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An Alternative Agenda for Gender Just Peace?

Social Justice and Women's Peace Advocacy amid the Consolidation of
Bangsamoro Autonomy in the Southern Philippines

Author: Alexandra Håkansson Schmidt
Supervisor: Catia Gregoratti

Abstract

Although the Bangsamoro peace-process in the Southern Philippines has been valued for its gender commitments and potential to build just and sustainable peace, discrimination of the Bangsamoro peoples and other minorities prevail. This thesis uncovers how women peace advocates understand social justice and its remedies in the context of the Bangsamoro peace-process, and which opportunities they have to advance a transformative agenda for justice in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (BARMM). Hence, it contributes to critical debates on development and opportunities for social transformation amid conflict and peace. The research builds on a qualitative case study design, where in-depth interviews with women peace advocates and opinion pieces on the topic have been analysed. By employing Nancy Fraser's theories on social justice and social transformation, this study concludes the following: i) Conceptions of social injustice voiced by women peace advocates in the context of the Bangsamoro peace-process are deeply interrelated and power-laden, and span over economic, political, and sociocultural dimensions, and; ii) Although women's peace agendas struggle to find heft in challenging the hegemonic order purveyed by the Philippine government, they nevertheless show a strive to contribute to a broader movement demanding an alternative paradigm of peace and development.

Keywords: Social Justice, Peacebuilding, Bangsamoro, Philippines, Islam, Feminism, Counter-hegemony

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Acronyms

ARMM - Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao

BARMM - Bangsamoro Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao

BASULTA - Basilan, Sulu and Tawi-tawi (island group outside the Westcoast of Mindanao)

BOL - Bangsamoro Organic Law

BTA - Bangsamoro Transition Authority

CAB - Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro

MILF - Moro Islamic Liberation Front

MNLF - Moro National Liberation Front

NAPWPS - National Action Plan for Women, Peace and Security

NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation

UNSCR - United Nations Security Council Resolution

WPS - Women, Peace and Security

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1 Introduction

Barm is the foam on top of fermenting liquid such as liquor or ethanol. Beer drinkers are familiar with the frothy mass that they have to go through to get to the potent brew underneath. To enthusiasts, barm is hollow and unsatisfying in itself and has to be endured. Barm is also used to leaven bread so it would rise, and trigger fermentation in another batch of liquor. May these descriptions not apply to the BARMM (Maglana 2018: para. 8).

The development discourse on *peacebuilding* is riddled with caveats. It builds on the assumption that the effectiveness of peacebuilding can be measured in concrete terms and promoted without challenging a Western understanding of politics, economy, and social life. Thus, it promotes a liberal conception of peace where capitalism is seen as the main driver of development (Denskus 2010). Not only has this approach tended to depoliticise the complex causes of conflict, but it has also been criticised for being pushed from the top-down by international donors rather than being grounded in local contexts. As a result, macro-level concepts and policies tend to be promoted instead of successfully addressing the everyday needs of citizens and meeting their demands for social justice and ownership over the peace-process (O'Reilly 2018; Wallis 2018; Selby 2013; Denskus 2010).

In tandem with its shortcomings in addressing local ownership and social justice claims, the leading liberal discourse on peacebuilding and development has constructed problematic images of women and their agency amid conflict and peace. Ever since the adoption of the UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security¹, the importance of recognising the unique experiences of women, men, girls, and boys in times of (post-)conflict has become increasingly important. Nevertheless, many are concerned that international peacebuilding interventions *de facto* keep overlooking the roles of women in these processes, and that they fail to truly address gender-specific concerns (O'Reilly 2018).

¹ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, adopted 31 October 2000.

Consequently, women are often stereotyped either in an essentialist manner, painting them out as mothers and bearers of peace, or in orientalist terms as victims of ‘backwards’ societies. As a result, women’s agency in peace-processes tends to be over-simplified and reduced to a narrow set of predefined roles (Hudson 2012). In reality, women have multi-faceted functions in conflict transformation and their actions, experiences, and knowledge are central in building just and sustainable peace. Other than driving formal peace-processes, women peace advocates play an important role in redefining grievances and setting the tone for the institutions that emerge from the ashes of conflict. Importantly, ‘they negotiate ideas about “whose justice” and “justice for whom”’ in times of transformation (Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic 2015: 166).

The Comprehensive Agreement on Bangsamoro (CAB) was signed in 2014, marking the end of the 50-year conflict between the Philippine government and Bangsamoro, or Moro², separatists. The agreement has been applauded for its ambitious gender provisions and the active participation of women signatories, negotiators, academics, and activists in its drafting (Jopson 2017). Although it shows promising advancements in addressing the grievances of Bangsamoro populations, concerns have been expressed about a liberal peace-agenda being pushed by the Philippine government and international agencies alike, while traditional practices in the region are neglected (Miyoko 2019; Espesor 2017). While the agreement was signed in 2014, its implementation was sparked in early 2019 through the establishment of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (BARMM)³. Although hopes for sustained peace are high, there are disagreements on whether these measures will successfully put one of the longest conflicts in Southeast Asia to an end, or if discontent will continue to brew (Knack 2014).

² The term Bangsamoro translates to ‘Moro Nation’ and is a collective term for 13 Muslim ethnolinguistic groups in Mindanao, the southernmost island of the Philippines. The term Moro has a problematic history grounded in colonial oppression. Hence, it is increasingly being replaced by *Bangsamoro*, although the term Moro has been reinvented by some Bangsamoro groups (Mendoza 2015). With respect for the historical baggage of the term, I have chosen to use the term Bangsamoro instead of Moro, with the exception of interview quotes where interview participants themselves have used the word.

³ The BARMM encompasses five provinces in Mindanao, including Maguindanao, Lanao del Sur, Basilan, Sulu and Tawi-tawi, and 63 *barangays*, or districts, in the Cotabato province.

1.1. Research problem and aim

Although the Bangsamoro peace-process has been valued for its active inclusion and participation of women, little academic research has been conducted on how women who have been involved in driving said process conceptualise injustices that are felt in the region (cf. Davies *et al.* 2016; Dwyer and Cagoco-Guiam 2016; Noma *et al.* 2012). Similarly, despite its importance in understanding social justice claims amid peacebuilding, the multiplicity of experiences among women peace advocates has received little academic attention⁴.

Building on said empirical and theoretical gaps, this thesis contributes to a further understanding of how women peace advocates perceive the Bangsamoro peace-process and struggles for justice. More explicitly, it aims to uncover different spaces through which women peace advocates are able to (re)negotiate the value systems that are being put in place in the establishment of the BARMM, focusing on social justice claims of Bangsamoro peoples. Hence, this paper will contribute to ongoing critical debates on development and opportunities for social transformation amid conflict and peace from a feminist lens by answering the following research questions:

- *How do women peace advocates understand social injustice and its remedies in the context of the Bangsamoro peace-process?, and;*
- *What opportunities do women peace advocates have to advance a transformative agenda for justice?*

Although this thesis does not aspire to present policy recommendations pertaining to this specific case, it hopes to highlight the importance of truly understanding the complexity of the power-laden reevaluation of societies during and after conflict. As such, my research ties into important development debates as it aims to understand ‘structural and institutional change, in contexts

⁴ Although some studies have looked at the intersection between justice and women’s spaces for action in such contexts, these have been focused on transitional justice instead of social justice in broader terms (cf. O’Reilly 2018; Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic 2015). See page 4 for a conceptual distinction between transitional justice and social justice.

where countries are engaged in transformation towards an “image of their own future” (Harriss 2005: 17).

1.2. Delimitations

The Bangsamoro peace-process is lined with an array of complex dynamics. Painting a full picture of these is not possible within the scope of this thesis, which is why a set of delimitations have to be defined. In this thesis, I will focus on debates from the latter stage of the peace-process, more specifically focusing on the period following the first formal discussions on the BARMM which took place in October 2017, as a full account of these cannot be provided due to the lengthiness of the conflict.

Furthermore, this thesis will mainly focus on the narratives that have emerged from the Bangsamoro struggle in Mindanao. This focus was chosen as Bangsamoro grievances have been a centrality to this particular conflict, largely fuelled by a Muslim separatist resistance (Monato and Torrado 2017). However, this does not imply that the claims of other marginalised groups, such as Indigenous populations living in the BARMM, are any less important, as they too have suffered severe grievances. A similar line of reasoning substantiates the focus on women’s narratives. The implication is not that men’s voices on this matter are less important, but that women’s perspectives tend to be overlooked and therefore need further attention.

Lastly, it is important to make a conceptual distinction when addressing justice claims amid (post-)conflict contexts. Parallels are often drawn between transitional justice and social justice, and there is an academic disagreement on where the line should be drawn between the two (Kora 2010). Nevertheless, transitional justice is often presented as a time-bound project aiming to legally redress human rights abuses. Social justice, on the other hand, is argued to be concerned with broader structures of discrimination pertaining to political, economic, and social orders, which is why this is a more appropriate focus when aiming to understand dynamics of social transformation (Kastner 2018).

1.3. Thesis outline

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 will provide a background to the Bangsamoro conflict and briefly touch upon previous research on social justice and the different roles that women have served in the current peace-process. Chapter 3 will address the theoretical assumptions on which this thesis builds. Chapter 4 will address the methodological considerations that guided my research. Chapter 5 will include an analysis of the data that was collected for this thesis. Lastly, Chapter 6 will be putting forward the conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis, thus summarising the findings of this thesis.

2 Setting the scene

This chapter aims to provide a brief background on the Bangsamoro conflict and the injustices it has caused Bangsamoro populations – women in particular. It will also briefly address the roles that women have served in the Bangsamoro peace-process.

2.1. Historical grievances, conflict, and self-determination

Bangsamoro, or Moro, is a collective term referring to 13 Islamised ethnolinguistic groups, including the Maguindanaon, Maranao, Tausūg, Banguingui, Samal, Bajau, Yakan, Illanun, Sangir, Molbog, Jama Mapuns, and a few other smaller groups. The term Moro was originally used by Spanish colonialists to refer to the Muslim populations across the Philippines. The term was attributed negative connotations because the Moro were villainised while Christians were portrayed as virtuous by the foreign settlers. As the settler policies benefited the Christian populations, Muslim and Indigenous populations were deprived of economic opportunities, traditional lands, and decent livelihoods. This set structures in place which would come to shape centuries of resistance and conflict (Mendoza 2015).

