# BUILDING PEACE IN CONFLICT AFFECTED COMMUNITIES THROUGH THE SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT (SHD) FRAMEWORK: A CASE STUDY OF MINDANAO

**by**

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| AFP | Armed Forces of the Philippines |
| ACT | Action for Conflict Transformation |
| AHJAG | Ad Hoc Joint Action Group |
| AMM | Aceh Monitoring Mission |
| ARMM | Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao |
| ARMM ODA | Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao Overseas Development Office |
| ASG | Abu Sayyaf Group |
| BDA | Bangsamoro Development Agency |
| BIMP-EAGA | Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines-East Asia Growth Area |
| BJE | Bangsamoro Juridical Entity |
| BMLI | Bangsamoro Management and Leadership Institute |
| BRA | Aceh Peace-Reintegration Agency or *Badan Reintegrasi-Damai Aceh* |
| BRR | Agency for Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of Aceh and Nias, or *Badan Rekonstruksi dan Rehabilitasi* |
| CA | Consultative Assembly |
| CAFGU | Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Unit |
| CCCH | Coordinating Committee on the Cessation of Hostilities |
| COP | Consolidation for Peace |
| COMELEC | Commission on Elections |
| CPC | Civilian Peacekeeping Component |
| DDR | Demilitarization, Demobilisation, and Reintegration |
| DENR | Department of Environment and Natural Resources |
| DEPED | Department of Education |
| DOM | Daerah Operasi Militer |
| DinSos | Social Development Office or *Dinas Sosial* |
| EO | Executive Order |
| EU | European Union |
| FGD | Focus Group Discussion |
| FPA | Final Peace Agreement |
| GAM | Gerakan Aceh Merdeka |
| GEM | Gender Empowerment Measure |
| GDI | Gender-related Development Index |
| GoI | Government of Indonesia |
| GoP-UN-MDP | Government of the Philippines-United Nations-Multi-Donor Programme |
| GPH | Government of the Philippines |
| GRP | Government of the Republic of the Philippines |
| HDR | Human Development Report |
| HDI | Human Development Index |
| HDN | Human Development Network |

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|---|---|
| HS | Human Security |
| IBS | Institute of Bangsamoro Studies |
| ICG | International Contact Group |
| IDP | Internally Displaced Person |
| IMT | International Monitoring Team |
| IP | Indigenous People |
| IRA | Internal Revenue Allocation |
| JICA | Japan International Cooperation Agency |
| JNA | Joint Needs Assessment |
| KDP | Kecamatan Development Programme |
| KPA | Komite Peralihan Aceh |
| KPI | Key Performance Indicator |
| LMRDC | Ligawasan Marsh Research and Development Council |
| LMT | Local Monitoring Team |
| MEDCO | Mindanao Economic and Development Council |
| MILF | Moro Islamic Liberation Front |
| MNLF | Moro National Liberation Front |
| MinDA | Mindanao Development Agency |
| MINSUPALA | Mindanao, Sulu (including Basilan and Tawi-Tawi), Palawan |
| MoU | Memorandum of Understanding |
| MPI | Multidiminensional Poverty Index |
| MRDP | Mindanao Rural Development Project |
| MSR | Multi-Stakeholder Review |
| MTF-RDP | Mindanao Trust Fund-Reconctruction and Development Programme |
| MTR | Mid-Term Report |
| NAPE | New Autonomous Political Entity |
| NCSB | National Statistical Coordination Body |
| NEDA | National Economic Development Authority |
| NGO | Non-Government Organization |
| NPE | New Political Entity |
| NSO | National Statistics Office |
| NUC | National Unification Commission |
| ODA | Oversears Development Aid |
| OIC | Organization of Islamic Conference |
| OMA | Office of Muslim Affairs |
| OPAPP | Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process |
| PASA | Protected Area Suitability Assessment |
| PDA | Peace and Development Advocates |
| PDC | Peace and Development Communities |
| PHP | Philippine Peso |
| PMO | Project Management Office |
| PNP | Philippine National Police |
| PR | Poverty Reduction |
| PRA/PLA | Participatory Rural Appraisal/Participatory Learning and Action |
| RA | Republic Act |

| | |
|---|---|
| RCC-MM | Regional Consultative Commission-Muslim Mindanao |
| RRA | Rapid Rural Appraisal |
| RSD | Right to Self Determination |
| SANREM | Sustainable Agriculture and Natural Resource Management |
| SD | Sustainable Development |
| SERD-CAAM | Socio-Economic Reconstruction and Development for the Conflict Affected Areas in Mindanao |
| SHD | Sustainable Human Development |
| SIDDR | Stockholm Initiative on Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration |
| SOCCKSARGEN | South Cotabato, Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, Saranggani, General Santos |
| SPCPD | Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development |
| SPDA | Southern Philippines Development Authority |
| SSR | Security Sector Reform |
| SZOPAD | Special Zone of Peace and Development |
| TNI | Tentera Nasional Indonesia |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| USA | United States of America |
| USAID | United States |
| USD | United States Dollars |
| VTT | Values Transformation Training |
| WB | World Bank |
| WFP | World Food Programme |

# MEMBINA PERDAMAIAN DALAM KALANGAN MASYARAKAT BERKONFLIK MELALUI KERANGKA PEMBANGUNAN INSAN LESTARI (SHD): KAJIAN KES DI MINDANAO


## ABSTRAK:

Konflik penentu nasib sendiri yang berpanjangan di Mindanao, Filipina masih belum berjaya diselesaikan sepenuhnya walaupun cubaan perdamaian telah dilakukan selama lima dekad. Kunci kepada permasalahan ini ialah usaha oleh kelompok Bangsamoro untuk mencari jenis pembangunan yang boleh membantu mereka dalam usaha mendapatkan kebebasan dan masa depan yang lebih cerah. Penyelidikan ini cuba untuk memahami komuniti Bangsamoro dan menyelidik kesesuaian kerangka pembangunan insan lestari (SHD) dalam konteks realiti yang mencabar. Kegunaan kerangka SHD bukan sahaja disebabkan oleh parameter insaniah sepertu Indeks Pembangunan Insan (HDI). Ia juga menyumbang ke arah pembangunan yang bersinergi kepada kerangka keamanan lestari yang menjadi tunjang utama kepada Mindanao. Kaedah utama yang digunakan adalah pendekatan penilaian luar bandar yang bersifat partisipatori dan juga pendekatan pembelajaran dan tindakan yang bersifat partisipatori (PRA/PLA) untuk mendapatkan respon, menggalakkan perbincangan, mendokumentasikan idea secara lisan atau bukan lisan mengikut ungkapan komuniti yang unik dan menjalankan projek komuniti secara terhad sebagai simbol memperkasakan komuniti.

