

REPORT ON
THE MAPPING OF SELECT
WOMEN LEADERS AND
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE BANGSAMORO



SEPTEMBER 2016
UN WOMEN

REPORT ON THE MAPPING OF SELECT WOMEN LEADERS AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE BANGSAMORO



UN WOMEN

Philippines, 2016



United Nations Entity for Gender Equality
and the Empowerment of Women

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

UN Women would like to acknowledge the following individuals for their invaluable support in the development of this report:

Ma. Lourdes Veneracion-Rallonza, Ph.D., for the consolidation and analysis of the mapping reports.

The following local consultants, for the conduct of the mapping activities and preparation of the mapping reports.

- Fatima Pir Allian for Basilan and Isabela City
- Prof. Jurma Tikmasan for Tawi-Tawi
- Zahria Muti-Mapandi for Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur
- Hazel Lozada for North Cotabato
- Rohannie Baraguir-Datumanong for Maguindanao
- Dayang Karna Bahidjan for Sulu

Carla Silbert, for the review and technical advice in the finalization of this report.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	4
INTRODUCTION	6
CONTEXT OF WOMEN IN THE BANGSAMORO	7
The history of conflict and intermittence of peace negotiations in the Philippines	7
From victims to agents: Impact of armed conflict on women in the Bangsamoro	13
Enabling environment for women’s leadership and participation in the Bangsamoro	15
MAPPING BANGSAMORO WOMEN LEADERS AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS	29
RESULTS OF THE MAPPING OF SELECT WOMEN LEADERS AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE BANGSAMORO	43
Women leaders	43
Civil society organizations	75
OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	84
General observations	84
Recommendations	87
ANNEXES	89
Annex 1: Questionnaire for women leaders	89
Annex 2: Questionnaire for civil society organizations	96

INTRODUCTION

In 2014, the United Nations (UN) Country Team identified an integrated set of activities, which became part of the project, “Increasing Public Confidence and Participation in Support of the Implementation of the Bangsamoro Peace Agreement,” supported by the Peacebuilding Fund. One of its expected outcomes is that “participatory political processes are established and popular endorsement is ensured in support of the Bangsamoro Peace Agreement.” UN Women, in particular, committed to contribute to ensuring women’s leadership and participation in the transition process and in the establishment of new Bangsamoro institutions.

To ensure responsiveness of project interventions, UN Women sought individuals to conduct a mapping of women leaders’ capacities and perspectives on gender, peace and governance – cross-cutting themes deemed necessary to enable women’s meaningful participation in the Bangsamoro. The initial team of consultants who conducted the mapping activity were: Fatima Pir Allian of Nisa Ul Haqq Fi Bangsamoro in Basilan including Isabela City; Zahria Muti-Mapandi of Al-Mujadillah Development Foundation (AMDF) in Lanao del Sur and the six municipalities of Lanao del Norte; and Jurma Tikmasan of Tarbilang Foundation in Tawi-Tawi.

An inception workshop was organized with the said consultants, together with other women and peace groups – PILIPINA, Generation Peace (GenPeace), Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute (GZOPI) and the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP). The workshop threshed out the key information to be generated from the mapping activities, the ‘categories’ of women leaders to be mapped and the various methodologies for data gathering. One of the key agreements made during the workshop was that the mapping will not prioritize the usual set of women leaders – those in elected or appointed positions – rather, a wider set that supports gender, peace and governance efforts at the local and grassroots levels such as former combatants, young women leaders and indigenous women leaders, among others.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) were also covered in the mapping activities in the assumption that the mapped women may have exercised their leadership in local and grassroots groups and that these groups may be tapped for future interventions in relation to women, peace and security.

While the initial set of consultants were conducting their mapping activities, another set of consultants were engaged to cover the remaining areas of the Bangsamoro: Dayang Karna Bahidjan in Sulu; Rohannie Baraguir-Datumanong in Maguindanao and Cotabato City; and Hazel Lozada in the 39 barangays of North Cotabato.

From August 2015 to March 2016, 889 women leaders and 150 CSOs were mapped across the proposed Bangsamoro political entity. While the mapping activities did not comprehensively cover all women leaders and CSOs in the Bangsamoro, UN Women, later on, maximized the results of this report in shaping its capacity development interventions to women leaders.

It is hoped that key actors from the government, international development organizations, civil society and academe would likewise utilize this report in assessing existing and developing new policies, plans and programs that will strengthen women’s leadership and meaningful participation in the Bangsamoro.

CONTEXT OF WOMEN IN THE BANGSAMORO

The history of conflict and intermittence of peace negotiations in the Philippines

Mindanao is one of three major islands in the Philippines, located south of the Philippine archipelago. Historically, pre-Islamic Mindanao was composed of small-clan communities that practiced indigenous religions.¹ However, upon the coming of Islam through Arab traders and missionaries, there came a “shift from animistic faith traditions into a monotheistic belief system among communities in the islands.”² As Islamization converged with indigenous identities,³ the new belief system ushered in new laws, ethics, technologies, and political structures—including the birth of Sultanates in Sulu (1450 AD) and Maguindanao (1619 AD). Muslim communities thrived politically, economically and socio-culturally under the sultanate system, but only until the colonization of the Spaniards.

The Spaniards, armed with religion and ammunition, took control of Luzon, Visayas and parts of Eastern and Southern Mindanao and wanted to do the same for the Sultanates of Maguindanao and Sulu. The Moro-Spanish War was marked by the resistance of communities from the 16th to the 19th centuries, atrocities committed by the colonizers against the Muslim population and land dispossession through colonial policies that reduced the once powerful sultanates as mere vassals of a colonial power.

Upon the signing of the 1898 Spanish-American Peace Treaty towards the end of the 19th century, the Americans took over the Philippines. They continued enacting land policies (e.g., invalidation of land titles, granting of mining titles to corporations and resettlement of people from Luzon and the Visayas) that further weakened the sultanates and disenfranchised various Muslim communities. They also perpetrated atrocity crimes⁴ against the Moros to quell their resistance.⁵

¹ Christina Montiel, Rudy Rodil and Judith de Guzman, *The Moro Struggle and the Challenge of Peace-building in Mindanao, Southern Philippines* (2012). Available from <http://rizal.lib.admu.edu.ph/reserve/12012/RUNNING%20HEAD%20The%20Moro%20Struggle.pdf>. p.6.

² Ibid.

³ Islam intersected with the identities of the Iranun, Jama Mapun, Ka’agan, Kalibugan, Maguindanawn, Meranao, Molbog, Paminusan, Sama, Sama Dilaut, Sangil, Tausug and Yakan.

⁴ Atrocity crimes pertain to legally defined international crimes such as war crimes, crime against humanity and genocide as listed in the 1948 Genocide Convention, 1949 Geneva Conventions and their 1977 Additional Protocols and the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. In the 2005 World Summit Document of the United Nations, ethnic cleansing was included as an atrocity crime.

⁵ Emblematic examples of atrocities against the Moro population by the American occupying forces as ‘justified’ response to their resistance took place in Bud Dajo and Bud Bagsak, Sulu in 1906 and 1913, respectively.

Post-colonial and independent Philippine state-building continued the essence and practice of the colonial masters in Mindanao that combined direct violence in order to entrench a structural one. Laws disenfranchising the Moros were further carried out along with massive resettlement of mostly Christian populations in the lands of the Moros and Lumad⁶ in response to the growing agrarian unrest in Luzon and the Visayas.⁷ The demography of Mindanao was altered and along with it was the systematic marginalization and exclusion of ‘nations’ that comprised the Philippine State.

At the onset of the authoritarian regime that was to place the country under the dictum of Martial Law, Mindanao fell into a reign of terror. For example, the infamous Ilaga practiced brutal cleansing of communities; legitimate forces of the State (i.e., the military and the police) were instrumentalized to carry out violence against people.⁸ Within such milieu of mass atrocity crimes along with the structurality of political, economic and socio-cultural oppression, resistance coalesced into an armed struggle for the right of self-determination led by the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), which was established in 1968. The Philippine State unleashed ‘disproportionate use of force’⁹—such as that of the Burning of Jolo—to weaken and defeat their struggle. In the decades that followed, armed conflict became the norm for many people in Mindanao.

Efforts to end armed conflict came with the MNLF and the Philippine Government agreeing to negotiate peace and in 1976, the Tripoli Agreement was signed by both parties. With the framework of independence shifting to that of autonomy,¹⁰ internal disagreements within the MNLF surfaced and reached the point where the dissenting group formed themselves into the new MNLF Leadership in 1977. This group was renamed the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in 1984 to carry out their right of self-determination struggle with an Islamic orientation as distinguished from the secular-nationalist ideology of the MNLF.¹¹

In 1987, the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP), under the presidency of Corazon C. Aquino, signed the Jeddah Accord with the MNLF. Two years later, in accordance with the autonomy provision of the 1987 Philippine Constitution, Congress passed Republic Act (RA) 6734 or the Organic Act for the creation of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). Later in 1989, a plebiscite was held and the resulting configuration was that of Lanao del Sur (except Marawi City), Maguindanao, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi opting to be part of the ARMM. In 1996, with President Fidel V. Ramos at the helm, the GRP signed the Final Peace Agreement (FPA) on the implementation of the Tripoli Agreement. Five years later, RA 9054, a law to expand

⁶ Lumad is the collective term used for indigenous peoples in Mindanao.

⁷ For example, in 1951, the Economic Development Corporation (EDCOR) was established in order to manage the resettlement of landless farmers from Central Luzon, including peasant rebels, who moved into lands in Lanao del Norte, North Cotabato and Maguindanao.

⁸ Known narratives have been on widespread destruction in the several communities in Maguindanao, South Cotabato, Cotabato, Lanao del Sur, Bukidnon and Zamboanga del Sur by the Ilaga between 1970 to 1972. The so called ‘Manili Massacre’ in 1971 and ‘Malisbong Massacre’ in 1974 were said to have been perpetrated by state forces as well as state-affiliated armed groups. For narrative descriptions, see TJRC Report, pp. 32-33.

⁹ From the perspective of International Human Rights Law (IHRL), the ‘acceptable’ standard for the ‘use of force’ is “that force may not exceed what is strictly or absolutely necessary to protect life.” On the other hand, for International Humanitarian Law (IHL), ‘disproportionate use of force’ pertains to “indiscriminate” attacks that would cause immense harm against a civilian population which is prohibited against IHL.

¹⁰ Soliman Santos, Jr., *Evolution of the Armed Conflict on the Moro Front* (Human Development Foundation, Inc., 2005), p. 7.

¹¹ Soliman Santos, Jr., *War and Peace on the Moro Front: Three Standard Bearers, Three Forms of Struggle, Three Tracks (Overview)*, in *Primed and Purposeful: Armed Groups and Human Security Efforts in the Philippines*, Diana Rodriguez, ed. (South-South Network for Non-State Armed Group Engagement and the Small Arms Survey; Quezon City, Philippines, 2010), p. 64.

the ARMM was passed and a subsequent plebiscite held resulted in the inclusion of Marawi City and Basilan (except Isabela City) in the autonomous region.¹²

On the part of the MILF, an Agreement for the Cessation of General Hostilities was signed with the Philippine Government in 1997 followed by the GRP-MILF Tripoli Agreement of 2001. In 2008, both parties signed the Memorandum Agreement – Ancestral Domain, Bangsamoro Juridical Entity (MOA-AD) that was meant to illuminate “Concepts and Principles, Territory, Resources, Governance of the Ancestral Domain of the Bangsamoro.”¹³ The MOA-AD was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in an en banc decision in October 2008. Four years later, the Philippine Government and the MILF signed the historic Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB) followed by the signing of Annexes on Transitional Arrangements and Modalities, Revenue Generation and Wealth Sharing and Power Sharing in 2013 and the Normalization Annex in 2014. In March 2014, both parties signed the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) that paved the way for the drafting of the Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL).

Notwithstanding peace negotiations with both the MNLF and MILF, armed conflict never fully left Mindanao. For example, in March 2000, President Joseph E. Estrada declared an ‘all-out-war’ against the MILF after they were believed to have violated the terms of the ceasefire agreement.¹⁴ The following year, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo declared a ‘state of lawlessness’ in response to crimes committed by the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) in Basilan. Increased military operations in various parts of Mindanao brought along increased internal displacements of the civilian population. In 2013, a week before a formal meeting between the Philippine Government, MNLF and Organization of Islamic Cooperation on the Review Process of the FPA was supposed to have been held, the MNLF attempted to take control of Zamboanga City. Known as the ‘Zamboanga Siege,’ fighting between the MNLF and government forces displaced thousands of civilians and brought great economic losses to the city.

The cost of armed conflict in Mindanao has been taking its toll on the national budget and the economy. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) was said to have spent PHP73 billion in its war against the MNLF from 1970 to 1996.¹⁵ The government shelled out PHP6 million in the ‘all-out-war’ in 2000.¹⁶ In the 2013 ‘Zamboanga Siege’ alone, the AFP spent PHP150 million,¹⁷ while humanitarian assistance costed the Philippine Government PHP116 million.¹⁸ In 2012 and 2015, the ARMM remained the poorest region in the country with first semester poverty incidence rates of 46.9 percent and 53.4 percent, respectively.¹⁹

¹² The full title of this law is An Act to Strengthen and Expand the Organic Act for the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, Amending for the Purpose Republic Act No. 6734, entitled “An Act Providing for the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao,” As Amended. Available from <http://www.opapp.gov.ph/sites/default/files/Republic%20Act%20%209054%20Organic%20Act%20for%20the%20Autonomous%20Region%20In%20Muslim%20Mindanao.pdf>.

¹³ Rev. Daniel L. Pantoja, *Revisiting the GRP-MILF MOA on Ancestral Domain: A Look through the Gospel’s Lenses*. Available from <http://www.peacebuilderscommunity.org/statements/REVISITING%20THE%20GRP-MILF%20MOA%20ON%20AD.pdf>.

¹⁴ Some of these ceasefire violations were attacks on Army detachments in the towns of Kauswagan and Maigo, occupation of the municipal halls of Talayan, Maguindanao and Kauswagan and the takeover of the Narciso Ramos Highway.

¹⁵ Yasmin Busran-Lao, *Human Development, Economic and Social Costs, and Spillovers of Conflict: The Case of the Province of Lanao del Sur (A Background paper submitted to the Human Development Network Foundation, Inc. for the Philippine Human Development Report, 2005)*, p. 16.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ *Zamboanga standoff costs military P150m: AFP Vice Chief*, *Business Times*, 17 October 2013. Available from <http://www.bt.com.bn/news-asia/2013/10/17/zamboanga-standoff-costs-military-p150m-afp-vice-chief>.

¹⁸ Carolyn Arguillas, *Where will the P3.89 billion for Zambo rehab go?*, *Minda News*, 29 September 2013. Available from <http://www.mindanews.com/top-stories/2013/09/29/where-will-p3-89-billion-for-zambo-rehab-go/>.

¹⁹ National Anti-Poverty Commission, “ARMM still the Poorest Region.” Available from <http://www.napc.gov.ph/articles/armm-still-poorest-region>.

Mapping was conducted in the five provinces of the ARMM as well as in Lanao del Norte and North Cotabato. From 2006 to 2015 (first semester data), most of these provinces belonged to Clusters 1 and 2²⁰ of the Philippine Statistical Authority's (PSA) poverty incidence index. Data from the PSA on a three-year interval shows the incidence of poverty among families in these provinces during the first semester of each year with patterns of increases for most and decreases for some (refer to Table 1).

TABLE 1
Poverty incidence among families: 1st Semester 2006, 2009, 2012 and 2015²¹

Province	2006	2009	2012	2015
Basilan	31.2	37.4	32.5	30.7
Lanao del Sur	38.2	51.4	68.9	70.2
Lanao del Norte	36.4	40.4	42.5	41.4
Maguindanao	47.7	37.6	57.8	50.4
North Cotabato	29.3	24.4	43.9	41.8
Sulu	42.9	37.9	30.3	61.8
Tawi-Tawi	50.6	48.3	20.8	10.4

BOX 1

Causes of conflict-related violence

1. **Political issues** where violence emanates from either “separatist or non-separatist challenges against the State” (i.e., vertical conflict) or “political” (electoral) competition, abuse of power and authority or political repression, and violent struggles between rival insurgent groups or factions for politico-military influence and control” (i.e., horizontal conflict).
2. **Resource issues** where violence arises due to “conflicts over ownership, utilization and control of land and other natural resources.”
3. **Identity issues** causing violence are those connected with “inter-and intra-ethnic and tribal identities, violent struggles between and among families and clans, including violence emanating from gender differences and racial and religious tensions.”
4. **Shadow economy issues** “mainly to conflict emanating from illicit or underground economies of Mindanao in particular the production and trade in illicit guns and drugs, kidnap for ransom (KFR), cattle rustling and smuggling.”
5. **Extrajudicial issues** where “violent conflict is triggered by cases of robbery, rape and property damage.”
6. **Governance issues** where violence arises from competition for government resources.

Source: *International Alert. 2014. p. 18*

²⁰ Based on a five-group cluster analysis with 1 = bottom/poorest cluster while 5 = least poor cluster.

²¹ Philippine Statistics Authority. Available from <http://psa.gov.ph/poverty-press-releases/data>.

Interestingly, in 2006, the island province of Tawi-Tawi was ranked as having the highest poverty incidence (categorized in Cluster 1); nine years later, it recorded the lowest (categorized in Cluster 5). Lanao del Sur was ranked fourth in 2006 but in the subsequent years, however, it not only consistently ranked as having the highest poverty incidence for 2009, 2012 and 2015 (consistently in Cluster 1) but also posting the most significant percentage increase. In 2012 and 2015, Basilan demonstrated a decreasing trend in poverty incidence (Cluster 2 in 2012 and Cluster 3 in 2015) while Maguindanao depicted a fluctuating trend of decreases and increases in the last six years (Cluster 1 for years 2006, 2012 and 2015). In the case of North Cotabato, there was a fluctuating trend of decreases and increases, with a significant increase in 2012 (categorized in Cluster 1).

On the other hand, incidence of violence—whether brought about by vertical or horizontal conflicts²²—was observed to take place in the mainland provinces of Lanao del Sur (ranked highest in violence incidence) and Maguindanao (ranked second in violence incidence) with a combined 56 percent of violent incidents from 2011 to 2013.²³ In the same three-year period, Basilan and Sulu were ranked third and fourth, respectively, while Tawi-Tawi posted the lowest incidence of violence. However, according to International Alert’s Bangsamoro Conflict Monitoring System (BCMS), the intensity of violence (or conflict incidence per 100,000 persons and per square kilometer) has been high in Basilan in comparison with the other four ARMM provinces because of political violence, shadow economies and clan feuds.²⁴ In contrast, Tawi-Tawi registered as having diminished risk of violence.

Incidence of violence associated with the MILF was observed to have “dropped dramatically before and after the signing of the FAB in 2012,” except for “a few isolated instances when clashes between MILF combatants and the military erupted due to land and other issues.”²⁵ The increase in violence incidence in 2013 in Maguindanao and Lanao del Sur was largely due to combatting the newly established group, the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF).

From December 2015 to January 2016, most of conflict-related violence documented were horizontal in nature and have displaced peoples and communities much like vertical ones. However, despite lower incidence, vertical conflicts during this period displaced 5,144 families or approximately 26,728 individuals in comparison with 1,624 families or an estimated 8,026 persons displaced by vertical conflicts (refer to Table 2).

But from March to June 2016, incidence of vertical conflict-related violence were more in comparison with horizontal conflict-related violence and accounted for the most number of internal displacement. According to data from the Mindanao Protection Cluster,²⁶ fighting between the AFP and an unknown group in Butig, Lanao del Sur induced the displacement of 6,501 families (or an estimated 32,491 individuals) during the first week of March; a few weeks later, some 1,755 families (or approximately 7,021 persons) fled their homes during the focused military operations by the AFP in Al Barka, Basilan. In May 2016, 575 families (or an estimated 3,443 individuals) also fled their homes due to the surgical military operations against the Maute Group in

²² Vertical conflicts are those that implicate the State and rebel groups while horizontal conflicts are mainly between local political elites, clans (i.e., rido), ethnic groups, rival insurgent groups and even between groups engaged in illicit activities.

²³ International Alert. 2014. *Rebellion, Political Violence, and Shadow Crimes in the Bangsamoro: The Bangsamoro Conflict Monitoring System, 2011-2013*. Available from http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Philippines_BangsamoroConflictMonitoringSystem_EN_2014.pdf. p. 20.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 21.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 23.

²⁶ Data from personal email correspondences of the Report Writer.

Butig, Lanao del Sur. On the other hand, during the end of March 2016, around 498 families (or approximately 2,490 persons) were displaced in Pikit, North Cotabato because of a long-standing feud between two groups of MILF command. A month later, about 944 families (or an estimated 4,720 individuals) were displaced in Maalam, North Cotabato because of recurring firefight between groups locked in a long-standing land dispute. During this period, 1,442 families (about 7,210 persons) were displaced in connection with horizontal conflicts in comparison with 8,831 (or around 42,955) displacements due to vertical conflict.

TABLE 2
Vertical and horizontal conflicts in Mindanao: December 2015 to January 2016²⁷

Vertical conflict			Horizontal conflict		
Conflict Actors	Areas	Displaced	Conflict Actors	Areas	Displaced
AFP vs. ASG (focused military operation)	Patikul, Sulu (December 2015)	91 families (approximately 455 persons)	Armed groups belonging to Ilongo and Moro communities (tri-border conflict)	Columbio, Datu Paglas and Tulunan municipalities in Sultan Kudarat, Maguindanao and North Cotabato (December 2015)	50 families (approximately 171 persons)
AFP vs. ASG (focused military operation)	Al Barka, Basilan (December 2015)	1,008 families (an estimated 6,048 persons)	Armed groups affiliated with MNLF and MILF (clan feud)	Barangays Kidama and Marbel, Matalam, North Cotabato (December 2015)	484 families (an estimated 2,420 persons)
AFP vs. BIFF (firefight)	Shariff Aguak and Shariff Saydona, Maguindanao (January 2016)	1,885 families (approximately 9,425 persons)	MILF (clan feud)	Pigkawayan, North Cotabato (January 2016)	71 families (approximately 349 persons)
AFP vs. BIFF (armed encounter)	Datu Salibo Maguindanao (February 2016)	2,160 families (an estimated 10,800 persons)	MILF (clan feud)	Pikit, North Cotabato (January 2016)	568 families (an estimated 2,831 persons)
			Politicians (firefight)	Sitio Poblacion, Barangay Saimbangon, Pata, Sulu (January 2016)	300 families (approximately 1,500 persons)
			Bagani Group vs. NPA (firefight)	Barangay Manobo, Magpet, North Cotabato (January 2016)	151 families (an estimated 755 persons)

²⁷ Women Engaged in Action on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (WE Act 1325). 2016a. *Women, Peace and Security in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao: A Civil Society Report*. Available online at http://weact1325.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/WEACT_CSReport_March23_2016_4website.pdf. p. 30.

According to the report of the Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC), the core issues of historical injustice, legitimate grievances, human rights violations and marginalization through land dispossession in the Bangsamoro result from three interlocking phenomena: violence, impunity and neglect. These emanated from “the imposition of a monolithic Filipino identity and Philippine State by force on multiple ethnic groups in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago that saw themselves as already preexisting nations and nation-states.”²⁸ For the TJRC, implementing the CAB “is a unique and extraordinary opportunity not only for Bangsamoro, but also for the whole Filipino nation.”²⁹

To date, there is fragile respite or the absence of full blown vertical armed conflict between the government forces and the MNLF and MILF. However, violence experienced by the people, particularly internal displacement from military operations continue. Today, peace in the Bangsamoro remains hanging and fragile with the non-passage of the BBL in the 16th Congress. However, with euphoria running high from the election of President Rodrigo R. Duterte, the first president from Mindanao, there are hopes that the peace process will continue to be pursued in Mindanao.

From victims to agents: Impact of armed conflict on women in the Bangsamoro

The TJRC, a mechanism established with the Normalization Annex of the FAB, was mandated to undertake a study and make recommendations on legitimate grievances, correcting historical injustices and addressing human rights violations and marginalization through land dispossession of the Bangsamoro people. Integral to the work of the Commission was ensuring the integration of a gender perspective in its processes and outputs.³⁰ This was reflected in the conduct of its Listening Process and in its report findings and recommendations—“a very significant endeavor given the fact that there are very few transitional justice processes around the world that have paid attention to gender at the very start of their work.”³¹

In discussing the gender dimensions of legitimate grievances, for example, the TJRC discussed the multiple burdens of women who were ‘left behind.’³² Manifesting women’s traditional care-giving role has an added layer of being providers for the family in the midst of their own vulnerability in armed conflict. On the other hand, the TJRC findings on the link between gender and historical injustice painted a picture of the historicity of women’s economic insecurity, gender discrimination and the common narrative of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV).³³ Conflict-related violence against women (VAW) was the predominant human rights violation committed against women. Allegations of rape and sexual violence, mutilation and desecration of women’s bodies, sexual slavery, forced marriage and abandonment, among others, were said to have been committed by State forces and paramilitary.³⁴ VAW was also suspected to have been committed

²⁸ *Report of the Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission* (hereinafter referred to as TJRC Report), 2016. Available from http://tjrc.ph/skin/vii_tjrc/pdfs/report.pdf, p. xi.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Angela Casauay, “Mindanao in Transition: How to deal with the Past,” 14 October 2014. Available from <http://www.rappler.com/nation/special-coverage/peacetalks/71886-transitional-justice-reconciliation-commission>.

³¹ Ma. Lourdes Veneracion-Rallonza, “On Seizing a Moment,” 21 March 2016. Available from <http://www.bworldonline.com/content.php?section=Opinion&title=on-seizing-a-moment&id=124879>.

³² TJRC Report. p. 27.

³³ Ibid. p. 36.

³⁴ TJRC Report. pp. 48-49.

“systematically against Moro and indigenous population” before, during and after Martial Law.³⁵ With regard to the gender dimensions of marginalization through land dispossession, the TJRC notes that:

“In the context of armed conflict, this (property relations) has become problematic for Moro and indigenous women ‘who were left behind’ as widows or as household heads by their husbands. These women have no legal basis to assume ownership of land that is held in their husband’s name.”³⁶

Due to the continuation of both vertical and horizontal conflicts in the Bangsamoro, internal displacement has been a continuing saga for the people, particularly, women. Conflict-related displacements increase the vulnerability of women to sexual violence such as sexual harassment and assault, forced prostitution, trafficking and early marriages.³⁷

“Most internally displaced peoples in the ARMM are Muslim women and children who suffer the most from the lack of food aid, food blockades, insensitive or inadequate service delivery, diseases, lack of potable water and medical relief. In this context, it is the women in the family who are burdened with caring for the rest of the members thereof, making their reproductive role even more burdensome, as it is performed in extremely difficult circumstances.”³⁸

Aside from cycles of conflict-induced internal displacement, other effects on conflict on women consist of the “existence of the phenomena of widowhood, increase in economic burdens of women, trauma, including of children, among others, in an environment where violence has been normalized.”³⁹ According to a civil society “Policy Paper on Women’s Security Issues in the Bangsamoro,” women from several areas in Mindanao identified their human insecurity concerns consisting of poverty, lack of absence of basic social services, presence of armed and/or lawless elements, violence and kidnapping (Moro and indigenous women in Zamboanga); bad governance, crime, proliferation of fire arms and lack of basic needs (Moro, Sama Badjao, and Christian groups in Tawi-Tawi); violence, killings, kidnapping, *rido*, labor problems and war (Moro, Christian and indigenous women in Cagayan de Oro); and crime, discrimination, violence and armed conflict and peace and order problems (Moro and indigenous women in Lake Sebu).⁴⁰ Taken together, the historicity of women’s vulnerabilities and victimization are lived everyday realities of Bangsamoro and indigenous women. Yet, they persist amid their struggles.