As the United States captured the territory in 1898, oppression was sustained. Aggressive anti-Islamic policies were pushed by the American administration during their occupation of the country. In an attempt to create a unified Filipino nation, the American administration set out to implement a *Filipinisation policy*, which aimed to replace American officials in the government with Filipino officials. However, as part of the policy, there was also a strive to make a ‘Filipino out of the Moro’. This resulted in resettlement actions and several gruesome massacres of the Muslim minority (Abaya-Ulindang 2015).

While the Philippines gained independence in 1946, policies subservient to liberal and settler-colonialist ideals, rooted in the ideological hegemony of the US during the colonial era, were co-

opted by the Philippine government. This cemented power relations where the national government arguably adopted a hegemonic role in Mindanao by directing a depreciatory narrative toward the Bangsamoro peoples (Cancho 2017; Biswas 2016; Bello 2009; San Juan 2006; Pency 1997). Consequently, Bangsamoro nationalists would become one of the main actors in resisting not only the hegemonic rule of the Philippine government, but also neo-colonial practices (Adam 2018; Monato and Torrado 2017; Mendoza 2015). According to Mendoza (2015: 96), '[i]f Filipino was the child of colonialism, Moro was the offspring of anti-colonialism', and the heart of the conflict remained a struggle against injustice.

Following the most recent Bangsamoro uprising in 1969, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) became one of the main opponents to the government. Their objective was to establish an independent Bangsamoro nation in Mindanao. After lengthy discussions, the Jakarta Agreement was signed in 1996 by MNLF and the government of the Philippines. Both parties agreed to declare an Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), where the majority Bangsamoro regions would to be granted a certain degree of autonomy from the state. However, peace was not sustained. Discontented with the premises set by the Jakarta Agreement, one of MNLF's splinter groups, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), rejected the peace deal that merely granted them a limited degree of autonomy. As such, they continued to fight for the establishment of a fully independent Islamic nation in Mindanao (Jopson 2017).

After eighteen years of insurgency and continued peace-talks, the CAB was signed by MILF and the government of the Philippines on 27 March 2014. In early 2019, the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL) was ratified through plebiscite, materialising the premises stipulated by the CAB. The ARMM was hence disbanded and replaced with the BARMM. Now, the BARMM is amid an institution-building process, where new governance structures are to be set in motion and many challenges pertaining to injustices lie ahead (Gutierrez 2019). In order to better understand these challenges, the following sections will address findings from previous studies on injustices experienced by Bangsamoro women, and women's roles in the said peace-process.

2.2. Social (in)justice and women's experiences in the BARMM

Academic research on gender in the context of conflict, justice, and nation-building in Mindanao has mainly been focused on gendered experiences of displacement, environmental degradation, and transitional justice, or focused on women's experiences of, and access to, public services such as healthcare and education (cf. Panjor and Heemmina 2019; Sifris and Tanyag 2019; Chandra *et al.* 2017; Okabe 2016; Milligan 2009; Hildson 2006). Few have, however, focused on the broader spectrum of injustices or the gendered dynamics of the actors involved in pushing for peace agendas. Nevertheless, some studies do explore the intersection between (in)justice and peace in the BARMM. These offer a base from which to frame general justice claims that have been voiced prior to delving into their gendered implications.

Injustices are argued to be the heart of the Bangsamoro strive for independence (Mendoza 2015). As briefly touched upon in the preceding section, stories have been told about displacement, economic and political marginalisation, and outright violence against Muslim and Indigenous populations in Mindanao. In this blunt summary, it is, however, important to remember the intricacy of the political, economic, and social *milieu* in which these injustices exist and emerge. Questions of land and natural resources are central themes in peace negotiations between the Philippine government and separatist movements. However, due to an increased global economic integration in Mindanao it is difficult to address injustices and grievances that are rooted in agrarian and economic structures (Cancho 2017; Vellema *et al.* 2011).

Moreover, through the narrative of settler colonialism adopted from the US colonial administration, the Philippine government ascribed the Bangsamoro peoples a set of roles and myths where they were often depicted as terrorists and enemies to the nation (Biswas 2016; Adam 2015). The alienation of Bangsamoro peoples have further been aggravated by 'divide-and-rule' strategies employed by the national government in Mindanao. By emphasising differences between communities along the lines of religion, ethnicity, and class, the Philippine government effectively obstructed the ability of their opponents to form alliances which had enough capacities to disrupt their hegemonic order (San Juan 2006).

Looking closer at gendered implications of injustices in the BARMM, women have expressed that lacking access to social services is particularly pressing. Women from the region have also raised concerns regarding the absence of adequate social safety networks as well as high rates of poverty and illiteracy among women, which exacerbated the issue of gender-based violence following the conflict (Monato and Torrado 2017). Furthermore, Bangsamoro women have raised concerns on discrimination stemming from misconceptions of what it means to be Muslim. This particularly pertains to the intersection between gender and religion, although conservative views on Islam and womanhood have started to disintegrate (Monato and Torrado 2017; Dwyer and Cagoco-Guiam 2016; Lomibao 2016).

With regard to women's experiences of the mythification of Bangsamoro populations, Hildson (2009) found that liberal and Western conceptions on Islam, identity, and gender are often imputed by international agencies into the language used by NGOs, government agencies, and sometimes by community members themselves. This reductionist discourse is exercised on and through the bodies of Muslim women in Mindanao, rendering them and their experiences of conflict invisible as preconceptions of class, ethnicity, and gender are being drawn from external narratives purveyed by national and international elites (*ibid*).

Although the literature above offers important insights on injustices that women and Bangsamoro populations have suffered throughout the conflict, it does not provide an account of how the different dimensions of these injustices intersect. These are dynamics that I will address further on in this thesis.

2.3. Women as activists and agents of peace

The Bangsamoro peace-process has been valued by the international community for its implementation of UNSCR 1325. Being the first country in Southeast Asia with women's suffrage and in adopting a National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (NAPWPS), the Philippines has a long history of women's activism. Although the women's movements in Mindanao have

been very diverse with regards to the agendas put forward, most of them shared a critical stance towards martial law and liberal hegemony that has, and continues to be, imposed by the national government (Mendoza 2017). In acting as a voice of resistance towards the government, women's movements built strong activist capacities, which ultimately facilitated women's influence over the peace-negotiations (Santiago 2015). In the Bangsamoro peace-process, women have actively been brought to the negotiation tables and largely pushed for its gender agenda, affirming their importance in negotiating peace (Jopson 2017; Kubota and Takashi 2016).

As of the establishment of the BARMM, the region is run by the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) – an interim government responsible for running the region up until the first planned elections in 2022. In the BTA, 16 out of 98 positions are held by women and there are many documents, such as the BOL and NAPWPS, that guarantee women's participation and representation in political bodies and on the labour market (Gutierrez 2019). While there are accounts of strong and resilient women that have made use of the opportunities to take on non-traditional roles in said process, there are also many women who have not been able to participate in the political sphere (Monato and Torrado 2017). Although important steps have been taken in strengthening women's political leadership, the peace-process has been criticised for only including a limited handful of women representatives from elite families and clans with strong political ties. As such, women with lower social status in Mindanao have not been adequately represented, even though they have suffered the most hardships (Davies *et al.* 2016).

It is still too early to discern whether the peace agreement will adequately adhere to the voices of women and succeed in addressing the injustices that have fuelled the conflict. Nevertheless, the grounds on which to establish an autonomous Bangsamoro nation are under renegotiation, where prerequisites for women's political participation are changing (cf. Gutierrez 2019; Dwyer and Cagoco-Guiam 2016). In the following chapter, I will present a theoretical framework that I argue will make it possible to form an intelligible understanding of these processes.

3 Theoretical framework

3.1. Peacebuilding as a space for resistance and co-optation

It is commonly acknowledged that the aftermath of conflict may pave the ground for new ideas on how societies could be organised as the conflict itself commonly results in the breakdown of pre-existing political, social, and economic orders. Simultaneously, more generous spaces are argued to open for marginalised women to alter social norms and institutions when oppressive structures of the past weaken (True 2012; Bøås et al. 2006). Although this claim carries weight, reality is significantly more complex. Amid peacebuilding, those who have been most successful in the conflict have the upper hand in dictating what peace will entail. Ultimately, they largely decide which foundational values the emergent post-conflict society will build on while defining a social contract for the parties involved, thus establishing a *hegemony of peace* (Weiner 2005). In this process, different degrees of resistance and co-optation of competing ideologies emerge (Richmond 2011).

In understanding hegemonic orders that arise amid peacebuilding, mapping out the relations between the actors who have been involved in founding said order is key. While the main actors of the conflict are central in establishing these relations, other powerful actors, such as international donors, also serve an important role. For instance, donors have been argued to promote their own legitimacy by either devaluing the core sentiments put forward by the underdogs, or by sloganeering the same sentiments, depriving them of their strength (Corntassel 2007). Hence, understanding how the ‘rights and wrongs’ in society are (re)negotiated in times of peacebuilding and conflict transformation, such as in the BARMM, can provide valuable insights into how new social orders are being put in place. In order to truly grasp these complex processes, one needs to understand which structures hegemony builds on, which tools are used to maintain it, and how these interplay with resistance movements. Said issues will be addressed in the following sections.

3.1.1. The mechanics of (counter-)hegemony

Hegemony is a form of power that is negotiated between elite and subaltern classes and exercised through civil and political structures of society. The aim of the negotiation across classes is to reach a sense of consensus regarding the underlying ideology of a society. This consensus is dictated by the contents of a *historic bloc*, which defines the social order in society and shapes institutions and ideas on how social life should be organised, ultimately dictating what hegemony entails (Gramsci 1977). Peacebuilding can be seen as a hegemonic project in the sense that a new historic bloc is being put in place (Bridoux 2011).

