GENDER, PEACE & SECURITY

INFOPACK

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Publisher:
Miriam College-Women and Gender Institute (WAGI)
Rm. 128 Ground Floor, Caritas Building, Miriam College
Katipunan Road, Loyola Heights, Diliman
Quezon City, Philippines 1101
Tel. Nos:(+632) 580 5400 Extension 3590
Telefax: (+632) 435 9229
Email: wagi@mc.edu.ph
Web: www.mc.edu.ph

Writers: Prof. Aurora Javate-de Dios
Melanie Reyes
Women's Feature Service

Editor: Stella Eloisa Marquez-Fong
Copy Editor: Nikki Jean V. Jurisprudencia
Layout and Design: Max B. Santiago

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Message

The peace process in the Philippines has been hailed as one of the most significant and the most promising peace process in the Asian region. For one, two remarkable Filipino women, Secretary Teresita Quintos-Deles and Prof. Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, are leading the difficult negotiation process assisted by the expertise of women and men of the Office of Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process. Second, for the first time, women's organizations, groups, and individuals are visibly and actively supporting the peace process and lobbying for the inclusion of gender provisions in the proposed Bangsamoro Law consistent with UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and other resolutions. While the discussions and debates on the Proposed Bangsamoro Basic Law are still in progress, the Women's Peace Collective (formerly Women's Peace Table), through the assistance of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), is sustaining and intensifying its programs on increasing the political participation of Bangsamoro women in the peace process through capability building programs on democratic and gender-sensitive development-governance processes and programs; legislative advocacy and lobbying techniques; and in deepening their understanding and perspectives on rights of women in Islam.

This Gender, Peace and Security Infopack seeks to provide a brief and introductory material that contains basic facts and figures on the socio-economic conditions in the conflict areas and its implications on the lives of women in the areas of health and reproductive health; security and safety issues; gender-based violence; and, political participation. To give more insights on the situation of women, the Infopack includes the life stories of women whose lives have been affected by the continuing conflict in Mindanao. Through their experiences, we are given a glimpse of the difficulties and travails experienced by women on the ground.

The stories reveal that women's courage, wisdom, resiliency, and hope are what help families and communities survive and thrive even in the midst of war and conflict. It is therefore, of utmost importance that women's voices be articulated and women's leadership take center stage in all phases of the peace process. Only when women are directly engaged at the highest level of negotiations, as well as, in the grassroots level of organizing, can we hope for a sustained and lasting peace in Mindanao.

Prof. Aurora Javate-de Dios
Amina B. Rasul
Dr. Socorro L. Reyes
Co-conveners, Women's Peace Collective
(formerly Women's Peace Table)

INTRODUCTION

The persistent conflict in Mindanao has deep roots in the historical exclusion of the Moro people from the mainstream of the Philippines' political, economic, and cultural life. This situation has been aggravated by decades of deprivation, land grabbing, government neglect, and injustice. From the perspective of the Moro people, the core issue is the recognition and restoration of their independence and autonomy.

For several decades, the Philippines has contended with armed secessionist movements in Mindanao. In 1996, the government entered into a peace agreement with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), but peace remained elusive with the formation of a breakaway group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), the largest and most recent group claiming to represent the interests of the Bangsamoro people.

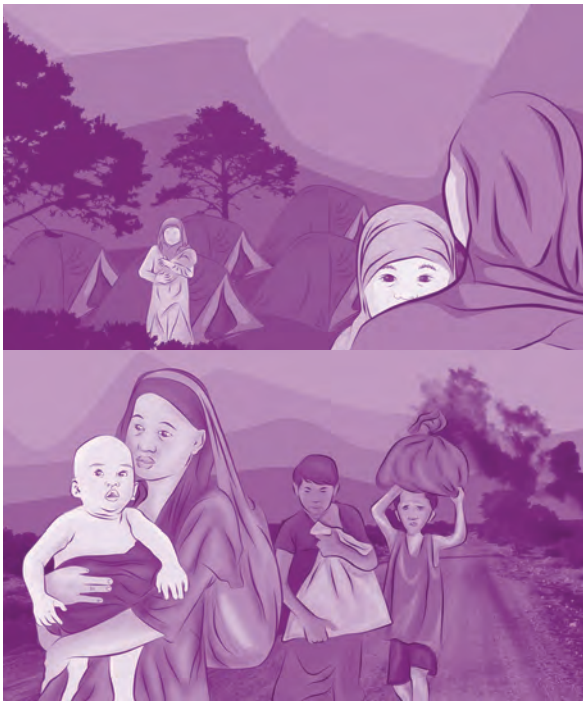
The human and social costs of wars and conflicts cannot be underestimated. Decades of conflicts have resulted in utter destruction of communities, lives lost, and communities and futures shattered. The decades-long conflict between the government and the MNLF and MILF had aggravated what is already an impoverished region. The socio-economic situation in Mindanao is marked by poverty, underdevelopment, lack of economic opportunities, and social services.

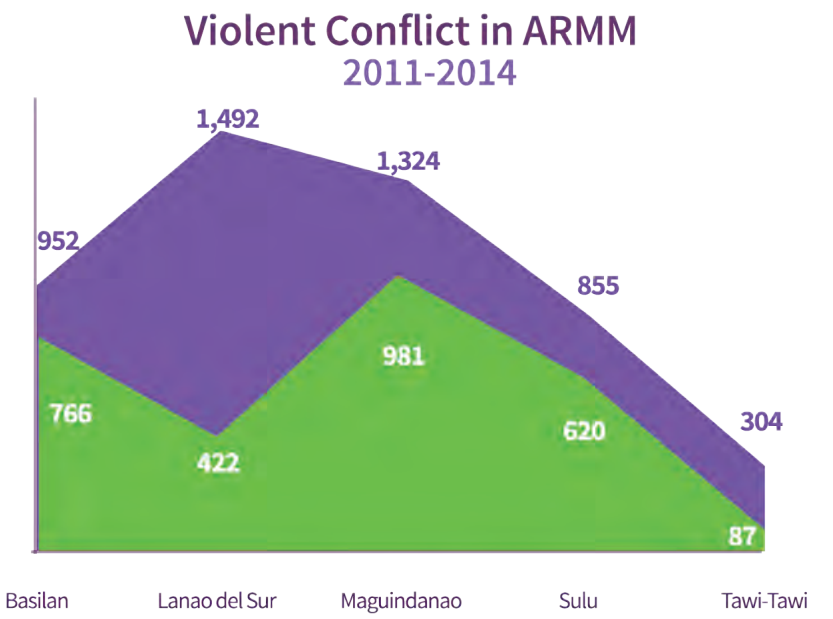
1. PEACE AND SECURITY

- Ibon Foundation (2007) monitored 1,061 armed confrontations between the AFP and the various armed groups in 2001-2005 period.

- There were at least 982,000 persons displaced during the 2000 "all-out war"; 400,000 internally displaced people (IDPs) were left without homes during the renewed AFP operations in 2003; and an estimated 145,730 families (728,659 persons) were uprooted as a result of fighting during the aftermath of the aborted Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain (MOA-AD) in 2008 (Alamia, 2015).