This is because **agency** in the midst of obstacles opens spaces for other possibilities. Quite relatedly, the TJRC offered the idea of a ‘Bangsamoro opportunity’ in place of the ‘Bangsamoro problem.’⁴¹ The FAB and CAB, for example, provide an anchor for women’s political empowerment through participation. Apart from these peace process instruments, women see themselves as part of solution. As the Bangsamoro Barometer

³⁵ TJRC Report. p. 49.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 68.

³⁷ Dwyer and Cagoco-Guiam; Ma. Lourdes Veneracion-Rallonza, “Services and Programs for Women in Conflict-Affected Areas” in *Implementing the Philippine National Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820: A Civil Society Monitoring Report – March 2010 to January 2013* (WE Act 1325, Quezon City, 2013), pp. 67-68.

³⁸ Quoted from the lecture of Atty. Laisa Alamia during the conduct of the Government Executive Course on Women, Peace and Security (Ateneo de Manila University, 28 September 2015).

³⁹ WE Act 1325. 2016a. p. 31.

⁴⁰ WE Act 1325. 2016b. “Policy Paper on Women’s Security Issues in the Bangsamoro.” Available from http://weact1325.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/BarometerPolicyPaper_02April_web.pdf. p. 2.

⁴¹ TJRC Report. p. xviii.

of Women’s Security action research conducted by the Women Engaged in Action on UNSCR 1325 (WE Act 1325) uncovered, “women stressed their own capacity to effect changes in their communities.”⁴² They believe that they can do this in their homes and communities by “communicating peacefully, being aware of and monitoring family members’ activities, practicing Islamic and indigenous values, and practicing family planning.”⁴³ They also see themselves bringing about changes in structures of government by “being a concerned citizen who actively participates in social issues, campaigning for good governance and honest and clean elections, lobbying for gender-based socio-economic programs, sourcing livelihood programs for underprivileged constituents, training citizens and public officials to build their capacity and skills, and engaging with legislators to lobby for specific solutions to security issues.”⁴⁴ And lastly, they know they can contribute to peacebuilding through “promoting women’s empowerment, including creating women’s organizations; engaging in advocacy as ‘ambassadors’ of peace and supporting dialogue with armed groups; serving as peace ‘watchdogs’ and reporting conflict; monitoring social service delivery and incidents of violence in communities; raising awareness about current security situations through education, information and communication strategies; identifying dangerous areas to be avoided by the community; providing counseling and stress management; and advocating for the passage of the proposed Bangsamoro Basic Law.”⁴⁵

Women’s agency begins with the recognition of one’s capacity to contribute to something. Helen Padua, member of the Teduray Lambangian Women’s Organization said:

“As a woman, it is very important to us to be empowered. In my experience, the first step towards empowerment is knowing that you have your dignity and inherent rights as a person.”⁴⁶

Women’s vulnerability and agency should not be seen as binary, dichotomous realities—rather both should be viewed as being present in the same continuum in the lives of women.

Enabling environment for women’s leadership and participation in the Bangsamoro

International and regional norms

The discursive terrain of women’s human rights can only reflect one of two—women’s vulnerability or women’s agency—the former engendering a protection discourse while the latter on empowerment. In the context of women’s agency, the normative frame has been that of creating an enabling environment for women to participate in all facets of public life.

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination (CEDAW)—also known as the ‘international bill of rights of women’—identified that “discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, is an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men,

⁴² WE Act 1325, 2016b, p. 3.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Conciliation Resources. “2015 Annual Report.” Available from http://www.cr.org/downloads/CR%202015%20Annual%20Report_o.pdf, p. 13.

in the political, social, social, economic and cultural life of their countries...”⁴⁷ In light of women’s participation, Article 7 of CEDAW stipulates that “State Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men,” the rights of suffrage, of standing for elections, of participating in policy formulation and implementation, of holding public office and of participating in civil society organizations.”⁴⁸ In 1997, during the 16th Session of the CEDAW Committee, General Recommendation 23 defined ‘political and public life’ as:

*“...the exercise of political power, in particular the exercise of legislative, judicial, executive and administrative powers. The term covers all aspects of public administration and the formulation and implementation of policy at the international, national, regional and local levels. The concept also includes many aspects of civil society, including public boards and local councils and activities of organizations such as political parties, trade unions, professional or industry associations, women’s organizations, community-based organizations and other organizations concerned with public and political life.”*⁴⁹

On the other hand, the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 identified ‘women in power and decision making’ as one of the 12 critical areas of concern and advanced the strategic objectives of ensuring “women’s equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making” as well as increasing women’s capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.”⁵⁰ Furthermore, in a resolution adopted in 2011, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly stressed “the critical importance of women’s political participation in all contexts, including in times of peace and of conflict and at all stages of political transition, concerned that many obstacles still prevent women from participating in political life on equal terms with men, and noting in that regard that situations of political transition may provide a unique opportunity to address such obstacles...”⁵¹ Most recently, Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5, which aims to “achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls,” specifically notes the need to “ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life.”⁵²

At the regional level, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has followed suit with the normative framework of gender equality and women’s empowerment. For example, in 1988, the ASEAN Declaration on the Advancement of Women “highlights women’s agency—particularly, their role and contribution in the region.”⁵³ As such, it declared, among others, that ASEAN Member States shall “promote

47 *Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women*. Preamble Clause 7. UN General Assembly Resolution 34/180 (1979). Available from <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf>. p. 1.

48 Ibid. p. 4

49 CEDAW General Recommendation 23 (1997). Paragraph No. 5. Available from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/recommendations/recomm.htm>.

50 Beijing Platform for Action. 1995. “Women in Power and Decision Making.” Available online at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/decision.htm>.

51 UN General Assembly. 2011. “Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 19 December 2011 on Women and Political Participation” (A/Res/66/130). 66th Session, Agenda Item 28 (a). Available online at http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/66/130&Lang=E.

52 Sustainable Development Goals, Target 5.5. Available from <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/?menu=1300>.

53 Office of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR)-Philippines National Secretariat. 2016. *Human Rights Protection Mechanisms for Women and Girls in the Southeast Asian Region: An Exploratory Strategy Paper for the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights*. Office of ASEAN Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs, Philippines.

and implement the equitable and effective participation of women whenever possible in all fields and at various levels of the political, economic, social and cultural life of society at the national, regional and national levels” and “enable women in the region to undertake their important role as active agents and beneficiaries of national and regional development, particularly in promoting regional understanding and cooperation and in building more just and peaceful societies.”⁵⁴ Additionally, in 2010, the Ha Noi Declaration on the Enhancement of Welfare and Development of ASEAN Women and Children affirmed the need to “adopt concrete measures to enhance women’s capacity and promote women’s participation in decision-making and leadership in all fields and at all levels.”⁵⁵

National legal framework and policies

In the Philippines, RA 9710 or the Magna Carta of Women serves as the domestic translation of CEDAW. Specific to women’s right to participation and representation, Section 11, Chapter IV on Rights and Empowerment stipulates that:

“The State shall undertake temporary special measures to accelerate the participation and equitable representation of women in all spheres of society particularly in the decision-making and policy-making processes in government and private entities to fully realize their role as agents and beneficiaries of development. The State shall institute the following affirmative action mechanisms so that women can participate meaningfully in the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of policies, plans, and programs for national, regional, and local development.”⁵⁶

Furthermore, Section 11 of the Magna Carta of Women’s Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) identifies enabling measures such as capacity development, increasing women’s participation in various levels of development councils by at least 40 percent, representation of women and women’s groups in different levels of policy and decision-making, electoral provisions on the inclusion of women in political party leadership and women’s leadership in the private sector.⁵⁷

To a large extent, the discourse of agency places preponderant value on women’s capacity to participate in public life and represent themselves in both formal and informal spaces. But because of the reality of gender inequality in various facets of their lives and structural barriers in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres, women’s participation does not come automatically. Thus, interventions are necessary to create an enabling environment for women to be able to do so. This imperative becomes even more paramount in light of empowering women from armed conflict and post-conflict reconstruction.

The Philippines is currently in a period of political transition, implicating uncertainties on what will become of the Bangsamoro peace process, given the non-passage of the BBL in the previous administration.

⁵⁴ Association of Southeast Asian Nations. 1988. “Declaration on the Advancement of Women.” Available from http://asean.org/?static_post=declaration-of-the-advancement-of-women-in-the-asean-region-bangkok-thailand-5-july-1988.

⁵⁵ Association of Southeast Asian Nations. 2010. “Ha Noi Declaration on the Enhancement of Welfare and Development of ASEAN Women and Children.” Available from http://asean.org/?static_post=ha-noi-declaration-on-the-enhancement-of-welfare-and-development-of-asean-women-and-children.

⁵⁶ Philippine Commission on Women. 2010. RA 9710: Magna Carta of Women and Implementing Rules and Regulations. Available from http://pcw.gov.ph/sites/default/files/documents/laws/republic_act_9710.pdf.p.11.

⁵⁷ Ibid. pp. 54-56.

Notwithstanding the flux and regardless of a mechanism that will be put in place within or outside of the ambit of the GPH-MILF peace process, the imperative is to ensure the inclusion and participation of women in the Bangsamoro. This has been pronounced in the 2010-2015 National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS) where Outcome 2 on ‘Empowerment and Participation’ aims to “empower women and ensure their meaningful participation in areas of peacekeeping, peacemaking, peacebuilding, conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction.”⁵⁸ Four Action Points were identified as enablers to reach this target:

TABLE 3
Action Points on Empowerment and Participation in the Philippine National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security⁵⁹

Action Point 5	Presence of women in formal peace tables (Track 1).
Action Point 6	Increased participation of women and women’s organizations in women, peace and security (WPS) consciousness-raising/advocacy, in supporting peace processes, and monitoring and evaluating peace agreements, peace and development and WPS policies, services, programs, activities and projects.
Action Point 7	Increased participation of women and grassroots women’s organizations in local, indigenous, and customary peace, conflict resolution/management, conflict prevention/resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction mechanisms.
Action Point 8	Develop and/or enhance gender sensitive policies and programs for women in the security sector.

Based on the study commissioned by the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP), key findings in this thematic pillar relevant to the Bangsamoro were the most notable presence of women in the formal negotiations between the GPH and MILF that contributed to the inclusion of “gender-sensitive provisions in the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB), its Annexes, and the draft Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL).”⁶⁰

For the Philippines, addressing various gender issues—whether in times of peace or situations of armed conflict—is enabled by a mechanism of gender budgeting. The 1995 General Appropriations Act (GAA) mandated that at least five percent of the total budget of all government agencies must be allocated to gender and development (GAD) concerns. Executive Order (EO) 273 further directed government agencies to integrate GAD concerns in their respective “performance commitment contracts, annual budget proposals and work and financial plans.”⁶¹ Actual appropriation and utilization of the five percent budget for GAD is monitored by the Commission on Audit (COA).⁶² At the local level, gender budgeting was provided in a joint

⁵⁸ Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process. 2016. *Women, Peace and Security: A Study on the Initiatives to Implement United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325*. p. 45.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 11.

⁶¹ Executive Order (EO) 273. 1995. “Approving and Adopting the Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development (PPGD), 1995-2025. Available from http://www.dotc.gov.ph/images/front/GAD/issuances/executive_order_273.pdf.

⁶² Commission on Audit Circular 2014-001. “Revised Guidelines in the Audit of Gender and Development (GAD) Funds and Activities in Government Agencies.”

circular of the Philippine Commission on Women (PCW), Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) and National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) on the localization of the Magna Carta of Women.⁶³

In light of the Philippine NAPWPS, gender budgeting in conflict-affected areas is guided by the OPAPP-PCW Joint Memorandum Circular 2014-01 on the “Integration of Women, Peace and Security Programs, Activities and Budgets (GPBs) and Gender and Development Accomplishment Report (GAD ARs).”⁶⁴ Reflective of the discourse of women’s agency, this policy seeks to ensure that GAD programs, activities and projects (PAPs) “promote women’s participation in peacebuilding, peacemaking and conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms.”⁶⁵

With regard to monitoring State compliance to the standards of women’s human rights, the Commission on Human Rights (CHR), as an independent national human rights institution, was designated as Gender Ombud under the Magna Carta of Women and accordingly, was specifically tasked to “establish guidelines and mechanisms that will facilitate access of women to legal remedies under the Act and related laws and enhance the protection and promotion of the rights of women, especially marginalized women.”⁶⁶ Under its task of monitoring compliance to Magna Carta of Women⁶⁷—particularly in light of women’s right to representation and participation as well as on women’s situation of emergence, armed conflict and militarization—the CHR shall look into “women’s participation in all levels of development planning and program implementation” and shall likewise report “in relation to the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security.”⁶⁸

Institutional structures and mechanisms in the Bangsamoro

Policies that establish institutional structures and mechanisms to respond to women’s concerns must be evidence-based. In this regard, with the contextual milieu of women in Mindanao, it is important to take stock of what institutions and mechanisms exist for them.

At the level of the ARMM, RA 9054 specifically provides for the protection of the rights of women and children:

⁶³ PCW-NEDA-DBM JMC 2012-01. 2012. “Guideline for the Preparation of Annual Gender and Development (GAD) Plans and Budget and Accomplishment Reports to Implement the Magna Carta of Women.” Available from <http://library.pcw.gov.ph/sites/default/files/pcw-neda-dbm-jc-2012-01.pdf>.

⁶⁴ OPAPP-PCW JMC 2014-01. 2014. “Integration of Women, Peace and Security Programs, Activities, and Projects (PAPs) in the Annual Gender and Development (GAD) Plans and Budget (GPB) and Gender and Development Accomplishment Reports (GAD ARs). Available from <http://pcw.gov.ph/law/pcw-opapp-joint-memorandum-circular-no-2014-01-integration-women-peace-and-security-programs-activities-and-projects-paps-annual-gender-and-development-gad-plans-and-budgets-gpbs-and-gender-and-development-accomplishment-reports-gad-ars>.

⁶⁵ Ibid. Item 1.4.

⁶⁶ MCW. Section 40. Also see Commission on Human Rights Resolution (CHR) (IV) No. AM -2015-093.

⁶⁷ As mandated, the CHR shall undertake the following: (1) investigate individual complaints of discrimination; (2) investigate institutional violations of the provisions of MCW; (3) legal aid and other support services; (4) monitoring MCW compliance; (5) policy advisory services; and (6) promotion of women’s human rights and the rights of persons with Diverse Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity and Expression (SOGIE).

⁶⁸ Commission on Human Rights. 2016. *CHR Gender Ombud Guidelines: Promoting Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment under the MCW (RA 9710) and Related Laws*. Quezon City. pp. 58 and 62.

“The Regional 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 or discrimination.”⁶⁹

Additionally, the law also is very clear on gender equality and women’s role in development.

“The Regional Government recognizes the role of women in nation building and regional development. It shall promote their well-being and ensure their fundamental rights and equality with men.”⁷⁰

Preceding RA 9054 was the Regional Commission on Bangsamoro Women (RCBW), the earliest institutional structure established for women’s issues and concerns. It was created in July 1997 through a regional legislative process and adoption of the Muslim Mindanao Act (MMA) 53 or “An Act Creating the Regional Commission on Bangsamoro Women, Defining its Composition, Powers and Functions.” It has the general mandate on protecting and advancing women’s human rights in the ARMM.

“It is the vision of the Commission to be a responsive and pro-active agency that champions Bangsamoro women’s empowerment, gender equality and mainstreaming as well as sustainable delivery of protection services. As the equivalent of the Philippine Commission on Women at the regional level, it continually advocates and works for gender-responsive governance and the realization of women and men’s participation to contribute and benefit from development.”⁷¹

In 2011, with the passage of the ARMM GAD Code, the RCBW was reiterated to be the “primary policy and coordinating body for women and gender equality concerns in the ARMM.”⁷² For 2015, sample activities of the RCBW were policy formulation on gender, seminar-workshops on the establishment of an agency’s referral system on violence against women (VAW) and on the creation of Committee on Decorum and Investigation (CODI) in handling sexual harassment cases as well as on women’s political rights in Islam.⁷³

On the other hand, the Regional Sub-Committee on Gender and Development (RSCGAD) was established in July 2007 to “assist the Regional Social Development Committee (RSDC), a Committee of the Regional Economic Development and Planning Board (REDPB), to facilitate the coordination of GAD planning, monitoring and evaluation of programs and projects in the region.”⁷⁴ It is chaired by the DILG-ARMM and is composed of 27 other regional agencies. The RSCGAD was mandated under the ARMM GAD Code to draft the IRR of the Code. The IRR was launched in November 2015.

During the last quarter of 2015, the RCBW proposed a resolution to merge RSCGAD with the body created to lead the localization of the NAP WPS in the ARMM—the Regional Steering Committee on the Localization of

⁶⁹ RA 9054. 2001. Article III (General Principles), Section 10 (Protection of Women and Children).

⁷⁰ RA 9054. 2001. Article XV (Social Justice, Services, Institutions and Other Concerns), Section 6 (Women’s Rights).

⁷¹ Regional Commission on Bangsamoro Women (RCBW). Undated. “NAP-WPS in the ARMM: Piloting the Localization of the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security in the ARMM (2012-2015). Personal copy of Report Writer.

⁷² Muslim Mindanao Autonomy Act 280: The ARMM GAD Code. 2011. Chapter XVI (Gender Mainstreaming), Sec. 93.

⁷³ RCBW. Undated.

⁷⁴ Internal Guidelines of Regional Sub-Committee on Gender and Development. Article 1, Statement of Policy.

the National Action Plan (RSCLNAP).⁷⁵ Integrating the RSCLNAP to the RSCGAD functionally and operationally expands the mandate of the latter to take on the previous task of the former.⁷⁶ Thus, the RSCGAD would coordinate both GAD and WPS mainstreaming in the ARMM, review GPBs—including GAD in conflict-affected areas (as reflective of implementing the NAP)—coordinate and mainstream GAD and WPS in local plans and programs/projects of RDP and RDIP, policy recommendation to REDPB, RSDC, and Regional Legislative Assembly (RLA) on GAD and WPS and serve as the ARMM counterpart of the National Steering Committee on Women, Peace and Security (NSCWPS).⁷⁷ Prior to this proposal, it was the RCBW that led the localization of the NAPWPS from 2011 to 2015.

At the regional level, the mother of policy mechanisms on women’s rights is the ARMM GAD Code. The drafting of the Code was proposed in the RLA in October 2008, passed by the Assembly in December 2010, and signed into law in January 2011 as the Muslim Mindanao Autonomy Act 280 or “An Act Providing for the Gender and Development Code of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao.” The IRR of the Code was launched in November 2015.

“To a large extent, the ARMM GAD Code and its IRR goes beyond the discourse of GAD and actually reflects the discursive framework of women’s human rights contained in the Magna Carta of Women. In this regard, the ARMM GAD Code is the regional translation of a national law and thus, it could very well be seen as the Magna Carta of Women in the ARMM...”⁷⁸

Furthermore, it is women’s human rights in the context of Bangsamoro women, as layered with culture, religion and experiences.

Specific to the discourse of women’s agency and as a matter of regional policy, the Autonomous Regional Government (ARG) commits to “affirm the role of women in nation-building and ensure the substantive equality of women and men as well as boys and girls” and “promote the empowerment of women and pursue equal opportunities for women and men as well as boys and girls.”⁷⁹ Furthermore, the ARMM GAD Code specifically provides for the political rights of women.

⁷⁵ The RSCLNAP was established through Memorandum Order 195 on 31 July 2007.

⁷⁶ The RSCLNAP did not really become fully operational since the time it was established. See WE Act 1325, 2016a. p. 43.

⁷⁷ WE Act 1325, 2016a. p. 45.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 40. Emphasis added.

⁷⁹ ARMM GAD Code, 2011. Chapter 1, General Provisions (Policies). p. 2.

TABLE 4

Relevant provisions on political rights of women in the ARMM GAD Code and its Implementing Rules and Regulations

ARMM GAD Code Provision (Chapter VI) ⁸⁰	Implementing Rules and Regulations (Rule 6) ⁸¹
<p>Section 20. Equal Rights of Women and Men in Political and Public Sphere</p> <p>The Autonomous Regional Government shall undertake special measures to accelerate the participation of women in all spheres of society particularly in decision-making and policy-making processes in government and in private entities in order for them to satisfy their role as khalifa or viceregents of God.</p>	<p>Section 22. Equal Rights of Women and Men in Public and Political Sphere</p> <p>The ARG shall ensure that women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres, particularly in decision and policy-making. It shall fulfill this duty through law, policy, regulatory instruments, administrative guidelines, and other appropriate measures, including temporary and special measures. Recognizing the important role of women, the ARG shall take measures and establish mechanisms to ensure that more women have easy access to elective and appointive positions, in public or private capacity, to ensure that their voices are heard.</p>
<p>Section 21. Appointment of Mahram of Women Executives</p> <p>The women executives of the Autonomous Region shall be entitled to mahram.</p>	<p>Section 23. Appointment of Mahram of Women Executives</p> <p>The women executives of the Autonomous Region shall be entitled to a Mahram. The appointment of a Mahram shall take the nature of a designation. Employees with salary grade 10 and below shall be given precedence in the designation of a Mahram.</p>
<p>Section 22. Women’s Involvement and Representation in Regional and Local Special Bodies</p> <p>The Autonomous Regional Government shall institute affirmative action mechanisms so that women can participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of policies, plans, and programs for regional and local development, such as the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Development Councils and Planning Bodies. As far as practicable, 40 percent (40%) of membership of all development councils from the regional, provincial, municipal down to barangay levels shall be composed of women; b. Other Policy and Decision-Making Bodies. Women’s groups shall also be represented in international, national and local decision-making or special bodies, peace negotiating panels; and c. Private Sector. The Autonomous Government shall adopt measures to encourage women’s leadership in the private sector. 	<p>Section 24. Women’s Involvement and Representation in Regional and Local Special Bodies</p> <p>The ARG shall ensure the representation of women in international, national and local development and other special bodies. For this purpose, the ARG shall institute the following affirmative action mechanisms so that women can participate meaningfully in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of policies, plans and programs for regional and local development:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. To ensure increased participation of women in all levels of development planning and program implementation, as far as practicable, at least 40 percent (40%) of membership of all development councils from the regional, provincial, city, municipal and barangay levels shall be composed by women by 2016. b. Representation of women or women’s groups in other policy and decision-making bodies in international, national and local bodies shall be ensured by concerned appointing authorities in the Region.

⁸⁰ ARMM GAD Code. 2011. Chapter 1, General Provisions (Policies). pp. 17-18.

⁸¹ Ibid. Implementing Rules and Regulations. Rule 6. pp. 78-81.

ARMM GAD Code Provision (Chapter VI) ⁸⁰	Implementing Rules and Regulations (Rule 6) ⁸¹
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> c. All concerned agencies, especially the regional offices of DOLE, DTI and DSWD shall coordinate with their counterparts and the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) and ensure that women in the region are given equal opportunities to be representatives in different international bodies and positions. For this purpose, policies on recruitment and selection, qualifying examinations, assignment of posts and missions shall be reviewed and amended accordingly. All government missions geared for bilateral and multilateral negotiations shall consider gender concerns in negotiating their positions. d. Concerned agencies shall take measures to encourage women leadership in the private sector in the form of incentives as determined by the respective agencies and in accordance with existing laws.
<p>Section 23. Celebration of Special Events</p> <p>The Autonomous Regional Government shall promote the observance of the celebration of special events relative to the promotion and protection of women and children’s rights, such as, but not limited to the following: a) Declaration of the Month of March as Women’s Month; b) Every March 8 as International Women’s Day; c) Every March 18 as Bangsamoro Women’s Day; d) Last week of September as Family Week; e) Month of October as National Children’s Month; and f) November 25-December 12 as 18-Day Campaign on Violence against Women. The conduct of consciousness raising activities relevant to the events by line agencies of the ARMM and the local government units (LGUs) shall also be encouraged.</p>	<p>Section 25. Celebration of Special Events</p> <p>The observance of the following special events to promote and protect women and children’s rights shall be a priority activity of all agencies and units of the ARG.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Women’s Month every March of the year; b. International Women’s Day every March 8; c. Family Week every last week of September; d. 18-Day Campaign on Violence against Women every November 25-December 12; and e. Such other events concerned with the promotion of women and children’s rights.

Each of the five provinces of the ARMM has developed their own Provincial GAD Codes. Adherence to gender budgeting has also been practiced.⁸² In 2015, the Province of Basilan held orientation seminars and capacity building training on the ARMM and Provincial GAD Codes, enabling mechanism, Code of Muslim Law and livelihood. In Maguindanao during the same year, seminar workshops were conducted on gender-sensitivity, VAW Desk, training of frontline offices and provided livelihood assistance for women non-government organizations (NGOs). Similarly in Tawi-Tawi, seminars were focused on the Magna Carta on Women and other GAD-related policies.

As provided for in Rule 16 of the IRR of the ARMM GAD Code, GAD Focal Point System (GFPS) in LGUs were established “...to ensure and sustain the LGU’s critical consciousness in supporting gender and development, women’s empowerment and responding to gender issues” and as such, “take the lead role in direction setting-advocacy and planning, monitoring and evaluation and technical advisory in mainstreaming GAD perspective in LGU programs, projects, activities and process.”⁸³ The RCBW and DILG-ARMM are tasked to implement the GFPS. Based on the 2015 record of the latter, 20 out of 36 municipalities in Maguindanao and one out of 19 municipalities in Sulu had GFPS.⁸⁴

In some instances, the GFPS also serves as the LNAP focal point as in the cases of Maguindanao and Tawi-Tawi. Specific to WPS, operationalizing the GAD/LNAP Focal Point System systematized the identification priority gender issues for the provincial governments. For example, RCBW, in cooperation with OPAPP, led consultative workshops with the provincial representatives in 2011 and 2014.

TABLE 5
Priority gender-related issues in the five ARMM provinces⁸⁵

Province	Priority issue/s	
	2011	2014
Basilan	Lack of livelihood opportunities and poor literacy rate	Lack of livelihood opportunities and poor literacy rate
Lanao del Sur	Plight of internally displaced women	Women’s economic empowerment
Maguindanao	Human trafficking	Human trafficking
Sulu	Cycle of violence	Cycle of violence and economic violence
Tawi-Tawi	Human trafficking and deportation	Human trafficking and deportation

⁸² Personal copy for the Report Writer provided by the Provincial Governments of Basilan, Maguindanao and Tawi-Tawi.

⁸³ ARMM GAD Code IRR, Rule 16, Sec. 91. p. 119.

⁸⁴ From personal copy of data for the Report Writer provided by the Department of Interior and Local Government-Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. In Maguindanao, the municipalities with the GAD Focal Point System (GFPS) are Barrira, Buldon, Buluan, Datu Montawal, Datu Odin Sinsuat, Datu Piang, Datu Saudi Ampatuan, Kabuntalan, Mamasapano, Pagalungan, Paglat, Pandag, Parang, Rajah Buayan, Shariff Aguak, Sultan Kudarat, Sultan Mastura, Sultan Sa Barongis, Talayan, and Tantay. On the other hand, in Sulu, only the municipality of Indanan has a GFPS.

⁸⁵ WE Act 1325. 2016. pp. 55 and 57.