The nature of hegemony is bound to the historical context of societies, and it interplays with values that operate both globally and locally. Critical scholars have argued that the hegemonic order of today's capitalist societies builds on a ground of social fragmentation, liberalism, and capitalist globalisation (Fraser 2015; Carroll 2006; Trumpy 2006). Carroll (2006) has argued that these structures are maintained through the following mechanisms: i) *Identity politics*, resulting in social fragmentation which weakens resistance movements; ii) *Decentralisation and privatisation*, resulting in depoliticisation of class structures, prioritisation of capital accumulation at the expense of marginalised groups, and displacement of crises to the lower classes, and; iii) *Globalised narratives*, effectively shifting the political responsibility of the state to the international arena.

The means available for the ruling elite to push these mechanisms include direct coercive measures or, more commonly, *co-optation* where narratives of their opponents are adopted without the intent of realising their essence (*ibid*). As hegemony defines the relationship by the rulers and the subaltern, it also affects the dynamics that arise amid conflict and peacebuilding. In this sense, the continuation of conflict or failure to maintain peace can be seen as a failure of the elite to co-opt the demands of the resistance movements (Bouillon 2004).

Ingrained in these processes are forces of *counter-hegemony*, or resistance against the hegemonic order, as implied above. In order to pose a true challenge to hegemony, counter-hegemonic movements must successfully address the structural conditions on which hegemony stands. This is commonly done by building solidarities that withstand the fragmentation that hegemony has set

in place and articulating an alternative paradigm where political, economic, and social ideas in society are redefined. Counter-hegemonic movements must therefore form cohesive alliances with one another to gain heft – a process that is often disrupted by divide-and-rule strategies by the elite (Harvey 2005). Feminist movements and activism often fill an important role in counter-hegemony, as they strive to challenge and correct the blind spots of patriarchal politics (McGuire 2019; Schwarzmantel 2005).

In delving deeper into these mechanisms, the drivers that enable counter-hegemonic movements to critically view the hegemonic structures must be understood. Nancy Fraser has, through her theories on social justice politics, contributed largely to this debate. She effectively offers important insights into the strategies and justice claims that marginalised groups may deploy to transform unjust hegemonic structures. This is made possible by distinguishing different types of strategies that a hegemonic elite may employ to stifle resistance, allowing the subaltern to critically view the underlying logic of the actions of the elite, which is why I argue that Fraser is an interesting theoretical ally to engage with (cf. Carroll 2006). Although not commonly used in peace research, her holistic way of conceptualising society has been argued to capture the intelligible complexity of power structures and injustices that occur amid conflict (O'Reilly 2018).

3.1.2. Affirmative versus transformative strategies

Fraser (2015) understands the historic bloc as compounded by notions of what agency, public power, social order, social justice, and history entails. It is thus the conglomeration of these values that shape the nature of the social contract set in place. In times of crisis, the historic bloc of the ruling hegemony is set out of balance as it motivates the mobilisation of oppositional movements who challenge past social contracts and push for counter-hegemony (*ibid*). Conflict may be understood as a crisis, as the spark of conflict is a manifestation of the ruling elite losing control over the citizens within their scope of governance (Phillips 2010).

In order to thwart counter-hegemonic movements, the ruling elite can stifle opposition by introducing smaller reforms aiming to patch-up the most severe symptoms of the crisis,

introducing *affirmative remedies* to injustices, thus stabilising and keeping hegemonic order. It is when these efforts fail, and the counter-hegemonic movements prevail, that the public power is forced to initiate deep-seated structural reforms, or *transformative remedies*, to address the root causes of the crisis⁵ (Fraser 2015). However, the (re)negotiation of hegemony is fraught with complexity. Contemporary counter-hegemonic movements are often struggling to find heft in pushing their agendas, as ruling hegemonies are drawing strength and borrowing powerful narratives from emancipatory movements, rendering them eviscerated and tokenistic through co-optation of their core values (Fraser 2013). During the last decades, this has been particularly true for feminist movements whose ideologies have been absorbed into mainstream political agendas. Meanwhile, its members are being recruited to government positions as their expertise is needed to interweave feminist ideas with said agendas, ultimately fragmenting the movement as a whole (de Jong and Kim 2017; Fraser 2013).

This approach in understanding social change in times of crises, may they be economic, political, or a result of armed conflict, provides a far-reaching framework on how to analyse tensions that occur amid transformative phases in society. Therefore, I argue that this theory will serve well in understanding which opportunities women peace advocates have to push for a transformative agenda in the Bangsamoro peace-process. However, the processes briefly discussed above are inherently complex and multi-layered. In order to make the research focus more tangible and appropriate for the scope of this thesis, I have chosen to scrutinise said dynamics by looking closer at *one* of the cornerstones of Fraser's historic bloc – notions of what *social justice* entails. I found social justice to be the most appropriate component to engage with, as injustice is commonly argued to be the heart of the Bangsamoro conflict, which was discussed in Chapter 2.

Although focusing on notions of social (in)justice may not paint the full picture of the power-struggles that occur amid the consolidation of Bangsamoro autonomy, it is assumed to at the very least act as an indicator on the nature of the (re)negotiation of society's structures. These power-struggles include a hegemonic elite, in this case the national government of the Philippines, and counter-hegemonic agents, here women peace advocates invested in the Bangsamoro cause. The

⁵ For exemplification of remedies, see Table 1, page 17.

following section will delve deeper into the conceptualisation of social (in)justice that is employed in this research.

3.2. Conceptualising social (in)justice

3.2.1. Social justice - A feminist debate

Following the social movements of the 1980s, the debate on social justice came to shift from a primarily socioeconomic approach, focusing on the (re)distribution of material resources, to a more sociocultural approach. Here, the issue of recognition came to be the main point of interest, and two trenches were dug between distributive policies, largely grounded in Marxian class analysis, and issues of recognition and identity politics following a more Weberian spirit (Fraser 1996). Injustices along the lines of ethnicity and gender became the buzz of the following decades, addressing the importance of recognising the struggles of marginalised and disadvantaged groups and individuals. This gave rise to theories on *politics of recognition* which were heavily influenced by the feminist intersectionality debate (Borren 2012).

Although these theories opened up new analytical angles from which to approach social justice claims, they have been widely criticised for being idealistic and reductionist. Fraser (1998) offers an elaborate critique of said theories. Although she recognises the importance of recognition as a means of overcoming inequalities, she is deeply concerned with the movement's lack of attention to issues of unjust distribution of resources. By solely focusing on the recognition of identities and their interrelated grievances, one diverts attention from the detrimental effects of capitalism and wealth inequality that plague many societies (Fraser *et al.* 2016). By viewing injustices as multidimensional, Fraser opens up for a more holistic approach to understand their causes and expressions, which is why I chose to employ a Fraserian approach to social justice throughout my research.

3.2.2. A Fraserian approach to social justice

The conceptual core of Fraser's social justice theory is *participatory parity*, as she explains, '[...] justice requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life [...] overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalised obstacles that prevent some from participating on par with others, as full partners in social interaction' (Fraser 2010: 60). She argues that (in)justices are deeply intersectional, and thus challenges the notion that 'politics of redistribution is exclusively concerned with injustices of class', and that 'politics of recognition is exclusively concerned with injustices of gender, sexuality and "race"' (Fraser 1996: 6). While all injustices contain a degree of co-dependency, some, such as gender injustices, are so deeply entrenched in both economic and social structures that they cannot be grouped into a separate category (*ibid*). Fraser (2010) furthermore emphasises the importance of political determinants of injustice, focusing on the political representation of groups in societies. She concluded that there can be no redistribution of resources or recognition of identities without representation, contending that the political dimension sets the stage for socioeconomic and identity-based policies (*ibid*).

Fraser (1996) divides social (in)justice into the following three dimensions: (mal)distribution, (mis)recognition, and (mis)representation. Maldistribution is connected to economic structures in society which largely relates to class hierarchies. The remedy for this type of injustice would be redistributive policies. Misrecognition is connected to cultural hierarchies that can be remedied by recognising and revaluing marginalised social groups (*ibid*). Lastly, misrepresentation concerns political hierarchies and is divided into three different components: i) *Ordinary-political misrepresentation*, concerning *what* politics are about, manifested in the voices of marginalised groups not being represented in mainstream politics; ii) *Misframing*, concerning *who* is included in decision-making processes, manifested in boundaries being wrongly drawn between electoral areas or even nations, and iii) *Meta-political misrepresentation*, concerning *how* these injustices are set in place, manifested in local, national, and transnational elites hindering the formation of democratic spaces where injustices can be redressed (Fraser 2010).

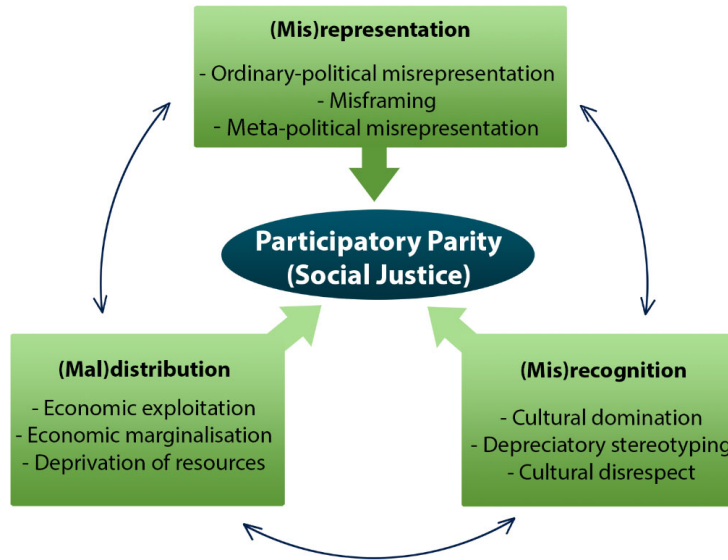


Figure 1. The author’s visualisation of Fraser’s social justice framework (Fraser 1996; 2008; 2010). The bullet-points in each dimension represents examples of injustices that may occur if participatory parity is not met.

Although this three-dimensional model offers a neat-looking framework, injustices are grounded in many interconnected dimensions who have their roots in the intricate interplay of diverse factors in different contexts (Fraser 2011). Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the remedies (in)justices can, according to Fraser, either be affirmative or transformative – the nature of which will guide the direction in which hegemonic structures are (re)negotiated. Remedies as such are exemplified in the table below.