Kajian ini memberi kesimpulan bahawa (a) SHD dan pembangunan perdamaian saling memperkukuhkan kerangka yang bertujuan untuk merealisasikan tujuan pembangunan insan dan (b) usaha untuk mendapatkan hak penentu nasib sendiri dipertingkatkan kerana kedua-dua kerangka bila digabung akan menyediakan konteks kearah mencapai perdamaian di Mindanao.



Keywords: *hak penentuan nasib sendiri, pembangunan insan lestari, membina perdamaian, mempertahankan perdamaian, Penilaian Pernyertaan luarbandar, pembelajaran dan Pembuatan, kalangan masyarakat berkonflik, Bangsamoro, Mindanao.*

**BUILDING PEACE IN CONFLICT AFFECTED COMMUNITIES THROUGH THE SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT (SHD) FRAMEWORK: A CASE STUDY OF MINDANAO**

## ABSTRACT:

The protracted right-to-self-determination (RSD) conflict in Mindanao, Philippines, has yet to be fully resolved. Hence, the five decades of attempts to peace. Key to this is the Bangsamoro's search for a kind of development that is compatible with their aspirations for freedom and their future. This research aims to study the Bangsamoro communities' social constructions of conflict, peace and development, and examine the viability of the sustainable human development (SHD) framework for application in their challenging realities. The usefulness of the SHD framework does not only lie in its use of human development parameters like the Human Development Index (HDI). It also provides an approach towards development that synergizes with the sustainable peace framework - an imperative for Mindanao. At the center of this approach is the Participatory Rural Appraisal and Participatory Learning and Action (PRA/PLA) methodology using the technology of participation to elicit responses, stimulate discussion, document verbal and non-verbal ideas in accordance with the communities' unique modes of expression, and carry out on a limited basis community-driven projects in a manifestation of local empowerment.

The study concludes: (a) that both SHD and peacebuilding are mutually reinforcing frameworks aimed at achieving the same human development goals, and (b) that the pursuit of the right to self-determination is enhanced as both frameworks are combined to serve as context for that pursuit toward the attainment of peace in Mindanao.

Keywords: *right to self determination, sustainable human development, peacebuilding, sustainable peace, participatory rural appraisal and participatory learning and action, conflict affected communities, Bangsamoro, Mindanao.*

# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Introduction

The long term presence of a self determination struggle and subsequent direct armed conflict between the Bangsamoro[1] revolutionary movements and the Philippine government have created greater challenges for the people of Mindanao in terms of development as compared to the other parts of the Philippines. Part of this problem is their weak standing in the Human Development Index (HDI) and poor access to basic social services such as education, health, general welfare, and other economic opportunities. The situation is problematic to the extent that the pursuit of peace and development has become a "catch 22" phenomenon as the conflict has yet to be fully resolved. In this context, the idea of introducing development in an effort to help build peace is something that needs to be analysed. The framework of Sustainable Human Development (SHD) holds much relevance to the situation of Mindanao since it does not only aim to quantify the levels of development through an HDI, but more importantly, it is an approach that offers promise on

[1] "Bangsamoro consists of two words, bangsa and Moro. Bangsa is a Malay word the political connotation of which means nation, and Moro is the name given by the Spanish colonialists to the Muslim population of Mindanao similar with the name they call the Muslims of North Africa who for centuries ruled the Iberian peninsula. Combining the two words, Bangsamoro means Moro Nation. The Muslims who traditionally inhabited Mindanao, Basilan, Palawan, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi call themselves Bangsamoro. They are Iranun, Maguindanaon, Meranao, Tao-Sug, Sama, Yakan, Jama Mapun, Kalagan, Kolibugan, Sangil, Molbog, Palawani, and Badjao." Quoted from Lingga, Abhoud (2007) in his powerpoint presentation "Conflict Situation in Mindanao", published in www.bangsamorostudies.org, accessed August 27,2010. In this thesis work, the Bangsamoro is also interchangeably used with the term Moro, and while the term Muslim Filipinos is a term used by Filipino historians and the Philippine state and its agencies to refer to the Bangsamoro. On the other hand, at present, the Moros themselves use the term Muslim Filipinos to include those who may not be part of the 13 ethno-religious grouping but who profess Islam as their religion. This includes those who are *balik-Islam* or Muslim reverts or converts in the Philippines.

embracing a concept of development that can respond to the aspirations of capabilities and freedoms. In as much as the Bangsamoro people bear this primary objective of pursuing their Right to Self Determination (RSD), it is then imperative that a study can explain how development or development approaches could effectively respond to this RSD aspiration. Can *sustainable human development* (SHD) be useful for peace in Mindanao? With the prospects of a peace agreement between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP)[2] and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in its ongoing peace process, what can ensure a long lasting peace in Mindanao? These are the key questions that the study hopes to answer within the framework of development. It aims to take a look at the concept of SHD and discusses its viability in the context of a conflict-affected area, using Mindanao as the reference point.