These issues were to be addressed through institutional infrastructures linked to the localization of the NAPWPS, including the establishment of Women and Peace Centers (WPC) regionally and provincially. Such has been a pioneering effort. However, as observed in a CSO report:

“...these WPCs must also eventually develop on their own terms as they respond to the changing needs of women in the midst of various contexts. Additionally, the purpose for its establishment and operation must always be clear and sustained regardless of changes in the national, regional and provincial administration.”⁸⁶

Indeed, institutional infrastructures and mechanisms for the protection of women’s human rights and ensuring women’s empowerment and participation exist. However, pursuing them both vertically (state-to-people) and horizontally (people-to-people) as well as institutionally (governmental) and locally (community/grassroots), must be felt by affected women—they must be able to experience agency themselves and institutions as enablers for them to do so.

In a follow-up research conducted by Conciliation Resources between October 2014 and February 2015 on operationalizing women’s meaningful participation in the Bangsamoro, the following were identified as challenges for women’s participation in the areas of governance, security and transitional justice:

- a. Governance structures – “lack of confidence and education; cultural beliefs and traditions that brought about unequal rights and discrimination; and poverty and social difficulties.”⁸⁷
- b. Community security – cases of “gender-based violence, violence against women and children and inequality.”⁸⁸
- c. Transitional justice – “discrimination, inequality of treatment, lack of immediate response or guidance from duty bearers, marginalization, violation of basic rights and freedom of expression.”⁸⁹

Taken together, there are existing institutions and mechanisms that try to address women’s concerns. However, how these concretely contribute to improving the lives of women, particularly, in light of their meaningful participation in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres need focused assessments. In other words, a continuous conversation between institutions and the women themselves must take place in order to see the impact of institutional structures and mechanisms on the quality of women’s lives, particularly, in tapping into their agency and providing spaces for meaningful political participation.

Civil society organizations: Convergence of formal and informal spaces

Civil society organizations (CSOs) in the Bangsamoro have been very active in advocating for peace and human rights. Many have formed and nurtured people’s organizations at the community level while others largely engage in humanitarian and development assistance.

⁸⁶ WE Act 1325. 2016. p. 75.

⁸⁷ Conciliation Resources. 2015. “Operationalizing Women’s ‘Meaningful Participation’ in the Bangsamoro: Political Participation, Security and Transitional Justice.” Available from <http://www.cr.org/downloads/803%20CR%20Womens%20agenda%20Bangsamoro%20ready%20for%20web02.pdf>. p. 9.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 12.

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 14.

Civil society is a vibrant critical space and cradle of social movements in the Philippines—it is a conglomeration of “all social, cultural, religious and non-profit economic organizations outside government but operating within the framework of law.”⁹⁰ They are established for various reasons and advocacies, operate nationally or locally, and some are organized to deliver livelihood programs, community development, health and nutrition, education and capacitation of individuals to improve their lives. According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB):

“The basis for civil society in the Philippines comes from the Filipino concepts of pakikipagkapwa (holistic interaction with others) and kapwa (shared inner self). Voluntary assistance or charity connotes for Filipinos an equal status between the provider of assistance and the recipient, which is embodied in the terms damayan (assistance of peers in periods of crisis) and pagtutulungan (mutual self-help).”⁹¹

The Spanish colonial era saw the establishment of welfare organizations while the American period laid the groundwork for subsidized humanitarian non-profit organizations as well as church groups. Pre-Philippine Independence CSOs were farmers and labor organizations, some with support from various church groups with social agenda. However, despite many obstacles, the turning point for the strong politicization of civil society came during the Martial Law period. Carrying the call and action for social justice, the natural tide of social foment brought the wave of social movements that contributed to the toppling of an authoritarian regime in 1986. With repression of and constraints to organizing civil society removed as well as the institutionalization and integration of CSOs to development initiatives, they mushroomed in numbers after the ‘People Power Revolution.’ The flow of official development assistance (ODA) contributed to the expansion of CSOs during the administration of President Corazon Aquino.

The Caucus of Development NGO (CODE-NGO) is believed to be the largest civil society network in the country that was established in 1991 to professionalize CSOs.⁹² However, currently, there is difficulty in determining the total number of CSOs in the Philippines as there is “no single official and updated database” for those registered with government and there are likewise far too many that are not registered.⁹³ Citing Carino, the ADB said that “of registered and non-registered CSOs at 249,000–497,000.5” about 40 percent of which are unregistered.⁹⁴ Notwithstanding this puzzle, as well as the reality that the heterogeneity of civil society in the country as also having a ‘dark side’ of being front organizations for politicians,⁹⁵ it cannot be denied that it has contributed to the agency of the people.

In Mindanao, civil society has been present and largely linked with the peace movement, thereby playing a role in attaining peace in the region. However, their impact has not been fully maximized as they have yet to

⁹⁰ David Wurfel. “Civil Society and Democratization in the Philippines” in Y. Sato (ed.) *Growth and Governance in Asia*. Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies. 2004. Available from http://apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/GrowthGovernance_files/Pub_Growth%20Governance/Pub_GrowthGovernancech17.pdf. p. 215.

⁹¹ Asian Development Bank. 2015. “Civil Society Brief: Philippines.” Available from at <http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/30174/csb-phi.pdf>.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ See also Carino, Ledivina. 2002. “Size and Contours of the Sector” in Ledivina Carino (ed.) *Between the State and the Market: The Non-Profit Sector and Civil Society in the Philippines*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines.

⁹⁵ ADB. 2015. p. 2.

affect ‘macropolitical processes.’⁹⁶ According to Rood, Muslim and Christian civil society groups in Mindanao have imbalanced capacities, observed to belong to transitory networks and have the tendency to be intra-communal in nature.⁹⁷ Although various civil society groups have introduced creative approaches to peace such as creating ‘spaces for peace’⁹⁸ in affected communities and participating in the peace process,⁹⁹ their impact has been indirect.

“Civil society can air discussion of the root causes of conflict; it can argue in the media and with policy elites against pursuing ‘victory’ and in favor of developmental changes; and it can provide political space for government officials to maneuver toward a settlement. In short, the nature of civil society affects its impact on conflict management; the involvement of civil society can improve the chances for a lasting peace; but there are inherent limits to the impact that NGOs can have on peace—limitations that can only be overcome by state action.”¹⁰⁰

Nonetheless, several civil society networks in Mindanao have been active. For example, the Mindanao Caucus of Development NGOs (MinCODE) network is said to be the regional equivalent of CODE-NGO, with a membership of 500 organizations.¹⁰¹ MinCODE largely focuses on economic wellbeing initiatives. Interestingly, however, out of all regions where its members come from, the ARMM—where populations are bigger and incidence of poverty higher—had the fewest members.¹⁰² On the other hand, among peace networks, notable ones are the Mindanao People’s Caucus (MPC) and the Bangsamoro Consortium of Civil Society (CBCS).¹⁰³

Specific to women CSOs, the Mindanao Commission on Women (MCW)—which was established in 2001—has been one of the earlier networks of Muslim and Christian women leaders that work towards peace and multiculturalism, politics and governance, and poverty reduction; in 2003, it led the Mothers for Peace Campaign in response to the siege of Buliok Complex by government forces.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, the Philippine Center for Islam and Democracy (PCID) contributed to the establishment of *Noorus Salam* (Light of Peace), a regional network of Muslim women leaders and influential *aleemats* capacitated and working for human rights, conflict prevention, and peacemaking.¹⁰⁵ Other notable women’s organizations that have been in the forefront of working with conflict-affected Moro and indigenous women in Mindanao on human rights, women’s empowerment and peace, among others are Nisa Ul-Haqq fi Bangsamoro, Téduray Lambangian Women’s Organisation, Inc (TLWOL) and United Youth of the Philippines Women (UnYphil-Women).

Unfortunately, similar to the national level, there is currently no official and unified database on CSOs in Mindanao and even more so, on women’s groups or CSOs working on women’s issues. There are those that

⁹⁶ Rood. 2005. p. vii.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. viii.

⁹⁸ Pertains to the practice of requesting combatants to stay out of certain localities.

⁹⁹ As exemplified by civil society involvement in consultation initiatives that led to the August 2001 cessation of hostilities between the Philippine government and MILF and restoration of ceasefire in July 2003. Civil society has its own Bantay Ceasefire mechanism and has representatives in Local Monitoring Teams provided for in the GPH-MILF agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. ix.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 9.

¹⁰² Ibid. p. 10.

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 11.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Philippine Center for Islam and Democracy. *Noorus Salam*. Available from http://pcid.thousandminds.com/?page_id=21.

have been ‘formalized’ in a way that they have been registered with various government bodies, such as local government, Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) and others.¹⁰⁶

In 2015, RCBW itself organized and accredited five associations namely, Tukanalipao Women’s Association, Pimbalken Women’s Association, Linantangan Women’s Association, Association of Gulayan sa Paaralan and Parents, Teachers and Community Association along with two cooperatives—Hadiyya Marketing Cooperative and ARMM Women Employees Islamic Credit Cooperative.¹⁰⁷ Other associations, such as the Datu Talusan Women’s Association and Pantawid Association as well as sectoral groups like the Lanao del Sur – Municipal Tribal Bangsamoro Women’s Sector and Marawi City Tribal Bangsamoro Women’s Sector – and cooperatives, namely Tukanalipao Women’s Consumers Cooperative, Tukanalipao Women’s Kadtatabanga Producer Cooperative, Pimbalken Farmers Producer Cooperative, Libutan West Makangguna Producer Cooperative, Liab Magungaya Producer Cooperative, Daladap Uyag-uyag Producer Cooperative, Albarakah Brothers and Sisters Marketing Cooperative, Ang Bukas Women Welfare and Services Cooperative, Followers of Hazrat Zainab Services Cooperative, Women’s Alternative Multi-Purpose Cooperative, Maulid Consumers Cooperative, Women Rural Improvement Club Consumers Cooperative, Iranun Handweaving Producer Cooperative, Kitango Women’s Consumers Cooperative, Pila Consumers Cooperative, Al-hijrah Women’s Marketing Cooperative and Al-sahara Producer Cooperative are listed with the RCBW but not organized by them.¹⁰⁸ Some of these groups and their members, along with many other women, attended the first ARMM Bangsamoro Women’s Summit last February 2016.¹⁰⁹

CSOs traverse both formal/governmental and informal spaces. In the case of formal/governmental spaces, they become part of institutionalization by becoming registered entities, partner with government in the delivery of services, vie for ODA on specific project implementations, among others. In informal spaces, they become recipients of programs, either from government or other private entities, or engage with other groups in connection with specific advocacies at the grassroots level. Although there is no central database on women CSOs, it can only be surmised that there are efforts toward making them more visible and active through different modes of institutional affiliations.

¹⁰⁶ Some have been established and listed as part of local government initiatives on ‘Bottom-up Budgeting’ (BUB); most, even those ‘unaffiliated’ and ‘unregistered,’ have organizational structures and by-laws. In this regard, it can be said that women’s groups—particularly, grassroots women’s organizations—have explored both ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ spaces in a way that they engaged with government in various instances and processes and continue to work for their advocacies mostly in areas that government has yet to reach.

¹⁰⁷ Information from a personal correspondence of the Report Writer with RCBW.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ The two-day summit discussed the following topics: Women Educators and Transformative Leaders, Charting the Way for Bangsamoro Women Career Executives for Sustainable Leadership, Engaging CSOs on ‘NAP 1325’, ARMM Young Women Leaders Foundation Conference, Gender Mainstreaming, Increasing the Economic and Political Capacities of Bangsamoro Women, Governmental Initiatives on Women, Peace and Security, and Building Sisterhood for Peace and Development. The keynote address was given by then Vice Presidential candidate Leonor Robredo who delivered her message on “Strengthening Bangsamoro Women’s Leadership towards Transformative Governance.”

MAPPING BANGSAMORO WOMEN LEADERS AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

In 2013, under the auspices of the United Nations Philippine Country Team, a project on “Increasing Public Confidence and Participation in Support of the Implementation of the Bangsamoro Peace Agreement” was launched with the support of the UN Peacebuilding Fund. Aiming to contribute to one of this project’s outcomes, UN Women endeavored to ensure that participatory processes are established to support the Bangsamoro Peace Agreement by involving women as leaders and participants in the transition process and in new Bangsamoro institutions. Thus, a pilot initiative under this target was to map out women leaders and CSOs in the core territory of the Bangsamoro, which covers: Basilan and Isabela City; Lanao del Sur and the six municipalities of Lanao del Norte; Tawi-Tawi; Maguindanao and Cotabato City; 39 municipalities in North Cotabato; and Sulu. The results of the mapping project will be used to develop and implement interventions for women leaders and CSOs to further capacitate them on post-conflict transition and the possible establishment of a new Bangsamoro political entity.

The mapping project is a purposive inquiry intended to provide a snapshot of women leaders’ political and leadership life, get a sense into what they see as their capacity building needs, and inquire into their insights on governance, gender and peace. It also documents certain practices and needs of CSOs in pursuing good governance, gender equality and peace in Mindanao. These themes are viewed by UN Women as critical enablers for women to meaningfully participate in the Bangsamoro.

The World Bank observed that “conflict-affected areas in Mindanao are the poorest among the 77 provinces of the Philippines” and “are also the poorest provinces in Mindanao.”¹¹⁰ This was not a unique or surprising observation as it had been established that poverty and conflict have a causal relationship.¹¹¹

Mapping sites

From the bigger picture of armed conflict in Muslim Mindanao, specific sites were targeted for the mapping project for Bangsamoro women. Administratively, these areas are comprised of the main provinces of the

¹¹⁰ The World Bank. 2003. Social Assessment of Conflict-Affected Areas in Mindanao. Available from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPHILIPPINES/Resources/socialassessment.pdf>. p. 9.

¹¹¹ See for example, Tedd Gurr. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton University Press; Burton, John. 1997. *Violence Experienced: The Source of Conflict Violence and Crime and Their Prevention*. Manchester University Press. (New York, 1970).

ARMM as well as the province of Lanao del Norte and some areas identified in the core territory of the Bangsamoro in the proposed BBL. A total of 87 municipalities and cities where the mapping activity was conducted are identified in Table 6.

TABLE 6
Origin of mapping participants per targeted province

Province	Municipalities/Cities
Basilan ¹¹²	Muhamad Ajul, Al-Barka, Sumisip, Akbar, Malamawi, Lantawan, Lamitan, Isabela City
Lanao del Sur ¹¹³	Bacolod-Kalawi, Balabagan, Balindong, Bayang, Binidayan, Buadi-Puso Buntong, Bubong, Bumbaran, Butig, Calanogas, Ditsaan-Ramain, Ganassi, Kapai, Kapatagan, Lumba-Bayabao, Lumbaca-Unayan, Lumbatan, Lumbayanague, Madalum, Madamba, Maguing, Malabang, Marantao, Marawi City, Marogong, Masiu, Malondo, Pagawayan, Piagapo, Picong, Poona Bayabao, Pualas, Saguwaran, Sultan Dumlondong, Tagoloan II, Tamparan, Taraka, Tubaran, Tugaya, Wao
Lanao del Norte ¹¹⁴	Baloi, Munai, Nunungan, Pantar, Tagoloan, Tangkal
Maguindanao ¹¹⁵	Datu Odin Sinsuat, Upi, Matanog, Parang, Buldon, Kabuntalan, Sultan Kudarat, Sout Upi, Talayan, Datu Saudi Ampatuan, Paglas, Rajah Buayan, Guindulungan, Pandag, Sultan Sa Barongis (formerly Lambayong), Datu Piang, and Cotabato City
North Cotabato ¹¹⁶	Aleoson, Carmen, Kabacan, Midsayap, Pigcawayan, Pikit
Sulu ¹¹⁷	Jolo, Maimbung, Indanan, Patikul, Talipao
Tawi-Tawi ¹¹⁸	Bongao, Panglima Sugala, Tandu Bas, Languyan, South Ubian, Simunol

1. Basilan and Isabela City

Basilan is composed of 13 cities/municipalities, namely, Akbar, Al-Barka, Hadji Mohammad Ajul, Hadji Muhtamad, Lamitan, Lantawan, Maluso, Sumisip, Tabuan-Lasa, Tipo-Tipo, Tuburan, Ungkaya Pukan and the provincial capital, Isabela City (not part of the ARMM). Conflict-affected areas are mostly in Akbar, Al-Barka, Hadji Mohammad Ajul, Lamitan and Tipo-Tipo largely due to military operations in villages in these municipalities in pursuit of the ASG.

The status of women in politics has not been progressive in the province. For example, from 2007-2010, only one woman out of 10, was elected at the provincial level. Data from the ARMM Regional Planning and Development Office's (RPDO) first listed Basilan as having one out of eight provincial board

¹¹² Eight (8) out of 13 municipalities in Basilan (including Isabela City).

¹¹³ Thirty-nine (39) out of 39 municipalities/cities (including Marawi City) in Lanao del Sur.

¹¹⁴ Six (6) out of 6 selected municipalities/cities in Lanao del Norte.

¹¹⁵ Sixteen (16) out of 39 municipalities/cities from the two Districts in Maguindanao. In Cotabato City, the mapping covered the 18 barangays of the city namely: Poblacion I; Poblacion II; Poblacion III; Poblacion IV; Poblacion V; Poblacion VI; Poblacion VII; Mother Barangay Rosary Heights; Rosary Heights I; Rosary Heights IV; Rosary Heights VI; Rosary Heights VIII; Rosary Heights XI; Rosary Heights XII; Mother Barangay Bagua; Bagua 1; Mother Barangay Tamontaka and Barangay Datu Balabaran.

¹¹⁶ Six (6) out of 17 municipalities/cities in North Cotabato.

¹¹⁷ Five (5) out of 19 municipalities in Sulu.

¹¹⁸ Six (6) out of 11 municipalities in Tawi-Tawi.

members, one out of 10 as mayor and vice-mayor, and 10 out of 70 municipal/city councilors.¹¹⁹ However, despite low numbers on the front of elected positions, women have been instrumental in appointive posts in the Provincial Government. In fact, they have contributed to the conceptualization of programs and services of the Basilan Women Peace Center (BWPC) in Isabela City.¹²⁰

Advocating for gender was said to be difficult because of influential social actors like traditional religious leaders who perceive the concept as ‘western’ and therefore, non-Islamic. Nonetheless, several women’s CSOs, such as Pinay Kilos (PINK), Muslim Women Basilan Association Incorporated (MWBA), Al Mujadillah Foundation Incorporated (AMFI), Nisa UL Haqq fi Bangsamoro, contribute to a more gender-sensitive interpretation of Holy Texts as part of their women empowerment programs. On the other hand, the Bangsamoro Women Institute Foundation (BWIF) conducted capacity development programs on the popularization of the Code of Muslim Personal Laws, leadership in Islam, Strengthening Women in Politics and voter’s education.

2. Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte

Lanao del Sur is composed of 39 municipalities and one city (Marawi City) while Lanao del Norte has 22 municipalities. The latter is part of Region X and not of the ARMM—however, several of its municipalities, namely, Pantar, Baloi, Munay, Nunungan, Tagoloan and Tangkal were identified to be included in the proposed Bangsamoro core territory.¹²¹

Armed conflict and violence in Lanao del Sur have been present for many generations. For example, the terror reign of the Ilaga was experienced by villages in Wao, Lanao del Sur in 1971.¹²² In addition, during the height of Martial Law violence in the province, people were forced to migrate out of their communities, leaving behind homes and properties.¹²³ In February 2016, massive displacement of civilians from Butig occurred due to the clash between military forces and an alleged local terrorist group. On the other hand, communities in Lanao del Norte were also affected during the resurgence of conflict in 2008 that resulted in the displacement of civilian population, mostly from coastal municipalities, peaking in the month of September at an estimated of 12,595 families.¹²⁴ Data from September 2008 listed the affected peoples (displaced/returned) from Lanao del Norte at 38,519 (with 27,307 females and 11,203 males) and from Lanao del Sur at 14,643 (with 10,806 females and 3,837 males).¹²⁵

Marawi City and the municipalities of Balindong and Taraka of Lanao del Sur have their Gender and Development (GAD Code). However, from 2007 to 2010, only one woman out of 12 positions, was an elected official at the provincial level in Lanao del Sur. According to data from the Commission

¹¹⁹ Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao-Regional Planning and Development Office (ARMM-RPDO). *First ARMM Progress Report on the Millennium Development Goals*. Available from http://www.rpdoarmm.gov.ph/rpdo/MDG/MDG_progressreport.pdf. p. 107.

¹²⁰ WE Act 1325. 2016a. p. 61.

¹²¹ Refer to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro, Section V of proposed Bangsamoro Core Territory. Available from <http://www.c-r.org/downloads/2012%20Framework%20Agreement%20on%20the%20Bangsamoro.pdf>.

¹²² Jubair, Salah. 1999. *Bangsamoro: A Nation Under Endless Tyranny*. Kuala Lumpur: IQ Marin SDN BHD. pp. 138-139.

¹²³ Busran-Lao, Yasmin. 2006. “The Cost of War in Human Dimension: The Case of Lanao del Sur.” Philippine Institute for Development Studies, Policy Notes No. 2005-06. Available from http://www.hdn.org.ph/wp-content/uploads/2005_PHDR/3%20PIDS%20policy%20notes%20-%20cost_of_war.pdf.

¹²⁴ *Humanitarian Action Plan for Conflict-Affected Provinces of Mindanao*. 2011. Available from https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/CAP/2011_Mindanao_HAP_SCREEN.pdf. p. 5.

¹²⁵ Ibid. p. 13.

on Elections (COMELEC), prior to the 2016 national and local elections, out of the 40 municipalities/cities (including Marawi City) in Lanao del Sur, there were seven women mayors (19%), seven women vice-mayors (19%) and 42 women councilors (14%). On the other hand, out of 23 municipalities/cities (including Iligan City) in Lanao del Norte, there were seven women mayors (30%), one woman vice-mayor and 29 women councilors (16%).

In 2016, the Lanao del Sur Women and Peace Center (LWPC) located in Marawi City was completed.

3. Maguindanao and Cotabato City

Maguindanao has 36 municipalities and has its capital in Shariff Aguak. On the other hand, Cotabato City, although geographically within the area of Maguindanao is administratively separate from it as it is currently the capital of the ARMM.

Maguindanao has been bearing the brunt of armed conflict, particularly in the years of 2000 and 2008, between government forces and insurgents. More recently, it has been beset with violence emanating from military operations against the BIFF and from *rido* over land disputes and political competitions. Two recent events of political violence have thrown the province in a very negative light—these were the infamous ‘Maguindanao/Ampatuan Massacre’ in 2009 and the media-labeled ‘Mamasapano Massacre’ in 2015. The latter was believed to have a very big impact on the fate of the BBL in the 16th Congress. In light of the pervasive cycles of conflict in the province, internal displacements and poverty-driven human trafficking were identified by the Provincial Government as priority gender concerns.¹²⁶

In the formal political front, women’s participation has not been very positive. For example, from the period of 2007 to 2010, there were no women elected at the provincial level. Furthermore, data from the ARMM-RPDO listed one woman out of 22 mayoral positions, two out of 21 vice-mayoral posts and 22 out of 176 post for councilors.¹²⁷ Despite the low number of women in elected posts, Maguindanao is ahead of their GAD programs and activities in comparison with the other provinces in the ARMM. In fact, its Maguindanao Women and Girls Peace Action Center (MWGPAC) located in Buluan, Maguindanao is the largest women’s infrastructure in the region.

In the case of Cotabato City, data from the ARMM COMELEC revealed a total 104,975 registered voters as of 24 September 2013 composed of 50,970 males and 54,834 females. Despite having more women voters, this did not translate into having more women elected in public office. For example, in the 2013 local elections, only 21 percent of elected barangay officials were women.

¹²⁶ WE Act 1325. 2016a. p. 63.

¹²⁷ ARMM-RPDO. p. 107.



Women leaders of Basilan in the validation activity of the mapping activities (top). Women leaders of Maguindanao in the mapping activities (below).

4. North Cotabato

North Cotabato has one city and 17 municipalities—six of them, namely, Aleosan, Carmen, Kabacan, Midsayap, Pigkawayan and Pikit voted to be included in the ARMM in the 2001 plebiscite.¹²⁸ These municipalities have previously experienced violence where armed conflict have been a part of the people's lives. For example, Midsayap and Pigkawayan experienced atrocities committed by the *Ilaga* in the 1970s; the infamous 'Manili Massacre' happened in the town of Carmen where men, women, and children were killed in the town mosque in 1971. Aleosan was one of the areas of armed hostilities between government forces and the MILF after the MOA-AD debacle in 2008.¹²⁹ Land disputes erupting between the MNLF and MILF in Carmen and Kabacan.¹³⁰ Armed hostilities between the MILF and government forces and operations in pursuit of the BIFF and other lawless elements have also been taking place in Pikit.¹³¹ In 2015, *rido* between an MILF Commander and a rival clan erupted in Pigkawayan.¹³²

Women in politics is more positive in North Cotabato. Prior to the 2016 national and local elections, women leaders accounted for 42 percent of the provincial leadership where five out of 12 officials were women (i.e., the Provincial Governor and 4 Board Members). The percentage is lower at the municipal level where only 26 percent—37 out of 144 elected municipal officials (i.e., 4 mayors, 3 vice-mayors and 30 Sangguniang Bayan members) were women.

The province has Provincial Ordinance No. 202, series of 2000 entitled "An Ordinance Providing for Gender and Development (GAD) Code of Cotabato Province, and For Other Purposes" which provides budget allotment for gender-related programs as well as for the establishment of facilities for women. At the provincial level, GAD institutional infrastructures established were the *Kalikhaang Tumutugon sa Responsibilidad at Obligasyon para sa Kalusugan ng Ina at mga Bata* (KATROPA), Gender Multisectoral Council (GMCC), Rural Improvement Club (RIC), *Kalipunan ng Liping Pilipina* (KALIPI) and Men Opposed to Violence Against Women Everywhere (MOVE). On the other hand, at the municipal level, aside from having RIC and KALIPI, structures include the Local Council for Women, Local Committee on Anti-Trafficking and Violence against Women and their Children (LCAT-VAWC) and Solo Parents.

5. Sulu

Sulu has 19 municipalities, namely, Banguingui (Tongkol), Hadji Panglima Tajil, Indanan, Jolo, Kalingalan Caluang, Lugus, Luuk, Maimbung, Old Panamao, Omar, Pandami, Panglima Estino (New Panamao), Pangutaran, Parang, Pata, Patikul, Siasi, Talipao and Tapul. Historically, the province has had the bloodiest history of conflict with the experience of mass atrocity crimes committed by the colonial powers (i.e. 'Bud Dajo Massacre' in 1906) and by government forces (i.e. 'Burning of Jolo' in 1974).

¹²⁸ Only Marawi City and Basilan (except Isabela City) opted to join the expanded ARMM in the special plebiscite held in 2001.

¹²⁹ Rohannie Baraguir-Datumanong. UN Women Local Consultant's Final Report on Mapping Civil Society Organizations in the Bangsamoro: Maguindanao (unpublished). Hereinafter referred to as Final Report: Maguindanao.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.



A woman leader being interviewed in North Cotabato (top). Young women leaders being interviewed in Sulu (below).

In more recent times, military operations in the province have increased largely in light of combating the ASG and alleged foreign jihadists. According to International Crisis Group, Sulu and Basilan—

“are home to extremists of the Abu Sayyaf Group, armed elements of the MNLF that engage in periodic clashes with the government, and a handful of foreign jihadists. Sprawling extended families, often with private armies and ill-gotten wealth, dominate local politics, controlling towns and even provinces for years by securing the victory of their relatives in local elections. The interests of these politicians sometimes, but not always, overlap with the non-state armed actors.”¹³³

Jolo is also home to a large number of MNLF fighters who have not been disarmed, demobilized or reintegrated after the 1996 FPA.¹³⁴ Recent events as related to conflict and violence are in the areas of Patikul, Jolo, Indanan, Maimbung and Talipao. Both former President Benigno Aquino III and President Rodrigo Duterte were said to have considered and considering, respectively, declaring Martial Law in the province to address the problem posed by the ASG.¹³⁵

Prior to the 2016 national and local elections, no woman has been elected at the provincial level; of the 18 municipalities, one woman was elected mayor and another as vice-mayor. Only 10 women out of 144 were elected as councilors. In 2011, the Provincial Government of Sulu established the Sulu Provincial Women Council called Sahaya Sin Kababaihan composed of women mayors and wives of mayors. The Sulu Women and Children Center (SWCC) is located in Jolo.

