights and contributions. Indeed, many of those interviewed believed that women possessed effective communication styles and a degree of empathy that could potentially make them effective negotiators. While Muslim respondents tended to believe that men had ultimate leadership responsibility for the formal peace process, they saw no reason for women to be excluded and every reason for their voices to be added to the cohort of those devoting themselves to conflict resolution at the national and regional levels.

Women in conflict-affected Mindanao also recounted stories of what they had already accomplished as mediators and peace-builders. Their stories, spanning cases of the resolution of small-scale, community-level conflict, to negotiating with warring factions and the AFP, point to an under-utilized potential to shape conflict mitigation programming that is rooted in long-standing traditions of women's participation. During large-scale clan conflict, women may negotiate directly with representatives of conflicting parties, or, more often, they may follow a behind-the-scenes approach, complementing the work of official, publicly recognized mediators. When talking with men, women can in some cases raise inflammatory topics, including issues of family honor and offenses against women, that other men often cannot. Women also stressed that in resolving conflict, they used language that cooled, rather than inflamed the situation, and tried to spend more time listening to people's complaints than talking themselves. During clan conflict, women are also the ones responsible for organizing the *kanduri* feast that publicly signals that a resolution to conflict has been reached but that, if not prepared properly, can risk renewing tensions.

Traditionally, conflict mediation has been carried out by women who already hold positions of respect within communities. In areas of ARMM where traditional sultanates still hold power, aristocratic women may be called upon to help resolve local conflicts, their prestige giving weight to their work. Mediators do not, however, need to have royal blood: more important is a

reputation for honesty, trustworthiness, and impartiality. Such women of power may draw upon their own financial and social resources to encourage conflicting parties to come to a resolution.

While most of the women interviewed agreed that conflict resolution practice requires certain valued personality traits, they emphasized that mediation skills can be learned and honed. Traditionally, women learned how to mediate conflict from their mothers and grandmothers, and from listening to stories of conflicts that had been resolved. Now, however, they recognized that conflict itself had become more complex in Mindanao, with armed groups multiplying and local disputes intersecting with rivalries between warring factions. For women active within NGO-sponsored peace-building networks, the opportunity to hear from other women about how they had addressed unique situations was an important one. While skills training in peace work could not, they felt, replace the character and commitment needed to resolve conflict, they highly valued the opportunity to learn new methods of mitigating and mediating conflict, and to gain resources and support for their work.

V. Making Assistance More Gender-Sensitive

Research clearly showed that both men and women in ARMM suffer specific hardships as a direct result of armed conflict. While women remain under-represented in peace and conflict resolution processes, Mindanao women have demonstrated significant experience and capacity in this regard. Committing to a transformational gendered approach to conflict resolution in Mindanao remains challenging.

The following series of recommendations for closing the gaps between men's and women's needs and capacities and current conflict resolution programming in Mindanao is neither comprehensive nor exclusive. Instead, it is meant to inspire dialogue on how third party aid might be better used to reach a sustainable peace while supporting women's empowerment goals. Recommendations focus on five key areas: women and Track One processes; strengthening women's civil society role in peace-building; implementing the Philippines National Action Plan; building on women's strength as community conflict resolvers; and strengthening holistic approaches to conflict.

A. Women and Track One Peace Processes: Closing the Gap

Achieving greater participation of women in Track One negotiations has often been daunting. First, representation at peace talks is usually determined by the armed parties, not international actors. Thus, unless armed opposition groups or the government include women in their delegations, women will be underrepresented. Second, international organizations, including the UN, have also been slow to assign women senior roles as envoys and negotiators, missing an important opportunity both to set a positive example and to better harness the capabilities of such qualified women. Lastly, among some negotiators there is a general concern that more inclusive peace talks could be more difficult to manage, and some negotiators claim that larger talks can be harder to bring to a successful conclusion.

That said, a number of factors argue strongly for more effective and regular participation from women. The participation of women in Track One processes can help solidify the support of women citizens for peace. Peace processes that include a high degree of civil society participation are also more likely to be durable, primarily because peace is not an event that takes place when an agreement is signed, but a process that unfolds over time, as commitments are implemented and lives and communities are rebuilt.[37] How effective will an agreement be that does not represent the input and aspirations of half the population? Bringing civil society representatives more directly into peace processes also helps ensure that the root causes of conflict are addressed and agreements are realized in practical ways. As the Institute for Inclusive Security states: "Our research shows that the unique insights and concerns women raise during negotiations broaden discussions to incorporate social and humanitarian matters. Improving the conditions of uprooted populations is critical to sustaining peace, yet these concerns often would not be considered if women did not bring them to light."[38] Yet formal Track One peace processes in the Philippines often suffer from both a lack of transparency and an exclusivity that leaves activists and ordinary people feeling sidelined.[39]

While the Philippine Government has appointed women to negotiating panels and to the cabinet-level Office of the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process (OPAPP), their minority presence has not sufficiently fulfilled the goals of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which "urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict."[40] MNLF and MILF negotiating teams have historically excluded women, despite the important roles women have played, especially in the MNLF. From an equity perspective, greater involvement of women is required.

Caution also needs to be maintained in order to avoid mistaking the presence of women at the negotiating table for qualitative participation or for comprehensive attention to gender in peace processes. As Christine Bell and Catherine O'Rourke warn, "…the increased participation of women does not equate in any simple way with a feminist reshaping of…peace processes."[41] Women's presence on peace panels needs to be complemented by broad-based commitments to incorporating gender issues into negotiations, and by strategies for ensuring consultation and communication between negotiators and the communities whose futures are at stake. That will often only be achieved when women exert sufficient collective social and political pressure that the parties feel they must respect and reflect their interests.

Most recently, the new administration of President Benigno Aquino III has made strides in increasing women's influence by appointing Teresita "Ging" Deles as Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process, in charge of creating frameworks for re-energizing negotiations with the MILF and the NPA. Deles has a strong track record as a civil society advocate for gender and conflict issues, having represented the Philippines on the experts panel of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), where she sponsored Resolution 19, which sought to include the situation of women in armed conflict as part of a broader proposal addressing violence against women.[42] Deles has publicly stated the need to set targets for increasing women's participation in Track One, as well as community-level peace processes, and has stressed her commitments to the inclusion of a holistic range of gender issues in peace-building.[43]

Recommendations:

1. In concurrence with the Philippines' National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325/1820, advocate for the increased participation of representatives of women's civil society peace-building groups in formal Track One negotiations. This advocacy will require engagement on multiple levels, as external actors ultimately have limited influence over the selection of negotiators. Advocacy should build upon the Philippine Government's commitments, including the National Action Plan and the stated goals of the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process Deles. At the same time, advocacy must consider potential resistance to such an effort stemming from other parties to the peace process.

2. Advocate for greater inclusion of gender issues in Track One peace processes. Sustainable peace requires that social inequalities, including those that coalesce around gender, are addressed as fundamental aspects of conflict and incorporated into agreements. Calling attention to violations of women's rights is an essential element of ensuring that peace will be lasting and able to garner broad-based social support from women as well as men.

3. Advocate for increased transparency in Track One peace processes, and for increased educational and outreach programs to inform and consult with communities, and ensure the inclusion of women. Community support for peace processes is increased when citizens are educated and encouraged to share their concerns.