Types of injustice	Form of remedy	
	<i>Affirmative</i>	<i>Transformative</i>
Maldistribution	Liberal reallocation (e.g. market liberalisation where regulations that impede profitability are removed)	Restructure economic relations (e.g. introducing socialism)
Misrecognition	Liberal pluralism (e.g. encouraging multiculturalism)	Deconstruction (e.g. queering identity)
Misrepresentation	Redraw state boundaries or create states (e.g. national liberation)	Change grammar of political representation (e.g. creating transnational political spheres)

Table 1. Forms of remedies suggested by Fraser (2005; 1995), compiled by Carroll (2006: 35) with minor alterations by the author.

3.2.3. Beyond the scope of Western epistemology

Applying theories from the global North on Southern contexts without critical reflection is inherently problematic, which is why an open discussion on the shortcomings of this approach must be held. Previous research on the conflict in Mindanao has tended to mystify the historical struggles of the Bangsamoro people by availing a Eurocentric epistemology that does not recognise the importance of the *ummah*⁶ or the solidarity constituted by Islam (San Juan 2006). Hence, introducing not only a postcolonial, but also Islamic, perspective on social justice is key in understanding a fuller spectrum of perceived injustices in the region.

While theories on justice-as-recognition were assumed to be prosperous in multi- and intercultural contexts by many academics, this approach has received plentiful critique from postcolonial theorists and indigenous scholars. These theories were criticised for not capturing the complexity of identity formation, power, and social interactions that constitute the basis of social justice in postcolonial societies – a critique that has also been directed toward Fraser (Balaton-Chrimes and Stead 2017; Coulthard 2014; Simpson 2014).

In order to make Fraser's theories better suited to analyse Muslim contexts in the Global South, Hussain⁷ (2019) recommends taking the following measures: i) Analyse the intersectional nature of women's oppression in relation to their historical implications; ii) Address how narratives of women have been overlooked; iii) Highlight how colonialism has affected identity formation processes, particularly in interplay with Islam, and iv) Acknowledge the political agency and activism of Muslim women although their viewpoints may differ from Western preconceptions. These recommendations have been considered throughout my research project. In order to fully appreciate aspects of intersectionality and identity in the BARMM, hence laying the groundwork for a more critical stance on Western biases in the theoretical framework, it is also important to include some background on Islamic conceptions on social justice, which the next section will address.

⁶ Muslim community. The concept expresses the unity and equality of Muslims from diverse backgrounds across the world (Oxford Islamic Studies 2020a).

⁷ Hussain (2019) develops these recommendations based on discussions put forward by Mohanty (2003; 1988) and Spivak (1988).

3.2.4. Social justice and Islam

Social justice is viewed as one of the main pillars of Islam, and egalitarianism is argued to be a key element of an Islamic understanding of the term. However, empirical studies on the attitudinal implications of Islamic social justice values are rare (Chiftci 2019; Moten 2013). According to Chaudhry (1999), there are three basic aspects of social justice in Islam: i) Fair and equitable distribution of wealth; ii) Provision of basic necessities of life to the poor, and; iii) Protection of the weak against economic exploitation by the strong. This conceptualisation of social justice is greatly based on the distribution of material goods and lacks the dimension of recognition and identity. The logic is based on the assumption that Islam recognises that people are born with varying capacities and opportunities in life. Social injustices are hence addressed through redistribution of resources, *inter alia*, by paying *zakat*⁸ (*ibid*).

Although many argue that economic justice constitutes the core of Islamic social justice, Moten (2013) provides a broader understanding of the term. An elaboration on what social justice may entail outside the scope of economic dimensions are expressed in *amanats*⁹, which, for instance, concerns governance, the caretaking of orphans, and *waqf*¹⁰(*ibid*). Furthermore, Abdelkader (2000) has recognised that there is a discrepancy within the Muslim elite, where some have subscribed to Western thought, and others find Islam to be the rightful basis of reform, following *Shari'ah* and *fiqh*¹¹ (*ibid*). It is as such important to recognise the vast diversity of the interpretations and expressions of Islam.

This section does not by any means claim to paint a full picture of social justice from an Islamic perspective. Rather, it should be viewed as a base from which to build a further and more context-based understanding of social justice claims in a Muslim-majority context such as the BARMM.

⁸ Almsgiving, aiming to redistribute wealth to the needy (Oxford Islamic Studies 2020b).

⁹ Trusts; trusting someone with a matter (Moten 2013).

¹⁰ Typically a donation for charitable and/or religious purposes made without the intent of profit or reclaiming the assets (Oxford Islamic Studies 2020c).

¹¹ *Shari'ah* refers to God's eternal will for humanity; Islamic canonical law. *Fiqh* refers to jurisprudence; the human understanding of Islamic law and efforts to implement Islamic norms (Oxford Islamic Studies 2020d).

3.3. Analytical model

As this thesis aims to understand women peace advocates' understandings of social (in)justice and their remedies, I will start by teasing out how the term is being put forward by this group. The aim is not to scrutinise the individuals' own experiences of social (in)justice, but rather the claims that they are exposed to, and advocate for, in their own professions and activism. I deemed this approach more suitable for the focus of this research, as it zooms in on an elite who are at the forefront of the women's movement in the BARMM. Although they may be driven by private convictions as well, the participants of this study have explicitly been asked to elaborate on the social justice claims they have come across in their roles as peace advocates. However, it is important to acknowledge that the distinction between public and private concerns are not necessarily clear-cut, and despite the desired focus some overlaps may occur (cf. Segal *et al.* 2012). This part of the analysis builds on Fraser's tripartite social justice framework, as illustrated previously in section 3.2.2.

The results gained from the primary analysis are subsequently brought to a higher level of abstraction by discussing how the uncovered expressions of social (in)justice and their remedies are being put in relation to the political agendas put forward by the women peace advocates. The focus here is on what opportunities they have to challenge the hegemonic order purveyed by the Philippine government. This discussion is guided by the framework below, which was drafted based on Fraser's theories on social transformation and the discussions in sections 3.1.1. and 3.1.2.

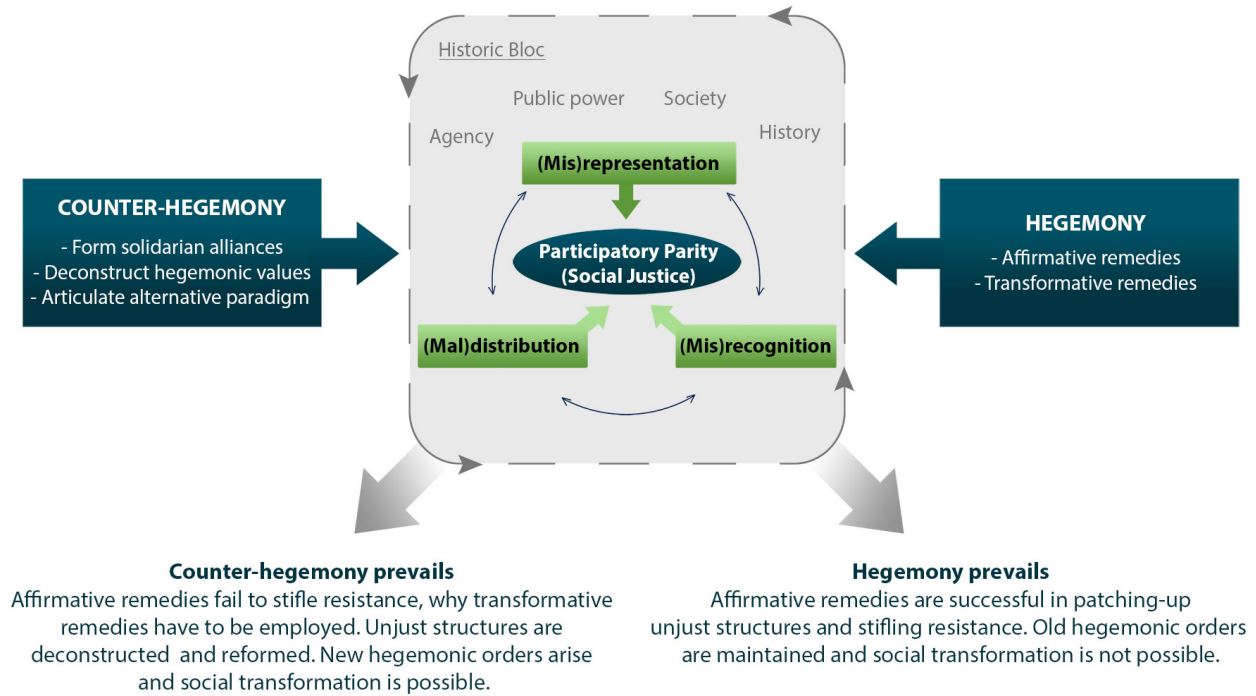


Figure 2: The author's visualisation of Fraser's theories on social transformation, social justice and their interlinkage (Fraser 2015; 2013).

Finally, although these cannot be avoided altogether, I strive to keep a critical stance towards Western biases that I, and the theoretical framework, may bring to the analysis. The recommendations by Hussain (2019) and the discussions on postcolonialism and Islamic perspectives of social justice in sections 3.2.3. and 3.2.4. guided this process.

4 Methodology

In this chapter I address the methodological considerations that have guided this research, including epistemological and ontological standpoints, overall research design, data collection, analytical approach, and ethical considerations. Limitations and means taken to ensure the trustworthiness¹² of this study are discussed throughout the chapter.

4.1. A feminist research method

This thesis takes its departure from feminist standpoint epistemology. This epistemology strives to put women's lived experiences in the limelight in order to highlight and uncover knowledge that has been hidden, forgotten, or even oppressed. This serves to balance out the androcentricity of the knowledge available to us today. In distilling women's voices and knowledges – understanding *feminist standpoints* – it is possible to discern specific perceptions of injustices across societies. The perspectives gained can subsequently be applied to broader transformative processes in society in order to scrutinise societal structures and form strategies on how to change them (Brooks 2007). In accordance with contemporary adaptations of feminist standpoint epistemology, this thesis builds on the assumption that women possess different types of knowledge and come from diverse backgrounds, which is why it is concerned with understanding the multiplicity of experiences and how these exist in dialogue with one another (cf. Brooks 2007; Cameron 2005).