6. Tawi-Tawi

Tawi-Tawi has 11 municipalities, namely, Bongao, Laguyan, Mapun, Panglima Sugala, Sapa-Sapa, Sibutu, Simunul, Sitangkay, South Ubian, Tandubas and Turtle Islands. Geographically, Tawi-Tawi is neither conflict-affected nor conflict-prone. However, security risks as are generally connected with the province’s geography as it is situated in the Sulu Sea known to be the area for “cross-border illicit trade, kidnapping and abduction and piracy.”¹³⁶

According to the ARMM-RPDO, prior to 2013, three women served as Provincial Board members (out of 8), one as mayor (out of 10), one as vice-mayor (out of 10) and 24 as municipal/city councilors (out of 80).¹³⁷

¹³³ International Crisis Group. 2009. “The Philippines: Local Politics in the Sulu Archipelago and the Peace Process.” Available from [http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/south-east-asia/philippines/225-the-philippines-local-politics-in-the-sulu-archipelago-and-the-peace-process.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/asia/south-east-asia/philippines/225-the-philippines-local-politics-in-the-sulu-archipelago-and-the-peace-process.pdf). p. i.

¹³⁴ Ibid. p. 14

¹³⁵ CNN Philippines. 15 June 2016. “President Aquino Considered Declaring Martial Law in Sulu.” Available from <http://cnnphilippines.com/regional/2016/06/15/Aquino-in-Jolo-Sulu-Abu-Sayyaf.html>; Mindanews, 15 June 2016. “Martial Law no Solution in Abu Sayyaf Menace --- Gov. Hataman.” Available from <http://www.mindanews.com/top-stories/2016/06/martial-law-no-solution-to-abu-sayyaf-menace-gov-hataman/>; Philippine Star. 17 June 2016. “Martial Law in Sulu a Military Option.” Available from <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2016/06/17/1593849/martial-law-sulu-military-option>.

¹³⁶ International Alert. p. 22.

¹³⁷ ARMM-RPDO. p. 107.

In 2013-2016, three women served as mayors; in the same period, two women were also elected at the provincial level. In 2012, Tawi-Tawi identified deportation (from Malaysia) and trafficking as priority gender issues.¹³⁸ The province inaugurated its Tawi-Tawi Women and Peace Center (TWPC) located in Panglima Sugala last March 2016.

Mapping participants

A total of 889 women leaders and 157 CSOs participated in the mapping project with the following numerical breakdown:

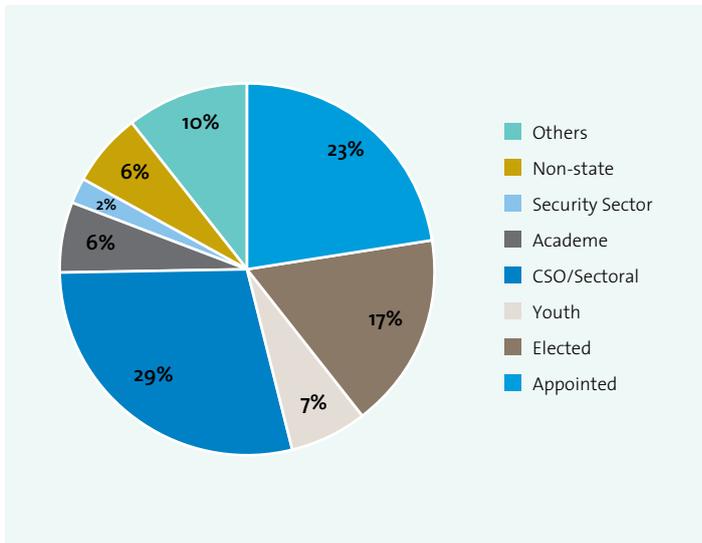
TABLE 7
Numerical breakdown of mapping participants¹³⁹

Mapping sites	Number of women leaders mapped	Number of CSOs mapped
Basilan	13	15
Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur	376	93
Maguindanao and Cotabato City	113	12
North Cotabato	148	7
Sulu	104	12
Tawi-Tawi	135	11
TOTAL	889	150

¹³⁸ WE Act 1325.2016. p. 65.

¹³⁹ Refers only to women leaders who participated as key informants. Data on personal profile were only available for these 13 and thus formed the basis for the use of this number. However, for the Basilan leg of the mapping, the local consultant also did focused group discussions (FGDs) with a total of 103 women leaders broken down into (a) CSO/leader/MNLF/MILF and (b) out-of-school-youth/in-school-youth/young professionals. But since their personal profiles were not mapped, this number was not used.

FIGURE 1
Categories of mapped women leaders

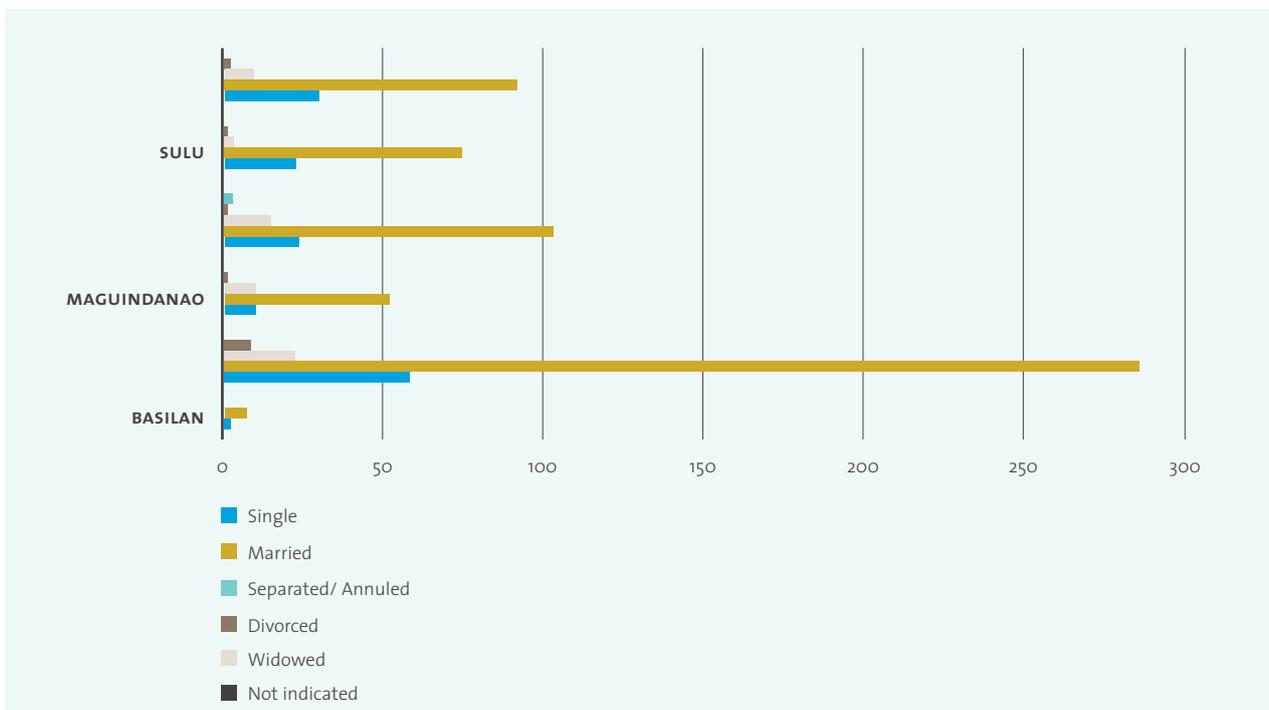


Of the 889 women leaders mapped, there were 202 appointed women leaders and 151 elected officials; 59 were youth leaders while 253 head CSOs/sectors; 54 had leadership roles in the academe; 21 came from the security sector while 57 came from non-state actors.¹⁴⁰ The remaining 92 participants were identified under as ‘others’ referring to influential women.¹⁴¹

Most of the mapped women leaders were between the ages of 41 to 50 years old and married (refer to Chart 2); a majority of them profess the religion of Islam (refer to Chart

3). Most of mapped women leaders from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte were Maranaos while many from Maguindanao and Cotabato City were Maguindanaoans and several Cebuana, Ilongga, Teduray and Iranun. Majority of those mapped from North Cotabato were also Maguindanaoans. From the islands of Basilan, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi, most of the women respondents were Tausug with a few Sama. From the mainland and islands, there were also a few Ilocana, Ilongga, Cebuana and Bisaya. Many of the mapped women leaders reached tertiary level of education or have graduated from college.

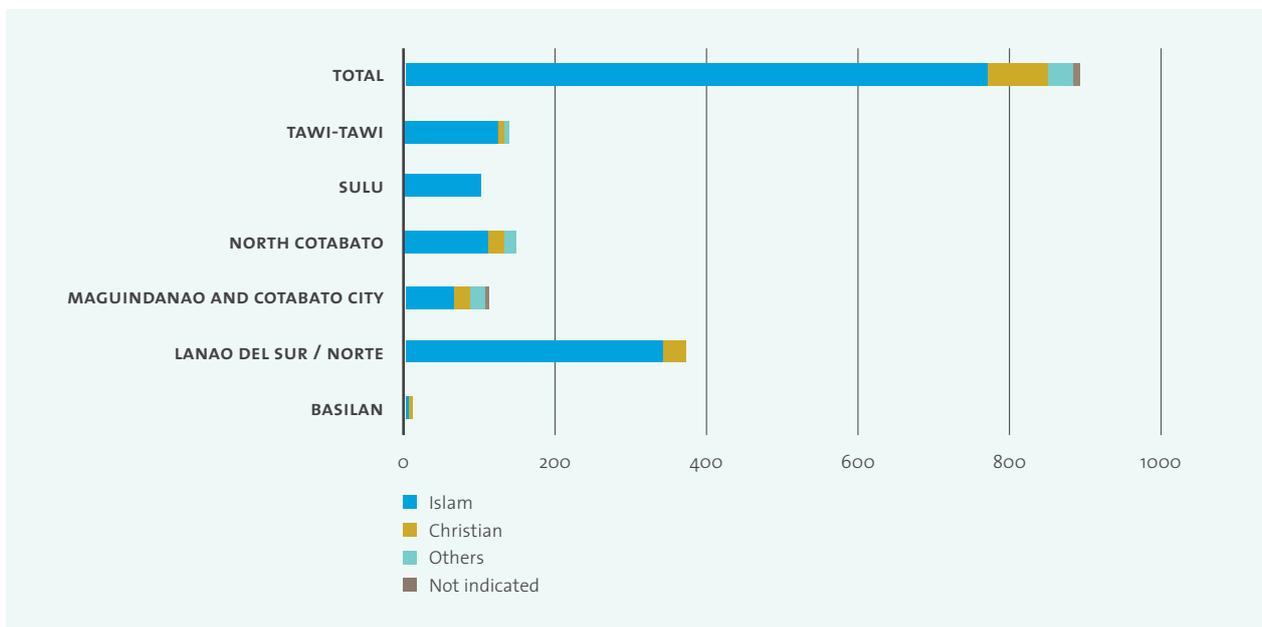
FIGURE 2
Civil status of mapped women leaders



¹⁴⁰ Women from the category of ‘non-state’ actors were either from the MNLF or the MILF.

¹⁴¹ ‘Other influential women’ pertained to religious and traditional women leaders including madaris and parent leaders.

FIGURE 3
Religion



On the other hand, majority of the CSOs mapped¹⁴² operate geographically at the municipal level and most of them have women as priority area of concern. Many of them are fairly young organizations—having been established only in the last six years; some have been registered as legal entities. Over half of these CSOs were unaffiliated with larger networks.

Method

The mapping project took place in Basilan, Tawi-Tawi and Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte from August to September 2015 and in Maguindanao and Cotabato City, North Cotabato and Sulu from November 2015 to March 2016.

Each local consultant employed a subjective or non-probability sampling method meant to reach as many respondents as possible.

The mapping employed four strategies to collect data: (1) desk review; (2) unstructured one-on-one interviews; (3) focus group discussion (FGDs); and (4) structured key informant interviews (KIIs). The local consultants tasked to carry out the mapping primarily used frequency analysis in the interpretation of quantitative data.

The mapping activity used a prepared tool from UN Women that was implemented by one local consultant for each clustered site. A standard questionnaire was used in the conduct of the mapping for both women leaders and CSOs. In the case of the former, the questionnaire comprised of four parts: (1) personal profile; (2) profile on political life/leadership; (3) capacity building experiences and needs; and (4) perspectives on governance, gender and peace.¹⁴³ For CSOs, the questionnaire inquired into their organizational profile, trainings received and training needs.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Refer to Annex 3 for List of participating civil society organizations in the Bangsamoro.

¹⁴³ Refer to Annex 1 at the end of the Report.

¹⁴⁴ Refer to Annex 2.

Limitations

Data gathering posed several challenges in the mapping activity. Foremost, not many data sources are available on specific and updated information on women in the aspects of politics, economics and socio-cultural life. Even published studies on armed conflict and violence in Mindanao do not really include gender or women's issues. More often than not, available studies that include gender and women's issues touched more on the impact of armed conflict, specifically, the gender dimensions of internal displacement.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, rarely can one find data specific to local situations, much less on local gender issues because most available information pertain to provincial or regional data.

Secondly, target sites for the mapping were identified conflict-affected or conflict-prone areas and thus, posed security concerns for both local consultants conducting the mapping activity and their respondents. On several instances, local consultants were not able to go to communities but instead had to meet the respondents from these communities in safer areas. Consequently, in some cases, target number of participants were not met.

Methodologically, since there was no data available on the total number of women leaders and women's groups/CSOs, it was not possible to establish an appropriate sample size of respondents. Thus, it must be understood that the total number of women and CSOs mapped was not a representative sample at all. Baseline data would also be problematic to establish because of this limitation. Moreover, no generalization or correlation can be made because of the selective/non-probability sampling method and mapping tool used. Quantitative data are reflective only of those mapped and thus, statistical analysis to establish generalizable trends cannot be claimed. Linking variables such as the relationship between experiences (women's political leadership) with perspectives (insights on governance, gender and peace) cannot be fully ascertained. At best, the mapping activity was an exercise in qualitative research meant to preliminarily explore respondents' discursive insights. Additionally, there are also data gaps on the data collected by some local consultants. Although the local consultants provided the total for each of the mapped sites, numerical analysis was employed only to those with complete data sets. For example, in the case of Basilan, 103 women participated in the FGDs but only 13 women who participated in the KIIs had complete data sets. In this regard, only data for the latter were used in the aggregate analysis. Similarly, in the case of Basilan and Tawi-Tawi, several data items were incomplete. Thus, area-specific discussions for these areas were also incomplete.

Lastly, several conceptual understandings had to be recalibrated. This specifically pertains to the operational definition of 'capacities,' as reflected in the mapping tool which only referred to attendance in capacity development training and their perceived usefulness as well as their capacity building needs for specific training programs. In other words, the mapping project took stock of capacity development experiences and needs and not 'capacity' per se. Measuring such should have included data on how women's attendance in capacity development programs enhanced their knowledge and understanding on governance, gender and peace; on how these have become useful to the women because they have immediately, actively and

¹⁴⁵ See for example Dwyer, Leslie and Rufa Cagoco-Guiam. *Gender and Conflict in Mindanao*. The Asia Foundation. 2013. Available from <https://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/GenderConflictinMindanao.pdf>.

concretely applied what they have learned; and on how they think their identified capacity development needs would contribute to their own skills development. In the absence of such empirics, the mapping project instead reflected women’s insights on the topic at hand as inferentially connected with emergent contextual elements.

Terms used

The following are the commonly used terms in the mapping activity:

1. Bangsamoro people – “Those who at the time of conquest and colonization were considered natives or original inhabitants of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago and its adjacent islands including Palawan, and their descendants, whether of mixed or of full blood, shall have the right to identify themselves as Bangsamoro by ascription or self-ascription. Spouses and their descendants are classified as Bangsamoro.”¹⁴⁶
2. Capacities – for the purpose of the mapping project, refer to any form of training (e.g., seminars, workshops, orientations) that mapped women leaders and members of CSOs underwent in the thematic areas of gender, governance and peace as well as in functional areas of organizational development and operations (e.g., project management, strategic planning, budgeting and programming, etc.)
3. Civil society organizations (CSOs) – operationally, pertain to grassroots, people’s or community-based organizations as well as non-government organizations (NGOs) operating in the Bangsamoro.
4. Women leaders – operationally, those who hold leadership positions and are seen as decision-makers and discourse-shapers.
 - a. State/formal or official positions within government
 - Appointed women leaders are those designated by public officials to head or perform designated tasks within specific local government offices, whether at the regional, provincial, city/municipal, or barangay levels.¹⁴⁷
 - Elected women leaders are those placed in leadership positions by virtue of being elected into public office.¹⁴⁸
 - b. Non-State/non-formal spaces or ‘outside government’

¹⁴⁶ House Bill 4994 – “Bangsamoro Basic Law,” 16th Congress, Philippine House of Representatives. Available from <http://www.opapp.gov.ph/sites/default/files/House%20Bill%20No.%204994.pdf>.

¹⁴⁷ Common offices at different levels of local government are Office of the Secretary of the Sanggunian, Treasurer’s Office, Assessor’s Office, Accounting Office, Budget Office, Planning and Development Office, Engineer’s Office, Health Office, Office of the Civil Registry, Office of the Administrator, Office of Legal Services, Office of Agricultural Services/Office of the Agriculturalist, Social Welfare and Development Office, Environment and Natural Resources Office, Office of Architectural Planning and Design, Office of Public Information, Office for Development of Cooperatives/Cooperatives Development Office, Population Office, Office of Veterinary Services, Public Safety Office and General Services Office.

¹⁴⁸ Based on the Local Government Code, elected positions are: regional governors, vice governors and regional legislative assembly members; provincial governors, vice governors, and Sangguniang Panlalawigan members; city/municipal mayors, vice mayors, and Sangguniang Panglungsod/Bayan members (Councilors); Barangay captains, Barangay Kagawad (Councilors), Sangguniang Kabataan chair, and Sangguniang Kabataan members.

Based on discussion with local consultants involved in the mapping project, women leaders under this category refer to women heads of academic institutions or departments or *madaris*, women heads of CSOs, women ex-combatants, indigenous women leaders, or women religious leaders (*aleema*) and Muslim women teaching Islam (*madaris*). Influential women, on the other hand, are eminent women who are neither currently part of any institution or organization but have been pivotal in the formations and creating organizations at the community or municipal or provincial levels or have mentored other women leaders as well. Young women leaders who are in school and young professional women who are leading formations and organizations are likewise included in this category.

Mapping team

Six local consultants were commissioned to undertake the mapping project in the various sites listed. They were:

<i>Name of local consultant</i>	<i>Institutional affiliation</i>	<i>Mapping site</i>
1. Fatima Pir Allian	Nisa Ul Haqq Fi Bangsamoro	Basilan
2. Jurma Tikmasan	Tarbilang Foundation	Tawi-Tawi
3. Dayang Karna Bahidjan	Independent	Sulu
4. Hazel Lozada	Independent	North Cotabato
5. Zahria Muti-Mapandi	Al-Mujadillah Development Foundation	Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur
6. Rohannie Baraguir-Datumanong	Independent	Maguindanao and Cotabato City

RESULTS OF THE MAPPING OF SELECT WOMEN LEADERS AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE BANGSAMORO

Women leaders

1. Background and political profile

This section reconstructs the political profile and background of women leaders. The former pertains to mapped elected and appointed women's current political positions, their work prior to being elected or appointed, their political party affiliation and their familial ties in politics. On the other hand, the latter refers to these women's previously held political position, number of years serving as an elected official, their executive or legislative priorities/agenda and involvement in conflict resolution mechanisms. With regard to mapped women leaders outside of government, this section briefly describes their engagement in non-formal spaces.

A. Women in formal/governmental spaces

The project was able to map elected women officials mostly from the municipal and barangay levels: four Sangguniang Barangay members in Basilan; six mayors, five vice-mayors, 29 councilors and 10 barangay chairs from Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur; four Sangguniang Bayan members and five barangay chairs from Maguindanao as well as two barangay chairs and four Sangguniang Barangay members from Cotabato City; seven barangay chairs and nine barangay kagawad from Sulu;¹⁴⁹ for Tawi-Tawi, 36 were kagawad, three municipal mayors, two assistant secretaries at the regional level and one congresswoman; and for North Cotabato, one provincial board member, one vice-mayor, six municipal councilors, three barangay chairs, one Sangguniang Kabataan chairperson and 11 barangay councilors.

Most of the elected women mapped from Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Maguindanao and Cotabato City and Sulu were engaged in business prior to being elected into public office. In Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, only 26 percent of elected women mapped worked in government while in Maguindanao, 20 percent said they were involved in faith-based or CSO work before their elected positions:

¹⁴⁹ The original number provided for Sulu was 17 but the breakdown of elected women leaders by position provided later was just 16—no data was provided as regards the remaining elected woman leader.

“...one elected official in South Upi is currently engaged in several civil society organizations such as Rural Improvement Club (RIC),¹⁵⁰ Kalipunan ng Liping Pilipino (KALIPI),¹⁵¹ and Teduray Lambangian Women Organization Incorporated (TLWOI).¹⁵² Elected women from the municipality of Rajah Buayan, two out of three, are also affiliated with several civil society organizations such as Mindanao Women Advocacy for Good Governance (MWAGG), RIC, Mindanao Task Force Reconciliation and Unification (MTFRU), Social Welfare Committee (SWC), and Kabalikat Civicom.”¹⁵³

On the other hand, in North Cotabato, 60 percent of mapped elected women said they did not have any previous work or engaged in income generating activities before they were elected.

For areas with data provided on political party affiliation, 58 percent of elected women mapped from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte said they do not belong to any political party and ran as independents; the same is true for 93 percent of elected women mapped in North Cotabato, 92 percent in Cotabato City and 95 percent in Sulu. According to the observation of a local consultant, because of the difficulty in securing political party endorsements, women interested in running for elective posts normally opt to run as independents.¹⁵⁴ In this regard, familial political machinery tend to replace political party machinery. Interestingly, majority of mapped elected women from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte said that they have other family members who are also involved into (formal) politics; similar claims have been made by 87 percent of mapped elected women at the barangay and 83 percent at the municipal levels in North Cotabato.¹⁵⁵ To a large extent, clan or familial politics can be instrumental for women leaders. For example, in Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, many mapped elected women leaders identified members of their families (i.e., father, mother, children, siblings) as the top response regarding ‘people who helped in their political journey.’¹⁵⁶

As observed by one of the local consultants:

“Customarily, most of the women who run for political office are also members of powerful clans that control Muslim Mindanao politics. The women politicians in the ARMM enjoy popularity and support because of family affiliations, either by consanguinity or by affinity. For example, at least two women mayors in Maguindanao province easily took the place of

¹⁵⁰ The RIC is rural-based organization of rural women which aims to uplift the living condition of the farm families. It is being supported by the Department of Agriculture.

¹⁵¹ KALIPI is a women’s organization organized by the Department of Social Welfare and Development to empower women through implementation of programs and services for women.

¹⁵² Teduray Lambangian Women’s Organization Inc. is a federation of 35 community-based Teduray and Lambangian women organization in the province of Maguindanao. It aims to support Teduray and Lambangian women in attaining their sustainable and environmental development while respecting their indigeneous cultures and promotion of basic development rights as tribal women including decision-making processes, community development projects, justice and peace.

¹⁵³ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Maguindanao.

¹⁵⁴ Muti-Mapandi, Zahria. UN Women Local Consultant’s Final Report on Mapping Capacities of Women Leaders and Civil Society Organizations in the Bangsamoro: Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte (unpublished). Hereinafter referred to as Final Report: Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte.

¹⁵⁵ About one-third of the mapped elected women from North Cotabato said they have more than one relative in politics serving as mayor, vice mayor, municipal councilor, barangay captain, barangay kagawad, etc.

¹⁵⁶ Muti-Mapandi. Final Report: Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur. LGUs, supervisor/co-worker/group, leadership model/mentor, and NGOs/CSOs ranked second, third, fourth and fifth, respectively.

their husband and father-in-law, respectively. In other provinces, female elected officials also belong to prominent political families in the province.”¹⁵⁷

The very few who said they had party affiliations shared that they were merely members,¹⁵⁸ acted as coordinators¹⁵⁹ or ground contacts.¹⁶⁰

Most of the mapped elected women leaders previously occupied municipal and barangay level executive and legislative posts and many of them were in their first term of office.¹⁶¹ In Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur, 66 percent of mapped elected women leaders did not previously occupy political positions—the remaining ones who did said they previously served as mayors, vice mayors, councilors and barangay chairpersons. Around 50 percent of these women were newly elected in office, 30 percent were second termers and 20 percent were on their third term. In Maguindanao, mapped women leaders were previously elected as Sangguniang Bayan and Sangguniang Barangay members and vice-mayors while in Cotabato City, 43 percent were elected as members of Sangguniang Barangay, 14 percent as Punong Barangay and Sangguniang Kabataan chair. In contrast with the Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur mapped elected women leaders, 50 percent of those mapped in Maguindanao were either third termers or have been in politics for more than a decade; only 30 percent of them were first termers. For elected mapped women from North Cotabato, many were not previously elected and 60 percent of them were first term officials—those who were municipal and barangay level legislators. In Sulu, many of the mapped elected women were not previously elected and most of those who were have been serving their second term in office. In North Cotabato, many elected women leaders at the municipal level held electoral positions (such as Sangguniang Kabataan Federation president), municipal councilors and provincial board members are mostly first termers.

Data from Maguindanao, Cotabato City and Sulu showed the mapped elected women leaders’ involvement in local government councils and committees. In Maguindanao, mapped elected women leaders were either chairs or members of municipal bodies such as the Committee on Women, Family and Social Services, Tourism Committee and Mayor’s Council or of barangay institutional entities such as Human Rights Committee, Barangay Development Council for the Protection of Children and Barangay Solid Waste Management. In Cotabato City, mapped women served as chairs of the Committee of Women and Health and Sanitation Committee at the city level and chairs of BCPC, Barangay Peace and Order Committee (BPOC), Barangay Development Council (BDC), Barangay Solid Waste Management Committee and Sports and Recreation Committee. Meanwhile, mapped elected women from Sulu said that they either head or are members of

¹⁵⁷ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Maguindanao.

¹⁵⁸ Thirty two percent (32%) of mapped women from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte said belonged to the Liberal Party while four percent of mapped women from North Cotabato said they were members of a political party but did not state which. In Maguindanao, four out of nine mapped elected women said they were members of the Liberal Party, United Nationalist Alliance (UNA) and Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban) while one from Cotabato City said she was an honorary member of Akbayan (Citizen’s Action Party).

¹⁵⁹ Three percent of mapped women from North Cotabato said they were actively involved in a political party as coordinators.

¹⁶⁰ Two percent of mapped women from Sulu said they were involved as local contacts for political parties.