B. Strengthening Women's Civil Society to Play a More Influential Role in Peace Negotiations and Conflict Resolution

Women's networks can function as a Track Two counterpart to formal negotiations by engaging in back channel diplomacy with conflicting parties, offering members of peace panels their ideas and insights and calling on them to be accountable to gender concerns, and working in their communities for broad-based citizen support of peace processes. As UNIFEM states, "Women should have the opportunity to influence decisions that are made during negotiations. These early decisions set the stage not only for early recovery activities, including disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) and security sector reform (SSR), but also for longer-term peace-building, including transitional justice and electoral processes. As a result, they can have defining and long-lasting impacts on women's conditions and their ability to participate in post-conflict governance."[44] In addition, in the case of ARMM, where there exist multiple strands of conflict between rival armed combatants, feuding clans, and the Philippine government and groups claiming sovereignty over disputed areas, women's expertise in local conflict resolution can have regional and national-level impacts, helping to prevent local rivalries or clan conflicts from sparking hostilities between the military and combatant groups.

Recommendations:

1. Strengthen networks of women peace workers and enable them to function as a more coherent Track Two cohort. Facilitate efforts to reduce divisions among organizations along class and religious lines, and promote the development of unified platforms of interests.[45] While recent efforts have been made to bring women's peace-building organizations together, such work

needs increased support and resources, as well as a clear focus on the necessity of bringing a gendered perspective to formal and community-level peace process.[46]

2. Sponsor dialogues between urban and rural women's peace activists with the explicit aim of developing agreed-upon platforms and constituencies for change. Such dialogues would seek to close gaps in knowledge and perception, as well as raise issues of class, religious background, and educational disparities in women's organizing. Many women working to resolve conflict in ARMM described feeling isolated from other peace-builders, and suspected that metropolitan women's activists, who may also be from different religious traditions, did not understand the complexities of their challenges.

3. Increase awareness of the challenges women are facing in conflict-affected areas, as well as the capacities and commitments they bring to conflict resolution and peace-building. Many women peace activists in Mindanao acknowledged a lack of documentation of their efforts, as well as gaps in communication with grassroots peace workers and the general public. Support for information sharing through print, radio, and Internet media could help to narrow these divides and ensure more coordinated and comprehensive efforts. Documentation and communication efforts can also serve the crucial purpose of informing ordinary citizens of the challenges women in ARMM face, solidifying broad social support for peace-building, and promoting interfaith and inter-ethnic dialogue.

C. Operationalizing the Philippines National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325/1820: Strengthening Gender and Conflict Policy and Ensuring its Grassroots Relevance

In March 2010, the Philippines became the 18th nation, and the first in Asia, to authorize a National Action Plan (NAP) in response to United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820, the landmark resolutions calling for women's full participation in peace-building activities and the protection of women during armed conflict. The NAP, which was the product of a consultative year-long process, consists of 18 action points. These points range from a review of government policies that impact women in conflict zones, to increasing the number of women represented on peace panels and in peacekeeping operations, to promoting more comprehensive social services in order to better address women's needs. Each of these action points was supplemented by lists of indicators, timelines and key actors, although the details of its implementation were left largely unspecified. [47] With its comprehensive set of goals, the NAP places the Philippines at the forefront of acknowledging the importance of gender and conflict issues in the region. Innovative elements of the NAP, including the first provision in the world linking the control of small arms to the protection of women from violence, have the potential to shift the terms of debate.[48]

While the current leadership of the Office of the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process (OPAPP) has stressed a commitment to implementing the plan's objectives, women's civil society groups must be empowered to take an active role in designing and monitoring its implementation at both the national and the grassroots level. While the plan is laudable, women in ARMM have had long experience with gender policies -- including the allocation of 5% of Local Government Unit budgets to women's issues and a series of progressive national sexual

assault and domestic violence laws -- that have not been consistently and appropriately implemented. [49]

Recommendations:

1. Advocate for accelerated implementation for the Philippine NAP on UNSCR 1325/1820. As efforts are made to reinvigorate peace negotiations, support for moving forward with the NAP and fleshing out the details of its implementation will be vital.

2. Strengthen the capacity of civil society organizations to monitor the implementation of the Philippine NAP on UNSCR 1325/1820, and relevant gender legislation, at the local level. To overcome local women's skepticism and ensure greater buy-in, the Philippine Government will need to establish practical plans for implementing the NAP, and the full spectrum of women's peace-building groups in conflict-affected areas need to be informed of the plan and its provisions, and be solicited for participation in its implementation and evaluation.

3. Increase grassroots knowledge of, and support for, the NAP. Field research in ARMM suggested that OPAPP and women's groups should work to expand the involvement of civil society organizations in activities related to the NAP. This effort can build upon the broad consultations that took place to develop the NAP, and could enhance efforts to find common ground among diverse women's NGOs. Moreover, less than a quarter of the grassroots level peace-building groups interviewed, and almost none of the ordinary women in conflict-affected or displaced communities, were familiar with the NAP or its provisions, nor had they participated in the consultative processes leading up to it. Broad-based citizen support will be necessary to ensure its extensive goals can be met.

D. Building on Women's Strengths as Community Conflict Resolvers

Women in ARMM bring considerable capacity to the work of grassroots conflict resolution. This research suggests that women's experiences mediating not only small-scale family disputes, but major clan conflicts and troubled relationships between communities and armed groups, point to their underutilized potential as a force for change in Mindanao. Greater recognition of women's capacities is warranted, as is support for the enhancement of their skills. Increased opportunities to link women's success at grassroots-level conflict resolution with regional and national-level peace-building processes may not only empower women, but lead to more inclusive and sustainable resolutions.

Recommendations:

1. Intensify efforts to train and support women as community conflict resolvers, and to provide them with a diverse methodological toolkit. Programs that offer women mediation, monitoring and research skills, create community-level enthusiasm for women's conflict resolution practices, and provide women with the opportunity to dialogue with other peace workers, could help extend women's influence. Attention should also be paid to expanding the conflict resolution toolkit with which women are currently equipped. Presently, women appear to be drawing upon both an eclectic set of local customary approaches and modern donor-sponsored

training in alternative dispute resolution (ADR). However, ADR has been shown in other contexts to tend to ignore, or even further embed, social power differences by reducing conflict to a negotiable set of interests. [50] More appropriate approaches to the complex contexts of ARMM may include problem-solving workshops, narrative facilitations, and reflective forms of practice that allow women to learn from their experiences and each other. [51] Training should be preceded by analysis of the kinds of conflict women will be working within in order to ensure that the training is appropriate. Evaluation tools should also be incorporated to allow for community feedback and further refining.

2. Create networks for women to share both their successes and failures. Community conflict resolvers can benefit from direct learning from others in the form of workshops, networks, or grassroots conflict analysis and resolution institutes in ARMM. Leaders of civil society peace-building organizations, many of whom may still be unaware of the broad potential held by women in ARMM, should also be part of such learning processes.

3. Document and disseminate successful stories of women's peace-building abilities at both national and local levels, with the goals of garnering support for their further incorporation into peace processes and sharing skills and strategies with other women working on the ground. Documentation should be addressed not only to an audience of donors or other civil society organizations, but to women in ARMM themselves.