- A study on rido documented a total of 1,666 rido cases between the 1930s and 2005, which have caused death to 5,500 people and displaced thousands (Buenaobra, 2011). Women and their children do not only become witnesses to armed violence, but also become victims themselves. They are harassed or held hostage by both military and rebel groups during war, which brings about severe physical, psychological, and spiritual damage to their lives.





SOURCE: Bangsamoro Conflict Monitoring of World Bank as cited in the Powerpoint presentation of Atty. Laisa Masuhud Alamia

- The Bangsamoro Conflict Monitoring System of World Bank (2014) documented a total of 4,927 violent conflicts in ARMM from 2011 to 2014 that resulted in 2,876 deaths and 44,843 displaced households, out of which 32,662 were from Maguindanao.

- The Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process estimated the economic loss due to Mindanao conflict at around PhP640 billion ($13.9 billion). A similar study was prepared by Rappler through an infographic report highlighting the economic cost of war in Mindanao under six administrations: Ferdinand E. Marcos, Corazon C. Aquino, Fidel V. Ramos, Joseph E. Estrada, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, and Benigno Simeon C. Aquino III (Rappler, 2015).

Area	Displaced Households (2011-2014)
Maguindanao	32,662
Basilan	11,305
Lanao del Sur	200
Sulu	66
Tawi-Tawi	10

SOURCE: from the Powerpoint presentation of Atty. Laisa Masuhud Alamia, Executive Secretary, ARMM

Administration	Running Total Deaths	Economic Cost
Ferdinand Marcos (1965-1986)	Over 100,000	PhP288.4 billion ($6.25 billion)
Corazon Aquino (1986-1992)	Over 100,128	PhP393.4 billion($8.53 billion)
Fidel Ramos (1992-1998)	Over 100,578	PhP491.6 billion($10.66billion)
Joseph Estrada (1998-2001)	Over 102,278	PhP547.5 billion($11.87billion)
Gloria Macapagal Arroyo (2001-2010)	Over 104,137	PhP548 billion($11.88billion)
Benigno Aquino III (2010-Present)	Over 104,786	Php 587.1 billion($12.73billion)

2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

- Based on the 2014 Human Development Report, ARMM has the highest proportion of population living below the poverty threshold, with 55.8%. Poverty incidence among women was at 58.9% (28.8% higher than the national rate).

- In 2014, the National Household Targeting System for Poverty Reduction (or Listahan program) of the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) has identified 14.4 million poor women nationwide, most of these women were in the provinces of ARMM (10.4% or about 1.49 million women) followed by Zamboanga Peninsula or Region 9 (6.5% or 936,000) (De Vera, 2014).

- Data from the Philippine Statistics Authority (2011) reveal that women in ARMM have the lowest percentage of completed elementary education at only 46% while most regions are at 60-80% range. It also has the lowest literacy rate at 82.5% and the lowest school attendance at 59.3%.

- Conflicts disrupt the delivery of basic services, such as health care, education, infrastructure, and other social protection services, thereby depriving huge populations of much needed assistance in basic social services.

- Women, who often have to bear the burden of women's mobility, may be severely affected during conflict leaving them unable to access employment, health services, and markets.

- According to the Philippine Statistics Authority, in 2008, ARMM had the highest maternal and child death rates among the country's 17 regions. Maternal mortality rate (MMR) in ARMM was 245 per 100,000 live births (national rate was 162). However, in 2011, it was brought down to 66 (compared to the national average of 152). In 2008, infant mortality rate (IMR) in the ARMM, on the other hand, decreased from 55 per 1,000 live births (compared to the national rate of 25) to 18 in 2011 (Sun Star Zamboanga, 2014).
- Women experience complications in pregnancy, especially in stressful and unhygienic conditions in refugee and evacuation centers, all, as a result of armed conflicts. Pregnancy complications include shock and fear leading to fetal death, and panic leading to premature birth. The stresses in evacuation centers lead to infant deaths, among younger children, recurring coughs, cold and fever and the spread of scabies (Ibon Foundation, 2007).

3. GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN TIMES OF CONFLICT

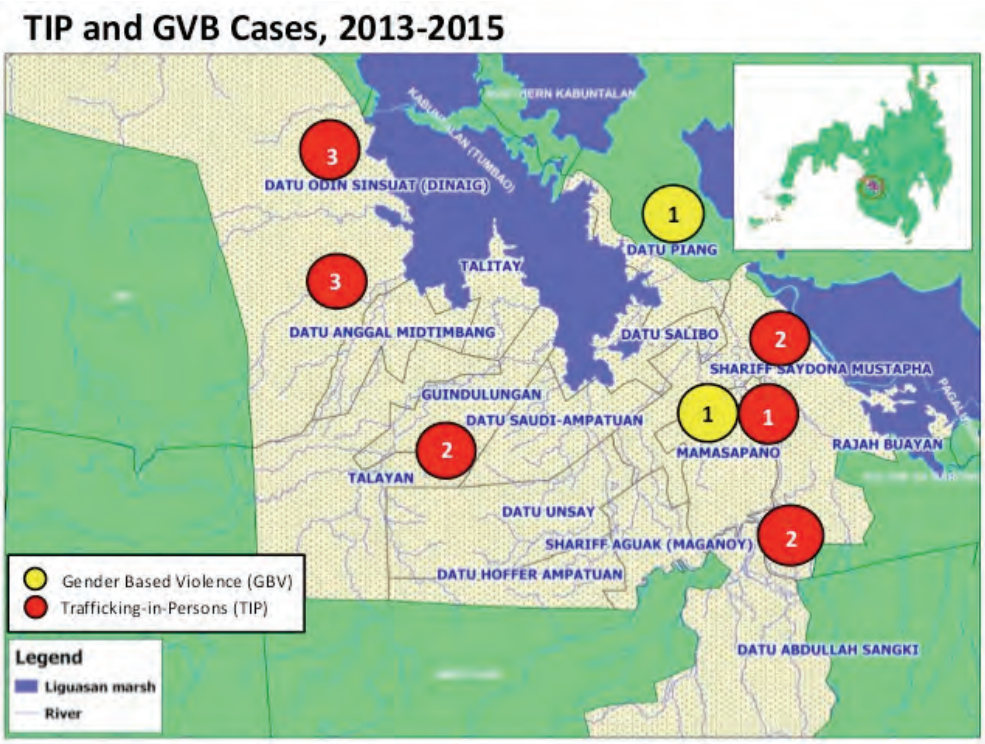
- Women are highly vulnerable in militarized areas and when conflict arises, they are burdened with multiple tasks to keep their families safe and fed.

- Though under-reported, women in armed conflicts and war are tortured, raped and killed, simply because they are women. Rape is used as a war tactic to humiliate and instill fear among enemy groups (OHCHR, n.d.).