¹⁶¹ At the local government level, terms of office is three years. The first term then would be one to three years, second term (if re-elected) is to have another three years, and the third term (if re-elected again) is the same. For the same position, an elected official serve for a maximum of nine years or three consecutive terms.

local government bodies on health and sanitation, women, security and waste management, among others. For these women, being part of these bodies enable them to contribute to policy formulation. In fact, contributing to policy formulations was a key sharing from two respondents from Maguindanao: the first respondent said that being the Chair of the Committee on Women, Family and Social Services, she was able to participate in the crafting and implementation of several ordinances in South Upi on the welfare of children and minors and of a resolution that created the Local Committee on Anti-Trafficking and Violence against Women and Children (LCAT-VAWC); the second responded stated that being a member of the Mayor's Council in Upi enabled her to participate in the resolution of 23 cases concerning indigenous peoples on matters of "land conflict, marital issues, family feuds, murder, stabbing and physical injury."¹⁶²

In Maguindanao, Cotabato City and North Cotabato, mapped elected women leaders also have experiences in being part of local conflict resolution mechanisms. In Maguindanao, mapped elected women leaders were part of the Mayor's Council, Barangay Council/Katarungang Pambarangay, Maguindanao Task Force, Reconciliation and Unification (MTRFU) for women in Rajah Buayan and the BPOC, as either indigenous peoples' representative, mediator, negotiator or head of the body. Several notable experiences of mapped elected women leaders in Maguindanao were:

- As part of the BPOC, working closely together with other barangay officials and the Philippine National Police "to ensure that peace and order programs and projects at the barangay level are well coordinated and implemented; maintain continuing dialogue, close coordination and rapport with the higher levels of peace and order and public safety councils in their area of responsibility; as well as monitor, coordinate and supervise the operation of all community-based anti-crime movements within the barangay,"¹⁶³
- As member of the Mayor's Council in Upi, representing indigenous peoples, participating in the crafting of rules and procedures on dispute settlement and in the amicable settlement of disputes and contributing to the resolution of cases involving "land conflict, marital issues, attempted rape, acts of lasciviousness, family feuds, murder, stabbing and physical injury, etc;"¹⁶⁴
- Resolving conflicts through the initiation and conduct of dialogues between disputing parties; and
- As part of the Barangay Council, participating in local conflict prevention and resolution as mediators.

In Cotabato City, five elected women leaders have been involved in conflict resolution mechanisms as Chairs of Katarungan Pambarangay and Alternative Dispute Resolution¹⁶⁵ as mediators while in North Cotabato, more than half mapped elected women leaders have been involved in conflict resolution bodies such as Lupon ng Tagapamayapa, Municipal Peace and Order Council (MPOC), and Umpong-an or the "informal conflict resolution mechanism commonly led by the Elders of the community."¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Maguindanao.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Pursuant to RA 9285/EO 320, Series of 1988 and E.O 20, Series of 1992.

¹⁶⁶ Hazel Lozada. UN Women Local Consultant's Final Report on Mapping of Capacities of Women and Civil Society Organizations in the Bangsamoro: North Cotabato (unpublished). Herein after referred to as Final Report: North Cotabato.

In terms of mapped elected women leaders' executive or legislative agenda, data from North Cotabato and Sulu showed that most of them prioritize women and children's concerns. Other issues were on education, health and infrastructure development. These issue areas are not surprising since, more often than not, women leaders are expected to have 'natural affinity' with these concerns. Interestingly though, there are also other women leaders who have not readily given a thought on what particular issue areas they carry. In the case of mapped elected women leaders from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte—

“Majority of the elected women leaders were not able to describe their executive or legislative agenda. When asked about it, most of them could not give direct answer. Three of them mentioned that good governance were part of their agenda but were unable to provide descriptions of it. Nine of the elected officials mentioned that infrastructure such as roads, health center, solar driers were their priority. One mentioned about disaster preparedness and another mentioned livelihood as her priority. For those who were not able to give answers they merely mentioned that whatever the priority of the Mayor in their place was, it was also their priority out of obedience or respect.”¹⁶⁷

With regard to mapped appointed women leaders, one was an Indigenous Peoples Mandatory Representative (IPMR) and another was a Chief Administrative Officer in Basilan; in Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, 120 were mapped and most of them were at the municipal level as social workers, civil registrars, local government officers and municipal administrative staff; one appointed woman leader in Maguindanao and one in Cotabato City serve as IPMR while those from North Cotabato served as barangay secretary, treasurer and heads of municipal officers.

In North Cotabato, many of the mapped appointed women leaders did not have income-generating activities prior to being appointed or joining government. While in Maguindanao, being in civil society work was the previous engagement. On the other hand, majority of the mapped appointed women in Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte were already working in government prior to being appointed to head certain offices— these are women who have had careers in public service.

On committee memberships, a few appointed women leaders in Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur mentioned that they were part of the Bids and Awards Committee and Local Health Board Committee. The appointed IPMR woman leader in Maguindanao said she was part of the local legislative council where she focused “on the representation of the collective interests of indigenous cultural communities/indigenous peoples, practice of their traditional leadership titles and structures, justice systems as well conflict and peace-building mechanisms and processes concerning indigenous people in their areas of jurisdiction.”¹⁶⁸ Another IPMR appointed representative in Cotabato City shared her experiences as part of the Timuay Justice System among indigenous peoples (as Council of Elders Adviser) and her involvement with the Organization of Teduray Lambangian Conference (OTLAC) as chairperson of the women sector for 10 years aside from being an active member of the EPC Women (Southern Diocese) as president for two decades.

¹⁶⁷ Muti-Mapandi. Final Report: Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur.

¹⁶⁸ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Maguindanao.

In North Cotabato, some mapped appointed women leaders mentioned they were members of committees on health and sanitation, barangay affairs, social services, women, children and family, gender equality, bids and awards, among others.

B. Women in informal/ outside of government/non-state activities

Non-state women leaders or those outside of government participate in activities outside the formal institutional spaces. In Basilan, these women were members of the MNLF and MILF, youth organizations and tribal groups. In North Cotabato, the women came from the academe, CSOs and some are farmers, fisherfolks and housekeepers.

In Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, mapped non-state women leaders were from the academe, CSO groups, youth, traditional groups and Muslim religious groups. The ones from the academe were supervisors, principals, volunteer teachers, college deans and heads of university departments. Those from CSOs have been involved as community or government program volunteers or working with people's organizations and local NGOs while some are employed as teachers and employees of private companies. Other women leaders mapped were young women leaders – college students, NGO workers, volunteers and out-of-school-youth—as well as Muslim religious leaders working as Arabic teachers or conducting Islamic seminars for free.

A very distinct group of women leaders from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte are traditional women leaders—many of whom hold the royal title of *Bae A Labi* while a few were either *Potre Maamor* or *Ayonan Bae*. As explained by the local consultant, female traditional leaders are counterparts of male traditional leaders and both belong to the sultanate¹⁶⁹ lineage across the Bangsamoro. In as far as the titles of the women are concerned, “there is no clear indication which title is superior than the other” but the norm is that “their responsibilities and expected respectfulness towards them are the same.”¹⁷⁰ In explaining further, the local consultant cited a study on elderly Maranao Muslim women:

“In accordance with the Meranao (another way of spelling Maranao) taritib and igma (customary laws) and bangsa (descent line), women could assume roles of leadership in their community. Traditionally, the most important qualification is family descent/lineage, that is, one descended from a family or kin group whose claim to leadership and status are recognized, by which a title (such as Bailabi, Potre-Maamor, Ayonan Bai) is conferred to women...[H]ow women act and perform their roles in accordance with these titles may depend on their own attributes and motivations, allies or support from their family and kin, their own perspectives on their role and manner they assumed their role”¹⁷¹

On the other hand, in Maguindanao, mapped women leaders came from the academe, were members of the MNLF, civil society and sectoral groups, as well as those who were seen to be

¹⁶⁹ In Lanao (or Ranao), the Sultanate is called “Pata-Pangampong sa Ranao” or the four states or principles of Lanao.

¹⁷⁰ Muti-Mapandi. Final Report: Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur.

¹⁷¹ Teresita Taberdo. Undated. “Serving the Family and the Community: A Preliminary Study on Elderly Meranao Muslim Women.” Online from <https://www.google.com.ph/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=Teresita+Taberdo+on+elderly+Maranao+muslimwomen>.

influential with their active involvement in community work or are members of royal or political clans. Those from the academe held the positions of chairperson, president, provincial director and deputy director and have also been involved with CSOs “advocating for women’s participation in good governance, peace, gender and development in the context of Islam, women in non-formal education and literacy programs, and women in sustainable livelihood and life skills training.”¹⁷² Mapped women leaders from the MNLF held leadership positions at the Central Committee, within ‘MNLF states,’¹⁷³ and at the municipal level. Many of these women have been part of the MNLF close to 50 years. Several influential women—such as those belonging to the ‘Royal Ladies of the Province of Maguindanao’ and other political clans that were instrumental in establishing institutions in the province—also participated in the mapping activity. Finally, CSO women leaders have been involved in advocacy work on “good governance, gender and peace as well as other themes such as parenting education, livelihood training skills, adolescent program, social protection and relief and rehabilitation.”¹⁷⁴

On the other hand, in Cotabato City, most of the mapped non-state women leaders held leadership positions such as presidency and chairpersonship of organizations such as KALIPI, Rotary Club of Cotabato City, Rio Grande Pusaw Handicraft, Legion of Mary, Independent Component City Agriculture and Fishery Council and Cotabato City Women’s Council (CCWC). Of these organizations, the CCWC was said to be a key mechanism for women’s participation:

“It is important to note that the CCWC was created pursuant to the memorandum circular issued by the Department of the Interior and Local Government which requires every municipality and city government and local government agencies to organize women’s organizations into local councils. The council is expected to function as a vehicle in mainstreaming Gender and Development in pursuit of women empowerment, gender equality, social justice, lasting peace, fulfilment and protection of human rights, and sustainable development.”¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Maguindanao.

¹⁷³ These women leaders were said to have leadership in the revolutionary group’s women sector in the four (4) ‘MNLF states,’ namely, Western Kutawato State Revolutionary Committee, Central Kutawato State Revolutionary Committee, New Utara Kutawato State Revolutionary Committee, Sabangan State Kutawato Revolutionary Committee.

¹⁷⁴ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Maguindanao.

¹⁷⁵ Baraguir-Datumanong. UN Women Local Consultant’s Final Report on Mapping of Capacities of Women Leaders and Civil Society Organizations: Cotabato City (unpublished). Hereinafter referred to a Final Report: Cotabato City.

2. Capacity development experiences and needs

The mapping activity inquired about women leaders' thematic capacity development experiences and needs along the areas of gender, peace and governance. Possible topics relevant to the said thematic areas were asked of the respondents, including when have they undergone these topics, if these topics were found useful and if further training is still needed along these topics. It must be noted that items under each category point to certain assumptions. Under governance, the understanding is that listed items are assumed to enhance the substance and skills of women leadership; in the case of gender, the trajectory is to deepen women leaders' knowledge on gender/women-specific instruments; and on peace, the goal is to frame women's political participation in peacebuilding in the Bangsamoro. Table 8 shows the responses on capacity development experiences, ranked from highest to lowest (i.e., from most to least responses).

TABLE 8
Bangsamoro women leaders' capacity development experiences^{176 17718}

Basilan					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Good governance/ transformative leadership	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	Senate Bill 2894 ¹⁷⁷
2	Local policy development	2	GAD planning and budgeting	2	Peace and Human Rights; Women, Peace and Security (i.e., NAPWPS); CAB; House Bill 5811; ¹⁷⁸ Normalization including transitional justice
3	Local planning and budgeting process	3	ARMM GAD Code	3	House Bill 4994; UNSCRs 1325, 1820, and subsequent resolutions
4	Public speaking and agenda development	4	RA 9710 (Magna Carta of Women); Code of Muslim Personal Laws; ARMM Reproductive Health Law		
5	Participatory governance	5	UN CEDAW		
6	RA 9054 (ARMM Organic Act)				

¹⁷⁶ Based on the ranking results (highest to lowest; most frequent/recurring responses to the least) from each of the provinces. These responses pertain either to seminars attended, or topics that the respondents heard or are aware of.

¹⁷⁷ Senate Bill 2894 is the Senate 'version' of the BBL. It is entitled "An Act Providing for the Basic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region and Abolishing the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, Repealing for the Purpose of Republic Act 9054, entitled 'An Act to Strengthen and Expand the Organic Act for the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao,' and Republic Act 6734, entitled 'An Act Providing for an Organic Act for the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao,' And For Other Purposes," Available from <https://www.senate.gov.ph/lisdata/2192318640!.pdf>.

¹⁷⁸ House Bill 5811 is the substitute bill for the CAB-based BBL. It is entitled "An Act Providing for the Basic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region, Repealing for the Purpose Republic Act No. 9054, entitled "An Act to Strengthen and Expand the Organic Act for the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao,' and Republic Act 6734, entitled 'An Act Providing for an Organic Act for the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao,'" Available from <http://www.gov.ph/downloads/2015/05may/20150527-HOUSE-BILL-NO-5811.pdf>.

Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Good governance/ transformative leadership	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	Peace and human rights
2	Local planning and budgeting process	2	GAD planning and budgeting	2	CAB
3	Participatory governance	3	RA 9710 (Magna Carta of Women)	3	Women, Peace and Security (i.e., NAPWPS)
4	Public speaking and agenda development	4	Code of Muslim Personal Laws	4	House Bill 4994 ¹⁷⁹
5	Local policy development	5	UN CEDAW	5	Normalization including transitional justice
6	RA 9054 (ARMM Organic Act)	6	ARMM GAD Code	6	1976 Tripoli Agreement
		7	ARMM Reproductive Health Law	7	Senate Bill 2994
				8	House Bill 5811
				9	UNSCRs 1325, 1820, and subsequent resolutions
Maguindanao					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Good governance/ transformative leadership	1	Gender-sensitivity; ¹⁸⁰ ARMM GAD Code ¹⁸¹	1	CAB; ¹⁸² Peace and human rights; ¹⁸³ 1976 Tripoli Agreement ¹⁸⁴
2	Local planning and budgeting process	2	GAD planning and budgeting ¹⁸⁵	2	House Bill 4994 ¹⁸⁶
3	Local policy development	3	Magna Carta of Women		
Cotabato City					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Local policy development	1	Code of Muslim Personal Laws	1	1976 Tripoli Agreement
2	Good governance/ transformative leadership	2	Gender-sensitivity, Magna Carta of Women	2	Peace and human rights
3	Local planning and budgeting process	3	UN CEDAW	3	CAB
North Cotabato					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Good governance/ transformative leadership	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	CAB
2	Participatory governance	2	GAD planning and budgeting	2	Peace and human rights
3	Local policy development	3	RA 9710 (Magna Carta of Women)	3	House Bill 4994
4	Local planning and budgeting process	4	UN CEDAW	4	Normalization including transitional justice
5	Public speaking and agenda development	5	Code of Muslim Personal Laws	5	House Bill 5811

6	RA 9054 (ARMM Organic Act)	6	ARMM Reproductive Health Laws	6	1976 Tripoli Agreement
		7	ARMM GAD Code	7	Senate Bill 2894
				8	Women, Peace and Security (i.e., NAPWPS)
				9	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions

Sulu

Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Good governance/ transformative leadership	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	House Bill 4994
2	Local policy development	2	RA 9710 (Magna Carta of Women)	2	Peace and human rights; Women, Peace and Security (i.e., NAPWPS); UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions
3	Local planning and budgeting process	3	Code of Muslim Personal Laws	3	CAB
4	Public speaking and agenda development	4	ARMM GAD Code	4	Normalization including transitional justice
5	RA 9054 (ARMM Organic Act)	5	UN CEDAW	5	House Bill 5811
		6	ARMM Reproductive Health Laws		
		7	GAD planning and budgeting		

Tawi-Tawi

Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Good governance/ transformative leadership	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	Peace and human rights
2	Local planning and budgeting process; public speaking and agenda development; participatory governance	2	UN CEDAW	2	CAB
3	RA 9054 (ARMM Organic Act)	3	Code of Muslim Personal Laws	3	Normalization including transitional justice
4	Local policy development	4	ARMM Reproductive Health Laws	4	House Bill 4994; House Bill 5811
		5	GAD planning and budgeting	5	Senate Bill 2894
		6	RA 9710 (Magna Carta of Women)	6	1976 Tripoli Agreement
		7	ARMM GAD Code	7	Women, Peace and Security (i.e., NAPWPS)
8	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions				

Based on the tabulated results on governance topics, most of the women leaders from Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Maguindanao and Cotabato City, North Cotabato, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi claimed to have undergone good governance and/or transformative leadership training. All, except for Tawi-Tawi,¹⁸⁷ responded to have the least training on the ARMM Organic Act. On gender, women leaders from the same areas said they have attended gender-sensitivity trainings. The least capacity development activity they attended varied—UN CEDAW for Basilan, ARMM Reproductive Law for Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte and Cotabato City, Magna Carta of Women for Sulu and ARMM GAD Code for Cotabato City, North Cotabato and Tawi-Tawi.

In the case of peace training, there was no unanimous highest or lowest ranked that cuts across the responses from all the provinces. Common responses on most trainings attended were peace and human rights as well as the CAB; similar responses on least trainings received were UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions and House Bill 4994.

Having identified the capacity development trainings women leaders claimed to have attended or know something about, they were then asked about their training needs (refer to Table 9).

¹⁷⁹ House Bill 4994 is the CAB-Based BBL. It is entitled “An Act Providing for the Basic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region, Repealing for the Purpose Republic Act No. 9054, Entitled “An Act to Strengthen and Expand the Organic Act for the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao,’ and Republic Act 6734, Entitled ‘An Act Providing for an Organic Act for the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao,’ and For Other Purposes.” Available from <http://www.opapp.gov.ph/sites/default/files/House%20Bill%20No.%204994.pdf>.

¹⁸⁰ Top 1 answer for elected/appointed women leaders and those from the academe; top 2 answer for MNLF women leaders and CSO/sectoral women leaders.

¹⁸¹ Top 1 answer for CSO/sectoral women leaders.

¹⁸² Top 1 answer for elected/appointed women leaders.

¹⁸³ Top 1 answer for MNLF women leaders and those from the academe.

¹⁸⁴ Top 1 answer from CSO/sectoral women leaders.

¹⁸⁵ Top 1 answer for MNLF women leaders; top 2 answer for elected/appointed women leaders.

¹⁸⁶ Top 2 answer from the academe.

¹⁸⁷ Tawi-Tawi listed RA 9054 as second to the last.

TABLE 9
Bangsamoro women leaders' capacity needs

Basilan					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Good governance/ transformative leadership; local policy development; RA 9054	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	Senate Bill 2894
2	Local planning and budgeting process	2	RA 9710; ARMM GAD Code; Code of Muslim Personal Laws; ARMM Reproductive Health Law	2	Peace and human rights; CAB; House Bills 4994 and 5811; normalization including transitional justice
3	Participatory governance	3	GAD planning and budgeting	3	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions; Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
4	Public speaking and agenda development	4	UN CEDAW	4	1976 Tripoli Agreement
Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Public speaking and agenda development	1	ARMM GAD Code	1	House Bill 5811
2	Good governance/ transformative leadership; local policy development	2	RA 9710	2	CAB
3	Participatory governance	3	Gender-sensitivity	3	Peace and human rights
4	Local planning and budgeting process	4	GAD planning and budgeting	4	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
5	RA 9054	5	Code of Muslim Personal Laws	5	House Bill 4994
		6	ARMM Reproductive Health Law	6	Normalization including transitional justice
		7	UN CEDAW	7	Senate Bill 2894
				8	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions
				9	1976 Tripoli Agreement

Maguindanao					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Local planning and budgeting process; public speaking and agenda development; participatory governance	1	GAD planning and budgeting; ARMM GAD Code; ARMM Reproductive Health Law	1	Peace and human rights; CAB
2	RA 9054; Good governance/transformative leadership	2	Gender-sensitivity; Magna Carta of Women	2	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS); House Bill 4994
3	Local policy development	3	UN CEDAW	3	Normalization including transitional justice
		4	Code of Muslim Personal Laws	4	1976 Tripoli Agreement
				5	House Bill 5811
				6	Senate Bill 2894
Cotabato City					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Good governance/transformative leadership; public speaking and agenda development	1	Code of Muslim Personal Laws; ARMM GAD Code; Magna Carta of Women, CEDAW	1	Normalization including transitional justice
2	Local policy development	2	Gender-sensitivity	2	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
3	Local planning and budgeting process	3	GAD planning and budgeting	3	House Bill 4994
North Cotabato					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	RA 9054; public speaking and agenda development; local planning and budgeting process	1	ARMM Reproductive Health Law; ARMM GAD Code	1	Normalization including transitional justice; Senate Bill 2894; CAB
2	Participatory governance; local policy development	2	Code of Muslim Personal Laws; UN CEDAW	2	House Bills 4995 and 5811; Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS); UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions; 1976 Tripoli Agreement; Peace and human rights
		3	RA 9710; gender-sensitivity		
		4	GAD planning and budgeting		
Sulu					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	All	1	All	1	All

Tawi-Tawi					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Good governance/ transformative leadership	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	Peace and human rights
2	Public speaking and agenda development	2	RA 9710; Code of Muslim Personal Laws	2	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
3	Local planning and budgeting	3	UN CEDAW	3	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions
4	Participatory governance	4	GAD planning and budgeting	4	1976 Tripoli Agreement
5	Local policy development	5	ARMM Reproductive Health Law	5	Senate Bill 2894
6	RA 9054	6	ARMM GAD Code	6	House Bill 5811
				7	House Bill 4994
				8	CAB; normalization including transitional justice

Aside from these capacity development needs identification based on the survey tool, respondents from the following provinces also indicated the following areas that they would like to be trained on:

Preferred training areas of select Bangsamoro women leaders

Basilan	Leadership, community organizing, project proposal, monitoring and evaluation, adult literacy, mat weaving training for livelihood, anti-bullying and human rights.
Maguindanao	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Governance – rights of indigenous women in the Bangsamoro government, role of indigenous women in the Bangsamoro government, women leadership in the context of Islam, taxation at the barangay level, ministerial form of government, bridging leadership training, basic computer skills, public speaking, and Annex on Wealth Sharing as related to indigenous people; b. Gender – GAD including database, role of women in the community, gender and women empowerment, rights of women in the context of Islam, RA 9262 and gender in Islamic perspective; c. Peace and security – peace and development including culture of peace framework, history of the Bangsamoro, right to self-determination, proper dress code in accordance with Islam, rights of the Bangsamoro, transitional justice and reconciliation; and d. Sustainable livelihood training for women including feasibility studies, improving communication skills, reproductive health including family planning, project proposal making, children and youth, program development for out-of-school youth and access to scholarship for indigenous children.
Cotabato City	Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA)
Sulu	Community development and infrastructure, women’s rights, VAWC and Shari’a law

3. Contextualizing perspectives

Based on the mapped women leaders’ profiles and experiences, it can be deduced that their realm of the ‘political’ encompasses both governmental/formal institutional structures and non-state/informal spaces of engagements. In both these spaces and within their dynamic and multi-layered contexts, elements of social interactions, decision-making, and discourse-shaping are potentially available for women leaders. Thus, in uncovering their perspectives on governance, gender, and peace, it is also important to first, take stock of how they ‘locate’ themselves and other women in these spaces. This essentially means an inference into what they see as facilitating and limiting factors and conditions that affect women’s political participation.

When asked about what they thought were factors and conditions that enabled/facilitated the entry of women in the political sphere, the recurrent responses (from most frequently cited to least cited) of most, if not all, of the respondents from the six provinces were:

1. *Experience and skill* as signified by the capacity to lead and possession of leadership skills; being prepared, active and competent; having a competitive nature; being empowered; and having a track record in politics.¹⁸⁸
2. *Family background* (i.e., lineage) and support—particularly from husbands or patriarchs—to enter politics. Having relatives in politics is also seen as an enabler because of the assumption that familial influence is already in place.¹⁸⁹
3. *Personal attributes of women leaders* in a way that they have good and untarnished character; having good attitude, beliefs, and values; having confidence, will power and commitment that result in gaining the trust of people; and being religious.¹⁹⁰
4. *Service to and support from communities* where women leaders are expected have a genuine interest to serve (i.e., having a ‘soft heart’ for the poor); possess an understanding of community realities and having the courage to respond to them; and have good and harmonious relations with the community and accordingly perceived positively by them.¹⁹¹
5. *Resources and connections* pertain to having resources (i.e., financial), personal connections and influence and networks.¹⁹²
6. *Education and knowledge* refer to women leader’s educational background and knowledge of many things that are not commonly held by many other women, especially those who were not able to go to school.
7. Women leaders also saw *being aware of gender* and embodying and advancing *women’s human rights* as distinctive values in engaging in the political sphere.¹⁹³

On the other hand, when asked about the factors and conditions that limit the entry or engagement of women in the political sphere, the responses (from most frequently cited to least cited) of the women leaders were:

1. *Resources and connections* where there is the imperative to have financial resources, political connections and political machinery to enter politics. For women who do not possess these things, the opportunity to enter into the formal political realm would be very difficult. The reality of dynastic politics as well as of nepotism and corruption narrow their chances in a political game where power is measured by ‘what you have’ and ‘who you know’.¹⁹⁴ As one of the respondents observed:

“Maregen so kasoled sa politika para ko mga bae. O di kabo wata a mayor o di na mala l pirak na maregen o baka botowi o madakel a tao.”

¹⁸⁸ Based on the responses from Basilan, Maguindanao, North Cotabato, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

¹⁸⁹ Based on the responses from Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Maguindanao, North Cotabato, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

¹⁹⁰ Based on the responses from Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Maguindanao, North Cotabato, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

¹⁹¹ Based on the responses from Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Maguindanao, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

¹⁹² Based on the responses from Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

¹⁹³ Based on the responses from North Cotabato, Maguindanao and Tawi-Tawi.

¹⁹⁴ Based on the responses from Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, North Cotabato, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

“It is very difficult for women to enter politics. Unless you are daughter of the mayor or have not enough money, people will not vote for you.”¹⁹⁵

2. *Discrimination* as linked with culture, religion, ethnicity and gender.¹⁹⁶

On gender discrimination, *gender stereotyping* as signified by the reality of inequality between women and men and skepticism on women’s human rights as well as the (still commonly held) perception that men are better leaders and the belief that women should not hold political positions and should stay at home.

3. *Capacity and self-perception* where the women see themselves as not being adequately prepared to enter politics, having doubts on their capacity to lead and not having the necessary knowledge on laws and experience in politics.¹⁹⁷

Additionally, for elected and appointed women leaders, identified additional challenges they experience while in public office had to do with capacity and perception of others. As regards the former, women leaders see themselves as lacking in skills (for example, in settling conflicts and in preparing project/ budget proposals) and knowledge (particularly, on laws) and as having difficulty in adjusting to their (formal) political environment.¹⁹⁸ On the other hand, the latter refers to how they struggle with other people’s (specifically, constituents, communities and co-workers) negative perception of them (i.e., lack of trust, non-appreciation, attitude, office politics).¹⁹⁹ A few women leaders also identified continuing discrimination against them because of their gender and their difficulty in asserting their and other women’s human rights.

In linking women leaders’ political profile with their general perspectives on enabling and constraining factors to women’s entry in the political sphere, several observations can be made.

- As these women leaders reside in provinces with high incidence of poverty,²⁰⁰ there are two indicative patterns on the plausible impact of economics with women’s entry in politics. First is that of women leaders being economically active (i.e., having been working or engaged in livelihood activities) prior to being elected into public office either because or despite of the economic backdrop of their province.²⁰¹ In this sense, women leaders from these areas can be plausibly seen as models of economic empowerment and as exemplars of contributing to economic life. On the other hand, there are also women leaders who did not engage in income-generating activities before being elected, either because they did not have to or that they did not have the opportunity to do so.²⁰² Either way, it is likely that these women had other means or sources of economic life. Nonetheless, to a large extent, these scenarios are linked to the importance of resources and connections, both enabling and constraining factors of women’s entry in politics.