E. Strengthening Holistic Approaches to Conflict

Effective peace-building efforts should take a holistic view of the situation on the ground, and work to address some of the practical economic and humanitarian challenges faced by people living with conflict. Gender considerations are a critical component of determining the appropriate services provided to a given population, as well as ensuring that peace-building efforts consider the gendered dimensions of the social, economic, and political dynamics that initiate and perpetuate conflict. Coordination among service providers is also required.

Recommendations:

1. Devise and implement programs based on a comprehensive gender analysis. The needs of men and women, boys and girls should be considered, along with their capacities and constraints, in determining what support will be provided and to what aim. For example, efforts to enhance livelihood generation should take into account the limited mobility that many men in conflict-affected ARMM experience, coupled with low education attainment levels for both males and females.

2. Networking among organizations is often encouraged as a *pro forma* step in programming, but should instead be viewed as a dynamic process of not only sharing knowledge among organizations but sharing information about whom to call upon for emergency support, consultations or collaborations. Such an effort would be a crucial step toward more comprehensive responses.

3. Support the sponsorship of mobile, community-strengthening livelihood programs for men and women in areas vulnerable to armed conflict and displacement. Many of the areas surveyed had experienced repeated evacuations over years of conflict. This placed considerable economic burdens on women, coupled with high levels of psychological distress and fear. During field discussions, women as well as men were quite specific about the kinds of livelihood projects they imagined: they should be portable (e.g. weaving, sewing, handicraft production) so that people would not risk leaving them behind in case of emergency evacuation; they should be able to be carried out at home or close by in case mobility was restricted by conflict; and they should involve the acquisition of new, marketable skills (e.g. literacy, accounting, computer use) to promote economic empowerment rather than mere subsistence.

4. Consider providing programs that enhance community solidarity. Some women critiqued the use of mainstream microcredit programs in conflict areas, questioning the emphasis on individual entrepreneurship at the expense of social solidarity, and the community fragmentations that can arise when groups are held responsible for individuals' repayment performance. They stressed that livelihood projects should be collaborative rather than competitive in order to decrease the risk of new conflicts arising among participants. Women articulated a strong belief that the process of engaging in community economic development projects provided a highly beneficial context for learning and practicing conflict mediation and resolution skills, while addressing poverty as one of the most devastating effects of conflict.

F. Strengthening the Knowledge Base on Gender and Conflict in Mindanao

While this research project was able to gather important information on the effects of conflict on men and women, as well as women's agency in peace-building processes, it is important to acknowledge significant gaps in the knowledge required to design transformative programming. The paucity of basic research on gender issues in ARMM, including the impacts of armed conflict on young women and girls, the gendered psychosocial effects of conflict, the links between conflict and human trafficking, and the relationship of cultural ideas of masculinity to Mindanao's endemic gun culture, have hampered effective programming. Gender and conflict programming requires not only retrospective evaluations of its effectiveness, but research that can provide a data-driven basis for innovative new interventions.

Recommendations:

1. Mixed research methods should be utilized to expand our understanding of the importance of broadening women's roles in peace-building. For example, a quantitative study of a large set of conflicts, including those with and without significant participation of women in Track One negotiations, would permit a deeper assessment of the impact of women's inclusion on the sustainability and structure of peace agreements. In addition, case studies or ethnographic research would be useful to assess how women's participation in peace processes works, what challenges they face in meaningful participation, and what gendered transformations occur in post-conflict settings. Such research would support practitioners in their work of mitigating conflict and promoting peace in ways that maximize effectiveness and inclusivity. As a minimal starting point, sex-disaggregated data should be collected as part of all research projects to facilitate a deeper study of fundamental gender dynamics.

2. Conduct an assessment of psychosocial/mental health issues affecting women, men, and youths, in conflict zones in Mindanao. For example, during the study women reported that symptoms of conflict-related psychological disorders, including depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder, disproportionately affect women and children, sometimes to the point of severe impairment. None of the women interviewed described having access to mental health treatment. A comprehensive assessment would allow for more effective programming.[52] Moreover, to the extent that psychosocial services are already being provided, conduct an assessment of their utility, cost-effectiveness and lessons learned.

3. While Mindanao may be an exception to a global trend of using rape as a weapon of warfare, it is just as likely that a real understanding of the prevalence of gender-based violence in ARMM conflict zones can only be gained through longer-term research that is rooted in established relationships of trust necessary for such stories to emerge. Research using ethnographic approaches that emphasize not only the statistical prevalence of sexual assault, but the contexts in which it takes place and the structural and cultural limitations on women's ability to voice their experiences, could provide a stronger basis for evaluating potential interventions. Finally, broader research questions such as potential linkages between gender-based violence and the fragility of communities, and ultimately of peace agreements, could be explored. Does gender-based violence serve as a major driver of conflict? Is it a factor in the recurrence of conflict, and if so, to what extent?

4. While aid organizations have conducted evaluation studies of the specific needs of women and youth in conflict zones, to date there has been very limited research focused on the situation of young women and girls in ARMM. This gap must be filled if conflict programs are to ensure the empowerment of a future generation of peace-builders. In addition, research should seek to better understand the impact of conflict on young people's educational and job opportunities, on their physical and mental health, on their relationships to families and communities, and on their sense of identity and hope for the future.

5. Little empirical evidence is available to demonstrate the connection between ongoing armed conflict in ARMM and women's increased vulnerability to trafficking. More systematic research is necessary in order to better quantify this relationship and design strategies to ensure women's safe migration.

6. Qualitative research should be utilized to document the degree to which local NGOs are leveraging complementary gender relations and the comparative strengths of women and men to resolve rido conflicts. Potentially, such conflict resolution approaches allow an NGO's interventions to be more gender responsive and nuanced. Research should also identify how such approaches to rido conflict begin, and what factors allow them to take root.

VI. Conclusion

International aid programs – even progressive gender and conflict programs – often start from the assumption that women are disempowered, and must be provided with outside knowledge, resources and technologies to develop the capacity to effect social change. Yet this research found a rich diversity of women's peace-building activities in conflict-affected Mindanao, and a capacity for mutually enriching dialogue on the prospects for local conflict resolution. Several broad themes emerged from the Mindanao context that may provide useful comparative lessons for gender and conflict programming:

A. Emphasizing the Transformative Potential of Gender

The international development field as a whole has evolved beyond the Women In Development approach of the 1980s, which advocated an increased focus on women's needs and agency, toward a Gender and Development approach that calls for a comprehensive assessment of the differing needs, interests, and capacities of men and women, girls and boys that also takes into account the gendered power dynamics of a given issue. Concurrent with this broad-based trend, programs to transform conflict need to think and work past a limited focus on simply adding women to existing theory and programs.

Rather than viewing women as yet another special interest group – such as youth, refugees, or the poor – conflict programming can be maximally effective by focusing on the transformative impacts of a comprehensive gender analysis, which views both women and men as embedded within dynamic cultural systems that give meaning and power to their lives. Certainly women exist as a social category, and the cultural scripts they are given to perform, and the social niches they are expected to inhabit, mean that we can identify specific ways in which conflict affects them and in which they exert their agency as peace-builders, mitigating and resolving conflict. But women – perhaps especially during the tense upheavals of conflict – do not comprise a homogenous, unchanging category. Nor do men.