- The Philippine Statistical Authority reported that in 2008, a considerable percentage of women in the ARMM experience domestic violence, with 23% of women experiencing physical violence since age 15, and 13% perpetrated by their spouse.

- Because of trafficking, women in conflict areas live in fear and insecurity. Women in these communities have expressed grief over the loss of and/or separation from family members, loss of their homes and farmlands, inaccessibility of food, water and health services for the family; fear of abusive government soldiers who threatened them and their families. Complications in pregnancy, unsanitary conditions in refugee/ evacuation centers, trauma, depression, and poor health of women and children are recurrent problems during conflict. In the most extreme cases, women are forced to sell their bodies just to feed their families.

- Trafficking in persons in ARMM is also prevalent. Data from the ARMM Council Against Trafficking (ACAT) indicated a total of 387 victim-survivors of trafficking in persons in the region in 2014 alone



SOURCE: as cited from the Powerpoint presentation of Atty. Laisa Masuhud Alamia, Executive Secretary, ARMM, 2015.

- Psychological trauma is the most typical effect of war among Bangsamoro women, followed by economic difficulties and displacement; deterioration of health, loss of property, death of family members and overall decline of quality of life (WAGI, 2016).

- Prostitution reportedly sprung up in Zamboanga upon arrival of US troops in the area. There are now an estimated 2,000 women and girls in prostitution (Farr, 2004 in Jeffreys, 2009, p119).

4. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

- Women occupy a lower status than men, which is also reflected in their weak involvement in governance, leadership, and other community roles. Women still perceive community participation as their performance of reproductive duties within their families.

- In a study conducted by the Women's Peace Table, 50% of women in Cotabato, Isabela, Jolo, Lamitan, Marawi, and Zamboanga have heard about the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro and the Bangsamoro Basic Law, but do not know what they mean. Consequently, about 50% of participants in the study do not understand terms, such as referendum, political autonomy, fiscal autonomy, and ministerial system. About 60% of women have very little knowledge and awareness on the Bangsamoro peace process, which does not augur well for women's active participation. The study also showed that most women who are eligible to participate in the elections intend to do so as voters, and not as candidates or leaders of political parties.

- Fortunately, women have increasingly been visible in formal peace processes. Since 2001, five women have been appointed as members of government peace panels and two women have been appointed as presidential advisers on the peace process. From 2003, there were 16 women who have participated in peace negotiations and many more women and women's organizations are actively engaged in peace advocacy and human rights. In 2011, the negotiating panel of the MILF for the first time appointed two female as consultants (OPAPP, n.d.).

- Two women are part of the GPH peace negotiating panel in talks with the MILF, another two women are in the legal team of the GPH peace panel negotiation with the MILF; two out of four Technical Working Groups for the Annexes to the GPH-MILF Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro are headed by women; and four out of 15 members of the Bangsamoro Transition Commission are women (OPAPP, n.d.).

- Women are also active in post-conflict reconstruction. They perform peacekeeping roles in local operations such as Bantay Ceasefire where community volunteers support ceasefire agreements by reporting ceasefire violations and by protecting civilians from security threats (OPAPP Mindanews, 2014).

HOPE FOR PEACE REKINDLED

A series of ceasefire agreements were entered into between the government of the Philippines (GPH) and MILF in 2003, with formal negotiations resuming in 2009. In October 12, 2012, the GPH and MILF signed the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB), outlining consensus points of political settlement between the two parties. It defines the structure and powers of a new Bangsamoro political entity that will replace the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). It is supplemented by four annexes on power sharing, wealth sharing, normalization and transitional arrangements. On March 27, 2014, a Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) was signed by both parties (OPAPP, n.d.).

WOMEN AND PEACE PROCESS

Women have not always figured in peace agreements as their voices and perspectives have never been given recognition and value. Of the 585 peace agreements that were signed between 1990 and 2010, only 16% mentioned women. Most of the signatories to peace agreements are men (97.5%) and 92.4 % of all participants in peace negotiations are men (UNIFEM, 2010).

However in recent years, the inclusion of women in peace processes have been acknowledged as critical in ending war and sustaining peace by the international community. Women's insights, perspectives and approaches in ending conflicts are now widely believed to make a difference in conflict resolution and peace building. The Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 identified "women in armed conflicts" as a priority area to address the impact of war on women (U.N.,1995).

In 2000, UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women and Armed Conflict was adopted as the blueprint for women's participation in peace processes. It recognized the inordinate impact of war on women and acknowledged the important role women play in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. In addition, it called for increased protection for women and children in violent conflict situations.

Resolution 1325 called on Member States to, among other things, guarantee women's full and equal participation in decision-making on all matters of peace and security at all levels. It also encouraged the adoption of a gender perspective in peace negotiations and in the implementation of peace agreements. This was followed by a series of complementary resolutions namely Security Council Resolution 1820, 1888, and 1960, which reinforced UNSC Resolution 1325.

The Philippines is the first country in Asia to adopt a National Action Plan (NAP) on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 that requires government to appoint women leaders in the peace negotiations and processes and to have concrete programs to involve women in all phases of the peace process. Secretary Teresita Quintos-Deles of the Office of Presidential Adviser for the Peace Process and Prof. Miriam Coronel Ferrer, Head of the Philippine Government Negotiating Panel, with the Moro National Islamic Liberation Front, are shining examples of leadership and determination in pursuing the peace process.

The NAP consists of four pillars: protection and prevention; empowerment and participation; promotion and mainstreaming; and, capacity development and monitoring/ reporting. Government initiatives on the peace process are complemented by women's networks, such as the WEACT 1325 and the Women's Peace Table, which are networks of several organizations working for the peace process, through training and lobbying for the passage of the Bangsamoro Basic Law.

The Women's Peace Table (WPT) is a network of women in conflict-affected communities in Mindanao, such as NGOs, Aleemat (Muslim women religious leaders), professionals, as well as, faculty and students, and other civil society groups from Metro Manila and the Visayas. It aims to connect the informal peace tables of the grassroots communities with the formal peace table between the government and the MILF. Three organizations—the Women and Gender Institute (WAGI) of Miriam College, the Philippine Center for Islam and Democracy(PCID), and the Mindanao Commission on Women(MCW)—conveners of the WPT, are actively working towards increasing women's political participation in the peace process, including organizing Women's Peace Tables in conflict-affected areas, and in lobbying for the passage of the Bangsamoro Basic Law.

The Mamasapano tragedy, which resulted in the deaths of 44 soldiers from the Special Action Force, was perhaps, the lowest point in what otherwise was a smooth-sailing peace agreement that was in the process of being validated through the passage of the Bangsamoro Basic Law in Congress. Though it temporarily derailed the peace process, the inexorable momentum for peace remains strong. Already, the Women's Peace Table (now renamed Women's Peace Collective) has started its program to strengthen and prepare women in peace-building and conflict-reconstruction through capacity building in Gender Sensitive and Transformative Leadership in development, electoral, and governance processes. An important component of the WPC project is the continuing discussion on the progressive interpretation of the role of women in Islam within the context of women's rights and gender equality, political participation in electoral processes, governance and development processes with a gender and human rights perspective.