¹⁹⁵ From additional inputs provided by Zahria Muti-Mapandi, local consultant for Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte.

¹⁹⁶ Based on the responses from Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Maguindanao, North Cotabato, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

¹⁹⁷ Based on the responses from Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

¹⁹⁸ Based on the responses from Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

¹⁹⁹ Based on the responses from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Maguindanao and Tawi-Tawi.

²⁰⁰ Please refer back to Table 2 on First Semester Poverty Incidence among Families in Basilan, Lanao del Norte, Lanao del Sur, Maguindanao, North Cotabato, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

²⁰¹ Based on the responses from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Sulu and Maguindanao.

²⁰² Data from North Cotabato.

- Given the information that many elected women leaders have family members or close relatives either as incumbents or former elected officials who have been contributory to their own political journey, it has been quite pronounced that the family serves not only as a political unit but also a strategic space for political socialization. The family itself serves as the political machinery for women leaders and was identified as a great enabler in their entry into politics. Political parties, unfortunately, is not seen as having the same contributory power for women leaders—as reflected in the data where women have little or no political party affiliation. This implies that political parties are not instrumental in women leaders’ entry into the formal political sphere at the local government level presumably because they have not been active in providing political support. As a result, women leaders are not actively involved in political parties and many of them have opted to run as independents, getting support from others such as their respective families.
- Elected women leaders’ involvement in committees seem to be revolving in the thematic areas of women, children and family, health (including reproductive health) and sanitation, and tourism—all of which largely point to generally perceived ‘women’s issues’ as they relate to personal and domestic spaces and well as aesthetics. Relatedly, women and children’s issues are the priorities of those who claimed to have executive and legislative agenda. Such is reflective of the so-called phenomenon of ‘ghettoization’ of women’s concerns as being strictly in the domain of women leaders because of their gender. Manifestations of discrimination against them could be because of this phenomenon—where women leaders are seen to be better only at some but not in others. Similar observations can be made for appointed women leaders who were more active in providing administrative support, being involved in health and community work; women leaders who are engaged outside of government were generally involved in volunteer work or CSOs. Such trend can be plausibly interpreted as a weakness in the operationalization of the ARMM GAD Code because there seems to be no realization of the provision that mandated “...at least 40 percent of membership of all development councils from the regional, provincial, city, municipal and barangay levels shall be composed of women by 2016.”²⁰³ Women being highly ‘concentrated’ in women-related councils is not a concretization of the mandated provision meant to increase women’s participation.

A. Perspectives on governance

Governance is a way where power and authority is exercised by political leaders for the wellbeing of their citizenry. It also pertains to how institutions function for the common good. Accordingly, the vital role of political leaders are along the lines of decision-making.

Since governance has been well within the realm of formal politics, it was congruently understood as the public domain where men were considered as the ‘natural’ actors. The embeddedness of this ‘male-stream’ notion has long been challenged by feminists. Operationally, this meant women needed to make their presence significant and break the patriarchal paradigmatic mindset—ergo, the politics of numbers, the preoccupation with ‘counting women’ and the goal of breaking the ‘glass ceiling.’

²⁰³ ARMM GAD Code and its IRR. Rule 6, Section 24(1).

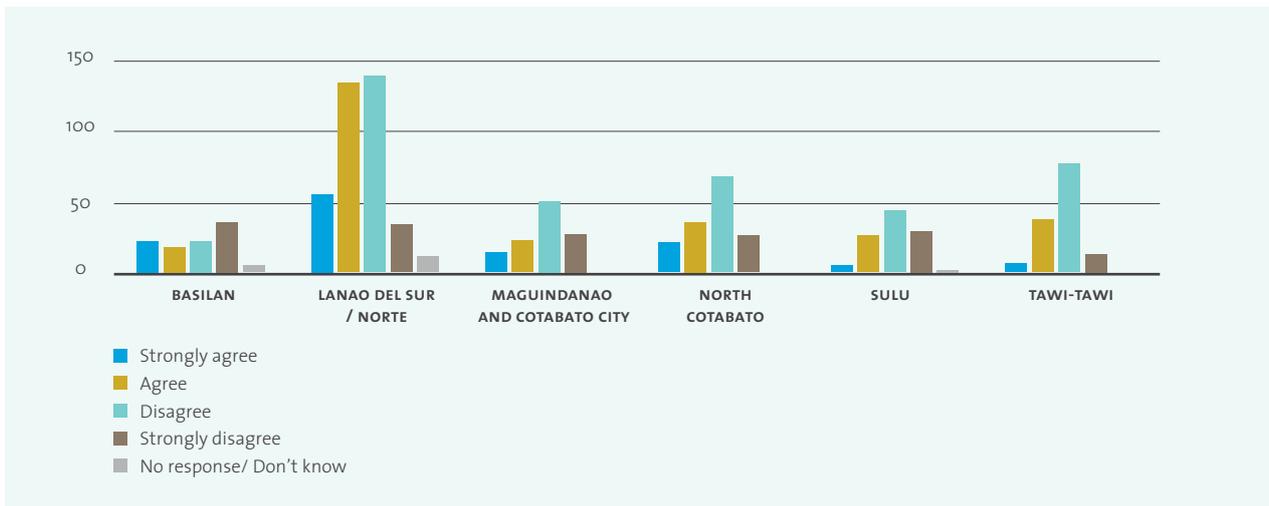
In exploring mapped women leaders’ insights on governance, two statements were provided to gauge their level of agreement or disagreement:

- “Men make better leaders than women;” and
- “When competing for office, men tend to be better politicians than women.”

These statements are linked to the idea on how women perceive themselves as leaders and potential politicians in comparison with men.

Around 35 percent of mapped women leaders from Basilan strongly disagreed with the statement on “men make better leaders than women,”²⁰⁴ while 37 percent from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, 44 percent from Maguindanao and Cotabato City, 46 percent from North Cotabato, 42 percent from Sulu and 58 percent from Tawi-Tawi disagreed with the same statement.

FIGURE 4
Do men make better leaders?



In Basilan, one woman leader expressed that “*bang mahinang sin usug, mahinang da isab sin babai. Sumaan mas mahinang marayaw sin babai*” (“whatever men can do, women also can and sometimes, women are even better than men);²⁰⁵ the very same comment of “whatever men can do, can do by women” was made by a respondent from Maguindanao.²⁰⁶ In Tawi-Tawi, an elected woman leader believed in individual capacities regardless of sex and as proof of this, she enjoyed everyone’s support when she was elected in office: “...*dahil alam nilang may kakayanan ako* (“because they knew I had the capacity to do so”)...people recognize your talent and they will respect you for that...you just need to perform, deliver!”²⁰⁷ Likewise, several women leaders from Cotabato City shared:²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ Additionally, 21.36 percent disagreed with the statement.

²⁰⁵ Fatima Pir Allian. UN Women Local Consultant’s Report on Mapping of Capacities of Women Leaders and Civil Society Organizations in the Bangsamoro: Basilan (unpublished). Hereinafter referred to as Final Report: Basilan.

²⁰⁶ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Maguindanao.

²⁰⁷ From additional notes provided by Jurma Tikmasan, local consultant for Tawi-Tawi.

²⁰⁸ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Cotabato City.

“I’ve been elected as leader since I was in elementary up to college, so as my other siblings and mother. It runs through our blood to be chosen as leaders. Our family do not belong to any political clans, but the people in the community believe in our ability and leadership skills. People respected our family and we also show them good attitude.”

“I am very qualified in the position, I have a sense of responsibility and commitment to serve the people.”

“My dedication in my work, I am doing my job very well, so people will always choose me to be their leader.”

Similarly, women leaders from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte articulated:²⁰⁹

“sii boa nan sa pamikiran. Pero aya piyor na so mga bae na mapiya mambo I kandato. Sabap sa so mga bae na kinaba marangit. Malbod mimbityarae.”

(“It is only in the mind. The truth is that women are also good leaders. It is because they are not easy to anger. They are calm. They are easier to talk to and approach.”)

“o pagilayen ta so mga lider sii sa Ranao lged o mga mayor, na so lugar a aya mayor-on na bae na lagid o ba mas mapiya so kandadatu-ron. So di ta maptaro o ba so mga mama na aya mapiya ikandatu sabap roo.”

(“If we try to look at the leaders in Lanao, like the mayors, we see that women mayors are doing a great job in their place. So we cannot say that men are better leaders because of this evidence.”)

These remarks intimated that the women themselves believe in their leadership capacity and their gender does lessen this capacity.

Interestingly, in Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte the second highest ranked percentage of responses was 36 percent where mapped women leaders agreed with the statement. Two respondents explained that their view came from their observations on gender and Islam.²¹⁰

“Mas mala I laod-aparo so mga mama ko kandato. So mg bae na di maiilay oba kaphakay a madato. Sii siran maped ko kapamilya.”

(“Men have more space to become leaders. Women are limited to the role for family management.”)

“Sa Islam na so mga mama I dapat na matao datu. Siran I mala I atas tanggongan ko kaphaginged.”

(“In Islam, men should be leaders. This is their responsibility to the community.”)

²⁰⁹ From additional inputs provided by Zahria Muti-Mapandi, local consultant for Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte.

²¹⁰ From additional inputs provided by Zahria Muti-Mapandi, local consultant for Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte.

Similar views were also recorded in Maguindanao.²¹¹ For although 26 percent and 18 percent agreed and strongly agreed to the statement, the ranking percentages still showed that those who agreed and strongly agreed were ranked second and third. According to the local consultant, Muslim women leaders agreed to the statement because they “believed that women have a certain limitation in political leadership in the society, such as, women not being allowed to hold a top-level position in the society at all levels, whether national, municipal, or barangay levels.”²¹² Thus, in contrast with those who strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement, the idea of ‘men making better leaders’ was seemingly understood in light of men’s perceived appropriate ‘location’ in society—that of being in the public sphere.

As regards the second statement on “when competing for office, men tend to be better politicians than women,” Most of the mapped women from North Cotabato (47%), Sulu (58%) and Tawi-Tawi (60%) disagreed with the statement. In North Cotabato, one respondent commented that “men are destined to be leaders”²¹³ in the same manner that a woman leader from Tawi-Tawi said that “men are ‘natural’ leaders but it is leadership that needs qualifications.”²¹⁴ As shared by another respondent:

“I was encouraged by my family—including my husband—because they saw that qualification in me. In fact, during the campaign, my husband was my number one supporter.”²¹⁵

Another respondent said, that in the context of political families, women are considered as ‘replacements’ when “no male member of the family who can run for office at the time”²¹⁶— women thus become ‘successors’ of political positions vacated by men (i.e., fathers, husbands, brothers). In the process, women as ‘leaders-in-waiting’ also get trained (albeit, informally) in the dynamics of politics. This was one of the experiences of a woman leader from Sulu:

“Punong Barangay for instance admitted that she was inspired by her father who was a former barangay captain in the area...and shared that it was her personal ambition to be of service to her people...since she has been representing her father in many conferences and trainings, and participated in the resolution of conflict in their barangay.”²¹⁷

²¹¹ As disaggregated from data from Cotabato City.

²¹² Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Maguindanao.

²¹³ Lozada. Final Report: North Cotabato.

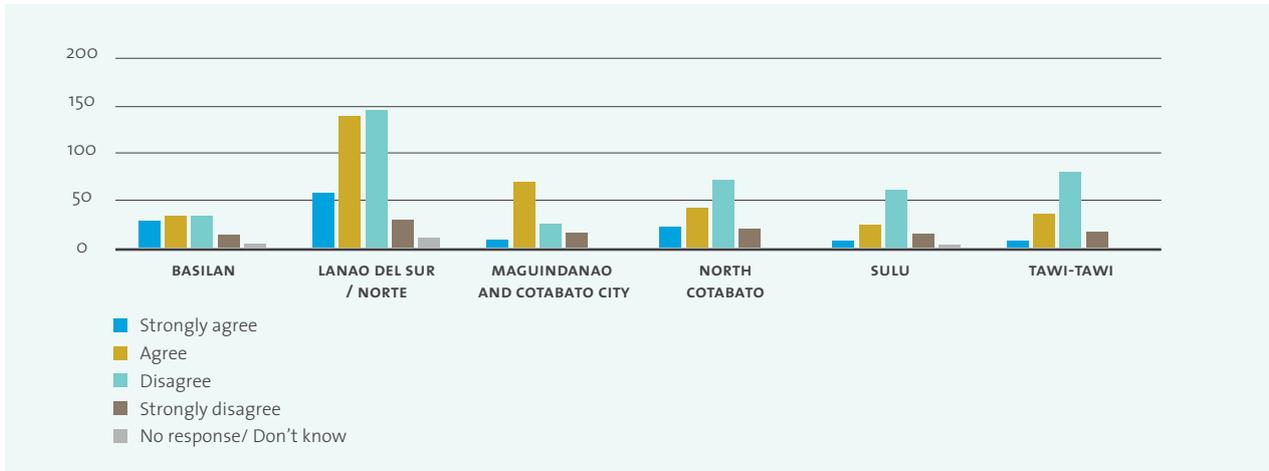
²¹⁴ From additional notes provided by Jurma Tikmasan, local consultant for Tawi-Tawi.

²¹⁵ From additional notes from Jurma Tikmasa, local consultant for Tawi-Tawi.

²¹⁶ Jurma Tikmasan. UN Women Local Consultant’s Final Report on Mapping of Capacities of Women Leaders and Civil Society Organizations in the Bangsamoro: Tawi-Tawi (unpublished). Hereinafter referred to as Final Report: Tawi-Tawi.

²¹⁷ Dayang Bahidjan. UN Women Local Consultant’s Final Report on Mapping Capacities of Women Leaders and Civil Society Organizations in the Bangsamoro: Sulu (unpublished). Hereinafter referred to as Final Report: Sulu.

FIGURE 5
Do men make better politicians?



Other women who belong to political families may also be asked to participate in politics as part of their familial duty. For example, a young woman barangay chairperson in Bongao, Tawi-Tawi initially did not believe that women can and should lead. But when she was thrust into the electoral arena, supposedly to diffuse political rivalry within her family, she accepted the challenge and in the process, proved her worth as a young woman leader:

“I was convinced by my brother to run for office because in nag atu ha pag nakurah, kampong namuh daing kan inah iban daing kan amah (those who are competing for the same post are our relatives from our mother’s side on one hand, and our relatives from our father’s side on the other). We tried to get them to agree, but they threatened to even go to the extent of fighting because both sides cannot accept to lose. Bat sila dih magbunuh, ako in piadagan (to avoid armed conflict, I was told to run). Tiabang nila aku. Sulut na sila (Both supported my candidacy so I won. They are now at peace).”²¹⁸

In the context of competing for public office, respondents believed that men do not necessarily make better politicians than women. Based on the sharing above, women are recognized to have what it takes to be politicians but their turn usually comes after the men or when being women serve as strategic political advantage.

In the case of Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, the highest percentage rank response (39%) was disagree, with a very close gap from second rank was agree (37%). Some of those who affirmed the statement said:²¹⁹

“Oway ka siran na mga datu.”
(“Yes, because they are males.”)

²¹⁸ From additional notes provided by Jurma Tikmasan, local consultant for Tawi-Tawi.

²¹⁹ From additional inputs provided by Zahria Muti-Mapandi, local consultant for Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte.

“Mapiya I kataro sa lalag so mga mama. Mas mala mambo so lugar a mibebegay kiran ko diran di kapakindolona ko maginged”

(“Men are better speakers than female plus they are given more opportunity and space to talk to other people.”)

“Misosogot so mga datu adi so mga bae”

(“Men have better mobility than the women.”)

“Sa Islam na so mga mama I kiyapatotan sa kandatu”

(“In Islam the men are anointed to become leaders.”)

On the other hand, in Basilan, both negative and affirmative responses received the same percentage results (31.07 for those who disagreed and agreed). Some of those who disagreed with the statement said:²²⁰

“In mga kababihan kakitaan mu tuud yan sila nag tatabang ha mga kausugan. Sa di sila kakitaan mu humarap ha kaibanan. Yan da sila na taykud sin mga kausugan.”

(“Women are very visible working behind the back of some politicians.”)

“In mga kababaihan di tuud sila kadihilan chance sumud mag politik ba. Bat sabab in beta sin kaibanan haram kunu ga agama Islam.”

(“Women were not given enough chance to be part of the political exercise because they say that Islam prohibits women from entering politics.”)

“In babai iban in usug sibu-sibu.”

(“Women and men are the same.”)

All those who agreed with the statement were Badjao youth women leaders who said:

“Mga kalallahan mas akosog ma kadandahan.”

(“Men are stronger than women.”)

“Mas ataoh mga kalallahan ag bissara ma kadandahan.”

(“Men are better in presenting themselves.”)

“Mas ahap sigam ag bissara atawa ag explain ayi kabilahan sigam. Mas okay sigam ma danda.”

(“They are better in giving their message than women.”)

“Imbal patisipog mga kalallahan ba itu.”

(“Men are not ashamed.”)

²²⁰ Pir Allian. Final Report: Basilan.

Interestingly, 61 percent of the mapped women leaders in Maguindanao and Cotabato City agreed to the statement with only 20 percent disagreeing.²²¹ The local consultant speculated that this response could be explained as it is compared with the state of the labor force in the region:

“In the ARRM, employment is significantly dominated by men, which supports this assertion. It is surely this high unemployment of women that is one reason why many females decline to join the labor force or drop out.”²²²

As regards the second statement, variation in women’s views are inferred to be linked to men having more exposure in the public sphere as they are expected to do so. As such, they are naturally the ones seen and observed more than women.

The two aforementioned statements essentially point to two scenarios—the first pertaining to the quality of leadership when the person is already holding a particular position and the second referring to the entry point in formal politics itself. Mapped women leaders generally disagreed with the statement that “men make better leaders” than women. They recognized that women are capable to lead. The difficulty for women that they identified was with regard to the opportunity available for women to do this. Women leaders believe they have the potential to lead but ‘must wait for their turn.’ The close gap between the levels of agreement and disagreement to the statement on “men being better politicians when competing for office” reflect this reality. In this regard, women do need more support and enablers to enter the formal political space. And for women without familial influence or backing, the road is more difficult than those who do.

Nonetheless, these resulting responses on governance point to the perception that both women and men can lead. In fact, when asked about the ‘qualities of a good male and female leader,’ the responses reflected the same attributes. Although the ranking of the responses were different, the leadership qualities identified were the same (refer to Table 10).

TABLE 10
Top 3 responses to perceived qualities of a good male and female leader

Site	Male	Female
Basilan	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political will 2. Respectful 3. God-fearing 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Knowledgeable 2. Political will 3. Understanding
	Others: knowledgeable, transparent, good planner and decision-maker, fair, smart, trusted, sensitive	Others: patient, effective and efficient, strong-willed, approachable, good decision-maker, brave, intelligent, issue-oriented, knows how to handle situations and problems

²²¹ Eight (8) percent strongly agreed and 5 percent strongly disagreed in Maguindanao while in Cotabato City, 3 percent strongly agreed and 26 percent strongly disagreed with the statement.

²²² Baraguir-Datumanong, Final Report: Maguindanao.

Site	Male	Female
Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Honest, humble, accountable, has integrity, transparent, trustworthy 2. Religious, faithful, God-fearing 3. Committed, dedicated, fair and just, flexible, good, helpful, peacemaker 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Religious, pious, and God-fearing 2. Honest, humble, accountable, transparent, trustworthy 3. Committed, dedicated, fair and just, flexible, good, helpful, peacemaker
	Others: brave, competent, firm, strong; responsible, loyal, respectful; educated, knowledgeable, intelligent, smart	Others: responsible, respectful, loyal, active, competitive, determined, disciplined, hardworking; brave, competent, firm; educated, knowledgeable, open-minded, intelligent, smart
Maguindanao	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. God-fearing 2. Can be trusted 3. Responsible 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. God-fearing 2. Can be trusted 3. Responsible
	Others: intelligent, brave educated, good family background, good morals, willing to learn	Others: intelligence, patience, educated, kind, has integrity or good reputation, supportive, active
Cotabato City	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Has leadership skills 2. Has good attitude/values 3. God-fearing 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Has good attitude/values 2. Has leadership skills 3. God-fearing
	Others: strong, educated, trustworthy, gender-sensitive, strong family background, rich, with principles in life	Others: strong, trustworthy, gender-sensitive, strong family background, time management, with principles in life
North Cotabato	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Honest/truthful/trustworthy 2. God-fearing and God-centered 3. Good person/attitude/values 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Honest/truthful/trustworthy 2. God-fearing and God-centered 3. Good person/attitude/values
	Others: intelligent, helpful, people-centered/pro-people, brave, transparent, interpersonal leadership and skills, not corrupt	Others: hardworking/persistent, intelligent, people-centered/pro-people, interpersonal leadership and skills, brave
Sulu	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Religious/faithful/God-fearing 2. Honest/true/good 3. Strong/powerful/brave/rich 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Honest/true/good 2. Religious/faithful/God-fearing 3. Strong/powerful/brave
Tawi-Tawi	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Compassionate 2. With dignity 3. Have good values 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Courageous 2. Approachable 3. Wise and charitable
	Others (similar): active, respectable, religious, transparent, responsible, spiritual, educated, honest, patient, God-fearing, generous, reliable, resourceful, loyal, smart, skilled, flexible, service-oriented, dedicated	

Based on the responses of mapped women leaders on the ‘qualities of a good leader,’ women and men should possess largely the same qualities, although ranked differentially. A recurrent quality for female and male leaders that cuts across responses from almost all the provinces was that of being God-fearing.²²³ Such common response does not pertain to any particular religion since the respondents themselves came from different religious denominations. Other common responses

²²³ Based on the responses from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Maguindanao, North Cotabato and Sulu.

had something to do with personal attributes of being ‘upright.’ In other words, it would seem that more than substance and skills, the imperative quality of a ‘good’ leader is the attribute of ‘moral ascendancy.’

B. Perspectives on gender

Gender is the social construction of women and men. As such, society has historically ‘programmed’ women and men with attributes of femininity and masculinity—the former being subordinated to the latter. This has been the norm and even for both women and men, rarely questioned.

Two statements were asked to women leaders to uncover what their perspectives on gender were as they related to the notion of discrimination against women. These were:

- “Moro women experience discrimination in all aspects of their lives, more so in the political arena;” and
- “Islam/indigenous traditions/beliefs prohibit women to participate in politics.”

Women leaders from Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte and Sulu agreed with this the first statement with 48 percent, 46 percent and 49 percent respectively. Sharing by elected women leaders in Basilan were very telling of this discrimination:²²⁴

“I was not supported by the administration when I ran as barangay captain because I am a woman.”

“Bakas aku nag hinang mga ginis na training para ha mga iban ku mastal. In supervisor ku nag beyta kaku dumagaan kunu aku as president ha Basilan Teachers Association. Na in aku ini dyumagan sa ha 200 nag boto anduh kailu ambuuk da nag boto kaku. Mas mabaya sila usug kesa babai. Ha Tuhan na adja aku kyuma sin kusug ku. Asal da isab awun da san dugaing plano sin Allah kaku.”

(“As a teacher, I initiated several trainings for teachers on field. My supervisor encouraged me to run for Basilan Teachers Association President but the people I helped did not vote for me. Out of 200 votes cast, I got only one vote! They preferred men candidates than women; to overcome what happened to me, I just put it in the hand of Allah, He has other plans intended for me.”)

Also from Basilan, Badjao women leaders also told stories about economic discrimination:²²⁵

“Mga bana kami itu iy na ko ag piss-siy mga tinaggi. Mga Tausug imbal sigam billahi ag piss-siy kami minitu ma lahat.”

(“Our husbands are going as far as Sulu to fish because the other tribe (Tausug) threatens them or forbids them to fish nearby.”)

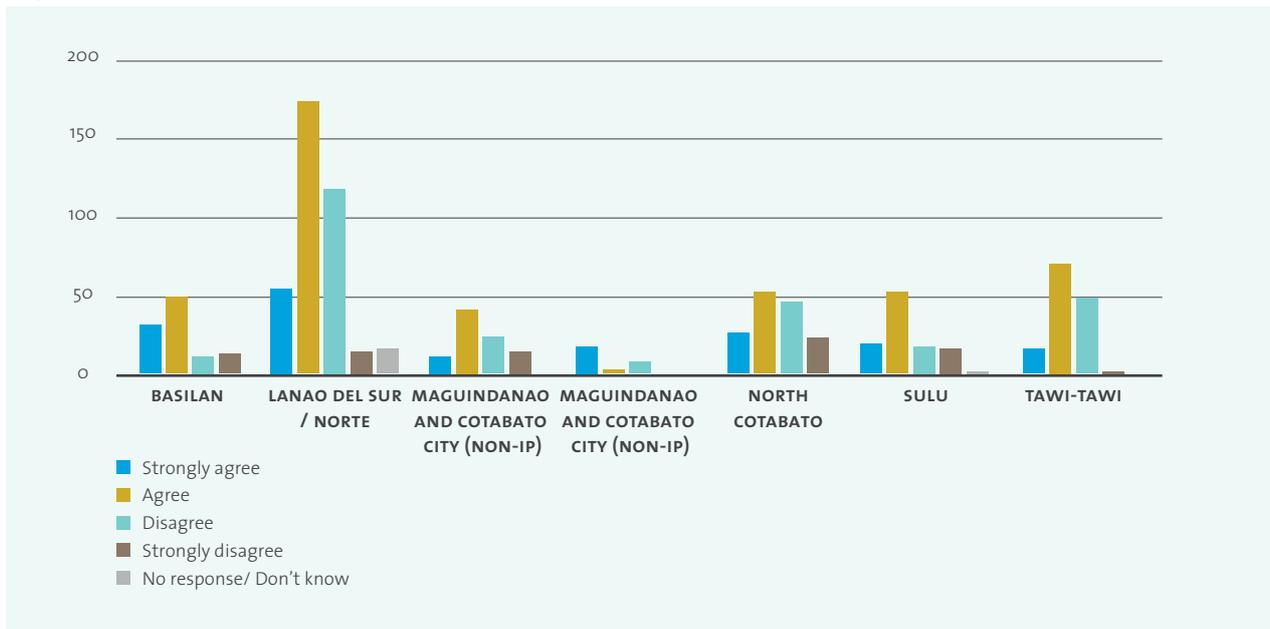
²²⁴ Pir Allian. Final Report: Basilan.

²²⁵ Pir Allian. Final Report: Basilan.

“Bay kami ag agar-agar minnit ma lahat ma Basilan. Mga Tausug minnihi asekot ma kami bay kangi sigam pag agal-agalan kami itu. Bay sigam ag patanna bay sigam minnihi. Halam tahinang kami itu.”

(“When we start doing our agar-agar farming, the others (Tausug) will try to trespass our area and destroy our livelihood by constructing their homes. We have no choice but to leave and start again.”)

FIGURE 6
Experiences of discrimination



Fifty two (52) percent of those who came from Tawi-Tawi agreed but not far from the 47 percent who disagreed. This was similar in North Cotabato: 35 percent in agreement and 31 percent in disagreement. As explained by the local consultant, in North Cotabato, the close gap between those who affirmed and dissented had something to do with the level of education of women—those who disagreed with the statement were more educated and thus, does not feel discriminated upon unlike those who have not been educated who strongly feel that they are. A similar point was made by a non-state women leader (a former MNLF combatant) from Tawi-Tawi who said:²²⁶

“Di kamin nakapag-aral dahil nakipag-laban kami. Ngayong mayroon na mga programa daing ha sangsah namuh, mga tao biah kaniyo ra in makahampit.”