Women's identities emerge in relation to other differences – including class, religious and ethnic identity, political positioning, and social status – and in relation to the identities of men. Women from marginalized ethnic groups may face additional discrimination that women from political majorities may not understand. Women living in extreme poverty or psychosocial distress may find less value in celebratory declarations of their agency or ability to participate in programs than their more wealthy or well counterparts. Indeed, women may become embroiled in tense debates over what empowerment itself means, and over the visions and values they should draw upon to chart their futures

Recognizing how conflict may be shifting a society's understandings of what it means to be a woman or a man, and the new limitations and opportunities that emerge from this, is vital, and requires that third-party actors consistently strive for open dialogue with those they intend to serve. Recognizing as well how interventions may work to shape or even transform gendered roles is an essential step in reflective peace-building practice.

It is often exceedingly difficult to tackle complex social questions such as gender in the middle of an armed conflict when those sitting at the negotiating table are overwhelmingly male combatants and officials. Indeed, many of these negotiators may see efforts to represent the hopes and needs of women as a secondary concern that may make securing a peace agreement more difficult. Yet, women represent a vital constituency for supporting peace agreements and ensuring they are actually implemented. The upheaval of a conflict and its resolution provides an unusual window of opportunity for addressing major social grievances and injustices that simply should not be ignored. The notion that gender is an issue better left for a later day is not good for women, men, or peace.

B. Incorporating Women's Experiences and Capacities

Skepticism remains regarding women's ability to act as full participants in peace processes and conflict transformation. At the official Track One level, women still make up a small minority of participants, despite evidence of the broad range of benefits that accrues from including women in negotiations. This marginalization of women is replicated when gender issues fail to be included in the "conflict maps" used to analyze and address the dynamics of conflict. Harm done to women may be seen as an incidental effect of armed violence rather than a key social inequality with profound implications for continuing cycles of conflict. It is vital for academics and practitioners in the peace-building field to work for a deeper understanding of how gender is intertwined in conflict, moving past formulaic calls for mere participation to actually understanding the multiple benefits of including women's voices in peace-building.

C. Acknowledging Complexity

Just as conflicts can rarely be reduced to a singular cause, their effects weave through almost every aspect of life for those involved. A gendered perspective on conflict leads us to recognize that armed violence not only causes physical and material destruction but also intensifies distrust, discrimination, disempowerment and trauma. Viewing conflict through a gender lens, peace can no longer be defined as the simple absence of war, to be achieved through the signing of a formal peace agreement between combatants. Instead, peace must be pursued as a positive process of addressing injustices, reworking social relationships, and transforming the way people describe themselves and others. During identity-based conflicts, heterogeneous cultures may be reduced to rigid scripts for appropriate behavior, especially for women. Resolutions that reference the preservation of tradition or the upholding of identity may be welcomed by women, but they may also further embed women in relations of injustice, limiting the spaces for dialogue available to them. Conflict analyses must acknowledge these dynamics, attending to the narrative and power dimensions of conflict and their relationships to gender.

D. Making the Space for Difficult Conversations

Peace work often has an urgency and import felt in few other domains of social action. When lives and livelihoods come under fire, an overwhelming sense that violence must be halted immediately, by any means possible, understandably dominates discourse. Peace, as a concept, is broadly supported, although there are often sharply divergent visions of how to achieve that peace or incorporate it into the future lives of affected communities. Yet, the high stakes of war

and peace also make it all the more important to make time and space to engage in the kinds of difficult conversations required by a gendered perspective on peace-building. For example, have peace agreements gone far enough in addressing the causes of conflict and their different effects on women and men? How do we balance the importance of protecting women's rights with the political and moral demands of stopping violence as quickly as possible? Should post-conflict reconstruction programs aim to restore a *status quo ante bellum* that may include gendered inequalities, or should they work to redefine the gender imbalances that so often give form and force to conflict? It may be hard to imagine reaching consensus on these questions, but they are nevertheless essential to openly raise these dilemmas and understand their implications if the peace that is crafted is to be sustained by all members of society.

Appendix A: List of Acronyms/Glossary

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
ASG	Abu Sayyaf Group
ARMM	Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
CAR	Cordillera Administrative Region
BMSF	Bangsamoro Women Solidarity Forum
CBCS	Consortium of Bangsamoro Civil Society Organizations
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons/Populations
LGU	Local Government Unit
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
MOA-AD	Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain
MPC	Mindanao People's Caucus
NCR	National Capital Region
NDF	National Democratic Front
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NPA	New People's Army
RPMM	Rebolusyonaryong Partido ng mga Manggagawa sa Mindanao or Revolutionary Party of Workers in Mindanao
Socsksargen	South Cotabato-Sultan Kudarat-Sarangani-General Santos (south-central Mindanao region or Region XII)
TAF-PH	The Asia Foundation - Philippines
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund

GLOSSARY

Barangay	The smallest local government unit or entity in the Philippine political structure
Kandurri	(Meranaw) (Maguindanaon, *kanduli*), a thanksgiving party or celebration/feast
Riba	(Arabic) usury
Rido	(Meranaw) cycle of vengeance; a relationship of hatred between two or among several families; usually triggered by an act that embarrassed or caused the loss of face and dignity of one member of a family. Such hatred and vengeance and related killings and other acts of violence may not stop even after several generations. (Referred to as *pagkontla* among the Maguindanaons of Cotabato river valley; or *pagbaus* among the Tausug or the Muslims from Sulu.)

Appendix B: Methodology

Research was designed to address three main questions about gender and conflict in Mindanao:

How does conflict shape the choices, incentives, roles, and opportunities for women living in communities affected by violent conflict?

How can aid be used to improve the conditions and prospects for women in conflict areas, while strengthening their social status?

How can aid be used to reduce the risk and vulnerability of women during protracted conflict?

These research questions were designed to be intentionally broad and thus able to generate a holistic overview of the gender issues in conflict settings. At the same time, by stressing issues of choice and opportunity, the research was framed to highlight women's active voice and agency rather than portraying – as so many portraits of conflict do – women as simply the passive victims of wars waged by men.

Research in the Philippines was conducted during August 2010, with data analysis continuing through November 2010. Lanao del Sur (Marawi City; Brgy. Basak, Binidayan; Brgy. Pagalungan, Ditsaan-Ramain); in Cotabato: (Brgys. Damatulan, Sambulawan, & Nes in Midsayap; Sitio Margues, Brgy. Bulucaon; and BulucaonProper); and in Maguindanao: Talayan; Datu Piang (Municipal Hall). Informants came from brgys. Nimao, Dapiawan, Reina Regiente, Ilian, Ambadao, Liong, Magaslong, Dasawao, Alonganen, &Ambolodto, (all evacuees since 2008).

Leslie Dwyer and Rufa Guiam served as lead researchers for the study. Assistance was provided in Manila from The Asia Foundation Philippines (TAF-PH) Program Officer Wilfredo Torres, in Davao from TAF-PH Director of Programs Maribel T. Buenaobra, and in Mindanao from TAF-PH Assistant Program Officer Hyro Domado. In Washington, D.C., The Asia Foundation's Women's Empowerment Program Assistant Director Kate Francis provided essential guidance and support, while Edward Thompson at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University provided research and editing assistance. The researchers also spent substantial time before and after interviews and community visits reflecting on and cross-checking both their preliminary analyses and their own implicit framings in order to maximize the benefits of their collaboration across cultural contexts. Preliminary interpretations were discussed with TAF-PH staff both informally and through a final in-country debriefing.