GENDER PROVISIONS IN THE PROPOSED BANGSAMORO BASIC LAW

Words appearing in the provisions were highlighted in bold to emphasize the participation/involvement of women in the proposed Bangsamoro Basic Law.

Article V. Powers of Government.

Section 3. Exclusive Power - XXX

55. Establishment of appropriate mechanisms for consultations for women and marginalized sectors;

56. Special development programs and laws for ***women***, the youth, the elderly, labor, the differently abled, and indigenous cultural communities.

Article VI. Intergovernmental Relations

Section 5. Council of Leaders - the Bangsamoro Council of Leaders shall consist of Chief Minister, provincial governors, mayors of chartered cities, and representatives from the non-Moro indigenous communities, ***women***, settler communities, and other sectors. The Council shall advise the Chief Minister on matters of governance in the Bangsamoro. The representation of the non-Moro indigenous communities shall be pursuant to their customary laws and indigenous processes.

Article VII. The Bangsamoro Government

Section 5. Classification and Allocation of Seats – XXX (3) Reserved Seats; Sectoral Representatives – Sectoral representatives, constituting ten percent (10%) of the Members of Parliament, including two (2) reserved seats each for non-Moro indigenous communities and settler communities. ***Women shall also have a reserved seat.***

Article IX. Basic Rights

Section 1. Basic Rights in the Bangsamoro - XXX ***g. Right of women to meaningful political participation and protection from all forms of violence***

Section 10. Protection of Women and Children - The Bangsamoro Government shall uphold and protect the fundamental rights of women and children including the right of women to engage in lawful employment. Women and children, especially orphans of tender age shall be protected from exploitation, abuse of discrimination. The Bangsamoro Parliament shall enact the necessary laws for the implementation of this section.

Section 11. Participation of Women in the Bangsamoro Government - Aside from the reserved seat for women in the Parliament, there shall be at least one qualified woman to be appointed to the Bangsamoro Cabinet. The Bangsamoro Parliament shall enact a law that gives recognition to the important role of women in nation building and regional development and ensures representation of women in other decision-making and policy determining bodies of the Bangsamoro Government.

Article XIII. Economy and Patrimony

Section 3. Comprehensive Framework for Sustainable Development –
The Bangsamoro Government shall develop a comprehensive framework for sustainable development through the proper conservation, utilization and development of natural resources. Such framework shall guide the Bangsamoro Government in adopting programs and policies and establishing mechanisms that focus on the environment dimensions of social and economic interventions. It shall include measures for the reduction of vulnerability of women and marginalized groups to climate change and variability.

Section 6. Gender and Development - The Bangsamoro Government recognizes the role of women in governance and shall ensure the fundamental equality before the law of women and men. It shall guarantee full and direct participation of women in governance and in the development process and shall further ensure that women benefit equally in the implementation of development programs and projects. In the utilization of public funds, the Bangsamoro Government shall ensure that the needs of women and men are adequately addressed. For this purpose, at least five percent (5%) of the total budget appropriation of each ministry, office and constituent local government unit of the Bangsamoro shall be set aside for gender responsive programs in accordance with a gender and development (GAD) plan. In the same manner, at least five percent (5%) up to thirty percent (30%) of the official development funds received by the Bangsamoro shall be set aside to complement said GAD budget allocation.

The Bangsamoro Government shall establish a mechanism for consultation with women and local communities to further ensure the allocation and proper utilization of said funds. It shall identify and implement special development programs and laws for women.

Article XIV. Rehabilitation and Development

Section 1. Rehabilitation and Development – The Bangsamoro Government with funding support from the Central Government, shall intensify development efforts for the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the Bangsamoro as part of the normalization process. It shall formulate and implement a program for rehabilitation and development that will address the needs of MILF combatants/BIAF members and ***decommissioned women auxiliary forces***, internally displaced persons, and poverty stricken communities.

Article XV Plebiscite

Section 9. Information Campaign – The Commission on Elections shall supervise the conduct of information campaigns on the plebiscite, including sectoral campaigns for indigenous communities, women, youth, religious, professionals and public and private sector employees in every municipality, city and province where the plebiscite is held…

Article XVI Bangsamoro Transition Authority

Section 2. Bangsamoro Transition Authority – XXX The BTA shall be composed of fifty (50) members, all of whom shall be appointed by the President; Provided that, non-Moro indigenous communities, ***women***, settler communities and other sectors shall have representatives in the BTA…

WPT SUGGESTIONS TO STRENGHTEN GENDER PROVISIONS IN THE BBL

Article IV. General Principles and Policies

Section 2: Democratic Political System-The Bangsamoro Government shall be parliamentary. Its political system is democratic, allowing its people to freely participate in the political processes within its territory. ***Pursuant to the rights of women to meaningful political participation, women shall be represented in all decision-making bodies of the Bangsamoro.***

Section 3: Electoral System-The Bangsamoro shall adopt an electoral system suitable to a ministerial form of government, which shall allow democratic participation, encourage formation of genuinely principled political parties ***with equitable representation of women, indigenous people and other marginalized groups, and ensure accountability.***

Section 6: Promotion of Rights-The Bangsamoro shall adhere to the principle of enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong. ***All its laws and policies, including customary laws shall conform with international human rights and humanitarian standards including gender equality. The Bangsamoro government shall promote, protect and fulfill the basic human rights of all peoples as provided by national law and all international laws, covenants and treaties to which the Philippines is a signatory.***

Article V. The Powers of Government

Section 2. Concurrent Powers

8. Civil Service …"This law shall govern the conduct of civil servants, the qualifcation for non-elective positions, adopt the merit system, ***ensure gender balance (50-50) for women in third level positions in government as provided for in the Magna Carta of Women"***

13. Disaster Risk Reduction and Management…***"The BDRRMC shall formulate a gender-sensitive Bangsamoro Disaster Risk Reduction and Managemement Plan…"***

Section 3. Exclusive Powers

55. Establishment of appropriate mechanisms for consultation for women and marginalized sector: ***The Bangsamoro government shall ensure that women's representation at all levels of development planning and program implementation shall be at least 40% as provided for by the Magna Carta of Women.***

Article VI. Intergovernmental Relations

Section 5.Council of Leaders
The Bangsamoro Council of Leaders shall consist of the Chief Minister, provincial governors, mayors of chartered cities and representatives from the non-Moro indigenous communities, women, settler communities and other sectors. The Bangsamoro Council of Leaders shall be chaired by the Chief Minister. ***In pursuit of the Magna Carta of Women, 40% of the Bangsamoro Council of Leaders shall be composed of women….***

Article VII. The Bangsamoro Government

Bangsamoro Parliament

Section 5. Classification and Allocation of Seats

1. District Seats-Forty percent (40%) of the Members of Parliament shall be elected from single-member parliamentary districts apportioned for the area and in the manner provided for in the Appendix of this Basic Law. ***In pursuit of the Magna Carta of Women, women's equal and full participation in the elections shall be incorporated in the guidelines of the Commission on Elections.***