### 1.2 Background of the Research

On July 4, 1946, the colonial government of the United States of America fully turned over its power to the new Government of the Republic of the Philippines. As the Americans left, the emergence of the new Philippine state was not only saddled by the challenges of development and nation building but also was faced with "internal instabilities such as the Huk guerilla movement in Luzon and

[2] The acronym GRP was later changed to GPH, or Government of the Philippines, to follow the ISO standards naming system, see explanations in Mindanews article, http://www.mindanews.com/mindaviews/comment/2011/01/22/%E2%80%9Cgrp%E2%80%9D-to-%E2%80%9Cgph%E2%80%9D-why/, accessed August 9, 2012.

the resistance of Muslims in Mindanao."[3] However, it was the Bangsamoro armed conflict that commenced in early 1970s that had become a major obstacle in the development of Mindanao and in turn created a burden on the government's resources.[4]

Government attempts to solving the Bangsamoro conflict included formal negotiations with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in 1973 coupled with introductions of various programs that would deliver better economic opportunities to the people.[5] However, it took at least three decades before the GRP-MNLF peace process finally bore fruit with their 1996 Final Peace Agreement (FPA).[6] Hence that period, this peace agreement remains to be largely viewed as a failure. Among its reasons are the ongoing problems with the implementation of the agreement and unsuccessful leadership of the MNLF in governing the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM).[7] The MNLF case renders many lessons in the context of post-conflict development and its transition towards the longer term stage of sustainable peace and development.

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[3]See World Bank Country Economic Report by World Bank in *The Philippines, Priorities and Prospects for Development* (Washington DC, World Bank, 1976), in p. 9.

[4] Ibid. Also, Glang cites the American government official, Najeeb Saleeby (during the American history in the Philippines) in defining the Moro problem in Glang, Alunan C., in "Assessment of Government Negotiations and Modes of Conflict Resolution", *The Road to Peace and Reconciliation: Muslim Perspective on the Mindanao Conflict* (Makati: AIM, 2003).

[5] World Bank (1976)

[6] The story behind the negotiations of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) that started during the time of President Marcos and continued in the term of President Corazon Aquino are written by Majul (1998). While the events that culminated to the 1996 Final Peace Agreement between the MNLF and the Philippine government are written by Iribani (2006).

[7] See Benedicto Bacani (ed.) in *The 1996 GRP-MNLF Peace Agreement: 10 Years After*, Autonomy and Peace Review, Volume No. 2, Issue No. 3, October-December 2006 (Cotabato City, Institute for Autonomy and Governance, 2006). Also, various interviews with MNLF commanders—the Pro-Misuari Group in Bgy. Sapu Padido, Malapatan, Saranggani Province, and the Pro-government (Sema Group or ICC) and are part of the UNDP Act for Peace Program in Bgy. Baliton, Glan, Saranggani Province from May to June 2008. Problems of corruption in the governance of the ARMM are highlighted in Rasul (2003). Another book assessing the GRP-MNLF 1996 FPA is also written by Rasul (2007).

It is a crucial period of the peace process that is worth evaluating. For example, what kind of transition was put in place for the combatants and their families, the internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees, militia groups, and other conflict victims at the stage of post-conflict development, as well as in the longer term peacebuilding setting? What peace dividends did the stakeholders expect and what did they achieve? Were former combatants successfully rehabilitated to join the mainstream society?

The World Bank presents a picture of the Philippines as a growing economy that expanded to 7.3 percent in GDP in early 2010[8] but with its performance barely translating to the goal of poverty reduction.[9] The national statistics show high levels of poverty incidence wherein "33 out of 100 Filipinos were poor in 2006", as compared to 30 in 2003.[10] But what is worth noting about the report is that the areas of Mindanao are consistently on top as the poorest in the country.[11] For example, in 2006 the island of Mindanao records 38.8 percent in poverty incidence level in contrast to the 26.9 percent national average.[12] In the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) alone, half the number of

[8] The World Bank Country Brief, Recent Economic Developments, explains that this positive 7.3 percent growth can attributed in part to the national elections spending factor besides the overall impact of an improved economies in the Asian region. Nevertheless, this Philippine growth continues to be an average performance compared to countries like Singapore at 15.5 percent, Thailand at 12.0, China at 11.9, Malaysia at 10.1, India at 8.6, Vietnam at 5.8, and Indonesia at 5.7. See http://go.worldbank.org/9MDA4VTP20 , accessed August 2, 2010.

[9] See www.worldbank.org.ph under Country Brief, accessed August 2, 2010.

[10] See http://www.nscb.gov.ph/pressreleases/2008/PR-200803-SS2-02_pov.asp, accessed March 10, 2008.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Philippine poverty statistics Table 12. Poverty Incidence, Magnitude of Poor and Share to the Total Poor in Luzon,Visayas, and Mindanao,2000, 2003, 2006, http://www.nscb.gov.ph/poverty/2006_05mar08/table_12.asp , accessed March 10, 2008.

families belongs to the poor category.[13] The national budget normally allocates 9-10 billion pesos (or less than 1%) in its annual budget program[14] which is mostly spent on paying for overhead costs of administration of the regional government. This limited funding constraints coupled with inefficiencies of use of government funds have consequentially contributed to the poor general development of the people and the region.[15]

Mindanao is tagged as the Land of the Promise. It is this region that serves as the food basket of the Philippines that generates much of the agriculture produce that the country needs. While the central government in Manila does respond to the development needs of Mindanao, the complex history and present conflict situation have impeded much of the development programming. Most importantly, it is the people of Mindanao who continue to be disenfranchised in terms of development. And while development needs to be realized in Mindanao, the fact remains that there is a continuing self-determination struggle between the Bangsamoro people and the Philippine state. As such, both peace and development issues are requiring immediate and equal attention.

[13] See www.nscb.gov.ph for more of the report on poverty incidence between 2003-2006 in the Philippines, accessed March 10, 2008.
[14] See FY 2010 Budget Program 2008-2010 in the Department of Budget and Management website, www.dbm.gov.ph/data/FileNEP2010/general_intro.htm#nep_2, accessed August 7,2010.
[15] More discussions on the weak fiscal state of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) can be found in LGSPA and INCITEGov, in *Towards Strengthening the Fiscal Capabilities of ARMM, A Policy Paper* (Pasig City: LGSPA, 2007).