From the outset, the intention was to garner a broad range of perspectives from a variety of social actors concerned with gender and conflict. In-depth interviews were conducted with representatives from government, academia and civil society organizations in the Philippines capital of Manila, as well as with staff of The Asia Foundation involved in the conflict mitigation and rapid response to conflict programs. Although TAF-PH has been involved in a diverse set of conflict-related activities, including the support of Track One peace processes, the decision was

made to focus most closely on the Foundation's Mitigating Localized Conflicts program (also known as "Rapid Response"), in order to gain a better understanding of local gendered dynamics. Field research in Mindanao consisted of site visits to three of TAF-Philippine's partner organizations, in-depth discussions with partner organization leaders, six focus group discussions with project implementers, and nine focus group discussions with women and men in conflict-affected communities (see Appendix A for a detailed list of interviewees). Remaining TAF-PH partner agencies funded through the Mitigating Localized Conflicts program were surveyed using an email questionnaire (see Appendix B for focus group and survey instruments). Field research was supplemented by a review of TAF-Philippines documentation related to local conflict mitigation, and by an analysis of materials on gender and conflict in the Philippines from the local news media, academia and civil society organizations.

From its inception, the study was committed to incorporating the perspectives of those who live with the day-to-day realities of conflict. Far too often, programs to mediate or mitigate conflict are planned at a distance from the experiences and concerns of those intended to benefit from them. Yet field research in conflict zones like ARMM raises particular challenges. Participants may be sensibly wary of speaking honestly for fear of violent repercussions should their words be perceived as critical of rival factions. The gaps that may exist between on-the-ground realities and the cultural and intellectual predispositions of the researchers themselves enable comparative perspectives, but at the same time risk misunderstandings. Research sponsored by donor agencies may also expect skewed responses from project recipients, especially in resource-poor settings where communities are desperate for aid and in contexts where top-down styles of development have taught people it is best to give the responses they think donors wish to hear. In settings like Mindanao where there have been large infusions of donor aid and local NGO personnel are fluent in globalized languages of project monitoring and evaluation, it is sometimes difficult for dialogues to break out of the frames of participants' pre-defined expectations of each other.

Drawing on their extensive experience as anthropologists working on issues of gender and violence and on the negotiations that shape aid distribution, the project researchers – one expatriate and one local – brought an ethnographic sensibility to the process of dialogue in an attempt to mitigate some of these concerns. Formal focus group participants were identified in advance by TAF-Philippines partner NGOs, and questions were posed using a discussion guide formulated in consultation with TAF's Women's Empowerment Program in Washington, D.C. then revised in collaboration with TAF-Philippines staff to ensure its relevance to local contexts (see Appendix B for FGD instruments). Using a structured set of questions allowed researchers to hone in on key themes of gender and conflict, while at the same time capturing variations in women and men's experiences across different conflict contexts.

During facilitation, however, the researchers also intentionally encouraged participants to voice their own ideas, and to highlight issues that may have been left off of the interview instruments. Participants were told that there were no "right" or "wrong" answers to many of the questions being posed, were reassured that their responses would be cited anonymously, and were encouraged to think about how and why community members might answer questions differently based on gender, social position, or particular experiences of conflict. Researchers left space for the articulation of community concerns without forcing discussion to mechanically adhere to a set form. Framing research as a dialogic process of articulating and exploring experience allowed

a diversity of perspectives to emerge and brought to light important concerns that had not been anticipated beforehand. Researchers were also careful to attend to issues of voice and power during facilitation, setting aside time for women and men to express their sometimes divergent ideas, and to understand how women's experiences of conflict intersect with issues of class, social status and clan membership, age, and educational achievement. Following the basic principle of "do no harm," in cases where communities felt trapped between rival groups of armed combatants, researchers were careful not to ask inflammatory questions about who people thought was to blame for particular acts of violence, and in several cases where AFP personnel were present at the research site, researchers respected participants' reluctance to detail the forms of violence that had occurred in their communities, instead discussing the social, psychological and economic needs communities identified as crucial for their own re-building. Project researchers considered it essential not to position themselves as outside "experts" there to tell women and men what they needed, but to, as much as possible, make the process of generating data and ideas one that was collaborative and participatory.

Over the course of the study period, the researchers were able to solicit the experiences and opinions of over 500 people in Mindanao, generating rich data for analysis. It is clear, however, that much work remains to be done to gain a comprehensive understanding of gender and conflict in the Philippines. Some sensitive issues, such as the incidence of sexual violence or increased domestic violence in conflict settings, or the links between a frustrated sense of masculine pride and the propensity to join armed insurgent groups, were only able to be explored briefly without sufficient time to create strong relationships of trust between researchers and community members. Other issues, such as the direct links between conflict and poverty, the high prevalence of clinically significant symptoms of conflict-related mental health disorders, the tendency of conflict to foreclose educational opportunities for girls and women, and the number of young women who risk exploitation and abuse as migrant household workers in order to escape conflict zones, were cited as major concerns by communities, but researchers were able to collect only anecdotal qualitative information on these themes. The intentionally broad questions guiding this study were highly useful for highlighting major areas of community concern and gaining a clear overall map of the gendered landscape of challenge and opportunity in Mindanao. Follow-up fieldwork employing more targeted research instruments and incorporating more participatory methodologies would be needed to trace the contours of these linkages and generate more specific, community-responsive recommendations.

Appendix C: Focus Group Discussion Guides

FGD Guide for Interviews with TAF-Philippines Partner NGO Staff

I. Background

Can you tell us about your project? What are the aims? Who are the beneficiaries? How many men and women participate in your programs?

II. Impacts of Conflict

How do you see the dynamics of conflict in your community? What are the main factors causing conflict in your community?

What are the major ways that conflicts in your community impact women?

Can you give examples of how you have seen women affected by conflict?

Do you think that conflict has changed the roles of men and women in your community, in terms of their everyday social practices and how men and women relate to each other? Can you give examples of this?

Do you think that conflict has shifted the way men see themselves as men, or women see themselves as women [identity]? Can you give examples of this?

Do you think that men and women see the causes and effects of conflict in the same or different ways?

Follow-up impact questions if not mentioned previously – ask for specific examples.

Have women left the community because of conflict? If they are not in evacuation centers, where have they gone? What happens to women who are displaced? [Potential links to trafficking and to women migrant workers' issues]

What kinds of physical or mental health problems have women suffered because of conflict? How do women and their families usually address these problems?

Has women's poverty increased because of conflict in this community? Has it become more difficult for women to acquire food, water, healthcare, education or other basic needs?

Does an increased sense of insecurity or fear have an impact on women's lives in this community? Has their mobility or ability to engage in social/economic/religious activities been restricted? Is this different from the ways that men's mobility has been restricted?

Is sexual violence against women or harassment an issue in this community? Has this increased? Do you see this as connected to conflict? How? Examples?

III. Women's Agency in Conflict

What kinds of community or leadership roles have women traditionally played in this community?

Have women been able to move beyond their traditional roles to take up new positions of power or influence within the community? Examples?