2. Party Representatives-Fifty percent (50%) of the Members of Parliament shall be representatives of political parties who win seats through a system of proportional representation based on the whole Bangsamoro territory. Parties shall ensure gender balance with women and men alternating in their respective closed party list of approved candidates prior to the election. ***As provided for by the Magna Carta of Women, the Commission on Elections shall provide incentives to political parties with a women's agenda.***

3. Reserved Seats; Sectoral Representation-Sectoral representatives, constituting 10% of the Members of Parliament, including two (2) reserved seats each for non-Muslim indigenous communities and settler communities. ***Women shall also have two (2) reserved seats.***

Section 7. Regional Political Parties - A free and open regional party system shall be allowed to evolve according to the free choice of the people. Towards this end, only regional political parties duly accredited by the Bangsamoro Electoral Office may participate in the parliamentary elections in the Bangsamoro. ***Political parties shall ensure the representation and participation of women in their leadership and decision-making structures and processes.***

Section 9. Bangsamoro Electoral Code - The electoral system shall allow democratic participation, ensure accountability of public officers primarily to their constitutnets and encourage formation of genuinely principled ***and gender-responsive*** political parties.

Section 9, 2nd paragraph: There is hereby created a Bangsamoro Electoral Office which shall be part of the Commission on Elections….The Bangsamoro Parliament shall submit a list of three (3) recommendees to the President ***including one woman*** who shall choose from among the Director-General who shall head the Office….The Bangsamoro Electoral Office shall likewise implement the Bangsamoro Electoral Code that shall…..***ensure full and equal participation of women in elections and plebiscites.***

Article IX. Basic Rights

Section 10. Protection of Women and Children-… ***Women and children shall be protected from exploitation and all forms of sexual and gender-based violence at all times especially in situations of armed conflict, disasters or other crisis situations.***

Section 11. Participation of Women in Bangsamoro Government. Aside from the reserved seats for women in Parliament, ***there shall also be gender balance in the Bangsamoro cabinet and in the Shariah Justice System***

Article X. Bangsamoro Justice System

Section1. Justice System in the Bangsamoro. For Muslims, the justice system in the Bangsamoro shall give primary consideration to Shariah and customary rights and traditions of the indigenous peoples in the Bangsamoro, ***which shall be in accordance with international standards of human rights including gender equality.***

Article XII. Fiscal Autonomy

Section 37. Composition (Intergovernmental Fiscal Policy Board) The Board shall be composed of the heads and/or representatives of the appropriate Ministries and Offices in the Bangsamoro government. ***It shall have sectoral representation from Women and IPs.***

Article XIV. Rehabilitation and Development

Section 1. The Bangsamoro government, with funding support from the Central Government, shall intensify development efforts for the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the Bangsamoro as part of the normalization process. ***It shall promote and ensure gender-responsive approach in all aspects of security and peace-building, including the participation of women in decision-making.***

Section 2. The Central Government shall provide for a Special Development Fund to the Bangsamoro for rehabilitation and development purposes upon the ratification of the Bangsamoro Basic law. ***There shall be established a Women's Peace Fund primarily managed by women, as a window to the Special Development Fund in support of gender as a cross-cutting concern.***

Article XVI Bangsamoro Transition Authority

Section 4. Functions and Priorities-The BTA shall ensure the accomplishment of the following priorities during the Transition Period:

a. Ensure that transitional justice mechanisms shall administer equitable, inclusive and distributive justice regardless of class, creed, disability, gender and ethnicity.

b. xxx

c. Set up a Regional Commission on the Bangsamoro as a full-fledged Ministry with the mandate to mainstream gender in policies, regulations and programs and monitor the implementation of all laws relating to women.

WOMEN'S NARRATIVES OF SURVIVAL

Getting Pregnant Women's Two Feet Out of the Grave

Most Philippine regions, despite nuances in language and culture, agree that pregnant women have borrowed lives. Conceiving is akin to a death threat for pregnant Filipinas for whom, "isang paa ay nasa hukay" (one foot is inside the grave). This is truest in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) where more mothers die in pregnancy-related causes compared to the rest of the country.

"Pag buntis ka, maraming nangyayari sa loob mo. E, pano na kung marami rin nangyayaring gulo sa labas mo?" (When you are pregnant, there are many changes inside you. What more if there are also upheavals in your environment?) says Anisa Taha, 51, an aleemat (Muslim religious leader) and member of Noorus Salam, a network of Muslim religious scholars.

Taha recalls how it was to be Maguindanaoan in 1972 when Martial Law was in effect, and how mothers and mothering at war have not really changed since then. A student in Cotabato City at that time, she received a call from her father asking her to go home to Datu Odin Sinsuat or, *"hindi na tayo magkikita kasi lilikas na kami"* (we will be evacuating so we may not see each other again).

Aside from the few elderly men like her father, most of those who evacuated were women, she remembers, mothers packed and ready, most with young babies and children carried one on each arm, another on the hip and still another on piggyback. In 2000, during President Joseph 'Erap' Estrada's "all- out war," it was Taha's turn to mother her fledgling brood to safety, packed and ready.

Pregnant women, often in their third trimester, get their bags filled with the essentials of birthing for a faster trip to a birthing facility. Those who prefer giving birth at home arrange to have their children taken care of by other female family members or friends. Maguindanao mothers, for at least three generations now, as Anisa remembers it, are always packed and ready regardless of season, whether they are pregnant or not.

"Sa kultura naming mga Maguindanaoan, ang buntis na babae ang nag-aalaga sa sarili nya. At kung may anak sya, alaga rin n'ya," (In the Maguindanaoan culture, a pregnant women takes care of herself. And if she has children, also takes care of them) says Taha. The load is tripled, she says, when mothers are forced to evacuate due to armed conflicts because the burden of safety and survival from the time they uproot themselves to coping in evacuation centers is entirely up to them.

Husbands, fathers, and most adult males are either away fighting with the MILF, or hiding. Whether they are combatants or civilians, male presence in evacuation centers put their families at risk so many women only have other women to lean on.

"Apat ang anak mo, ikaw lang mag-isa. Walang facilities sa evacuation center, walang supply ng tubig o pagkain. Ganun na nung panahon ng nanay ko, ganun pa rin ngayong panahon ko," (You are alone with four kids. There are no facilities or food and water supplies in the evacuation center. It was already like this in my mother's time and it is still the same now) she says.

Conflict exacerbates the more basic health gaps, says Dr. Farah Tan-Omar, Sulu Provincial Health Officer. *"We still lack hospitals and health centers in island barangays, and there are not enough health personnel to cover the population."*

For mothers to have safe pregnancies and deliveries, Dr. Omar says, *"they need quality prenatal services and give birth in equipped facilities that they can easily access. This is challenging in an archipelago."* Access is difficult for Tausug mothers living in distant islands, she says, due to the irregularity of transport and often difficult sea conditions.