### 1.2.1 The Mindanao Conflict and Peace Process

The ongoing peace process between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) that started in 1987 continues to face numerous problems until it finally deadlocked in 2008.[16] However, this peace process had also presented some success stories, one of which was the signing of the *2001 agreement on the reconstruction, rehabilitation, and development of conflict areas*. This agreement helped commence reconstruction and development projects in a small scale while waiting for the final peace agreement. This study, then, holds such significant relevance as it can provide concrete contributions to the peace process. More specifically, it aims to offer directions towards post-conflict development and peacebuilding (in a medium to long term period) through the emphasis on *sustainable human development* as a strategic framework. To add more challenge, the MILF as the main conflict party, clearly states its aspirations for a kind of development appropriate to the culture and traditions of the Bangsamoro people.[17] This aspect also merits a thorough investigation, as part of this research, in order that a balance may be found between the practices of development intervention and the realities and context of the stakeholders. The research, therefore, should identify the unique qualities and needs of the Bangsamoro in their process towards development.

[16] This was marked by the non-signing of the Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain schedule in August 2008 in Putrajaya. The Government of the Philippines was prevented from signing this agreement due to a Temporary Restraining Order by the Philippine Supreme Court. The developments of this post-MOA-AD is explained in the succeeding chapters.

[17] Interview with Bangsamoro Development Agency Chair, Dr. Abas Candao, Cotabato City May 2008.

### 1.2.2 The Concept of Development

Traditionally, the concept of development was defined in economic terms mainly referring to the capacity of a country's economy to generate growth and increase its output. Thus, development strategies have been normally focused towards the structure of production and employment. Often, they lean towards rapid industrialization which has marginalized agriculture and rural development in the process.[18] By the end of Second World War and the founding of the Bretton Woods institutions, the international community commenced with its greater responsibility towards the reconstruction and development of conflict devastated areas of Europe and Japan. The reconstruction and development of Europe markedly emphasized its needs for institutional building as its main foundation.

On January 20, 1949, United States President Harry Truman pronounced a mission for the richer countries to help the *underdeveloped* states. This statement attracted much controversy because it was seen as a bold statement of the American position as an emerging global power and in putting forward "a development program based on the concepts of democratic dealing."[19] At this instance, not only did Truman give distinctions of two spheres in the world—that of the *developed* world and the *underdeveloped* world, and where many of the

[18] See Michael P. Todaro and Stephen C. Smith, in *Economic Development Ninth Edition* (England: Pearson/Addisson Wesley, 2006), Chapter 1, pp. 15-16. Also, see definition of development as economic growth in Sachs, Wolfgang (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, (London & New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.,1992) pp. 12-13.

[19] As cited by Gustavo Esteva in his article "Development", in *Sachs, Wolfgang (1992)*, op.cit., in Chapter 2.

countries fall into the second category, but also promoted the U.S. brand of democratic government. [20]

Throughout the 1950s and 60s, the concept of development, however, has been challenged by scholars and social scientists because of failures of the development concept, which is based on modernization, urbanization and industrialization, to solve the rising poverty across all nations.[21] Development policies and projects using modern technology to improve productivity in the economy have also marginalized the vast majority.[22] The assumption that economic growth would carry a trickle-down effect and benefit the people through job creation and increased economic activities was found to be weak.[23] In 1970, World Bank president Robert S. McNamara emphasized that high rate of growth in the economies did not result in much progress on the aspects of social development.[24] Since then, economic development was re-defined to emphasize the re-distribution of growth and the elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment in a growing economy.[25] In the last decades, the world has come to understand a wider and more precise idea on development. A post-modernist era of development began in which development does not only mean

[20] The ideas and values of development and democracy were thought as the counter strategies to arrest the spread of ideas of the communist/socialist ideology as espoused by the Soviet Union, China, and others.

[21] The building of modern facilities and process of industrialization do not necessarily bring development to local communities as expounded by Verhelst,Thierry G., *No Life Without Roots: Culture and Development* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., 1987.), pp. 11-13.

[22]See Todaro and Smith (2006), op. cit., Chapter 2, pp. 77-78. Also see a discussion of the development theory from the 1950s to 1990s in Jeffrey Haynes (ed.), in *Development Studies* (England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 5-8.

[23] Ibid., in p. 16, A criticism on the global impact of the trickle-down theory or catching up theory is discussed in Verhelst (1987), op.cit., pp. 10-13.

[24] As cited by Gustavo Esteva, chapter on "Development", p. 13, in *The Development Dictionary* by Sachs, Wolfgang (1992). In the same page Esteva also mentions an earlier initiative of the UN in 1962 defining development as growth plus change—that includes social, cultural and economic, and both in qualitative and quantitative means.

[25] See Todaro and Smith (2006), op. cit., p. 16.

economic development but including both the economic and non-economic values, such as social, cultural, and environmental aspects. The *mainstream* theories on development, mainly focused on modernization and economic growth, has been challenged by *counterpoint* theories that present superiority of small scale, decentralized, ecologically sound community-centered, human and stable models of societal development.[26] The latter is sometimes known to be anti-modern, but it is this populist and civil society perspective, in fact, that significantly influence and modify the mainstream ideas. Among these *counterpoint* theories is the human development paradigm. [27]

When the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) introduced the Human Development Reports (HDR) in 1990, it gave a valuation of developed, or a developing economy, in the context of human development. In the HDR, the levels of development of nations are presented through a Human Development Index (HDI) ranking. While the earlier schools of thought were driven by economic growth and focused on income, human development by contrast "embraces the enlargement of all human choices—whether economic, social, cultural, or political."[28] Human development centers on people and welfare, and as the heart of development itself. While there are many criticisms on the simplified HDI measurement, nevertheless, the concept of human development as defined by its founders has captured a new thinking in the

[26]See Bjorn Hettne, "Discourses on Development", in Jeffrey Haynes, *Development Studies* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) p. 27.
[27] Ibid.
[28] See ul Haq, Mahbub, in *Reflections on Human Development* (London: Oxford, 1995) p. 14.