What qualities characterize a woman who is thought to have power or influence within this community? Are these qualities that derive from her social status (membership in family/clan, marriage, age) or are they qualities any woman can develop?

[For IDP communities: who organizes living arrangements in evacuation centers? Who organizes the distribution of relief aid? Who organizes other social relations in centers?]

Have women traditionally played a role in peace-building/conflict transformation? What kinds of local peace-building practices are you aware of that involve women? Are these indigenous versus NGO-inspired?

How are women mediators identified within a community? Is a woman's ability to mediate based on her social status or her skills? How do women learn mediation skills? Are these skills that are possible to teach?

Do women play informal mediating/peace-making roles in communities that might not be visible in public forums (e.g. formal negotiations, kandori/kanduli)?

What roles do women play in treating injuries or illnesses caused by conflict, and in dealing with death – (how do women use the perception that they are not as dangerous as men to engage in certain activities – e.g. retrieving bodies)

Do women ever disagree with the resolutions to conflict negotiated by men? What happens if women disagree?

IV. Role of NGOs in Conflict and Gender

What do you think the effects of your interventions have been for both men and women in the community?

What kinds of programs have you seen done by NGOs/INGOs that involve women?

Do you think it's important to involve women in peace-building? Why or why not?

Many times, in many programs around the world, women are not included in conflict resolution programs or peace negotiations, because there is an assumption that conflict and war are men's business, not women's. What do you think – have there been similar assumptions in Mindanao? Do these assumptions make sense for Mindanao?

What are the major challenges you face in involving women in your programming? How are these different from the challenges you face involving men?

Do you think that the requirements of working with donors have encouraged or discouraged your organization from focusing on gender issues? How?

Are conflict NGOs in Mindanao familiar with the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 calling for gender balance in peace-building and the protection of women from sexual violence in conflict areas? Are they familiar with Arroyo's Executive Order (3/2010) to create a National Steering Committee on Women, Peace and Security? Do you think such international and national resolutions have a potential for helping you in your work, or are they distant from local concerns?

FGD Guide for Interviews with Mindanao Community Members

Questions for Community Members

I. Impacts of Conflict

What kinds of conflicts occur in your community?

What are the main causes of conflict in your community?

What are the most important ways that conflicts in your community impact women?

Can you give examples of how you have seen women impacted by conflict?

What are the most important ways that conflicts in your community impact men?

Can you give examples of how you have seen men impacted by conflict?

Has conflict changed what men and women do in their everyday lives?

Has conflict changed what is seen as appropriate behavior or appropriate work for women?

Has conflict changed how men and women relate to each other?

Can you give examples of how conflict has changed relationships between men and women?

Do you think that conflict has changed how men think about what it means to be a man, or about how women think about what it means to be a woman? Can you give examples of this?

Do you think that men and women see the causes and effects of conflict in the same or different ways?

Follow-up impact questions if not mentioned previously – ask for specific examples.

Have women left this community because of conflict? If they are not in evacuation centers, where have they gone? What happens to women who are evacuated? When are they able to come back?

What physical or mental health problems have women suffered because of conflict? How do women and their families usually address these problems?

Has women's poverty increased because of conflict in this community? Has it become more difficult for women to acquire food, water, healthcare, education or other basic needs?

Does an increased sense of fear have an impact on women's lives in this community? Has women's ability to move around the community or to travel to other communities been restricted? Have women's social or economic or religious activities been restricted because of fear of conflict? Is this different from the ways that men's ability to move has been restricted?

Is sexual violence against women or harassment an issue in this community? Has this increased? Do you see this as connected to conflict? How? Examples?

III. Women's Agency in Conflict

What kinds of community or leadership roles have women traditionally played in this community?

Have women been able to take up new positions of power or influence within this community during conflict? Examples?

What gives a woman power within this community? Do women gain power because of their social status (membership in a particular family/clan, marriage, age) or is power something that any woman can develop?

[For IDP communities: Who organizes where people live in the evacuation center? Who organizes the distribution of relief aid? What economic activities do women in evacuation centers participate in?]

What kinds of peace-making do women do in this community? Are these activities traditional or are they new?

How do women become peace-makers within this community? Does a woman need to be from a particular clan or reach a certain age to be a peace-maker? How do women learn to mediate conflicts? Can women be taught these skills?

Are women's peace-making activities always recognized publicly? Do men think that women can be peace-makers?

Do women ever disagree with the resolutions to conflict negotiated by men? What happens if women disagree?

IV. Role of NGOs in Conflict and Gender

What do you think the effects of conflict programs have been for both men and women in the community?

What kinds of programs to address women's needs during and after conflict have you seen happen in your community?

Do you think it's important for women to be involved in peace-building? Why or why not?

Sometimes people assume that women do not need to be involved in peace-building because that conflict and war are men's business, not women's. What do you think about this? Do people in your community think like this?

Is it difficult for women in this community to get involved in NGO work? Why or why not?

What do you think are the most important things women in this community need or want from NGOs?

What do you think needs to be done to stop conflicts in your community?

Appendix D: Endnotes

[1] See Appendix B: Methodology

[2] There is by now a substantial and growing body of scholarship on the nexus of gender and conflict. While by no means an exhaustive list, important recent texts emphasizing both the harms done to women in conflict and women's agency in war and peace include: Kuehnast, Kathleen, Chantal de Jonge Oudraat and Helga Hernes, eds. 2011. Women and War: Power and Protection in the 21st Century. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press; Sandra Cheldelin and Maneshka Eliatamby, eds. 2011. Women Waging War and Peace: International Perspectives of Women's Roles in Conflict and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. New York: Continuum; Janie Leatherman, 2011. Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict. New York: Polity Press; Fionnuala Ni Aolain, Dina Francesca Haynes and Naomi Cahn, 2011. On the Frontlines: Gender, War and the Post-Conflict Process. New York: Oxford University Press; Joyce Kaufman and Kristen Williams 2010. Women and War: Gender Identity and Activism in Times of Conflict. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.

[3] As noted, to date in-depth examinations of the relationships between masculinity and conflict are far less prevalent. Exceptions to this trend include the recent work done by the United States Institute of Peace through its seminar series "The Other Side of Gender: Masculinity Issues in Violent Conflict," held in Washington, D.C. in 2010 (see http://www.usip.org/events/part-ii-the-other-side-gender-masculinity-issues-in-violent-conflict); as well as Cahn, Naomi R. and Ni Aolain, Fionnuala D., Gender, Masculinities and Transition in Conflicted Societies (2010). New England Law Review.

[4] The 13 different ethno-linguistic groups are the Maguindanaon of Cotabato provinces; the Meranaw of Lanao; the Tausug of the Sulu archipelago; Sama of Tawi-Tawi; Yakan of Basilan; Iranun (between Maguindanao and Lanao Sur provinces); Jama Mapun of Cagayan de Sulu islands; Kalagan of Davao provinces; Kalibugan of Zamboanga peninsula; Melebuganon of Palawan; Palawani of Palawan; Sangil of Sarangani; Badjaw (Sama Dilaut), originally from Sulu archipelago.

[5] ARMM was first established on August 1, 1989 through Republic Act 6734, and inaugurated November 6, 1990.