Although feminist research is commonly grounded in transformative ambitions, aiming to countervail oppression of marginalised groups, the ontological assumptions within feminism are diverse (Creswell and Poth 2018). This thesis is grounded in a constructionist ontological approach in the sense that it views reality as the product of social interactions, rather than a given and constant state of being (Bryman 2012).

¹² The assessment criteria of which is specified in section 4.2.1. on page 23.

4.2. Research design

This thesis employs a qualitative single case study design. Qualitative research has the benefit of allowing the development of detailed understandings of complex phenomena. It also makes it possible to uncover silenced or forgotten voices while scrutinising the power relations that these experiences emerge from (Creswell and Poth 2018). Furthermore, case studies strive to build in-depth understandings of a clearly defined and bounded issue and are beneficial when one wants to understand intricate social processes (Yin 2014). I therefore deemed it an appropriate design from which to learn more about the often-overlooked standpoints of women peace advocates in the complex process of institutional development in the BARMM. The case is bounded by its geographic focus on the BARMM and temporal delimitations, focusing on political developments following the first formal discussion on the establishment of the BARMM, which took place in October 2017.

Case study research is often criticised for being subjective and non-generalisable. However, generalisability need not always be the purpose of research and in accordance with Yin (2014), this thesis rather strives to provide empirical insights into theoretical concepts. Hence, the aim of this research is not to establish a single generalisable reality, but rather to highlight different experiences of a phenomena (cf. Weston *et al.* 2001).

4.2.1. Quality criteria

The debate on quality criteria for qualitative research is vast, and alternatives to the historically positivist-leaning concepts on validity and reliability are emerging (Bryman 2012). I have conducted this study to meet the quality criteria presented by Yardley (2000), as I found her approach to cohere well with the transformative ambitions of feminist methods due to its focus on the practical implications of research. Her recommendations are as follows: i) *Context-sensitivity*: research is conducted with care for the researched context, addressing ethical concerns and the appropriateness of availed theories; ii) *Commitment and rigour*: substantial information on the research topic has been considered and informed the collection and analysis of the data; iii) *Transparency and coherence*: employed methods are clearly presented and based on a reflexive

approach, and; iv) *Impact and importance*: research products contribute with relevant inputs to the researched community and theoretical grounding (*ibid*). While I have covered the two first criteria in the preceding chapters, I address the third criterion throughout this chapter. Lastly, although the impact of this study can be debated, its importance lies within the empirical and theoretical gaps pertaining to women's experiences and roles amid peacebuilding that have lacked substantial academic attention.

4.3. Data collection

The central method of data collection for this research was individual interviews. This data was complemented with relevant opinion pieces¹³ from local newspapers and previous academic research on overlapping topics. The interviews were conducted in Manila and Davao between December 2019 and February 2020. It is important to note that martial law in Mindanao was lifted on 31 December 2019 which had considerable impacts on the political debate and security situation in the region. This resulted in additional challenges in accessing research participants, as travels and scheduling were made more difficult.

4.3.1. Access and sampling

Securing access to the community one wishes to study can be particularly challenging in (post-)conflict contexts, and researchers are usually dependent on gatekeepers who can navigate sensitive political spaces, more so than in other fields (Bronéus 2011). This case was no exception and I greatly relied on a colleague from the UN Women field office in Mindanao to come in contact with research participants. Although helpful and often necessary, being dependent on a gatekeeper has certain methodological implications and might result in a selection bias (Campbell *et al.* 2006). Therefore, I also independently reached out to other potential participants¹⁴. By doing so, I was

¹³ For selection criteria, see page 26.

¹⁴ Prior to reaching out to these participants, a UN Security Official was consulted in order to ensure that I was not compromising the security of the participants or myself by contacting them.

able to capture more diverse voices as I came in contact with women who had comparably more radical activist backgrounds.

I selected participants on the premise of being women who had been involved in advocating for peace and women's rights in the Bangsamoro peace-process. Hence, they were chosen through purposeful sampling (Creswell and Poth 2018). The initial sample was expanded through snowball sampling, where the participants provided me with contacts from their personal networks due to the target group being difficult to reach. Although it is not possible to make broader inferences based on a purposeful nor snowball sample, it makes it possible for the researcher to sample individuals with the desired knowledge about a research problem and to access hard-to-reach groups (*ibid*).

4.3.2. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews

Seven semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with women who had been involved with advocacy work pertaining to the Bangsamoro peace-process. Three interviews were conducted in person and four online, either over Skype, WhatsApp or phone¹⁵, as the precarious security situation in the BARMM did not allow me to travel there. The interview participants included women from grassroots movements, NGOs, and the BTA. While their professional backgrounds were diverse, the commonalities they shared included a high level of education and a far-reaching engagement in the peace-process. Four of the participants were Bangsamoro, while the remaining three were not, although they were working closely with the Bangsamoro cause¹⁶.

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews have the advantage of allowing the interview participant to shape its contents and highlight angles of a topic that are important to them (Bryman 2012). I used a general interview guide¹⁷ approach, which enabled open conversations with the interview

¹⁵ While the quality of the data gathered from online interviews can be compromised due to the lack of visual cues between the researcher and the interviewee, this was largely mitigated with the use of video-calls. However, this cannot fully account for the same degree of nuances that can be uncovered during interviews in-person (cf. Hesse-Biber 2007).

¹⁶ For more background information on the participants, see Appendix 1a.

¹⁷ For interview guide, see Appendix 2.

participants while still maintaining some degree of structure that covered a set of predefined themes (cf. Turner 2010). Moreover, I asked the participants which language they would rather be interviewed in; English or a Filipino language¹⁸ of their choice. They all chose to do the interviews in English, in which they were proficient, which is why no interpreter was used.

Five out of seven interviews were recorded and later on transcribed. The remaining two, where consent for audio-recording was not given, were transcribed in real-time. Interview recordings were transcribed soon after the interview which allowed me to reflect on the gathered material at an early stage and adjust the research approach. Any uncertainties due to poor audio-quality have been marked in my transcripts, and I have avoided quoting or letting these parts weigh heavily in the analysis in order to reduce the risk of misinterpretation. Similar precautions have been taken with the real-time transcriptions, and quotes that have nevertheless been extracted from these interviews have been cleared by the participants through email confirmation.

What could be perceived as one of the main shortcomings of this research is the limited sample size of interview participants. However, a small research sample is not necessarily an issue in qualitative research because the aim might be to scrutinise the meanings that individuals attribute their experiences rather than making generalisations, as is the case with this study (cf. Hesse-Biber 2007). Nevertheless, due to the diversity of experiences in the BARMM, a larger sample would have helped to better distinguish overarching patterns in the material.

4.3.2. Opinion pieces

In-depth interviews are commonly complemented by other sources of information, as forming an understanding of the complexity of the issue often requires viewing phenomena from different perspectives (Bronéus 2011). I therefore complemented the interview data with opinion pieces addressing topics relevant to this study. Media is central to social life and contains reflections of social processes, and they can give rise to debate and act as a conduit for advocacy agendas

¹⁸ There are many languages and distinct dialects across the Philippines. While Tagalog is commonly spoken in the regions surrounding Metro Manila, other dialects such as Cebuano, Bisaya, Hiligaynon and Taüsug are commonly spoken in Mindanao (Lewis *et al.* 2015).

(Hodgetts and Chamberlain 2014). Opinion pieces are written with the explicit purpose of conveying a certain opinion or agenda, often allowing the voice of the author shine through, which is why I deemed them to be the most appropriate media to study in broadening the understanding of women's standpoints on the peace-process (cf. Bal 2014). However, these texts are complex and power-laden and have to go through stringent editorial review prior to publishing, which is why they are not necessarily a direct representation of an individual's true opinion. This needs to be considered when analysing suchlike texts (*ibid*).

My criteria for selecting opinion pieces were that the pieces had to have been written by a woman and address the ongoing peace-process and social justice claims in the BARMM¹⁹. I chose to sample articles written by Bangsamoro women specifically, as their perspectives are at the centre of this research, and my interview sample came to comprise a larger share of non-Bangsamoro participants than anticipated. For sampling, I initially turned to the eight most-read online newspapers in Mindanao²⁰. However, few of these papers featured any pieces fulfilling the above-mentioned criteria²¹. The final sample ended up being composed of 12 opinion pieces, drawn from the following news distributors: Mindanao Goldstar Daily, SunStar Davao and MindaNews. The selection may be limited, but it proves the need to pave the way for women's voices on said topics.

4.4. Analysis

The interview transcripts and opinion pieces were analysed through coding and thematic analysis. NVivo 12 was used to code the data, facilitating analysis and overview of the material (Bryman 2012). A coding scheme was developed through a retroductive dialogue between concepts that were drawn from the theoretical framework above and concepts that emerged from the material itself. As such, rather than developing a strict coding scheme prior to the analysis, it is seen as a key aspect of the analysis itself (cf. Weston *et al.* 2001). When employing such an approach, it is

¹⁹ For a more detailed overview of the relevance assessment of the opinion pieces, see Appendix 1b.

²⁰ Mindanao Times, SunStar Davao, Mindanao Daily Mirror, Daily Zamboanga Times, Mindanao Goldstar Daily, MindaNews, Mindanao Daily News, BusinessWeek Mindanao (M2Comms n.d.).

²¹ There were many opinion pieces on the thematic areas, but most were written by men and although interesting, they were excluded on the basis of not being relevant for the particular focus of this paper.

important to address the researcher's impact on the data that is being produced, as knowledge is here seen as co-constructed in the dialogue between the researcher and the participants (Rapley 2001; Weston *et al.* 2001). Therefore, I will later in this chapter tend to my own role in constructing the knowledge that is put forward through this research.

4.5. Ethical considerations

The key aspect to consider in this study has been to ensure the security of the research participants. Security risks can be mitigated through information gathering and consultancy of colleagues and expertise on the topic (Bronéus 2011). The study has been designed carefully in accordance with the LUMID ethical guidelines and in a continuous dialogue with my thesis supervisor. Furthermore, I thoroughly consulted UN security officials and colleagues at UN Women who possess detailed knowledge on the context and thematic area throughout the research process.