(“We were not able to study because we were fighting. Now that we have programs as a result of our sacrifices, only people like you can benefit.”)

On the other hand, combined data from Maguindanao and Cotabato City shows the highest percentage (47%) agreeing with the statement on discrimination of Moro women. However, when data is disaggregated, one will find that, in the case of Maguindanao, 44 percent disagreed with

²²⁶ From additional notes sent by Jurma Tikmasan, local consultant in Tawi-Tawi.

the statement but a close second rank at 42 percent agreed. In Cotabato City, 53 percent agreed while 29 percent strongly disagreed. Quite notably, indigenous women respondents from both Maguindanao (67%) and Cotabato City (100%) strongly agreed with the statement. Those who generally agreed with the statement substantiate their answer with the reality that there are very few women leaders. For example, “in Cotabato City alone, representation of women in the political leadership from the city to barangay levels was significantly low.”²²⁷ However, for those who disagreed in Maguindanao, they opined that although women leaders recognize that there are still few of them in LGUs as elected or appointed officials, they do not see this as a form of discrimination. These respondents note that there are women who are in very significant positions (i.e., peace process) and who play significant roles in support of political leadership. In other words, it is not in the numbers but in the quality of participation in politics. It is a completely different story when it came to the responses from indigenous women respondents—these women strongly believed that discrimination against them was linked with their being uneducated. For these women, discrimination comes more in the form of looking down at their tribe and consequently, their capacity to lead. As a Teduray woman leader said:

"Mengge aguwo koy dengkaene none Teduray yo.fenginsaen ke atiy enggegilid gowe miskwela none kedoono kaye enda gefegilid no eskwela"

("I experienced discrimination being a Teduray...I was questioned on my educational background because most of us were not able to go to school to finish our studies").²²⁸

These indigenous women recognize laws promoting the political, economic and social rights of indigenous peoples but they still felt that they have very low representation in politics. In fact, as one respondent said:²²⁹

"Amon getuwa koy kuwagib guwe libon Teduray fatut febagere koy fedew guwe temindeg mananguwit migulew maggingid fyon fosak logofoy kemasang kasang e grigonone."

("Being fully aware and being assertive of my rights as an indigenous woman is very crucial, particularly, in the political arena...we must show that people that we have the capacity to lead.")

Based on the responses above, perceived experiences of discrimination are linked to women’s opportunities in the public sphere. For example, there still remain constituencies where women are perceived to be not good enough to hold leadership positions specifically because of their gender. However, there are also those who believe that being a woman is not a liability in itself—what is more instrumental is that of their ethnicity and social identities where perceived constraints are tied to. Indigenous women feel this more in comparison with non-indigenous women leaders—a compelling perception that indigenous people feel to be the ‘marginalized among the marginalized.’

Responses with regard to the second statement had less variations. Thirty nine percent (39%) of respondents from Basilan and 69 percent from Cotabato City strongly disagreed. In the case of

²²⁷ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Cotabato City.

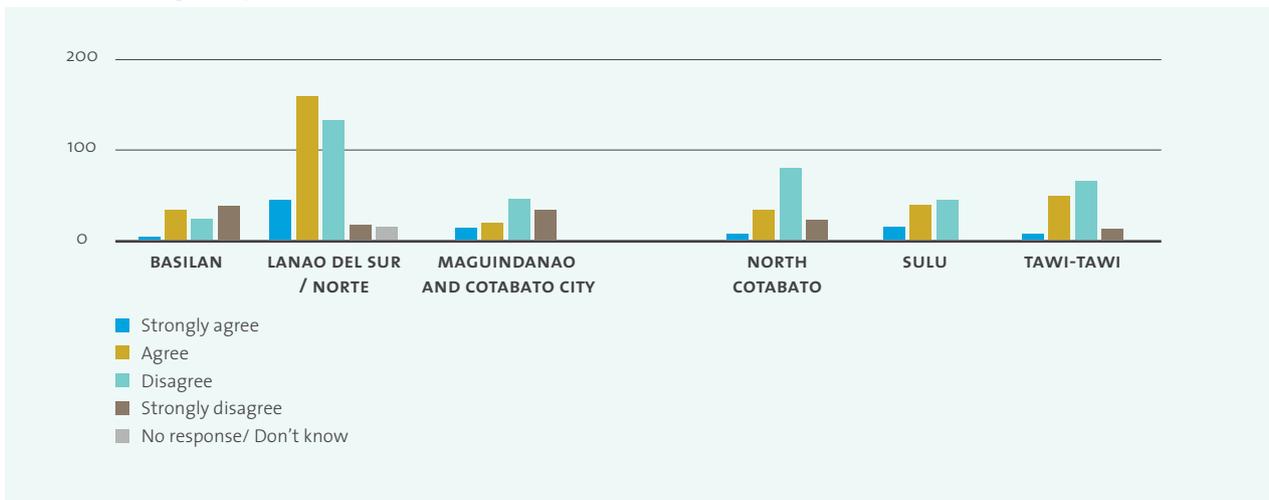
²²⁸ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Maguindanao.

²²⁹ Ibid.

Cotabato City, Muslim women respondents said that they are allowed to be political leaders—“in fact, one of the Punong Barangay shared that when she became the chairperson of her barangay, conflict between political clans were mediated, issues on illegal drugs was lessened and her constituents also listened to her.”²³⁰ On the other hand, those from Maguindanao (61%), North Cotabato (56%), Sulu (45%) and Tawi-Tawi (47%) disagreed. As in the case of Cotabato City, Muslim women respondents from Maguindanao do not believe that prohibitions are placed upon women by Islam. As shared by the local consultant, Muslim women leaders see the role of women as providing support to men, particularly, as wives to support their husband’s leadership and ensuring their children are cared for and disciplined according to Islamic teachings.²³¹ And besides, they believe that women are allowed anyway to participate in politics but with certain limitations --- that they can vie for political post except top level positions (i.e., governor or mayor).

Similarly, in the case of North Cotabato, respondents believe that “women and men are equal in the eyes of Allah” but “certain cultural beliefs in Moro communities give more opportunities to men in terms of honing leadership skills.”²³² In other words, the situation is not a matter of prohibitions but rather an issue of opportunities given to women.

FIGURE 7
Cultural or religious prohibitions



However, the responses from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte were different with 43 percent agreeing with the statement. Interestingly, the prohibition is not seen as something constraining to women. Some of their comments were:²³³

“Sa Islam na di kapakhay so mga bae sa kapolitika. Para mambo oto kiran. Proteksyon iran oto ko mga rarata.”

(“Islam does not recommend the participation of women in politics. It is for their own protection.”)

²³⁰ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Cotabato City.

²³¹ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Maguindanao.

²³² Lozada. Final Report: North Cotabato.

²³³ From additional inputs provided by Zahria Muti-Mapandi, local consultant for Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte.

“Kenaba so Islam I miyakarata on. Sii anan ko kamemeranawi rektano a so mga bae na di kapakay sa politka.”

(“It not Islam. However, it is the indigenous belief of Maranaos that women should not be in politics.”)

In the same manner, 31 percent of women leaders mapped in Cotabato City still believed that women have certain limitations when it comes to political leadership and that “it is the men who has given first priority to take a top leadership role than women.”²³⁴

C. Perspectives on peace

To infer into women leaders’ insights on peace, two statements were provided for response:

- “Peace is achievable in the Bangsamoro;” and
- “A women’s mechanism should be set-up in the Bangsamoro.”

These statements, to a large extent, point to the need to explore what is at stake for women in the transition to peace.

Of the six statements asked of the women leaders, these two statements did not receive any contradiction. As regards the first statement, women leaders from Basilan (35%), Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte (50%), North Cotabato (49%), Sulu (50%) and Tawi-Tawi (91%) agreed to the statement while 59 percent strongly agreed in Maguindanao and Cotabato City. According to a respondent from Basilan, “with the peace process now, we may see many women like us who were consulted by different groups as to what we need to make our place peaceful.”²³⁵ In North Cotabato, women leaders believed that establishment of the Bangsamoro will bring peace “provided that the people who will lead the future Bangsamoro will be good leaders.”²³⁶ The same hope was reflected in the response of a woman leader from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte:²³⁷

“Inshallah. O langon tano dinggalbek para sa kalilintad na kakowa tan obo anan.”
(“God willing, if all of us work toward peace, then we will surely attain it.”)

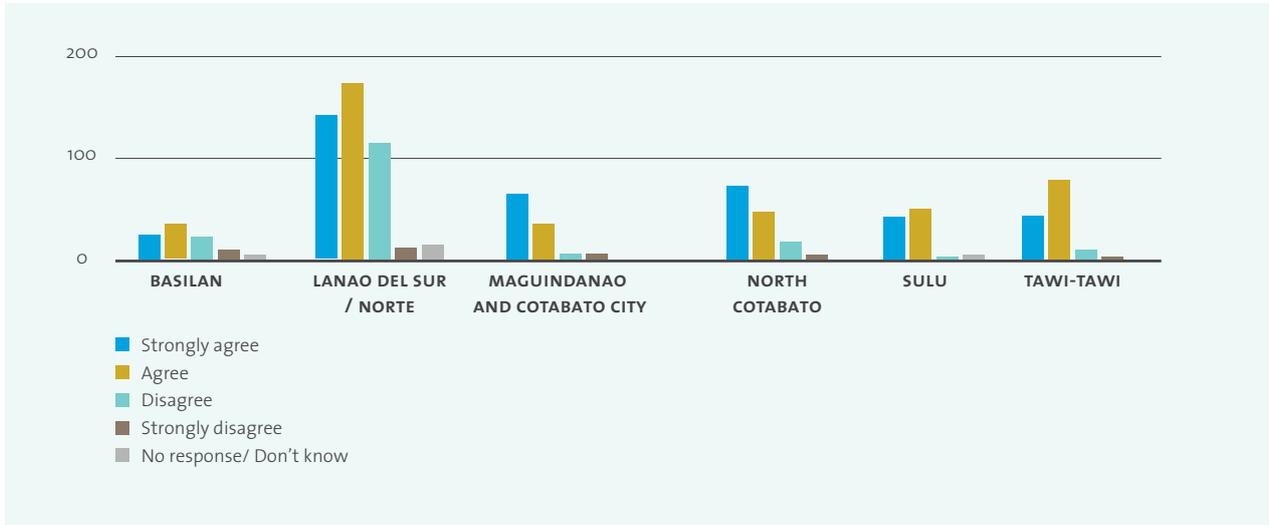
²³⁴ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Cotabato City.

²³⁵ Pir Alian. Final Report: Basilan.

²³⁶ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Maguindanao.

²³⁷ From additional inputs provided by Zahria Muti-Mapandi, local consultant for Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte.

FIGURE 8
Peace is achievable



As regards the second statement, 93 percent of mapped women leaders in Basilan, 55 percent in Maguindanao and Cotabato City, 47 percent in North Cotabato and 45 percent in Sulu strongly agreed to it while 56 percent of the respondents in Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte as well as in Tawi-Tawi agreed to the statement. As explained by the local consultant from Cotabato City:

“Whilst some of them are aware of the existing mechanism in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, for them this wouldn’t be enough and need to be strengthened to make it more effective in addressing women issues at all levels. It should be visible and accessible for all to reach out to women at the community level and plan and implement programs and services according to women’s felt needs and with their participation.”²³⁸

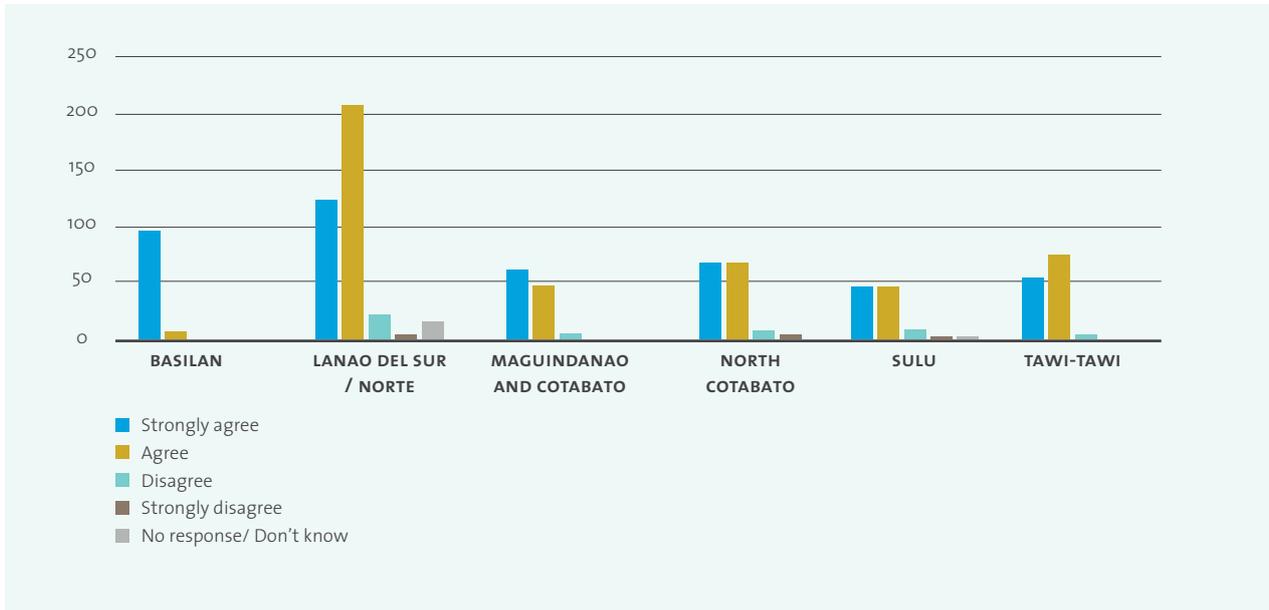
In the same manner, the local consultant from North Cotabato noted that women respondents in the area said that having a women’s mechanism in the future Bangsamoro government is an imperative “in order to have a separate institution that will oversee and cater to the welfare of women.”²³⁹ Similarly, a respondent from Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte explained her belief:²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Baraguir-Datumanong. Final Report: Cotabato City.

²³⁹ Lozada. Final Report: North Cotabato.

²⁴⁰ From additional inputs provided by Zahria Muti-Mapandi, local consultant for Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte.

FIGURE 9
Need for women's mechanisms



“Oway dapat na aden a logar para ko mga bae sa gobyerno sabap sa siran I lebi a matao ko kapakabebetad iran ago antonaa I pangompiya para kiran.”
(“Yes, there should be space for women in the government. This is because it is them who knows what their situation is and what needs to be done for their improvement.”)

Such responses, it would seem, point to two plausible explanations. First, that women leaders are not fully aware of existing institutional infrastructures (such as the ARG and RCBW) and mechanisms (i.e., ARMM GAD Code) that are supposed to advance precisely the welfare of women in Mindanao. And second, for those who are aware, that they do not see them as being able to fully reach women who need the assistance the most. In other words, these responses could be seen as indicative of the inadequate impact of existing institutions and instruments and thus, a clamor for stronger presence, more efficient and effective link to the women and harmonized initiatives.

Nonetheless, to a large extent, the aforementioned statements on peace pertain to the macro-political architecture of the Bangsamoro peace process. But when asked about what they perceived as ‘peace issues in their respective areas or communities,’ the women leaders’ responses pointed to other human security issues (refer to Table 11). In fact, in relation to armed conflict involving State forces and groups such as the MILF and MNLF, only respondents from Basilan and North Cotabato identified them as issues. In relation to other armed groups such as the BIFF and ASG, respondents from Basilan, Maguindanao and North Cotabato mentioned them as well; respondents from these areas were the only ones that specifically identified armed conflict and military operations as security issues.

What is more obvious are cross-cutting issues that are seen to be threats to community peace—or those identified by respondents in all six provinces—were illegal drugs, criminality and *rido*. By

simple inference, this essentially means that women feel more threats in their respective immediate environment and peace is conceptualized not exclusively within the context of vertical armed conflict (i.e., because of political issues) but more so, from horizontal ones (i.e., largely due to issues arising from resources such as land, identity and shadow economy). Additionally, illicit drug trade has been linked by most of the women respondents to violence and criminality in their respective communities that have been most worrisome for them.

TABLE 11
Peace issues in the Bangsamoro

Basilan	VAWC such as rape, kidnapping, bombing, and sexual harassment of women, gays and lesbians by peers and drug-addicts, and child labor and abuse; ISIS links to ASG (lawless elements); civilian with firearms/ loose firearms; bombings, armed conflict involving ASG, ISIS, MILF, MNLF and BIFF as well as family feud (<i>rido</i>) and demand for blood money.
Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte ²⁴¹	Conflict/ <i>rido</i> , drug-related problems, criminality/lawlessness, corruption and absence of good governance, politics and election-related problems, poverty, community relations, lack of development opportunities, no peace and order in all aspects, discrimination (Christians and Muslims), domestic violence, natural disasters/ environmental problems, no safety and security, abuse of power by authority
Maguindanao ²⁴²	BIFF and military operations, land conflict, family feud/ <i>rido</i> , poverty, illegal drugs, early marriage, violence against children, jealousy among neighbors, cattle rustling, child trafficking, crimes, money lending (with high interests), environment (charcoal as livelihood), divorce (because of labor migration)
Cotabato City ²⁴³	Illegal drugs, theft, snatching, hold-up, family problems, killings, family feud/ <i>rido</i> ; land conflict, cleanliness, kidnapping
North Cotabato ²⁴⁴	<i>Rido</i> /clan or family feuds, illegal drug trade/use, land conflicts, armed conflict between AFP and MILF/BIFF and other groups, violent political rivalry, stealing of crops, killings/shooting incidents, carnapping, BBL-related issues, bombings, displacement
Sulu ²⁴⁵	No livelihood programs, unstable peace and security, inadequate water and electricity, gender discrimination, drugs/drug addiction, kidnapping, peer pressure, family feuds
Tawi-Tawi	Crab mentality, drug-related and common crimes, poverty, racism, ignorance, gambling, alcohol use, family feuds, illegal logging, political rivalry

Women see other threats aside from vertical armed conflict. Horizontal conflict—those that emanate from clan feuds due to political or land disputes—as well as the rising criminality perceived to be driven by illicit drug trade are more commonly held threats. Although women respondents believe that ‘peace is achievable in the Bangsamoro, there is a possible disjunct between the macro-architecture of peace with what they perceive as peace issues in their micro-environment.

²⁴¹ From additional inputs provided by Zahria Muti-Mapandi, local consultant for Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte.

²⁴² Ranked from highest to lowest by respondents from Maguindanao.

²⁴³ Ranked from highest to lowest by respondents from Cotabato City.

²⁴⁴ Ranked from highest to lowest by respondents from North Cotabato.

²⁴⁵ Ranked from highest to lowest by respondents from Sulu.

Civil society organizations

1. Organizational profile

The mapping project involved a total of 157 CSOs—15 in Basilan, 93 in Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, 12 in Maguindanao, 14 in North Cotabato, 12 in Sulu and 11 in Tawi-Tawi. This section describes their basic organizational profile in connection with their priority sector, priority issue areas and network affiliations. Additionally, it describes the trainings they received and capacity building needs they identified in light of governance, gender and peace.

In Basilan, 11 out of 15 mapped CSOs primarily had women as their priority sector.²⁴⁶ Most of these women’s groups have prioritized livelihood and capacity building (i.e., skills and income-generating seminars). Four of these groups have network affiliations (e.g., Markaz Da’wa watanmiyaatul Muztama, Inc. and Nisa Ul Haqq fi Bangsamoro, Inc.) while eight have none.

TABLE 12
Profile of mapped CSOs in Basilan

Name of organization	Priority sector	Organizational priorities
Atong Atong Bangsamoro Women’s Association	Women	Livelihood Water system Non-formal education
Balanting Fisheries Association	Fisherfolks	Livelihood
Basilan Cultural Community Association	Indigenous cultural communities	Indigenous cultural communities Women Youth
Bud Kayung Association	Women	Seminar Livelihood Women center
Jambangan sin Bangsamoro Women	Women	Skills training Livelihood Housing
Kamayan Association	Women	Capacity building Income-generating livelihood Empowering women
MNLF Balas Association	Women	Skills-training for women Livelihood
Muslim Women of Basilan Association	Women	Empowerment of women thru education and training Promoting women’s rights and political rights Revision of Code of Muslim Personal Laws to fit needs of women

²⁴⁶ Two mapped CSOs, namely, the Citizen’s Coalition for ARMM Electoral (CARE) and EMENLEP, did not identify their respective priority sector and organizational priorities.

Name of organization	Priority sector	Organizational priorities
Paranjian Women Association	Women	Livelihood Training Networking
Punu Karundung Women Association	Women Small farmers	Livelihood Training Networking
SHEG NAGDILAAB	Women	Livelihood Water system Peace
Sugpat Sin Kasilasa Women Association	Women	Livelihood Training Education
Tambunana Association	Women	Livelihood Training Education

In Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, most of the mapped CSOs had women (48%) and youth (33%) as priority sectors; most similar organizational priorities were livelihood (43%) as well as peacebuilding and women’s rights/welfare (34% for each). Both women (48%) and men (41%) were members of these CSOs—with an observable near gender balance in the aggregate percentage. Additionally, around 61 percent of these CSOs are not affiliated with larger networks. But several belong to the networks of MARADECA INC., Consortium of Bansamoro Civil Society, Kapamagogopa and Bantay Bayanihan. At the same time, 23 percent of mapped CSOs were members of local committees while many of them were part of Local Peace and Development Councils²⁴⁷ and local GAD Councils.²⁴⁸ Fifty one (51) percent were said to have been involved in conflict resolution mechanisms while 27 percent said they were not.

In Maguindanao and Cotabato City, 12 out of the 13 mapped NGOs prioritize the women sector (including indigenous women); several also identified children and youth (8 out of 13) and internally displaced peoples (6 out of 13) as priority sectors. These CSOs are quite diverse with varying organizational priorities. However, certain commonalities are peacebuilding, human rights, emergency response/ disaster risk reduction, health and gender.

²⁴⁷ These are Ithihadol Madaris, Tarakanians, Al Masajed Buadipuso Buntong Chapter, Madamba Women’s Credit Cooperative, Mindanao Center for Local Governance, Philippine Muslim Women Council, Taraka Prince and Princess, Calanogas Womens Club, Sultanate of Madaya Youth, Bangsamoro Women Services Center, Iscom Taraka 745 Posting 4, Philippine Muslim Women Council, Women Organization on Gender and Development and Bangsamoro Women Services Center.

²⁴⁸ Namely, Women Organization on Gender and Development, Iscom Taraka 745 Posting 4, Day Care Worker Federation, Philippine Muslim Women Council, Daguean Women Association, Al Masajed Buadipuso Buntong Chapter, Madamba Women’s Credit Cooperative and Mindanao Center for Local Governance.

TABLE 13

Organizational priority issue-areas of mapped CSOs in Maguindanao and Cotabato City

CSO	Organizational priorities
Mindanao Tulong Bakwet, Inc. (MTB)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Relief and rehabilitation 2. Research, documentation and advocacy 3. Human rights (child rights and women protection)
Mindanao Women Advocacy for Good Governance (MWAGG)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender and development in the context of Islam 2. Advocacy and good governance 3. Environmental protection (climate change) and conflict resolution
Consortium of Bangsamoro Civil Society Inc. (CBCS)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Peace, governance and human rights (PGHR) 2. Human resource and development (HRD) 3. Disaster management program (DMP) 4. Solidarity and network building
United Youth of the Philippines-Women (UNYPhil- Women)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. DRR and civilian protection 2. Health and welfare 3. Peacebuilding
Central Mindanao Integrated Livelihood Assistance and Resource Development Foundation, Inc (CEMILARDEF)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Child protection 2. Water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH)
Teduray Lambangian Women’s Organization Inc. (TLWOI)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poverty reduction (IPs) 2. Access to basic services (IPs) 3. Ancestral domain (IPs)
Mindanao Organization for Social and Economic Progress, Inc. (MOSEP)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Health 2. Electoral reform 3. Peacebuilding
Kutawato Council for Justice and Peace Inc. (KCJP)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Human rights 2. Women’s empowerment 3. Peacebuilding
Mindanao Tri-People Women Resource Center Incorporated	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Documentation and advocacy 2. Capacity building and organizational strengthening 3. Integrative health
Muslim Youth Religious Organization, Inc. (MYROI)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Youth and peacebuilding 2. Health and nutrition 3. Water, sanitation and hygiene 4. Relief
Magungaya Mindanao, Inc. (MMI)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Emergency response 2. Protection and human rights 3. Food security and livelihood
Mindanao Action for Peace and Development Initiatives Inc.,(MAPAD Initiatives)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Advocacy and campaigns (peacebuilding and gender sensitivity) 2. Disaster management 3. Human rights

Six CSOs are affiliated with the Mindanao Emergency Response Network (MERN), four with CBCS and another four with of the Mindanao Child Protection Network (MCPN). Additionally, four CSOs hold committee membership or belong to local special bodies. For example, TLWOI holds membership in the GAD Council, Local Health Board and Peace and Order Council; the Mindanao Tri-People Women Resource Center Incorporated is a GAD Council member in the CCWC; Muslim Youth Religious Organization,

Inc. (MYROi) is involved in the provincial and municipal Local Health Board; and the Magungaya Mindanao, Inc. (MMI) is part of the Municipal Council on Anti Trafficking – Violence Against Women and their Children (MCAT-VAWC). Furthermore, seven out of 10 CSOs mapped have been involved in local conflict resolution mechanisms such as Child Protection Reporting and Referral Mechanisms, Regional Reconciliation and Unification Commission (RRUC), Kefeduan Libun, women’s representative in peace councils and community-based peace and protection monitors such as those linked with the International Monitoring Team (IMT) and Coordinating Committee on the Cessation of Hostilities (CCCH).

In the case of North Cotabato, mapped CSOs had multiple sectoral priorities but all of them cater to women and youth/children. Many had peacebuilding, livelihood and education as organizational priorities. Of the seven CSOs mapped, Balay Rehabilitation Center, Inc. (BRCI) had the most network memberships with eight followed by the United Youth for Peace and Development (UNYPAD) with five and Integrated Mindanaoans Association for Native (IMAN) with four. However, in terms of membership in local committees and special bodies, Moro Peoples Community Organization for Reform and Empowerment (Moro PCORE) had the most with participation in the MPOC, Municipal Development Council (MDC), municipal/local health and education boards, National Anti-Poverty Commission (NAPC) and the Local Verification Council of the Department of Social Welfare and Development. Lastly, six out of seven mapped CSOs were “formally and informally involved in resolution mechanisms as members of the Tribal Council of Elders and as mediators of MPOC and other community-level mechanisms.”²⁴⁹

In Sulu, many mapped CSOs had women as their priority sector and women and youth empowerment as well as women and children’s rights and livelihood as organizational issue-priorities. Four of these groups are members of the CBCS network while two are with the Sulu Provincial Women’s Center (SPWC). Only one said it was a member of the Provincial Peace and Order Council (PPOC) and Local Reduction Action Team.

In Tawi-Tawi, most of the mapped 11 CSOs had women and children/youth as priority sectors while others catered to fisherfolk and farmers. Common organizational priorities concerned women, health, livelihood and children. Only five of CSOs were members of any network; even fewer were members of local peace and order councils, health boards, and disaster committees.

2. Capacity development experiences and needs

Mapped CSOs from the different areas claimed to have undergone most of the main capacity development areas in governance, gender, and peace—any variation would have been as regards how the ranking (based on most to least responses) eventually came out when aggregated. For most, the two commonly higher-ranked governance training experiences are community organizing and leadership; for gender, it is gender-sensitivity training while for peace and security, common training experiences were said to have been related to peace process instruments such as CAB and proposed draft laws.