[6] See Rodil, Rudy B., 2010. "Mindanao: A Historical Overview," in *Challenges to Human Security in Complex Situations: The Case of Conflict in the Southern Philippines*. M. Mendoza and V. Taylor, eds., Manila: Asian Disaster Reduction and Response Network.

[7] See Rood, Steven 2005. "Forging Sustainable Peace in Mindanao: The Role of Civil Society." Washington, D.C.: East-West Center Policy Studies No. 17.

[8] Rood 2005:6.

[9] Source: Philippines National Statistical Coordinating Board.

[10] Source: Philippine Human Development Report 2008/2009, Statistical Annex 1: Human Development Index 2006.

[11] Social Weather Stations Media, 2002. "75% Approve of U.S. Soldiers in Combat Zones; 60% Say They Should Stay As Long as Needed." SWS Media Releases, April 19, 2001. Cited in Rood 2005.

[12] See Rufa Cagoco-Guiam 2006. "The Philippines in a Gender Agenda." *Asia-Europe Dialogue 3: Economic Empowerment for Gender Equality*. C. Yue, ed., Tokyo and Singapore: Asia-Europe Foundation and Japan Center for International Exchange. Anne-Marie Hilsdon, 2009. "Invisible Bodies: Gender, Conflict and Peace in Mindanao." *Asian Studies Review* 33(3):349-65; Anne-Marie Hilsdon 1995. *Madonnas and Martyrs: Militarism and Violence in the Philippines*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press; Jane A. Margold 2003. "Women, Violence, and the Reinvolvement of the U.S. Military in the Philippines." Human Rights Dialogue 10. New York: Carnegie Council for International Affairs; Marly Anne Bacaron, 2010. "Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Mindanao: Is their Institutionalization the Answer?" *Asian Journal of Public Affairs* 3(1):49-59.

[13] Anne-Marie Hilsdon, 2009. "Invisible Bodies: Gender, Conflict and Peace in Mindanao." *Asian Studies Review* 33(3):349-65; Anne-Marie Hilsdon 1995. *Madonnas and Martyrs: Militarism and Violence in the Philippines*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press; Jane A. Margold 2003. "Women, Violence, and the Reinvolvement of the U.S. Military in the Philippines." Human Rights Dialogue 10. New York: Carnegie Council for International Affairs; Marly Anne Bacaron, 2010. "Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Mindanao: Is their Institutionalization the Answer?" *Asian Journal of Public Affairs* 3(1):49-59. Anne Marie Hilsdon, 2003." Violence against Maranao Muslim women in the Philippines." In *Violence Against Women in Asian Societies. Gender Inequality and Technologies of Violence*, eds Linda Rae Bennett, Lenore Manderson, United Kingdom: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. Some examples include *Living Peace: Stories of Hope and Collective Action Towards*

Building a Culture of Peace in Mindanao. 2008. See especially chapter 1 (stories of personal transformation) and chapter 4 (women pursue genuine peace and development). Davao City: United Nations ACT for Peace Program; *RISE Mindanao! Stories of Peacebuilding and Development from the Land of Promise*. 2008. Iligan City: VSO Peace Mindanao Programme.

[14] For a more detailed discussion, see Rufa Cagoco-Guiam, 2005. "Conflicting Agendas, Stumbling Blocks, and Prospects Toward Sustainable Peace." In *Searching for Peace in Asia and the Pacific*. A. Heinjmanns, N. Simmonds and H. van de Veen, eds. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

[15] See Initiatives for International Dialogue, "Philippines adopts UN Resolution to promote women's participation in peacebuilding." March 25, 2010. Accessed at: http://iidnet.org/index.php. The Philippines is the 17th country in the world to adopt UN Security Council Resolution 1325, through Executive Order 865, creating a steering committee on women, peace and security.

[16] International Displacement Monitoring Centre, November 5, 2009, "Philippines: Cycle of Conflict and Neglect: Mindanao's Displacement and Protection Crisis."

[17] See Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, June 28, 2010, "Philippines: IDP Return Still Hampered by Insecurity and Lack of Assistance." June 28, 2010.

[18] Ibid

[19] International Displacement Monitoring Centre, November 5, 2009, "Philippines: Cycle of Conflict and Neglect: Mindanao's Displacement and Protection Crisis."

[20] Philippine Department of Health, UNICEF and World Food Program, July 2009, "Joint Emergency Nutrition and Food Security Assessment of Conflict-Affected Internally Displaced Persons in Mindanao."

[21] Philippines WASH Cluster, August 2009, p. 34.

[22] International Displacement Monitoring Centre, "Philippines: IDP Return Still Hampered by Insecurity and Lack of Assistance." June 28, 2010, Page 51. Accessed at www.internal-displacement.org

[23] UNHCR, "Women." Accessed at: http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c1d9.html

[24] Rice, Susan, 2007. "Poverty Breeds Insecurity." In *Too Poor for Peace? Global Poverty, Conflict, and Security in the 21st Century*. Edited by Lael Brainard and Derek Chollet. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.

[25] See Tsjeard Bouta, Georg Frerks and Ian Bannon, 2005. *Gender, Conflict and Development*. New York: World Bank Publications.

[26] Rajasingham-Senanayake describes a similar situation for women in Sri Lanka, writing that "…conflict has opened up new spaces for women's agency and leadership within changing family and community structures, even as it has destroyed others and placed a double burden on many." See Darini Rajasingham-Senanayake 2006. "Between Tamil and Muslim: Women Mediating Multiple Identities in a New War." In *Gender, Conflict and Migration*, Navrita Chadha Behera, ed., New York: Sage Publications.

[27] United Nations Children's Fund, 2006, *Uncounted Lives: Children, Women and Conflict in the Philippines*; and, Margallo, Sonia. 2005. "Addressing Gender in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations in the Philippines." *Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Working Paper* No. 20. Washington, DC: World Bank.

[28] Reuters, August 14, 2008. "Philippines soldiers target rebuilding after battle."

[29] See Duncan Petersen, 2002, "Political violence, ethnic conflict, and contemporary wars: Broad implications for health and social well-being." *Social Science and Medicine*, 55 (2), pp. 175-190; Stefan Priebe et al., 2010. "Experience of human rights violations and subsequent mental disorders – A study following the war in the Balkans." *Social Science and Medicine* 70(1); Catherine Panter-Brick, 2010. "Conflict, violence, and health: Setting a new interdisciplinary agenda." *Social Science & Medicine*, 70(1).

[30] There is now a Mindanao-wide loose network of communities linked through cell phone technology called the Agung (a local term for a large gong used in the traditional Kulintangan musical ensemble) Network. These "text brigade" activities are part of the Bantay Ceasefire" or Ceasefire Watch.

[31] Exceptions to this trend include the recent work done by the United States Institute of Peace through its seminar series "The Other Side of Gender: Masculinity Issues in Violent Conflict," held in Washington, D.C. in 2010 (see http://www.usip.org/events/part-ii-the-other-side-gender-masculinity-issues-in-violent-conflict); as well as Cahn, Naomi R. and Ni Aolain, Fionnuala D., Gender, Masculinities and Transition in Conflicted Societies (2010). New England Law Review.

[32] See Rufa Cagoco-Guiam 1999. "Veiled Injustices." In *Herstory*. Quezon City: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism.

[33] *Jinnah* is defined as illicit sex between two people who are not married.