Considering the violence that the residents of the BARMM have experienced, trauma and difficult memories relating to conflict and oppression was anticipated to surface in conversations on injustice. I therefore chose to focus the study on a political elite that address issues of conflict and injustice as a profession, hoping to minimise the risk of conducting interviews that were harmful to the participants. Although choosing to focus on the voices of an elite and overlooking the voices of the marginalised falls into the same shortcomings as previous research, this focus was deemed necessary due to these ethical implications and the scope of this thesis. Once I had selected the participants, interviews were conducted under informed consent²². The opportunity to give partial consent to the conditions of the study was offered in order to provide the participants with a higher level of control over the situation, as this has been found to reduce the risk of re-traumatisation (cf. *ibid*).

²² For sample consent forms, see Appendix 3a-b.

Full anonymity of the participants has been ensured, which is why neither their names nor the exact names of the organisations they are affiliated with will be disclosed²³. Although transparency should be strived towards, additional restrictions have been put on this material in order to decrease the opportunities of identifying the participants, as the pool of women peace advocates in the BARMM is small. Similarly, although the selected opinion-pieces are publicly available, I have chosen to anonymise them as well to mitigate the risk of causing indirect harm to the authors by featuring their work in critical analysis²⁴. The opinion pieces will not be directly quoted to hinder the possibility of finding them through internet searches. Interview participants (P) and opinion pieces (O) will be referenced with alphabetical IDs according to Appendix 1a-b²⁵.

Lastly, the interview transcripts and recordings have been stored on my personal password protected laptop, and on an encrypted hard-drive and USB. No backups were stored on online platforms to minimise the risk of data breaches (cf. Creswell and Poth 2018).

4.5.1. Positionality and reflexivity

Finally, a central part of the ethical considerations of this study has been to continuously scrutinise the power dynamics that arose between the interview participants and I. Being a white, non-religious woman delving into research on women's struggles in the BARMM gave rise to questions. While most of the interview participants expressed positivity toward my interest in their perspectives, some initially expressed a degree of suspicion. For instance, one of the interview participants (Pb) was reluctant to speak to me until I explained that I was Swedish. She openly

²³ Affiliation with the BTA will however be disclosed due to the specific nature of the organisation. Upon close consideration, I have assessed that this does not compromise the anonymity of the interview participant in question, as the other pieces of background information provided does not make it possible to discern her profile from other women officials in the BTA.

²⁴ For a reference matrix pertaining to the opinion pieces, their sources and compliance to the selection criteria, see Appendix 1b.

²⁵ This referencing system has complex ethical implications, as it may be perceived as dehumanising. Pseudonyms are generally proposed to be an excellent way to avoid this pitfall. While I considered to take this approach, I did not do so in the end as I struggled to find appropriate alternative names for the interview participants due to the multilayered sociocultural nuances among the Bangsamoro peoples in the BARMM. Hence, in order to mitigate the risk of stereotyping an already stereotyped group, I found it to be more appropriate to refrain from giving the participants pseudonyms in this given case. Alphabetical IDs were chosen rather than numerical in order to, at the very least, not reduce the participants of this study to a set of numbers, which has a particularly sensitive value-laden baggage.

expressed that she was positively surprised, because she thought that I was ‘another American doing research in their country’ (*ibid*). This dynamic is not uncommon, particularly in previously colonised societies, as whiteness can trigger emotive reactions that are not necessarily bound to the identity of the outsider (Faria and Mollett 2014). Furthermore, although the basic assumption is that the researcher commonly carries most power throughout the research process, the power relations were a lot less clear-cut throughout this research project as I interacted with a well-recognised political elite (cf. Boucher 2017; Scheyvens *et al.* 2014).

As a means of mitigating suspicion among the interview participants, I strived to provide plentiful information about myself, my professional background and the intents of the research I had set out to do. Nevertheless, my positionality will most certainly have affected the nature of the information that was shared with me and my interpretation of it, as knowledge is situated in its geographical and temporal context and will thus always remain partial (cf. Sultana 2007).

5 Analysis

In this chapter, I discuss the findings of my research. The first part presents the social justice claims that emerged in the narratives of women peace advocates along with their perceptions of remedies that have been introduced by the Philippine government. It thus serves to answer the first research question of this study. These results thereafter act as a base from which to discuss the opportunities and challenges women peace advocates face in demanding justice, answering the second research question. An overview of the findings can be found in Appendix 4.

5.1. Emerging conceptions of social (in)justice in the BARMM

Injustices across all three dimensions emerged in the interviews and opinion pieces. Below is a brief presentation of the most dominant themes that emerged during my analysis of the data, categorised in accordance with Fraser's tripartite framework. Here, it is important to note the co-dependency of the justice dimensions, as discussed in Chapter 3. Although some justice claims may equally fit under several categories, I have categorised the claims that emerged from the material in accordance to the overarching context they were brought up in by the interview participants and opinion piece authors.

5.1.1. (Mal)distribution

Tending to the economic dimension of injustice, a story about multidimensional poverty emerged. The fact that Mindanao is the region with the highest poverty rate in the country was mentioned on several occasions and parallels were drawn to the far-reaching historical exploitation of Muslim and indigenous populations. The narrative was generally centred on the situation of Indigenous populations living in the mountainous areas and farmers across the region, and the hardships they are and have been facing (Pa; Pb; Pc). Rather than speaking about poverty in terms of purely financial resources, other dimensions were addressed, including limited access to physical

resources like land and basic services, but also a deprivation of equal opportunities in life. Scarcity of clean water and electricity were mentioned, particularly in the island region BASULTA²⁶, while access to high-quality, culturally sensitive healthcare and education were said to be lacking across the BARMM, particularly for women (Pd; Pe; Pg; Oe; Of). Insofar, these claims are in line with previous research on women's experiences of social injustices in the BARMM. However, I found that a more nuanced and complex image emerged when looking at the intersections of these injustices, as the remainder of this chapter will show.

Wealthy elites and foreign investors

In my analysis of the material, discriminatory political structures emerged as a key intersecting theme to the distributive ills mentioned above. Concerns regarding top-down policies from the Philippine government were expressed by women peace advocates along with a frustration regarding conservative and extractive development paradigms still being pushed in the BARMM (Pa; Pc; Oe). A certain degree of understanding of these challenges were, however, also expressed, acknowledging the recency of the region's establishment and the difficulties the BTA is currently facing (Pe; Pf; Pg; Og).

However, some remained more sceptical (Pa; Pc; Pd; Oa; Ok). One sceptic (Pa) said that she had heard rumours about the peace agreement only being agreed upon because the MILF promised that the national government would be allowed to extract natural gas from a resource-rich reserve in the BARMM. Another participant (Pd) criticised the manners in which the national government is keeping power in the region by establishing a military camp in Marawi, which was said to be a necessary security measure. She explained that the government initially wanted to establish a business centre there, and many Bangsamoro activists now fear that the establishment of the military camp will act as an entry-point for foreign business. As illustrated by the quote below, the issue pertaining to foreign investors and extractive policies were often derived back to the domination of a political elite that purveyed these structures, which were often referred to as colonial.

²⁶ BASULTA is the collective name for the islands Basilan, Sulu and Tawi-tawi. It is also the poorest region in the BARMM (Lomibao 2016).

Their [the politicians'] families are involved in the trade [...] That's why I said that the only remaining lot we have in Mindanao, for example the Liguasan marsh, we cannot protect it for the next generations. We just let the investors ravage it. The BARMM says it's alright, we will give it to Muslim investors, but it has nothing to do with that. It has nothing to do with the Arabian, Muslim, Christian or American investors, it is investors outside of the Moro, or the Filipino people. It will not benefit the locals, it will just disenfranchise them and displace them (Pa).

Similar sentiments emphasising the need to uphold Bangsamoro solidarity were expressed by other interview participants and opinion piece authors, referring to a sense of powerlessness in controlling the region's resources (Pe; Pg; Ob; Oe). Returning to Fraser's theories, this circumstance arguably represents a case of what she refers to as *misframing of the poor*. By locating the less endowed classes within the frame of a Westphalian political system, the political elite can avoid responsibility for the poor by favouring transborder interactions where actors that operate on transnational levels are untouchable. Hence, challenges arise for the poor to hold the elite accountable, while the possibilities to 'make efficacious claims against the offshore architects of their dispossession' is rendered close to impossible (Fraser 2010: 368).

Land rights, but for whom?

Tying into the discussion above, land rights is an often-referenced factor in understanding injustices that have fuelled the conflict (Cancho 2017; Vellema *et al.* 2011). The issue of land was also a recurring theme in the material collected in this study. Although many interview participants and opinion piece authors expressed positive sentiments regarding the peace deal's recognition of Bangsamoro identities and grievances, the discussions often went back to the intricacy in identifying who should have rightful access to the land (Pa; Pc; Pe; Oe).

Discussing how the situation changed since the signing of the CAB, one participant (Pc) said that land issues might even become more pressing now, as the export sector is expanding while there is an increase of foreign investors and contractors who are involved in different development programmes. She argued that this gave rise to more hostilities, and because of land-grabbers it is now difficult to claim land-rights, particularly for women. Moreover, she explained that this is the

expression of a pre-colonial syndicate, where land is only measured out in accordance with the size of one's guns (*ibid*). Another interview participant (Pa) raised similar challenges of land titles. She spoke about Bangsamoro and Indigenous peoples being chased down by the national army, accused of being terrorists. However, this was according to her merely a strategy by the government to claim their lands and ancestral domains and sell them to multinational companies (*ibid*).

As can be deduced from above, it is not enough to only talk about poverty or ownership, but *whose* poverty also needs to be considered, which is why the issue of recognition is key. Fraser (1998) argues that in order for resource distribution to be just, it must guarantee and allow spaces for members from marginalised groups to voice and act on their concerns. She argues this to be an objective precondition of participatory parity. If this precondition is not met, marginalised groups do not have the necessary leverage to resist structures that allow economic exploitation and deep income gaps, which is why participatory parity cannot be attained (*ibid*). Throughout the analysis, I found that similar themes pertaining to the situation in the BARMM emerged. Women peace advocates expressed concerns over an economic and political elite dominating the trade market. This, in combination with overt violent measures from the Philippine government, hinders Bangsamoro peoples to claim lands that are rightfully theirs according to the peace advocates.