international community.[29] Primodial to SHD's conceptualization is Amartya Sen's *capabilities approach* that identifies an individual being's functioning or capability as the core of development which found acceptance in the mainstream international community and organizations. Sen explains that it is not the resources that matters but it is the capability of people to make use of these resources that holds most impact on their development. Further, the discourse on development has sharpened with the recognition of the objective of development as a means and ends in itself for people's well-being[30] and as the expression of their freedoms.[31]

The use of the term human development or sustainable human development is clarified by the founder of the HDR, Mahbub ul Haq. He builds a clear understanding by asserting that these terms are all one and the same. He states:

> *"Sustainability is an essential feature of the human development paradigm. It matters little whether the paradigm is labeled 'sustainable human development' or 'sustainable development' or simply 'human development. What is important is to understand that the essence of human development paradigm is that everyone should have equal access to development opportunities—now and in the future."* [32]

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[29] Ibid., see Streeten, Paul, in "Foreword", in ul Haq (1995) p.xii. The deficiencies of HDI in terms of geographic incompleteness and representation of economy, knowledge, and level of "a long and healthy life" of the individual is discussed by Hastings, David A. in *From Human Development to Human Security: A Prototype Human Security Index, in UNESCAP Working Paper*, October 2009, (Bangkok: UNESCAP).

[30] See ul Haq, Ibid, p. 4, also Gustavo Esteva cites the 1974 Declaration of Cocoyoc on the purpose of development, op.cit., p. 14-15.

[31]The ideas of Paulo Friere on the pedagogy of the oppressed and the consequential programs of conscientization of NGOs had bolstered the pursuit of freedom in crafting development of the oppressed communities. See Verhelst, Thierry G., (1987) op.cit., p. 15. Also arguments on the assertion of freedom as constitutive of development in Sen, Amartya, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books, 1999), p. xii, 10-11.

[32]In ul Haq, (1995), Ibid., p. 19.

Further, Ul Haq maintains that *"what must be sustained are worthwhile life opportunities, not human deprivation."* [33]

Upon the evolving concepts of development, the SHD paradigm holds an assumption that a much improved human development should result in narrower disparities, long term prevention of conflicts, and a more equitable world order. It is this multi-dimensional character that is highly significant to post-conflict reconstruction and development work in general. In the situation of Mindanao, not only there is a need for human development, but this development has to be sustainable, and be able to lay the foundation for peace or peacebuilding as the ultimate goal. This relationship between SHD and peacebuilding shall be discussed further in the succeeding chapters.

### 1.2.3 Sustainable Human Development and Peacebuilding

The study shall make use of two theoretical frameworks from both fields of development and peace studies. Mainly, it will use the sustainable human development (SHD) as a strategic framework in evaluating the conditions of the local communities and their prospects (in terms of capacities and resources) towards achieving peace as a vision of a self-determination struggle. At a macro level, the study locates SHD as a cross-cutting theme in the overall peacebuilding and post-conflict development paradigm. Therefore, peacebuilding and post-conflict development are the other concepts that will be explored as important trajectories of a peace process.

[33] Ibid. He puts this argument contrary to the environmental Puritanism that promotes the protection of the environment first before the needs of humanity, p. 18.

The field of conflict resolution and peace studies is shaping the development of peacebuilding as a distinct area of study. In the pursuit of peace processes such as in protracted or intractable social conflicts,[34] peacebuilding has become a very crucial facet. Lederach defines peacebuilding as,

> *"a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships."* Thus, this process involves, what he adds, *"a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords."* [35]

Further, he proposes that peacebuilding is a process that also involves

> *"various roles, functions, and activities as components that together create the possibility of sustainable transformation, moving the conflict dynamic toward the goal of a more peaceful relations."* [36]

In studying intra-state conflicts and the viable means to conflict resolution in Southeast Asia, Kamarulzaman defines the emergence of peacebuilding as,

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[34] See Kriesberg Louis, Northrup, Terrell A., and Thorson, Stuart J. (eds.) in *Intractable Conflicts and Their Transformation* (Syracuse University Press: New York, 1989). Intractable social conflict is defined as "a conflict that is unresolvable and this state also comes close to being defined as 'stubbornness' " as cited by Thorson, Stuart J., in p. 2. He also cites Kriesberg's concept that "conflicts have varied degrees of intractability". But more significantly, this nature of intractability is not without solution. Thorson states that even intractable conflicts can be made tractable dependent on how the conflict is understood and re-framed, in pp. 4-5. To this, Kriesberg suggest two ways of pursuing this process of transforming intractability by (1) doing historical sequencing of events (2) and at certain times, by carefully identifying the appropriate time of doing this—see p. 9. Kriesberg further explains the many bases for the development of intractable conflicts as follow: (1) "the primary adversaries do not recognize the legitimacy of its opponents as possible bargaining partners (2) one or more adversaries believe that the differences with the opponents are too large to be bridged without further and intensified struggle (3) one or more of the parties includes major groups for whom the struggle against the enemy has become a major reason for their existence (4) parties may have such different conceptions about the conflict that they have difficulty agreeing how to de-escalate or that it would be desirable to do so", see p. 110. Kriesberg suggests that conflict can be prevented "from becoming frozen or to transform one that has become non-negotiable by requiring a strategy. The strategy entails selecting the appropriate parties, issues, and combination of inducements for the desire movement at a particular time. Three matters are important in preventing this intractability: (1) absence of vested interests by parties in the struggle (2) lack of hope that the status quo can be fundamentally altered (3) movement toward reconciliation among the adversaries", in p. 119.

[35] See Lederach, John Paul, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington DC: USIP, 1997), p. 20.

[36] Ibid., see p. 70, Chapter 5.

> *"…the foundation for peace. It is the building block upon which long term sustainable peace can and should be built upon. Peace is the objective and building peace is the process. It is usually employed as a part of the peace process in situations of long, destabilizing, protracted conflict as a means of transforming the situation through the promotion of processes and structures which will transform the socioeconomic and political context-leading from insecurity to security, and instability to stability."* [37]

Peacebuilding is interconnected with sustainable human development in a profound manner that development interventions in conflict societies are crucial drivers in the achievement of sustainable peace in these societies. Using Lederach and Kamarulzaman's definition of peacebuilding, it can be said that SHD is a part and means of this process. Therefore, the goal of this research in dissecting SHD in relevance to the overall peacebuilding process or the end goal of sustainable peace is deemed worth studying.