[34] See Margaret Trawick 2007. *Enemy Lines: Warfare, Childhood and Play in Batticalao*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chris Coulter 2008. "Female Fighters in the Sierra Leonian War: Challenging the Assumptions."

Feminist Review 88(1). Laura Sjoberg 2008. *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics*. New York: Zed Books. Miranda Alison 2010. *Women and Political Violence: Female Combatants in Ethno-National Conflict*. New York: Routledge. Megan MacKenzie 2009. "Securitization and De-Securitization: Female Soldiers and the Construction of the Family." *Security Studies*. Nancy Scheper-Hughes, 1998. "Maternal Thinking and the Politics of War," in *The Women and War Reader*, L. Lorentzen and J. Turpin, eds., New York: NYU Press, pp. 227-233.

[35] On these multiple roles of women in war, see Cynthia Enloe 2000. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

[36] On issues of women's voices during conflict see Leslie Dwyer 2009. "A Politics of Silences: Violence, Memory and Treacherous Speech in Post-1965Bali." In A. Hinton and K. O'Neill, eds. *Genocide: Truth, Memory and Representation*. Durham: Duke University Press. Veena Das 2007 *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Urvashi Butalia 2000. *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*. Durham: Duke University Press.

[37] Steven Rood 2005. "Forging Sustainable Peace in Mindanao: The Role of Civil Society." Washington, D.C.: East-West Center Policy Studies No. 17.

[38] Institute for Inclusive Security, "Bringing Women into Peace Negotiations: Strategies for Policymakers." October 2009. Available at:
http://www.huntalternatives.org/pages/8105_strategies_for_policymakers_bringing_women_into_peace_negotiations.cfm Accessed 4/18/2012.

[39] International Crisis Group, "The Philippines: The Collapse of Peace in Mindanao." Asia Briefing No. 83, October 23, 2008. Accessed at: http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/asia/south-east-asia/philippines/b83_the_philippines_the_collapse_of_peace_in_mindanao.ashx; Konsult Mindanaw 2010. "Visions, Voices and Values: People's Platform for Peace in Mindanao." Iligan City: Bishops-Ulama Conference; Rood 2005.

[40] United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, Adopted October 31, 2000. Accessed at: http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf

[41] Christine Bell and Catherine O'Rourke 2007. "Does Feminism Need a Theory of Transitional Justice? An Introductory Essay." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1(1):23-44.

[42] "Women in the Crossfire." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. November 19, 2010.

[43] Teresita Deles, Keynote Address On the Launch of the 2010 State of the World Population Report, October 20, 2010, Makati City. Accessed at http://opapp.gov.ph/news_keynote_address.php

[44] UNIFEM, "Peace Negotiations." Accessed at: http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/women_war_peace/peace_negotiations.php

[45] Rufa Cagoco-Guiam, 2005. "Conflicting Agendas, Stumbling Blocks, and Prospects Toward Sustainable Peace." In *Searching for Peace in Asia and the Pacific*. A. Heinjmanns, N. Simmonds and H. van de Veen, eds. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

[46] For example, in September 2010 the Mindanao People's Caucaus launched an all-women contingent of the Civilian Protection Component (CPC) of the International Monitoring Team to serve as peacekeepers and monitors in conflict-affected areas. See "All Women Corps in Peace Building." *Mindanao Times*, September 27, 2010.

[47] See The Philippine National Action Plan on UNSCRS 1325 & 1820: 2010-2016. Accessed at: http://www.peacewomen.org /assets/file/NationalActionPlans/philippines_nap.pdf

[48] Provision 6 of the NAP states the intention of the government to "Create and enforce laws regulating possession of small arms, as such weapons are directly linked to women's death, injuries, rape and forced displacement during conflict and post-conflict situations." It sets as indicators of progress the institution of: "1) Laws regulating possession of small arms are compiled, assessed, monitored, strengthened, enforced and developed. 2) Research on women victimized by gun violence has been made and publicized. 3) Number of women injured, raped, killed and displaced related to small arms possession is reduced. 4) Women's human rights training is included as a requirement before license or renewal of license is issued to gun owners, manufacturers and distributors. 5) The government has ratified an Arms Trade Treaty and Congress has passed the relevant national legislation. 6) Guns surrendered by rebel returnees are destroyed and not re-circulated. 7) An improved system to register loose firearms is in place."

[49] See UNIFEM 2009, *Domestic Violence Legislation and its Implementation: An Analysis for ASEAN Countries Based on International Standards and Good Practices*. Accessed at: http://cedaw-seasia.org/docs/DomesticViolence Legislation.pdf

[50] See Sara Cobb, 1997. "The Domestication of Violence in Mediation." *Law and Society Review* 31(3):397-440; Laura Nader, 1999. "The Globalization of Law: ADR as "Soft" Technology." *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting*

(American Society of International Law) Vol. 93: 304-311; Laura Nader, 2001. *The Life of the Law: Anthropological Projects*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Sally Engle Merry & Neal Milner, eds., 1993. *The Possibility of Popular Justice: A Case Study of Community Mediation in the United States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

[51] See Sophie Richter-Devroe 2008. "Gender, Culture, and Conflict Resolution in Palestine." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 4(2):30-59; Cordula Reimann, 2004. "Gender in Problem-Solving Workshops." Swisspeace Working Paper No. 3/2004; Ronald J. Fisher 1997: *Interactive Conflict Resolution*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press; A. Betts Fetherston 1991: "The Problem-Solving Workshop in Conflict Resolution." In T. Woodhouse, ed., *Peacemaking in a Troubled World*. Oxford: Berg; John W. Burton 1987: *Resolving Deep Rooted Conflict. A Handbook*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America; Michael Banks and Christopher Mitchell 1996: *A Handbook of Conflict Resolution. The Analytical Problem-solving Approach*. Fairfax VA: Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. See John Winslade and Gerald D. Monk 2008. *Practicing Narrative Mediation: Loosening the Grip of Conflict*. NY: John Wiley and Sons; Sara Cobb, 2004. "Fostering Coexistence in Identity-Based Conflicts: Towards a Narrative Approach." In A. Chayes and M. Minow, eds., *Imagine Coexistence*. Jossey Bass: San Francisco: pp. 294-310; John Winslade and Gerald Monk, 2000, *Narrative Mediation: A New Approach to Conflict Resolution*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. See Sandra Cheldelin, Wallace Warfield with January Makamba, 2004. "Reflections on Reflective Practice." In *Research Frontiers in Conflict Analysis and Resolution*. Fairfax: Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University; Wallace Warfield, 2002. "Is This the Right Thing to Do? A Practical Framework for Ethical Decisions." In J. Lederach and J. Jenner, eds. *A Handbook of International Peacebuilding: Into the Eye of the Storm*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

[52] For an excellent example of research on the mental health impacts of armed conflict see Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good, Byron Good, Jesse Grayman, and Matthew Lakoma 2007. *A Psychosocial Needs Assessment of Communities in 14 Conflict-Affected Districts in Aceh*. International Organization for Migration; Byron Good, Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good, Jesse Grayman, and Matthew Lakoma 2006. *Psychosocial Needs Assessment of Communities Affected by the Conflict in the Districts of Pidie, Bireuen and Aceh Utara*. International Organization for Migration.