While the Sulu Health Office invests in capacitating health staff already based in the villages so they could be closer to the people who most need their care, there is also the question of their safety. At least three midwives have been abducted in separate incidents in Patikul and Indanan.

There is always the threat of kidnapping for health workers and mothers seeking care. Virgie Cadano, a midwife in Lamitan, Basilan, remembers being stranded in a foxhole while war raged, also raging within herself because she couldn't attend an emergency delivery.

Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) Article IX, Section 15. Comprehensive and Integrated Health Service Delivery. Even before the rest of the country, ARMM has enacted the Reproductive Health Care Act of 2012 for Muslim Mindanao.

Health service delivery may be constantly disrupted, but slowly and steadily, health workers are pulling out, not just one foot, but both feet of pregnant women out of the grave. In 2008, maternal mortality in the ARMM was 245 per 100,000 livebirths. Five years after, in 2013, according to the ARMM Health Department, maternal mortality rate decreased to 64 per 100,000 livebirths.

Communities are mobilized to increase their stake in their own health. Locals secure the health station in Barangay Limook, which Cadano oversees, especially at night when there are women in labor. Health volunteers in Basilan, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi knock on pregnant women's doors to take them for prenatal check-ups, and secure *habal-habal*, skylab (motorcycle "taxi") and *lantsa* (outrigger boat) when it is time.

More local midwives are hired for the frontlines and they wade among mangroves to get vaccines to Yakan and Tausug children in remote island villages stricken by measles. When huge waves hamper their mobility, Tawi-Tawi health workers partner with traditional birth attendants and Muslim religious leaders to blast health service announcements on their community radio program.

"Pag maayos ang lagay ng nanay, mas malaki ang tsansa ng baby," (If the mother's health status is stable, the baby has more chances of surviving) says Taha (Women's Feature Service).

MACRINA MORADO'S LESSONS IN KINDNESS AND HOPE

When she was twelve, Macrina Morados learned some lessons in kindness that she carried to this day.

A nun came to their village in Davao del Sur one day to organize mothers weaving multi-colored mats. Macrina joined the women, partly because she knew how to weave the strands by observing her mother complete the patterns, but mainly because she had stopped going to school. The nun, Sr. Maria Sabina Briñan, RVM, happened to ask the women if anyone spoke Badjao, the language of Sama Badjao, an ethnic group with maritime culture found in Sulu archipelago. Macrina lied and said yes. She couldn't speak fluent Badjao but she knew that Badjao people could understand Tausug, which is Macrina's first language. Then the nun said to Macrina: "If you could teach three Badjao kids to read, write and count, I will send you to school."

Macrina spent a few months in the "beach school" where she had tearful sessions with ten Badjao children. Sometimes the kids played truant or skipped their lessons to swim, play, or help their families find some food. She tried to hold their attention by taking them to the beach to count seashells and write their names and the alphabet on the sand. She realized that the outdoor activities were better than formal classroom lessons.

By the end of summer of 1980, the three smart Badjao children in her class went on to enrol in a public school while Macrina started high school at Holy Cross Academy, a religious run-school, which became her ticket to higher education and other academic achievements years later. She stayed in a convent of the RVM nuns who had to adjust their cooking to include *halal* food. They allowed her prayer times that were required of Muslims. They also spent for her surgery to remove a facial tumor.

Now 47, Macrina said she hasn't grown tired telling the stories of the Badjao kids, and also the nuns that sent her to school because her family couldn't, due to poverty and the belief that boys should be more educated than girls. There are insights to glean from those retellings that Macrina herself would try to explain, without falling into banalities.

For Macrina, the stories speak of kindness that is underway when meeting strangers or the "others" who are different by virtue of their belief, manner of dressing, gender, religion or status in life. Kindness also meant caring for each other, and this is essential to a larger goal, which is to stand equally before one another. Finally, kindness would ensure that those silenced could speak, and in Macrina's terms these are the Moro people, especially the Moro women who have been denied their voices before the law and before their men.

The issue of silencing has ethnic and personal resonance to Macrina; she believes that the school is the best place to raise one's voice. In college, she shifted from English and literature to Islamic studies at Mindanao State University in Gen. Santos City. Then she studied law and passed the Shari'ah bar to become a Shari'ah counsellor in 2006 (Shari'ah law applies only to civil cases under Shari'ah law involving Muslims in the Philippines). In 2003, she earned her M.A. in Islamic Studies from the University of Philippines, Diliman where she now teaches, and also enrolled to complete her Ph.D. in Philippine Studies.

Her advocacy for the rights and welfare of Moro women and children shaped her academic and professional pursuits. One of them was helping Muslim women inmates at the Quezon City Jail. Macrina lectured on Islam and taught the women how to read and write in Arabic. She even brought them food for *iftar*, an evening meal during Ramadan. Many of these inmates were displaced by war in Mindanao and so they looked for jobs in Manila or abroad but, while waiting for their luck or visas, they fell into the hands of crime syndicates and drug dealers who made them commit crimes.

> Article IV of the proposed Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) states that all Filipino residents of Bangsamoro, regardless of ethnic identity, origin or religion, will enjoy equal rights and privileges. In short, everyone benefits and not just the MILF.

From February to April 2015, Macrina joined the lecturers' pool of the Philippine Commission on Women that ran gender awareness workshops for educators and policeman in the cities of Cagayan de Oro, Davao, Cebu, and Metro Manila. She discussed gender issues concerning Moro women and the prospects of peace in Mindanao, in the context of the peace talks between the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the Philippine government.

She said her stake in the peace process is personal (her family left Sulu just before the war between the Moro National Liberation Front and the Marcos government erupted in the 1970s) and political (her current advocacy is the strong representation of women in the proposed Bangsamoro legislative body under the Bangsamoro Basic Law or BBL).

Macrina is optimistic that the presence of Moro women leaders in the peace panel would inspire more Moro women to speak and participate in the male-dominated political sphere, as what prevails in Jolo, Maguindanao and Lanao. She believes that through the BBL, Moro women could improve their social standing, if given support to realize their potentials. This sentiment is a result of her research and publications that examined poverty among Moro women and the discrimination they experience.

The fate of BBL is uncertain as of this writing but Macrina said: *"We should not give up on the BBL. We should not equate it with the MILF and other political groups because the BBL, as a desired permanent institution, transcends or may even outlive them."*

CONFLICT'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS ON WOMEN'S LIVES

"We need to change the heartbreaking narratives of women."

Every time Bai Rohaniza Sumndad-Usman provides a picture of Moro women experiencing strife, she cites the voices of girls and young women who have no choice but to stay in temporary shelters because of armed conflict.

For people outside of the areas in Mindanao that are going through armed and violent clashes, the stories have become common tales that are repeated every now and then through the news and in venues that recount the ordeal of people going through the experience.

"Women's stories are the most heartbreaking," she said. *"Each and every woman's voice tells a narrative so dark it blurs your view of things."*

In different conflict areas that she has visited, she said she has witnessed abuse, exploitation and rape of girls aged 12, 13 and 14. The abuses happened while they were in temporary shelters. Some have been abused by their own parents and relatives.