An empirical study of the world's experience of economic development reveals how poor countries are able to reduce poverty through growth in agriculture and how the solution to rural poverty should be founded on the linking of the rural economies to the dynamic urban economies as part of a structural transformation.[38] This finding is relevant on understanding how ideas about economic growth and poverty are perceived. While economic growth is deemed important, the UNDP's Human Development Report states clearly how,

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[37]See Askandar, Kamarulzaman, in "Introduction: Building Peace-Reflections from Southeast Asia", in *Building Peace : Reflections from Southeast Asia* (Penang: SEACSN, 2007), pg. xxviii.

[38] In Timmer, C. Peter and Akus, Selvin, "The Structural Transformation as a Pathway out of Poverty: Analytics, Empirics and Politics", in *Working Paper Number 150*, July 2008 (US: Center for Global Development, 2008), pg. 54, In the website www.cgdev.org, accessed May 11, 2012.

> *"economic growth and human development do not always coincide."* And that, *"…the forces driving improvements in health and education are different from those driving improvements in income."*[39]

By no means economic development is put aside in this context but it does deepen the basis for human development as a compelling framework in pursuing development in general.[40]

The World Development Report of 2011, UN Human Development Report of 2010 and the Philippine Human Development Report of 2005 recognizes how human development in conflict communities continue to be far from being improved as a consequence of failure in conflict resolution and peacebuilding.[41] As mentioned in these reports, while there is no absolute quantitative explanation on how violence and conflict directly affect poverty and underdevelopment, it is clear, however, that countries, that continue to experience violence and conflict, also continue to underachieve in their human development goals. The impact of violence and conflict on a country can be demonstrated in terms of its impact on economic growth, but worse, the greater impact can be found on the human development situation of the conflict-affected communities.[42]

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[39] In UNDP, *Human Development Report 2010, The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathways to Human Development* (New York: UNDP, 2010), p. 46.

[40] The HDR 2010 fully explains this relationship between economic growth and other human development areas with the conclusion that both should be viewed to complement each other. What is deemed more important is that economic growth must positively impact the human development aspect. See Chapter 3: Diverse Paths to Progress of HDR (2010).

[41] The Human Development Report 2010 also goes to the extent of explaining how there is also no direct correlation between the employment of democracy and improvements in human development, however, there are strong foundations to believe that democratic policies and institutions tends to result better chances of realizing human development in the long run.

[42] See the discussion on the economic dimension of conflict in the article by Kim, Namsuk, and Conceicao, Pedro, in "The Economic Crisis, Violent Conflict and Human Development", in *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol. 15, Number 1, Spring/Summer 2010, in http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol15_1/KimConceicao15n1.pdf, accessed July 23, 2011. For the

There is a given complexity in pursuing development goals in conflict-affected communities. Related to this complexity are the nuances of the relationships in the fields of development, peace and conflict studies. Dennis Sandole reinforces this observation by other scholars, he writes,

> *"Other factors that may account for the priority given negative peace over positive peace include an absence of operational coherence between sustainable development, economic growth, and social justice, such that they do not lead to and reinforce one another in practice as they are supposed to in theory (Victor 2006). This results, in part, from an absence of integration among development and conflict resolution/peacebuilding researchers and practitioners and an absence of efforts to translate research-based insights into appropriate policy (Paffensholz, 2008; Carpenter, 2008)."* [43]

In addition, Johan Galtung also observes that,

> *"Many are convinced that, 'economic and social development will lead to peace.' If development includes building the capacity for nonviolent conflict transformation then peace will be an outcome. However, if development merely intensifies the desire for more material wealth and resources, then the consequences may be more war than peace."*[44]

With the case of the ongoing conflict and peace process in Mindanao, there is a great challenge ahead in ensuring the peace dividends as a result of a peace agreement. Practitioners in this field rightly acknowledge the difficulty of

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discussions of repercussions on the conflict-affected communities as shown in terms of statistics, see the report by the World Bank and the World Food Programme, *Violent Conflicts and Displacement in Central Mindanao: Challenges for recovery and development* (Manila: WB and WFP, December 2011), also in the report by Human Development Network, in *Philippine Human Development Report 2005* (Manila: HDN, UNDP and NZAID, 2005). There is also a study on the impacts of war and conflict at the household level by Justino, Patricia, in "War and Poverty", in *IDS Working Paper Volume 2012, No 391* (UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2012), in www.ids.org , accessed May 11, 2012; and in Justino, Patricia, in"The Impact of Armed Civil Conflict on Household Welfare and Policy Responses", in *Households in Conflict Network Working Paper 61* (UK: Institute of Development Studies, 2009), in www.hicn.org, accessed May 11, 2012.

[43] In Sandole, Dennis, in "Conflict Resolution, Methods, and Enforcement", in Young, Nigel (ed.), *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace* (UK & US: Oxford University Press, 2010) p. 435.

[44] In Galtung, Johan, in "Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution: The Need for Transdisciplinarity", in *Transcultural Psychiatry 2010, 47:20,* in p. 26. In http://tps.sagepub.com/content/47/1/20, accessed August 1, 2012.

installing the intangible elements (e.g. social infrastructure) as opposed to the hard and tangible infrastructures, in the process of building peace. It is much easier to build roads and bridges in a conflict area, and count them, than to re-build or reconcile a society (e.g. in terms of relations) torn by violence and conflict. While the influx of donor funding and peace and development oriented activities can be widely seen in a conflict area during the peace process even without the post-conflict stage, a reliable indicator of its impact would be in the area of sustainable human development (SHD). In this regard, using the tools of SHD, such as the Human Development Index (HDI) and other measurements give an approximation on how much improvement or non-improvement is being felt by communities on the ground. Thus, the use of sustainable human development as a theoretical framework can help give a closer image of sustainable peace. The following chapter will extensively discuss the SHD concept, its context in the Mindanao setting where the conflict communities are located. It will also explain how peace is defined and how peacebuilding, conflict resolution, international peacebuilding and post-conflict development are used in this study as its theoretical concepts. The theoretical framework that connects the SHD with peacebuilding will be expanded in Chapter Two of this study. The framework being offered in this study is located in the realm of the ongoing peace process with a view that is possible for theoretical frameworks to be applied in practice.