Remedying maldistribution

Even though maldistribution of productive resources was central in the justice claims that emerged in this research, the interview participants and opinion piece authors alike made little mention of redistributive actions taken by the Philippine government. However, this is not entirely unexpected considering the issue's centrality in maintaining hegemony by the Philippine government (cf. Cancho 2017). According to the women peace advocates, rather than addressing maldistribution, markets and resource-rich areas are being kept open while external actors are welcomed to ravage these spaces. One participant in particular (Pa) criticised the economic policies of the BTA. Instead of relying on local knowledge, she argued that the BTA is turning to international actors such as the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and USAID for support, thus reinforcing colonial relations of the past (*ibid*). Furthermore, one opinion piece author (Oe) argued that civilians have been tricked into entering agreements with foreign contractors, only to realise that promises of

local ownership and respect for traditional practices were not kept. Although not explicitly expressed as such by the women peace advocates, these dynamics may nevertheless indicate that affirmative remedies to maldistribution are being employed, as the logic of liberalism would imply that market liberalisation would automatically result in a fair reallocation of resources (cf. Carroll 2006). Whether this can be said to be an intentional strategy employed by the Philippine government to remedy these injustices can, however, not be discerned from this research alone.

5.1.2. (Mis)recognition

When addressing sociocultural injustices, I found that religious stereotyping and discrimination were recurring themes in the narratives of the women peace advocates. As mentioned above, interview participants and opinion piece authors shared experiences pertaining to a systematic silencing of the Muslim populations, where resistance against the national government was often painted out as terrorism, further legitimising armed confrontations and government sanctions. The nature of misrecognition largely materialised in stereotyping of identities along the lines of ethnicity, religion, and gender.

A politicised tug of war

Although the recognition of Bangsamoro identities through the peace deal is generally seen as an important step in reconciling atrocities from the past, discriminatory practices remain ingrained in political structures as well as the relationship between the BTA and the national government. In interviews and opinion pieces alike, this power struggle tended to be discussed in relation to oppressive measures taken by the government (Pa; Pb; Oc; Od; Oh). As highlighted by the quote below, although the BOL establishes the right of Bangsamoro peoples to enjoy equal rights in life, the effects are yet to be felt in the BARMM, and the national government needs to recognise their role in purveying discriminatory practices.

There is no philosophy of social justice in the BOL. [...] It is a struggle for self-worth that has to be defined in terms of the relationships between the Moro and the national government. It is not just about equality (Pb).

While my analysis, up until now, has mainly discussed *what* injustices have emerged and by *whom* they are conveyed and felt, this section brings us to the question of *how* these points of exclusion are being set in place. Fraser (2010) refers to this process as meta-political misrepresentation, where governments and transnational actors, through different measures, disable the creation of political spaces where certain marginalised groups can voice their concerns. Adding to the aforementioned issues, some Muslim voices are still being silenced through means of direct violence and mystification of Islam, despite the public recognition of Bangsamoro identities and rights. Consequently, the government can, with little effort, deprive them of political leverage, as the quote below illustrates.

For the years since president Duterte has come into power, it has been like hell for activists like us because the national government has a new security agenda after martial law. During martial law it was really difficult for us to move in Mindanao and most of our chapters have been disintegrated because they are really afraid of, you know, the term terrorist which is so broad and fluid. Anyone can be a terrorist just by wearing a black shirt and the government can already say you look like a terrorist (Pa).

Expanding conceptions of womanhood

Diverse stories about women's experiences in the BARMM were also told. Some of the interview participants voiced the issue of women's labour and contributions to society not being recognised. The need to countervail misconceptions about Islam was also emphasised, not only among non-Muslim populations but also Muslim communities in the region (Pb; Pc; Pd; Pg).

It is important to get women working, but women are delimited by their spaces, so they cannot be astronauts, scientists or work for the UN. The stereotypes are predefined. Women serve reproductive roles and should serve their husbands. This is a reality that motivates us activists to find verses in the Quran that refer to conceptions of strong women and not abiding wives (Pb).

While the interview participants recognised challenges for women to participate fully in the political, social, and economic sphere, I found this narrative to be disconnected from their own experiences as leadership figures in society, which the quote below illustrates. This may not be

fully unexpected, as previous research tells us that women's political participation and leadership in the BARMM has, so far, been reserved for a small political elite, which the interviewees belong to (cf. Davies *et al.* 2016). In this regard, it can be argued that gender inequalities are mainly perceived as reserved for subaltern classes.

We are not token women. We are not seen as women, we are seen as commissioners [...] I do not really see our gender being a hindrance because our voices are the same, equally heard by the men (Pf).

A similar narrative portraying a rather unproblematised image of women's roles in the peace-process could be discerned from the opinion pieces. The pieces that focused specifically on women's leadership (Og; Oh; Oi) largely concerned the successes of women politicians in the BTA. Interesting to note here is that all three of the articles who availed this specific focus were funded by the Government of Canada. Therefore, it is difficult to tell whether these pieces truly convey the perceptions of the authors, or if they are purveying a broader development agenda pushed by international donors, which oftentimes results in the diffusion of local narratives (cf. O'Reilly 2018). What can be concluded, however, is that contrasting conceptions of womanhood prolific in the region.

Remedying misrecognition

This section has shown that women peace advocates have criticised the continued discrimination of Bangsamoro, while emphasising both challenges and opportunities for women in the BARMM. Moreover, an opinion piece author (Oc) criticised the Duterte administration for not acknowledging their own role in projecting a similar ideology, even though they recognised the cruelties committed by the Spanish and American colonialists. Although grievances of Bangsamoro populations are formally recognised, the narratives of the women peace advocates show that discrimination prevails, and stereotyping is still used to maintain power and legitimise continued presence in the region. These results are in line with previous research, contending that discrimination and stereotyping of the Bangsamoro continues despite the public recognition of their identities (Biswas 2016). Similarly, I argue that these findings support the argument pertaining to a divide-and-rule strategy employed by the Philippine government. Such strategies

can arguably be discerned from the women peace advocates' stories, which address that differences of ethnicity, religion, gender and class have been emphasised by the Philippine government, sometimes through a terrorist-discourse, resulting in the stratification and weakening of formerly tight-knit groups (cf. San Juan 2006). In sum, these circumstances would imply that the government has availed affirmative remedies in addressing issues of misrecognition, where the common good of multiculturalism has been conveyed without *de facto* redressing the structural discrimination of the Bangsamoro (cf. Carroll 2006; Fraser 1995).

5.1.3. (Mis)representation

Looking at the political dimension of injustices, the sentiments tended to be more positive and focused on steps in the right direction rather than forms of discrimination. The establishment of the BARMM arguably an attempt to redress the political marginalisation of the Bangsamoro peoples, and self-determination is an important aspect in overcoming historical injustices (Lomibao 2016). From my analysis of the interviews and opinion pieces, I deduced that there are strong connections between political representation and a sense of identity. The groundwork leading up to the drafting of the BOL differed vastly from preceding documents on the peace-process in the sense that it was the first time that the Bangsamoro peoples' religion and cultural identity was publicly recognised (*ibid*). According to one participant (Pa), this was a pivotal development, as it was a taboo to say 'Bangsamoro' prior to the establishment of the BARMM because it was undermining the authority of the Philippine government. Hence, the establishment of the BARMM addresses a distillate of both political and sociocultural injustices.

Social justice does not only include social services for people but most importantly, in our context, is that we are able to exercise our right to self-determination. Once that becomes a central part of our identity and self-determination, that is when the government ensures that social justice is felt in society (Pg).

This quote serves as an illustration of the importance of the right to self-determination in relation to sociocultural aspects and overall social justice. However, as touched upon earlier, challenges pertain to lingering power structures and valuing foreign investors and a wealthy elite, which

ultimately misframes the poor. Fraser (2010) argues that in a globalised society, the redrawing of territories or the creation of new entities is seen as affirmative, in the sense that it does not challenge Westphalianism. Hence this measure is, in fact, more likely to either repackage or give rise to new injustices, rather than remedying them, why the aforementioned challenges are not unexpected (cf. *ibid*).

Political power as purchasing power?

As mentioned before, an emergent theme in the research material was the domination of the political arena by a wealthy elite, may they be local politicians, the national government, foreign investors, or development actors. Despite steps in the right direction, as signified by the establishment of the BARMM, wealth inequalities are seen as a significant roadblock in sustaining peace. Concerns were lifted in interviews as well as the opinion pieces about a state of non-change, where politicians were not responsive to the wishes and claims of the people, thus rendering the establishment of a Bangsamoro nation void of substance (Pa; Pb; Oe; Ol).

I wanted a more concrete approach to that because it's really difficult when you say that, when you use that in the Filipino context, know that there is not a levelled playing field. We have experienced that during elections, that whenever the small people run and if you don't have money, it's not just about the operations. It's about giving people money, and if you don't have that, you will not win (Pa).

This returns to the previous argument on the objective precondition of participatory parity, where the distribution of material resources is central in deciding whose voices get to be heard.

A surge of women's leadership

One certain event that was brought up on multiple occasions was the Marawi siege that occurred in 2017, after the signing of the CAB. The Philippine government has been criticised for their strategies taken to free the city from militias affiliated with the Islamic State, as this included maltreatment of civilians and airstrikes that left the city devastated. This has become an often-discussed symbol of a continued violence and government oppression of the Muslim populations (Amnesty International 2017). However, it was also identified as a catalyst for women's increased

political representation and deepened leadership in the region by the women peace advocates (Pd; Pe; Ob; Oe).

When Marawi happened, a lot of women leaders arose from that situation, organising themselves, organising their communities so that kind of leadership was being trained, shared and developed and proposed to be developing the programme within BARMM. That's really building the leadership of the women (Pd).

However, this discussion was far from unipolar, and while some interview participants highlighted new spaces for women's leadership emerging from the conflict as well as the peace-process, others emphasised the challenges that remain.

People who are not in the MILF²⁷ should also be given a chance to air opinions from a different perspective. It is quite difficult to engage with the rebel group. They might have other views on social justice. I am not saying that all in the MILF are looking at it that way. We just feel that there should be a different lens so that women might be given a chance to participate in a meaningful way (Pg).