The environment where the girls and young women find themselves in, away from their homes while military operations are ongoing for months, is the evacuation center. In times of peace, girls live their years as children and eventually become grown-up women with roles and responsibilities in a few years' time.

Sumndad-Usman said the world, from a girl's and a young woman's eyes, is one where she goes to school every day, receives knowledge, learn and adopt life skills, and simply has fun growing up.

But this is not the scenario in times of conflict. The girls and women are forced to work odd and indecent jobs to provide for their families. This adds more danger to their already treacherous surroundings.

"Their lives are interrupted; their dreams obscured."

For decades, women and the children they care for have been the most vulnerable sectors during conflicts. *"Their narratives are cycles that remind us that if nothing is done to improve social development and achieve peace in their communities, the girls and young women after them will say the same stories."*

"We need to change the narratives of women."

Bai Rohaniza Sumndad-Usman, a member of the five-person Peace Council, an independent group of citizen leaders who conducted a study on the Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL), and the founder of the "Teach Peace, Build Peace Movement" that envisions to make every Filipino child and youth a peace builder, often cites the voices of women and children when conveying the story of Muslim Mindanao.

She did this the first time when she delivered the concluding address of the Peace Council in April 2015 in her appeal for the passage of the BBL during the Congressional hearing on the proposed law.

She presented Anna, 8 years old, an evacuee in Mamasapano, who asked people in Manila to pray with her for peace. Janine, a 10-year old girl, appealed for peace so that she can attain her dream of becoming a teacher someday. Samraida, a 22-year old woman who was four months pregnant, said, *"We have been here for almost two months. I find this situation very difficult to bear. I do not know what kind of future the child I am carrying will have, if these kinds of conflicts continue."*

She recalled that she wept when delivering the concluding remarks because it was too much being a witness and recalling the dark moments all over again. Her tears welled up when she talked about the disadvantaged girls and women during an interview.

She said an estimated 120,000 lives have been lost in 17 years that Muslims in Mindanao have been negotiating for peace. More than 100,000 evacuees have been displaced as an aftermath of the tragic incident in Mamasapano including thousands of young people.

> Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL)
> Article IX. Basic Rights. Section 1. Basic Rights in the Bangsamoro. In addition to the basic rights already enjoyed by the citizens residing in the Bangsamoro, the Bangsamoro Government shall guarantee the following enforceable rights:.. (i). Right to equal opportunity and non-discrimination in social and economic activity and the public service, regardless of class, creed, disability, gender and ethnicity...(m). Right to free public education in the elementary and high school levels.

Hundreds of thousands of houses, schools and offices have also been destroyed by armed clashes between government troops and rebels. Every time these are rebuilt, these are devastated once again when fighting ensues. This has been going on for 40 years, and for this long period, development has been jeopardized.

Hundreds of thousands of families leave their homes and live in temporary shelters for months and even years; that they have to suffer displacement under unhealthy conditions has become an agonizing drama that is played out all over the country and outside.

Sumndad-Usman said schooling stops and children drop out of school for a long time, traumatized by violence. Life stops. When livelihoods and employment are disrupted during conflict, both workers and employers are in evacuation centers, and nothing is achieved.

"We cannot expect anyone to develop under these circumstances," she said.

"There are many voices I could still hear, and I tell people about them and what they said. It is not easy, considering that most of these are small voices."

Only recently, she said the "Teach Peace, Build Peace Movement" went to Mamasapano to meet with students, as schooling had resumed. They engaged the young with activities involving play, art and music to enable them to get back to their grasp of what peace is.

"They still have their stories to tell, but the women and children are able to smile now," she said. *"Their smiles are the sweetest and most sincere that you can ever see. And when we left, I felt their sadness."*

"We must continue changing things, because if we give up, what will happen to them?"

"Moro women are politicians without posts"

When Yasmin Busran-Lao was one of the evacuees constantly running from their homes and living in evacuation centers during the all-out war policy in Mindanao of the administration of President Estrada in 2000, she drew her strength from fellow Moro women.

"In the most dreadful of situations, they still manage to be focused," she said. *"You can just imagine if they were at the helm of leadership in this country."*

Moro women in the grassroots are particularly skilled and prepared, not because they have constantly lived in conflict and violence, but because they are used to managing, arranging, organizing, governing and even settling disputes starting in their families and communities.

All these, while the women also live and function as mothers, grandmothers, daughters, sisters and wives.

Involvement in local governance is not new to the women and their organizations, said Busran-Lao. In the preparations for the negotiations for the Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL), they mobilized the all-women monitoring teams at the barangays and enabled the ceasefire to hold. *"Without them, there would not have been a three-year period of peace,"* she said.

Even in the crafting of the BBL, the women ascertained that their contributions to the document were key, especially on giving attention to gender concerns.

Busran-Lao, Secretary of the National Commission on Muslim Filipinos (NCMF), believes that a woman does not need to be in a "position that is traditionally considered powerful" to be able to engage in the affairs of her family, community and country.

"Power is already inherent in women. It is just that they know how to use that power quietly and responsibly," she said.

Busran-Lao grew up seeing women assume powerful positions in the family and community – from deciding who would be good marriage partners for eligible young men and women, to defusing a war.

"When I was young, I already considered women as politicians," she said. "They back-channeled, resolved conflicts and cleaned up."

As Muslims are inherently clannish, forging a marriage alone would require the massive efforts of women, going around neighborhoods and talking to families about the personal backgrounds of the prospective couple. Their efforts culminate in the high-profile meetings and deliberations of the parents and elders about the future of the would-be couple.

"Some successful arranged marriages could be credited to the women who worked from behind and on the sidelines," she said.

As family affairs often are under the command of women, the powers of Moro women are invisible and unheard of in the political structure of Muslim communities. Tribal women are even more empowered in their own tribes than Moro women, as they arrange important events. But they remain in situations that cultures have long considered mundane and ordinary.

While it is the men who are seen onstage, Busran-Lao said they enter the scene only after the women have cleaned up and cleared the stage for them. *"They may not be acknowledged, but this is culturally accepted,"* she said.

"Stage management, maneuverings for the common good, and settling disputes have been the work of Moro women," she said. *"They are politicians without posts. And unfortunately, they are not recognized for these crucial roles and functions."*

"They are known more by their indigenous and cultural roots and their religion, which often classify them as lesser than men in status in their communities and in society. They are recognized more by who their fathers are and who they're married to."

Busran-Lao said religion has also stifled Moro women's political participation. Disputes in the name of religion have stopped them from even seeking opportunities to be in public offices.

"They are politically aware and have the will, but there is no readiness on the ground for Moro women to rise," she said. *Moro women have constraints. "Firstly, women are poorer than men in Moro communities."*

Secondly, Busran-Lao said the instability caused by conflict, mostly armed and violent, have made it difficult for women to even consider running for elective positions, even if they know they can lead, as proven by some women in Mindanao who have blazed the trail.