## 1.3 Problem Statement and Research Questions

The Mindanao conflict has had many attempts towards bringing sustainable peace through various development programs and other capacity building or human development programming. These were done by various agencies such as the UNDP Multi-donor Fund (during the 1996 MNLF post-conflict development), USAID, and many others. Yet, nothing seems to come closer to any positive change. Somehow, either the programs have been inadequate or irrelevant, or the local people themselves have not had a sense of ownership in this development process, or simply because the whole environment itself was not conducive to supporting the greater goal of a sustainable peace.[45]

The Bangsamoro people have long aspired for their Right to Self Determination (RSD) as their primary objective in their general development, therefore, it is crucial that development should be anchored on this objective. Can sustainlable human development, as a development framework, be useful in building peace in Mindanao? Given the possibilities and hopes for a peace agreement between the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), what can help guarantee the realization of long lasting peace? It is these questions that this study hopes to answer. The study is aimed at looking

[45] The reality of a still ongoing conflict with the government and the MILF and other MNLF groups, such as the Pro-Misuari group is another factor of an inconducive environment. It is also interesting to note the study on the how USAID money is spent in Mindanao by Jan Pospisil, in "On the Edge of Escalaton: How US Development Policy Deals with the Political Economy of War in Mindanao", *Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of Third World Studies 2005 20(2): 100-124* (UP Diliman: Third World Studies Center, 2005). Another assessment of US official development assistance to Mindanao highlights the perceived success on using aid money as part of its counter-terrorism program by Stuebner, William A., and Hirsch, Richard, in "Mindanao: A Community-based Approach to Counterinsurgency", in *PRISM: A Journal of the Center for Complex Operations Vol. 1, No.3.* (Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2005). Interviews were done by the author in May to July 2008 with Bangsamoro communities on the impact of donor money in the areas of Tawi-Tawi, Zamboanga, Cotabato, Marawi, and General Santos City. Among those that are highly criticized by the local communities are the USAID programs.

at the framework of sustainable human development and find out how viable can it be implemented in the context of conflict affected communities by using the Mindanao conflict case.

While many scholars and practitioners in development regard *human development* as the "expansion of education, health care, and other conditions of human life"[46], it's conceptual approach is founded on the "process of *enlarging people's choices and enhancing human capabilities* (the range of things people can be and do) and *freedoms,* enabling them to: live a long and healthy life, have access to knowledge and a decent standard of living, and participate in the life of their community and decisions affecting their lives."[47] In more simple terms, *sustainable human development, or SHD,* pertains to *individual or community capacities* and the *enabling environment* that accordingly supports it—be it in economic, social, and political arrangements within that society.

Therefore, the Bangsamoro future depends on their present SHD sources, options, and opportunities to which they should help plan as stakeholders. This study is relevant as it seeks to find that viable SHD framework. This can be done by reviewing the lessons learned in post-conflict developments and understanding the challenges of human development programs in other similar conflict areas. As part of its contributions, this study is aimed at proposing strategy in bringing *sustainable human development* as a

[46] As cited by Sen, Amartya, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books,199), in p.41.
[47] See website of Human Development Report under the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/, accessed December 20, 2010.

core foundation in the mission towards the achievement of sustainable peace in Mindanao.

### 1.4 Research Questions

In the conduct of this study, the following research questions are proposed:

1. How can sustainable human development, as a development framework, be more effective towards the achievement of peace in Mindanao?
2. How can sustainable human development respond to the right to self determination aspirations of the Bangsamoro people?
3. What are the needs and challenges of the conflict communities in Mindanao in their vision of sustainable peace?
4. How can the Bangsamoro Development Agency (BDA) contribute to the success of post-conflict development and peacebuilding in Mindanao?

### 1.5 Research Objectives

The general objective of this research then is to determine the relationship between *sustainable human development* and the attainment of *sustainable peace* through, as well as using, peacebuilding strategies. It shall attempt to identify the factors that could “decrease the incentives to a return to conflict” and guarantee greater support for pursuing and maintaining peace.

There are four specific objectives that this study hopes to achieve. These are:

1. To design a new framework on which sustainable human development can help build peace in Mindanao

2. To analyse how sustainable human development interact with post-conflict development and peacebuilding in a context of a right to self determination conflict.
3. To analyse the needs and challenges of the conflict communities in Mindanao in their vision for sustainable peace.
4. To study the role of the Bangsamoro Development Agency (BDA) in laying down the foundations for peace and peacebuilding in Mindanao.

### 1.6 Research Methods

The research relies on secondary and primary data of works done relevant to post-conflict development and peacebuilding. It includes case studies written on Aceh and Mindanao, particularly the post-conflict development program for the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Free Aceh Movement or Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM). Interviews with practitioners and stakeholders in this field were also conducted in both locations in Mindanao and Aceh, and in meetings held in Penang. Existing data and analyses from multilateral agencies, international organizations, and government agencies were used as baseline data. In the course of the various times of research fieldwork, the method of participation-observation was utilized. In this regard, it is very fortunate that the researcher had access to important meetings with stakeholders—the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) parties and civil society, on many occasions in Mindanao, Manila, and even in Penang and Kuala Lumpur.

The area of this study is located in the conflict affected communities in Mindanao, Philippines. As such, the Bangsamoro communities, as the conflict affected communities, are the primary subjects/stakeholders of this research. The definition of the Bangsamoro includes the 13 ethno-linguistic groups in Mindanao who are Muslims and other Indigenous Peoples (IPs) who have maintained their own religions/cultural beliefs or chosen other religions. This definition follows the historical view of the Bangsamoro revolutionary movements, like the MNLF and MILF. Therefore, it is imperative that the study includes the IP community in its field work.