²⁴⁹ Hazel Lozada, UN Women Local Consultants Report on Mapping Civil Society Organizations in the Bangsamoro: North Cotabato (unpublished). Hereinafter referred to as Final Report: CSO North Cotabato.

TABLE 14
Capacity development experiences of civil society organizations

Basilan					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Community organizing	1	ARMM GAD Code	1	CAB; BBL
2	Research, leadership, networking	2	Gender-sensitivity, GAD planning and budgeting, UN CEDAW, Magna Carta of Women	2	1976 Tripoli Agreement, UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions, Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
3	Strategic planning, monitoring and evaluation				
4	Project development and management				
Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Community organizing	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	House Bill 4994
2	leadership	2	UN CEDAW	2	CAB
3	Strategic planning	3	GAD planning and budgeting	3	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
4	Policy advocacy, monitoring and evaluation	4	ARMM GAD Code	4	1976 Tripoli Agreement
5	Government planning and budgeting processes and mechanisms	5	Magna Carta of Women	5	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
6	Process of Accreditation / Registration (Legal Compliance)			6	UNSCRs 1325, 1820, and subsequent resolutions
7	Research				
Maguindanao and Cotabato City					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Leadership	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	CAB; House Bill 4994
2	Strategic planning	2	Magna Carta of Women	2	1976 Tripoli Agreement, Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
3	Project development	3	UN CEDAW, ARMM GAD Code	3	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions

North Cotabato					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Strategic planning, leadership	1	Magna Carta of Women	1	CAB
2	Networking	2	UN CEDAW	2	1976 Tripoli Agreement
3	Policy advocacy, research	3	GAD Planning and budgeting	3	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions
4	Process of Accreditation / Registration (Legal Compliance)	4	Gender-sensitivity	4	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
Sulu					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Strategic planning	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	House Bill 4994
2	Community organizing	2	UN CEDAW	2	CAB
3	Leadership	3	Magna Carta of Women	3	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
4	Project development, monitoring and evaluation	4	GAD planning and budgeting	4	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions, 1976 Tripoli Agreement
5	Networking				
6	Process of Accreditation / Registration (Legal Compliance)				
7	Research				
Tawi-Tawi					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Community organizing, leadership	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions
2	Networking, strategic planning	2	GAD planning and budgeting	2	House Bill 4995
3	Monitoring and evaluation	3	UN CEDAW	3	1976 Tripoli Agreement, CAB
4	Project development, Process of Accreditation / Registration (Legal Compliance)	4	ARMM GAD Code		
5	Research	5	Magna Carta of Women		
6	Policy advocacy				

Interestingly, despite having been trained on governance, gender and peace, most of the CSO respondents still claimed they needed more trainings on the same areas. Community organizing and leadership were commonly-claimed training needs as well as gender-sensitivity training. CSOs also still desired to have more training on peace process-related instruments along with Women, Peace and Security.

TABLE 15
Capacity development needs of CSOs

Basilan					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Community organizing	1	GAD planning and budgeting	1	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS), CAB, BBL, UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions, 1976 Tripoli Agreement
2	Policy advocacy, planning and budgeting, process of accreditation	2	Gender-sensitivity		
3	Networking, monitoring and evaluation	3	Magna Carta of Women, ARMM GAD Code		
4	Research, leadership				
5	Strategic planning; project development and management				
Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Leadership	1	Gender-sensitivity	1	House Bill 4994
2	Community organizing	2	UN CEDAW	2	CAB
3	Policy advocacy	3	Gender-sensitivity	3	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
4	Monitoring and evaluation	4	Magna Carta of Women	4	1976 Tripoli Agreement; UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions
5	Strategic planning, government planning and budgeting processes and mechanisms	5	GAD planning and budgeting, ARMM GAD Code		
6	Project development and management				
7	Networking				
8	Research				
9	Process of accreditation/ registration (legal compliance)				

Maguindanao and Cotabato City					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Policy advocacy	1	Gender-sensitivity, GAD planning and budgeting, UN CEDAW, ARMM GAD Code	1	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
2	Research	2	Magna Carta of Women	2	CAB, House Bill 4994
3	Monitoring and evaluation			3	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions
4	Strategic planning, project development and management, leadership			4	1976 Tripoli Agreement
5	Networking, government planning and budgeting mechanisms				
6	Community organizing, process of accreditation/ registration (legal compliance)				
North Cotabato					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Networking, monitoring and evaluation	1	UN CEDAW, Magna Carta of Women, ARMM GAD Code	1	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions, Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
2	Process of accreditation/ registration (legal compliance), government planning and budgeting mechanisms, research, policy advocacy	2	GAD planning and budgeting	2	House Bill 4995
3	Strategic planning, project development and management, leadership	3	Gender-sensitivity		
Sulu					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Project development, strategic planning	1	UN CEDAW	1	Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
2	Networking	2	Magna Carta of Women; GAD planning and budgeting, gender-sensitivity	2	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions
3	Community organizing, leadership	3	ARMM GAD Code	3	House Bill 4995
4	Process of accreditation/ registration (legal compliance)			4	CAB
5	Government planning and budgeting processes and mechanisms			5	1976 Tripoli Agreement

Tawi-Tawi					
Rank	Governance	Rank	Gender	Rank	Peace
1	Community organizing, networking, government planning and budgeting process	1	Gender-sensitivity, UN CEDAW	1	1976 Tripoli Agreement; Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS)
2	Policy advocacy, monitoring and evaluation, process of accreditation / registration (legal compliance)	2	GAD planning and budgeting	2	UNSCRs 1325, 1820 and subsequent resolutions, CAB
3	Monitoring and evaluation, project development, leadership	3	Magna Carta of Women	3	House Bill 4995
		4	ARMM GAD Code		

OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This mapping project describes the contextual milieu of Bangsamoro women leaders, the existence of institutional structures and mechanisms to advance women's participation, the challenges that women leaders face, and their views on governance (women's leadership in comparison with men), gender (in light of discrimination) and peace (in terms of what is in store for women in the road to peacebuilding). Given these, it seeks to contribute to identifying appropriate programmatic interventions for women in the Bangsamoro to realize the full potential of their agency.

General observations

- Contextually, the mapped areas share the economic situation of having a high incidence of poverty and of the historicity of vertical armed conflict triggered by political issues. Moreover, these areas have a history of horizontal conflicts where violence arise from issues on resources, identity and shadow economy. Within this politico-economic landscape, women were said to have been affected in a myriad of ways: violation of their human rights, lived narratives of economic insecurity and gender inequality in property relations for 'women left behind' and experiences of displacement where their vulnerability to sexual violence increase several fold. Despite these, the women have been resilient as they continued to face their struggles.
- Some studies cited in this Report have documented women's agency amidst the challenges they face. These women were said to be aware of their own capacity to help their own communities and know that they have the potential to contribute to change, particularly, in peacebuilding. However, Bangsamoro women still see the need for more opportunities to develop themselves and these opportunities are expected to come from institutions.
- There are existing institutional structures and mechanisms to ensure and uphold women's human rights. At the national level, the Magna Carta of Women serves as the blueprint while GAD mechanisms are meant to ascertain that financial resources are available for programs to improve women's lives. In Muslim Mindanao, the ARMM GAD Code is the regional translation of the Magna Carta of Women while the RCBW serves as the institution mandated to advance women's welfare. Additionally, having the RSCGAD (and the RSCLNAP merged with it) serves as the vehicle for the NAPWPS to be localized in the ARMM. In other words, insofar as women in these areas are concerned, there are institution and mechanisms that exist specific to the context of Mindanao. However, these institutional structures and mechanisms do not seem to be well known among the women who participated in the mapping project. The basis for such observation are responses from women who believe that there is a need to either establish a mechanism for women or to strengthen existing ones. These insights are indicative of the necessity for institutions to reach out to more women and for mechanisms to be made more widely known to them.

Observations on mapped women leaders

- Mapped women leaders, to a large extent, share the view that **women’s agency are not fully maximized because of inadequate opportunities available**. Elected women leaders, for example, have not been engaged in the public sphere in as much as their male counterparts have been and consequently, they are not as well-known when they participate in electoral politics. For those who were able to successfully break into the formal political sphere, the usual vehicle is through families—where familial political machinery is an aggregation of financial resources, political connections, reputation and political ‘pedigree’ that can propel people to elective positions. Needless to say, not all women who wanted to enter politics are endowed with such. But even in the context of political families, women nonetheless are ‘leaders in waiting’—a practice where they come only after the men. On the other hand, in the case of appointed women leaders, there is an observation of the tendency to be ‘ghettoized’ in or limited to women-specific issue areas and tasks. This does not seem to be regarded as an issue at all. Furthermore, there seems to be the prevailing belief among them that they effectively perform their duties precisely because they are women—stereotypical attributes ascribed to women (i.e., calm, non-aggressive, etc.) are not viewed to be negative. As such, it would seem that women conveniently settle with and can do under the limited circumstances that they have.
- In the case of women outside of formal political spaces, the issue of inadequate opportunities was also raised. However, in contrast with elected and appointed women leaders, the lack of opportunities are related to access to education. For these women, education is basic and in the absence of such, people’s perception on their capacity to lead are greatly affected. Such insight is more pronounced with indigenous women leaders who seem to experience ‘multiple marginalization’ based on gender, ethnicity, economic status, etc. On the other hand, other non-state women leaders in the academe and CSOs note that there are very limited opportunities for women to take on leadership positions. But for those who were able to take on such tasks, they make it a point to do their work as effectively as they can in order to build their reputation of being recognized good leaders.
- Interestingly, insofar as mapped women’s insights are concerned, **there is no difference as regards their predominant views on the qualities of a ‘good’ male and female leader**. Recurring themes of positive personal attributes were observed but the quality of being ‘God-fearing’ cuts across responses from all mapped sites. Such responses could be interpreted that women leaders felt that women and men are not really different when it comes to being ‘good leaders’—but more than skill and substance, both must possess attributes of moral (i.e., trustworthiness, honesty, integrity, etc.) and spiritual (i.e., religious, faithful) ascendancy.
- Mapped women leaders generally believe **that women have the capacity to lead, that gender discrimination is experienced more in light of social opportunities rather than culture, and that women must have a stake in building peace in the Bangsamoro**. Further capacitation for women leaders in this regard would mean strengthening both skills in and substantive understanding of transformative governance, deepening awareness on various existing mechanisms on women’s human rights and being well-versed with the general infrastructure of peace and how this impacts on women’s immediate environment. In other words, envisioning women’s meaningful political participation must cut across formal and informal spaces with a kind of leadership that women defined for themselves. This is the ‘political’ realm beyond numbers, paying attention to women’s agency wherever they may be found.
- While women leaders have undergone seminars or trainings on governance, gender and peace, they still claim they need further training on the same areas.

In the case of governance, majority of the experiences is on good governance and transformative leadership, local policy development, public speaking and agenda development. It is interesting to note that while these women leaders have been working in the public sphere, whether in government or in civil society, they still need trainings on the same topics.

In the case of gender, majority of the experiences is on gender-sensitivity – this can be attributed to the mandatory gender-sensitivity training (GST) for government personnel as stipulated in the Magna Carta of Women—yet there is still a high demand for trainings of the same. It is possible then that these trainings were general rather than customized—say, gender in the context of Islam—which may not easily be ‘translated’ at the personal level. Given that most of the respondents are from the civil society, it is then understandable that there is a high need for trainings on local planning and budgeting processes alongside GAD planning and budgeting. Most of the participants of such interventions are usually government officials and personnel—which is indicative of women leaders’ and CSOs’ spaces in local governance systems, mechanisms and processes.

In the case of peace, majority of the experiences is on the CAB as well as the bills on the Bangsamoro, as the government and other organizations conducted massive information dissemination, education and communication (IEC) activities and consultations throughout the Bangsamoro and its adjacent areas. Given that these are mostly IEC activities, one could only infer that such activities only covered basic information than contextual and substantive clarifications on these documents, hence the similar need for more training on the CAB and the bills on the Bangsamoro. There is also demand for training on Republic Act No. 9054, or the Organic Act of ARMM, as the two bills on the Bangsamoro are deemed to repeal or replace the said law.

Observations on civil society organizations

- Taken together, most of the mapped CSOs were women-focused and held in common organizational priority agenda on livelihood and peacebuilding. Noting the focus on livelihood can be easily expected as many CSOs work in impoverished as well as conflict-affected or post-conflict areas, placing attention on income-generation programs towards advancing women’s economic empowerment. On the other hand, prioritizing peacebuilding could be two-pronged --- first, as it relates with securing peace in the community and second, as it contributes to development in conflict-affected areas. As regards to gender, it is quite surprising that despite being women-focused, many of these CSOs still see the need to be trained on gender-sensitivity --- apparently, even groups focused on women are not automatically knowledgeable about gender and practicing its imperatives. And finally, in the case of peace, it is understandable that CSOs would clamor to understand more about the details and nuances of the peace process as there may have already been growing recognition that even advocacy and community organizing on peace in the Bangsamoro need to be seen from various lenses.
- There is an observable **disjunct of organizational priorities with organizational capacities of the mapped CSOs**. For even as most of the mapped CSOs claimed to work on women’s issues, the most distinctive programmatic design has been on gender-mainstreaming instead of specifically having projects for women. Notwithstanding this trend, CSO capacity experience and needs do not seem to point to the awareness that this should be addressed.

- The mapped CSOs have varied sources of funding, some even having multiple sources. For instance in Basilan, Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi, majority of mapped CSOs are funded by membership contributions while those mapped in Maguindanao and Cotabato City and North Cotabato are primarily funded by ODA or by foreign funds.²⁵⁰ Several of CSOs from all these areas also receive funding from national and local governments, as well as other NGOs.

Recommendations

This mapping initiative only provided a snapshot of the existing capacity development needs and perspectives on gender, peace and governance of women leaders and civil society organizations. Evidently, there is a need to widen the mapping results to cover a broader number and spectrum of women leaders and CSOs in the Bangsamoro and deepen the analysis of capacities and perspectives along the aforementioned cross-cutting themes and its application at the personal, institutional and societal levels.

Most of the mapped women leaders are community women—struggling with the realities of poverty, armed conflict and local violence. As women leaders participate in the public sphere, they continue to take care of their families and sustain livelihoods in a fragile environment. In interesting cases, some women leaders are involved in more than one organization—either as founders, members or advisers. It is worth probing, later on, how gender division of labor and dynamics affect women’s political participation and how women manage to navigate their own domestic, productive and community spheres. How women translate the personal to the political and vice-versa can provide insights for learning and un-learning previous capacity development content and modalities to ensure women’s effective adoption of learnings at the individual, institutional and societal levels and consequently, achievement of substantive empowerment.

The enabling environment for women’s participation in the Bangsamoro is already in place. It is interesting to find out how this environment is known and being participated in by women, especially the marginalized within the Bangsamoro. Power structures, whether formal or non-formal, need to be studied as to how it influences the enabling environment in terms of the breadth and depth of information on as well as opportunities and resources for learning and capacity development and, ultimately, the spaces for women’s political participation and civil society participation. Links between capacity development interventions for women leaders and CSOs vis-à-vis overall development policies, plans, programs and projects should also be examined, i.e., how is capacity development for women and CSOs seen as a means to the processes and outputs of development, not as an end. Performance or success indicators of development projects should go beyond the recipients of trainings or capacity development interventions towards how such capacities transformed policies, plans and programs. Innovative strategies for capacity building, considering the fragile environment for peace in the Bangsamoro, need to be developed. Concepts need to be context-sensitive

²⁵⁰ Mapped CSOs in Maguindanao said they received support from USAid, UKAid, IOM, Save the Children, Oxfam, Plan International, Action against Hunger, and UN agencies such as UNHCR, UNICEF, and UNFPA. Those from North Cotabato said they were supported by Action Contre La Faim (ACF)-European Union's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection department (ECHO), Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), Australian Embassy, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Canada Fund, Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Cordaid Netherlands, Dreikonigsaktion Katholischen Jungschar (DKA) Austria, Denmark Ministry of Foreign Affairs, European Union (EU), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), German Embassy, Japan Embassy, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Kindernothilfe Germany, The Asia Foundation, Terres des Hommes (TDH), United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), among others.

and translated into practical terms, easily absorbed and adopted by women at the community and grassroots level to enable them to lead and participate in the public arena and shape peace and development in their respective communities.

As civil society is likewise a part of the enabling environment for women's political participation, there is a need to study the interplay (and overlaps) of various formations, associations and organizations towards effectively and efficiently supporting accessing opportunities and resources for women and eventually, pursuing women's agenda.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN LEADERS

Mapping of capacities of women leaders and civil society organizations in the Bangsamoro

Objective

The mapping of capacities of women leaders and civil society organizations in the Bangsamoro aims to determine baseline capacities and capacity needs as well as perspectives of women leaders and civil society groups in the Bangsamoro on governance, gender and peace. Results of the mapping will be used for developing and implementing interventions for women leaders and civil society organizations.

The questionnaire is one of data gathering methodologies under the mapping of capacities. It aims to gather data on the capacities and perspectives of women leaders in pursuing good governance, gender equality, and peace in the Bangsamoro.

Your identity and responses will be kept confidential. You may likewise opt to answer this questionnaire anonymously.

MUNICIPALITY	
PROVINCE	

I. PERSONAL PROFILE

Name	
Contact numbers (landline/ mobile)	
Email address	
Civil status <input type="checkbox"/> Single <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed	No of children: _____
Age	
Religion/ faith	
Ethnicity	

Highest educational background	
Occupation <i>(for community leaders)</i>	
Previous work experience before entering politics <i>(for elected/ appointed officials)</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Government <input type="checkbox"/> Academe <input type="checkbox"/> Business <input type="checkbox"/> Civil society work <input type="checkbox"/> Religious/ faith-based work <input type="checkbox"/> Others: Pls. specify _____

II. POLITICAL LIFE / LEADERSHIP PROFILE

FOR ELECTED/APPOINTED OFFICIALS ONLY	Current Position Held			
	Name of LGU /LGA			
	No. of years in current position		<input type="checkbox"/> 1-3 years <input type="checkbox"/> 4-6 years <input type="checkbox"/> 6-9 years	
	Nature of current position		<input type="checkbox"/> Elected <input type="checkbox"/> Appointed <input type="checkbox"/> Others Please specify: _____	
	Membership in local committees (<i>indicate if Chair, Vice-Chair or Member: indicate which committee</i>)			
	Executive/ legislative priorities and accomplishments (<i>Provide copies of accomplishment reports, if possible</i>)			
	Cumulative no. of years in politics			
	Positions previously held in politics			
BOTH FOR ELECTED AND COMMUNITY LEADERS	No. of years in NGO/ civil society work			
FOR COMMUNITY LEADERS	Membership in Organizations	Position	No. of years in said position	Advocacy/Work
Political party				
Position in the political party				
Do you have any family member who is currently into politics? Identify relationship and current position.				
Participation in local/ indigenous/ customary conflict prevention/ resolution/ management mechanisms			<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	

III. BASELINE CAPACITIES AND CAPACITY NEEDS ON GOVERNANCE, GENDER AND PEACE

Themes and topics	Col. 1 Have you undergone seminars/ trainings on the following themes and topics?	Col. 2 When?	Col. 3 Do you find these themes/ topics useful?	Col. 4 Do you need training in this area?
1. Governance				
a. Good governance and/or transformative leadership	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
b. Local policy development (<i>crafting of Executive Orders/ Ordinances/ local codes such as GAD Code, revenue code, etc.</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
c. Local planning and budgeting processes	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
d. Public speaking and agenda development	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
e. Participatory governance	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
f. Republic Act No. 9054 or the Organic Act for the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
g. Others, pls. specify				
2. Gender				
a. Gender sensitivity (<i>difference of sex and gender, gender issues</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
b. Gender and Development (GAD) planning and budgeting	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
c. United Nations Convention on the Elimination on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (UN CEDAW)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
d. Republic Act No. 9710 or the Magna Carta of Women	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
e. ARMM Gender and Development Code	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
f. Code of Muslim Personal Laws	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
g. ARMM Reproductive Health Law	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

Themes and topics	Col. 1 Have you undergone seminars/ trainings on the following themes and topics?	Col. 2 When?	Col. 3 Do you find these themes/ topics useful?	Col. 4 Do you need training in this area?
h. Others, pls. specify				
3. Peace and Security				
a. Peace and human rights	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
b. 1976 Tripoli Agreement	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
c. United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 1325, 1820 and its succeeding resolutions	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
d. Women, Peace and Security (National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
e. Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
f. Proposed Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL)				
f.1. HB 4994 (BTC Draft)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
f.2. HB 5811 (Substitute Bill)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
f.3. SB 2894 (Senate Version)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
g. Normalization, including Transitional Justice	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
h. Others, pls. specify				
Other themes or topics which you think you still need to be trained with: 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.				

IV. PERSPECTIVES ON GOVERNANCE, GENDER AND PEACE

To what extent do you agree on the following?

<p>1. Moro women experience discrimination in all aspects of their lives, more so, in the political arena.</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Disagree</p>
<p>2. Peace is achievable in the Bangsamoro.</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Disagree</p>
<p>3. Men make better leaders than women.</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Disagree</p>
<p>4. A women’s mechanism should be set up in the new Bangsamoro government.</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Disagree</p>
<p>5. When competing for office, men tend to be better politicians than women.</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Disagree</p>
<p>6. Islam/ indigenous traditions/ beliefs prohibit women to participate in politics.</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Agree <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Disagree</p>
<p>7. Identify top three qualities of a good <u>male</u> leader.</p>	<p>1. 2. 3.</p>
<p>8. Identify top three qualities of a good <u>female</u> leader</p>	<p>1. 2. 3.</p>
<p>9. In your case, what are the facilitating factors or conditions that make women’s entry into politics possible? (<i>gender, governance</i>)</p>	

10. In your case, what are the issues and challenges that you have encountered when you tried to enter politics?

When you are already in office what additional challenges did you experience? How did you overcome such challenges?

11. Who (person or organization) do you think are your strongest allies in your leadership journey? Why do you say so?

12. What do you consider as peace issues in your area/ community?

Thank you very much for participating in this mapping activity.

ANNEX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

Mapping of capacities of women leaders and civil society organizations (CSOs) in the Bangsamoro

Objective

The mapping of capacities of women leaders and civil society organizations in the Bangsamoro aims to determine baseline capacities and capacity needs as well as perspectives of women leaders and civil society groups in the Bangsamoro on governance, gender and peace. Results of the mapping will be used for developing and implementing interventions for women leaders and civil society organizations.

The questionnaire is one of data gathering methodologies under the mapping of capacities. It aims to gather data on the capacities of civil society organizations in pursuing good governance, gender equality, and peace in the Bangsamoro.

Your identity and responses will be kept confidential. You may likewise opt to answer this questionnaire anonymously.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL PROFILE

Name of organization		
Address		
Contact numbers (landline/ mobile)		
Email address		
Geographical areas of operation		
Priority sectors (e.g., small farmers, municipal fisherfolk, women, PWDs, etc.)		
Identify top three (3) organizational priorities	1. 2. 3.	
Is your organization part of a larger network/ coalition?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	If YES, pls. indicate name of network/ coalition membership:

Does your organization support other organizations?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	If YES, pls. indicate organizations being supported: Indicate what form of support is/are being provided: <input type="checkbox"/> Training <input type="checkbox"/> Financial/funding support <input type="checkbox"/> Others, pls. specify
Date of establishment (as indicated in any registration/ accreditation document e.g., SEC registration, DOLE registration, CDA registration, LGU accreditation, etc.)		
No. of members, by sex	_____ Women _____ Men	
No. of members of Advisory Board/ Board of Trustees, if any, by sex	_____ Women _____ Men	
No. of members in the Committees, if any, by sex	_____ Women _____ Men	
No. of staff/ employees, <u>excluding</u> volunteers, by sex	_____ Women _____ Men	
Membership in local committees (e.g., local GAD Council/ committee, local peace and order councils, school boards, etc.), indicate which committee (please indicate up to five, in order of importance)		
Participation in local/ indigenous/ customary conflict prevention/ resolution/ management mechanisms	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	If YES, pls. specify:
Funding source/s (Pls. check appropriate box/boxes)	<input type="checkbox"/> Government (national, LGU) <input type="checkbox"/> Other NGOs <input type="checkbox"/> Official Development Assistance/ Foreign funds <input type="checkbox"/> Members' contribution <input type="checkbox"/> Own sourcing	
Organizational accomplishments in the last five years (Provide copies of accomplishment reports, if possible)		

Organizational trainings received (Pls. check appropriate box/ boxes)

- Policy advocacy
- Strategic planning
- Project development and management
- Research
- Leadership
- Networking
- Community organizing
- Monitoring and evaluation
- Process of accreditation/ registration (legal compliance)
- Government planning and budgeting processes and mechanisms
- Gender
 - Gender sensitivity training
 - GAD Planning and Budgeting
 - United Nations Convention on the Elimination on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (UN CEDAW)
 - Republic Act No. 9710 or the Magna Carta of Women
 - ARMM Gender and Development Code
- Conflict/ peace lensing
 - 1976 Tripoli Agreement
 - United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 1325, 1820 and its succeeding resolutions
 - National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security
 - Comprehensive Agreeemnt on the Bangsamoro (CAB)
 - Proposed Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL)
- Others, pls specify.

<p>Organizational capacity/ training needs (Pls. check appropriate box/boxes)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Policy advocacy <input type="checkbox"/> Strategic planning <input type="checkbox"/> Project development and management <input type="checkbox"/> Research <input type="checkbox"/> Leadership <input type="checkbox"/> Networking <input type="checkbox"/> Community organizing <input type="checkbox"/> Monitoring and evaluation <input type="checkbox"/> Process of accreditation/ registration (legal compliance) <input type="checkbox"/> Government planning and budgeting processes and mechanisms <input type="checkbox"/> Gender <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Gender sensitivity training <input type="checkbox"/> GAD Planning and Budgeting <input type="checkbox"/> United Nations Convention on the Elimination on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (UN CEDAW) <input type="checkbox"/> Republic Act No. 9710 or the Magna Carta of Women <input type="checkbox"/> ARMM Gender and Development Code <input type="checkbox"/> Conflict/ peace lensing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> 1976 Tripoli Agreement <input type="checkbox"/> United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 1325, 1820 and its succeeding resolutions <input type="checkbox"/> National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security <input type="checkbox"/> Comprehensive Agreeemnt on the Bangsamoro (CAB) <input type="checkbox"/> Proposed Bangsamoro Basic Law (BBL) <input type="checkbox"/> Others, pls specify.
---	--

Thank you very much for participating in this mapping activity.

UN WOMEN IS THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO GENDER EQUALITY AND THE EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN. A GLOBAL CHAMPION FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS, UN WOMEN WAS ESTABLISHED TO ACCELERATE PROGRESS ON MEETING THEIR RIGHTS WORLDWIDE.

UN Women supports United Nations Member States as they set global standards for achieving gender equality, and works with governments and civil society to design laws, policies, programmes and services needed to implement these standards. It stands behind women's equal participation in all aspects of life, focusing on five priority areas: increasing women's leadership and participation; ending violence against women; engaging women in all aspects of peace and security processes; enhancing women's economic empowerment; and making gender equality central to national development planning and budgeting. UN Women also leads, coordinates and promotes the United Nations system's work in advancing gender equality.



United Nations Entity for Gender Equality
and the Empowerment of Women

UN Women Philippines
Rm. 211, Philippine Social Science Center
Commonwealth Avenue, Quezon City
1110 PHILIPPINES

Telephone No. +63 2 366 81 68

Fax No. + 63 2 426 3772

www.unwomen.org

www.facebook.com/unwomen

www.twitter.com/un_women

asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/countries/philippines