The nagging question *"Kaya ba ng babaeng Muslim yan? (Can a Muslim woman do it?)"* has also often put Moro women under unfair judgment.

Busran-Lao said she has heard this question alluded to her and about her more than once when she was listed in the senatorial slate of President Benigno Aquino III when he ran for the presidential post in 2010. *"My experience running for public office was challenging, because my being Muslim was put into question,"* she said. This, despite her work for two and a half decades advocating for the rights of women and the development of the full potential of women in her various capacities as educator, researcher and development practitioner.

"Why ask that question when all along, Moro women have proven they can do anything, only that most of them are not senators and mayors," she said.

In the build-up towards the campaign season for the May 2016 elections, she thinks it important to make platforms more substantial and since a few women have risen to aspire for the highest position in the country to, "shift politics and indeed open up spaces for women."

Elections are still very violent exercises in the Philippines, and Busran-Lao (personal communication, Oct. 6, 2015) thinks that unless reforms are also addressed, women will not seek to be elected as leaders.

Like armed conflict that restrains women, violent and meaningless elections also prevent women from becoming political leaders. *"We need peace in the conflict areas where we, Moro women, live. We also need electoral reforms and voters' education to inculcate respect of every person's right to decide."*

Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) Article IX. Basic Rights. Section 1. Basic Rights in the Bangsamoro. In addition to the basic rights already enjoyed by the citizens residing in the Bangsamoro, the Bangsamoro Government shall guarantee the following enforceable rights: (e). Right to express political opinion and pursue democratically political aspirations…(g). Right of women to meaningful political participation and protection from all forms of violence.

Armed Conflict and its Impact on Women's Security and Safety: When women say, "we are used to war"

It is not uncommon, says Milet Mendoza, a peace practitioner and humanitarian, to hear Bangsamoro women say, *"We are used to war."*

For Omaima from North Cotabato, being used to war means running to the *"lasang"* (forest), dragging children, *"bug-as at hayop"* (rice and livestock). She had thought her kin would be invisible there from the MILF or the Philippine military -- until the order was given to burn the woods.

She, who is used to war, is a Teduray, 11, who clung to the system of *"baklas"* (pull-out) to assume the identity of an older woman so she could work in Syria where she was jailed for fighting against an employer who did not pay her. She who is used to war is Naima from Marawi City, whose betrothal to the son of a politician was offered as a peace token and to stop the *"rido"* (clan conflict) that already claimed her brothers' lives.

Being used to war means knowing how to listen to silence as Omen from North Cotabato does, to that dead, dead noise and then rushing out, *"pagtunog ng pelican"* (when a pelican bird screams) to evacuate because she had seen armed men gather captives in the mosque and rape the women to break the community.

This war, and being used to it, says Tina Baral, means counseling young girls who were molested and raped by fathers, brothers and uncles in family tents at the grandstand-turned-evacuation center after their families fled the Zamboanga City siege in 2013.

Victor Taylor, in the book, *Challenges to Human Security in Complex Situations* (2010), writes that armed conflicts challenge human security and safety on a daily basis. He categorized armed conflicts into those that involve, a) secessionist movements; b) *rido* or clan conflicts; c) *"violence entrepreneurship,"* banditry, kidnap-for-ransom activities and their interactions with political processes and governance; and d) other aspects, including the rise of Christian vigilante-ism.

Milet Mendoza has over two decades of peace-building experience and is herself a survivor of violence. In 2008, while serving Muslim communities, she was abducted by the Abu Sayyaf in Basilan and held hostage for two months.

So when women say, *"we are used to war,"* says Mendoza, it is an *"indication of survivability and adaptation given the more familiar context they have been born to or grown up with." It could also mean "resignation or absence of choice unless a feasible alternative is shown in concrete terms."*

At first, Tina Baral, 56, said she couldn't see the complicated layers of insecurity that women faced in conflict situations. A single mother of two, she left her *"drug addict husband"* after he neglected her family

and physically abused her. She used to live in Brgy. Catalina in Zamboanga City, which she called "ground zero," because it was there that the MNLF waged a 20-day siege.

She recounts, *"Akala namin, tumakbo kami sa safety. Pero para sa mga babae, batang babae kahit mga batang lalaki, impiyerno rin pala."* (We all thought we fled to safety, but for many women and girls, even boys, it was hell.) Before long, in the packed grandstand with only tents keeping the war out, she saw the familiar symptoms of sexual violence among other evacuees.

"Maririnig mo, sinasaktan ang mga asawa, makikita mo mga batang tulala. May nagpapa-sex-for-food nagpapalabor para makakain lang," (You will hear women getting battered, and you'd see kids withdrawn and distraught. There were those who prostituted themselves for food and accepted jobs as helpers just to be able to eat.) she says.

She volunteered to be trained by government agencies to document gender-based violence and facilitate counseling sessions for survivors. She handled 64 cases of gender-based violence in less than a year -- 14 of these involved children.

Baral muses, *"Relihiyon? Karamihan Muslim, meron ding hindi Muslim. Pero hindi ito tungkol sa relihion."* (Many cases involved Muslims but there were also non-Muslim cases. The violence is not just about religion.) *"Ang daming sabit, yang tungkol sa mga adik, yung walang pag-asang mga lalaki dun, yung walang trabaho. Kumplikado."* (There are many complications, addiction, the men's lack of hope, no livelihood. It is very complicated.)

According to Human Rights Watch, children, as young as two, were used as hostages and human shields by the MNLF in the siege; several were killed and wounded during the military operations. Many kids witnessed the violence, the destruction of their homes and the helplessness of people who were supposed to protect them.

Two years after her release from the Abu Sayyaf, Mendoza wrote and asked herself why, despite years of building trust and peace in the very community she was abducted, *"… any community-initiated effort to get my friend (referring to Esperancita Hupida, another development worker who was abducted with her) and I out from the hands of our captors became unsuccessful?"*

Section 10 of the Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) seeks to protect women and children from "exploitation, abuse or discrimination." The Women's Peace Table and other peace advocates proposed strengthening this provision to include "all forms of sexual and gender-based violence at all times especially in situations if armed conflict, disasters or other crisis situations" but this was not included in the version passed by the House of Representatives, and elevated to the Senate.

Like Baral, Mendoza also cautions against merely looking at the conflict on the surface. *"Having the opportunity, negative as it was, to have a captive's insider's experience (has) given me deeper insights about extremism and marginalization. My advocacy tries to look at varied yet integrated approaches to human security."*

"It will be a long process," she says, as the human security approach needs institutions to offer institutionalized protection measures that are preventive and not reactive as the *"Bangsamoro struggle takes off from a more fundamental claim of cultural identity and historical rights."*

" Sanay na ba ako sa gyera?" (Am I used to war?) Baral pauses for a long moment before answering, *"wala pa namang gyerang alam ko nung sinaktan ako ng asawa ko. Mas marami lang naririnig ngayon dahil sa gyera."* (There was no war yet that I knew when my husband beat me up. But because of war, you hear of more violence against women.)

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