This study takes a qualitative approach in which it uses the participatory rural appraisal (PRA) and participatory learning and action (PLA) methods. These methods are deemed as effective ways of community immersion and engagement by the researcher. Through this, the researcher was able to gain direct knowledge from the people in conflict communities, and from which the researcher takes an *insider* and *learner* position.[48] At the same time, this method also allowed the participants to learn about their own resources and capacities in the process. By using the PRA/PLA, the communities were encouraged to reflect on their views and visions of a sustainable human development and other concepts, facilitate community assessment, and initiate further collective action. It is important that the researcher is an *insider* since the context of the social actors as a marginalized group pose some degree of sensitivity in some issues. Moreover, the researcher also took the *learner*

[48] The roles of a social scientist researcher using the abductive strategy is explained in Blaikie, Norman, 2007, *Approaches to Social Inquiry, 2nd Edition* (UK & USA: Polity), in pg. 90.

position, rather than the *expert*, in order that the biases (of the researcher) did not interfere in evincing the perspectives and world view of the social actors. [49]

The PRA/PLA is a powerful method that is already being utilized by non-government organizations (NGOs) in Mindanao.[50] While one of the subject communities is familiar with some of the PRA/PLA tools, this method has not yet been used in conducting discussions and understanding the community perspectives on peace, conflict, development, and right to self-determination concepts.[51] In many cases of interventions and engagements with the conflict communities by various organizations, the methods of choice remains to be focus group discussions (FGD) and field surveys.[52] In choosing the communities that were tested for the PRA/PLA exercise, a set of criteria was used. These criteria and the process of selection is explained in the succeeding section under scope and limitations of the study.

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[49] Ibid.

[50] In Mindanao, this method is more known as PRA, although it has evolved as PLA as explained by Chambers, Robert, 1997. An NGO, Balay Mindanao has institutionalized Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) as a method for local development planning in their various programs. They have published a resource book which is translated in the local Bisayan language. See Balay Mindanaw Foundation Inc. (BMFI) and Resource Center for Empowerment and Development (RCED), 2002, *Kab-ot Gahum: A Resource book on Local Development Planning through Participatory Rural Appraisal* (Cagayan de Oro City: BMFI/RCED).

[51] Among the two communities-Baranggay Dalgan has not experienced PRA/PLA, but Baranggay Labungan has used some of the PRA methods like community mapping as part of their work with the Bangsamoro Development Agency.

[52]Many of the NGOs under the Consortium of Bangsamoro Civil Society have been using FGDs and some community mapping tools in their community assessment and development programs. The more comprehensive study is the recent Socio-Economic Development Plan (SEDP) for Conflict Affected Areas in Mindanao, implemented by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Philippines through its Japan Bangsamoro Initiatives for Reconstruction and Development (J-BIRD) presented during the "Mindanao Educators for Peace Summit: Transforming the Conflict in Mindanao through Peace Education and Quality Higher Education", January 11-16, 2010, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia, organized by the Mindanao Association of State Colleges and Universities Foundation (MASCUF) and Research and Education for Peace Universiti Sains Malaysia (REPUSM) and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). The SEDP also used FGDs and key informant interviews as its method. And similar to the method of PLA, they have implemented Quick Impact Projects (QIP) as its pilot testing phase. Another example is the Bangsamoro Development Agency- World Bank Multi-donor Trust Fund (MTF) Program. This program conducts similar development training and project implementation using the World Bank's own Community Driven Development (CDD) framework.

## 1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study will mainly focus on the interconnections of sustainable human development in the context of conflict and peace. Thus, it hopes to address issues of conflict affected communities in their transition from conflict to a normalized society or the longer term sustainable peace situation. It is to be noted that there are only limited and specific areas in Mindanao that are identified as conflict areas and not the entire region. These areas are also the same covered areas of the Bangsamoro Development Agency (BDA)[53] and the ongoing Government of the Philippines (GPH)—Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) peace negotiations. And it is among these areas that two *barangays* (villages)[54] were chosen for field work according to the following criteria:

1. Least accessible areas to past research studies (by WB, JICA, etc.)
2. Areas included in the envisioned New Political Entity (NPE)[55] according to the ongoing GPH-MILF peace talks
3. The viability and relevance of selecting the study areas according to discussions with the BDA

The first criteria was mainly inspired out of the idea of selecting the most marginalized communities. Taking the example of Robert Chamber's "Putting Last First", it makes more sense to prioritize the most marginalized communities

[53] The BDA is the development arm of the MILF. It was created by the Philippine government and the MILF as an entity that commenced rehabilitation, reconstruction and development in the conflict affected areas in Mindanao as part of its confidence building measure while the peace negotiations are still ongoing.
[54] A barangay is the smallest political unit in the local government system in the Philippines.
[55] This is a technical term being coined by the ongoing peace negotiations. It refers to the area that will be included as part of a territory that will be placed under a new political government system led by the Bangsamoro vis a vis the Philippine State.

especially that it is widely known that the poorest suffer the most in perennial situations of violence and conflict. The second criteria takes note of the possible areas that are being included in the ongoing peace negotiations. While the last criteria is cognizant of the actual conditions in the communities that can be viably selected for this study as discussed and recommended by the BDA. By consulting and fully engaging the BDA, the cooperation of the communities that were selected in the study were also guaranteed in the process.

One of the limitations of the study is the inaccessibility of the conflict communities. Among these reasons the prevailing presence of government military forces in the areas which make it unsafe for travel. Another is the challenge of heavy rains and flooding in the whole of Maguindanao Province which made the communities harder to reach. In relation to the fieldwork at the community level, the study was also limited to asking only five questions as part of its participatory rural appraisal and participatory learning and action (PRA/PLA). This limitation and other contraints are explained in Chapter 4 of the Research Methods and Chapter 5 in Research Findings.

### 1.8 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis covers six chapters. Chapter One is an introductory discussion on the rationale and design of the research work.

Chapter Two builds on the literature review on the theoretical concepts of sustainable human development or SHD as the central framework, peacebuilding concepts and framework, peacebuilding and post-conflict