This ties into the intersection between misrepresentation and class, where maldistribution has been previously been argued to act as a barrier to political participation among women from lower socioeconomic classes in the BARMM (Davies *et al.* 2016). Previous research also indicates that there is also pressure for women who are politically involved to comply with a broader and widely accepted political agenda. According to Mendoza (2017), women's organisations in Mindanao are particularly vulnerable to partisan politics, as they often need the support from influential political officials in order to continue their advocacy. There are accounts of women having lost their political positions because they were perceived as being critical toward the administration, despite their work being appreciated by the surrounding community (*ibid*). Hence, although positive developments can be discerned pertaining to women's political representation in the region, challenges seem to still remain in pushing more diverse agendas.

²⁷ Here she is referring to officials in the BTA, which mainly comprises MILF and MNLF appointed members (cf. Parrocha 2019).

Remedying misrepresentation

The most tangible outcome of the CAB was the establishment of the BARMM. Although this move was positively received, scepticism has been expressed regarding the realisation of autonomy by the women peace advocates that were part of this study. This is not fully unexpected, even beyond the obvious reasons of the complexity and time-consuming essence of peacebuilding. According to Fraser (2010), our understanding of the world has been shaped by the myth of a dichotomy between the domestic and the international, where domestic space offered security and accountability, while the international space was anarchic and lacking justice mechanisms. While this division does not hold true, particularly not in a time of deep globalisation, there has been a tendency, particularly in post-colonial societies, to long for their own Westphalian sovereignty, as this had become the epitome for justice (*ibid*). Nevertheless, the redrawing of state boundaries remains an affirmative remedy to the injustices caused by misrepresentation, as it does not countervail the structural issues that occur when transnational politics roam freely within a Westphalian frame (Carroll 2006). The result is ultimately a battlefield of value-laden tensions where different agendas struggle to prevail and where counter-hegemonic movements often struggle the most (Espesor 2017).

5.2. Women's peace advocacy as a (de)stabilising force?

In the preceding part of this chapter, I shed light on the main themes that emerged from the social justice claims highlighted by women peace advocates. Fraser's social justice framework was employed in an attempt to bring attention to the complexity and interrelatedness of these claims. It also briefly touched upon the measures that the Philippine government has taken to remedy said injustices, which were largely found to be affirmative. This next section will be devoted to exploring what opportunities women peace advocates have in pushing for a more transformative agenda that may truly redress injustices in the region, thus answering the second research question of this thesis.

5.2.1. Counter-hegemonic alliances versus fragmenting forces

Previous research shows that women's movements have played an important role in driving social change in the Philippines. Historically, even though driven by different causes, the women's movements were unified in opposing the oppression following martial law (Mendoza 2017). Similar dynamics can be argued to be seen in the BARMM, where claims for Bangsamoro recognition and self-determination serves as a unifying cause, while opinions on other advocacy items such as what gender equality should entail in relation to conceptions on womanhood, as touched upon in section 5.1.2., may differ. However, gaining heft to challenge hegemonic presuppositions is seemingly hindered by an array of different factors. As previously mentioned, patronage politics has been argued to pose a challenge for women's movements in purveying their original agendas (*ibid*). The most successful movements are naturally those who choose to co-opt the ideology of the ruling elite, regrettably at the expense of their own political goals (Fraser 2013). Mendoza (2017) explains this circumstance with the movements lacking a solid ideological base from which to successfully convey a feminist agenda. Although this argument may carry substance, it is also important to consider the obstacles that are set in place, hindering this from happening.

As mentioned earlier, divide-and-rule strategies have been a commonly employed strategy in undermining counter-hegemonic movements in the Philippines, particularly in Mindanao (San Juan 2006). Some have even gone as far as arguing that the government has undermined past and present peace-processes by supporting separatist groups that stand outside of the peace deal; MILF when the peace was negotiated with MNLF, and now Abu Sayyaf²⁸ when a peace-deal has been signed with the MILF (*ibid*). Although it is not possible to say to which extent such strategies have been availed pertaining to the women's agenda in the BARMM based on solely the findings of this study, at the very least I argue that fragmenting forces are posing a challenge to claims that are being pushed by women peace advocates, which some of them explicitly acknowledged. For instance, the issue of women key figures in NGOs and civil society being absorbed into

²⁸ Abu Sayyaf has been named to be a terrorist group and arose as a more violent alternative to the MNLF and MILF in the 1990s. They were originally affiliated with al-Qaeda but now claim loyalty to the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (Banlaoi 2019).

government structures in order to harness their expertise on gender issues, ultimately depleting civil society of its capacities to continue pushing for their agendas, has been voiced (Pc; Pe; Oi).

In meetings with women's civil society I was told that the ones who were active in the Bangsamoro groups, one of their dilemmas was that a number of their leaders have been recruited into government, as staff, as legislators, into the bureaucracy. So they are also a bit overwhelmed coping with everything (Pe).

This is a commonly observed strategy of co-optation of women's agendas, sometimes referred to as the creation of *femocrats*²⁹, and it poses great challenges to the heft of alternative agendas as expertise is being extracted from the resistance (de Jung and Kimm 2017). While co-optation hinders the continued purveyance of the original agenda, it can also be seen as a sign of success of the counter-hegemonic movement, as it is recognised as a significant threat that has to be co-opted when a movement first gains legitimacy (Trumpy 2008). Although much of the essence of the original agenda is lost through co-optation, the question is also whether counter-hegemonic movements can afford to resist this political traction (True 2003). Despite forces of fragmentation and femocratisation that have been argued to obstruct the formation of cohesive alliances, optimism regarding opportunities for the continued promotion of a promising women's agenda was expressed by some women peace advocates (Pd; Pe; Oc; Og; Oh). Considering the persistence of the fragmenting forces, it can, however, be questioned if this agenda remains strong enough to form the solidary alliances required to continue challenging hegemony (cf. Fraser 2013).

5.2.2. Towards a deconstruction of oppressive preconceptions on gender

As can be drawn from the social justice claims that were identified in the first part of the analysis, the move to recognise the grievances of Bangsamoro populations was largely seen as positive, as were new opportunities to occupy more decision-making spaces and deconstructing and renegotiating the true meaning of womanhood and its relations with Islam. However, in my analysis of the interview data, disagreements on what gender justice and womanhood entails

²⁹ A combination of the words 'feminist' and 'bureaucrat' (de Jung and Kimm 2017).

emerged, particularly in relation to religion. According to two interview participants (Pe; Pg), there is still a roadblock of conservative opinions contending that men are the only rightful leaders, a view allegedly shared even by some women officials in the BTA. To overcome these challenges, one interview participant (Pf), who is in the BTA herself, explained that there is a need to define what gender equality and gender justice truly entails in a Bangsamoro context. However, disagreements on this is making it difficult to push for a cohesive political agenda.

We need to really articulate what equality means because up until now they [men] are still afraid of it [...] They are fine with justice, gender justice, but not gender equality in the Bangsamoro (Pf).

Despite the ambitious gender commitments of the BOL, implementation remains a challenge, and the issue of gender is yet to be adequately addressed in the development plans of the region. In this sense, it fails to support the emancipatory aims of a women's peace agenda (Jopson 2017). Similar challenges have been argued to be exacerbated by external actors, such as international donors, who often use governments to purvey agendas that are based on liberal principles void of grounding in local context (Espesor 2017; Adam 2015; Hildson 2009). Although the adoption of UNSCR 1325 has helped to make gendered concerns amid conflict visible, the manners in which it is being implemented often results in reductionist portrayals of women, often projected through a Western lens, effectively outmanoeuvring local conceptions on gender and womanhood (O'Reilly 2018).

Exactly how these dynamics are playing out in the BARMM cannot be fully discerned from the material collected in this thesis. Nevertheless, although not addressed in the opinion pieces, two interview participants (Pa; Pe) emphasised that although women's movements in the region greatly benefited from an increase of international funding, they are now struggling to keep up with their normal workload due to added demands by the donors. In addition to this, I argue that similar challenges pertaining to the influence of external actors on local narratives can be discerned from the nature of the material of this study. Here, I mainly refer to the Canadian funding that was directed to support media coverage of women's leadership in the BARMM, including three of the opinion pieces sampled in this research, which serves as an example of the willingness of some international donors to contribute to the local debate on gender. Although this is not negative per

say, it makes it difficult to discern the true standpoints of women peace advocates and Bangsamoro perspectives on injustices and, in this case, gender. In sum, although there seems to be groups and individuals actively working to deconstruct oppressive patriarchal narratives, the issue is brought back to challenges of fragmentation as a coherent alternative to narratives grounded in the current hegemonic order is hard to identify, at least based on an analysis of the material I gathered.

5.2.3. Bringing forward an alternative paradigm?

Lastly, although the agenda for self-determination has been seen as an anti-colonial project and an alternative paradigm to the hegemony of the Philippine government, maintaining the core of the independence struggle presents a challenge. As I have argued in previous sections, much indicates that the establishment of the BARMM as a political entity served as an affirmative remedy to the conflict (cf. Fraser 2015; 2013). Even though separatist movements advocating for full-fledged independence of the region exist, the claims of self-rule have, at least on paper, been realised. However, as discerned from the social justice claims identified above, different types of discriminatory dynamics remain, such as cultural and religious stereotyping. Some of the women peace advocates expressed concerns regarding this, emphasising the challenges in maintaining their agenda that the BTA has been facing in their transition from rebels to bureaucrats (Pa; Pe; Oa; Oh).

You want that to be represented and responded to by the [national] government. Not just be heard, no? Because people just collect your papers, your manifestos, but they do not do anything about it. They [the BTA] do not question the security measures of the government. They do not question the economic programme of the government, and that saddens me. That also makes me react to a lot of things, like you are not prioritising what the people want (Pa).

Nevertheless, interview participants and opinion piece authors alike argued that the women's movements still have the potential to push for the original agendas of the resistance movement. One opinion piece author (Oa) contended that civil society has to continue to challenge the agendas of both the national government, the BTA, and revolutionary groups alike in order to maintain the degree of scepticism needed to redress the causes of conflict and injustice. While previous peace-

agreements and development agendas have failed, potential is now seen by women peace advocates in finding alternate solutions to injustices and grievances by turning to paradigms guided by Islam and cultural practices of the Bangsamoro peoples since their identities have now been recognised (Pb; Pe; Oe; Ol). I found that this was illustrated well by the quote below, where it was emphasised that the very foundation of Islam is enough to remedy injustices.

There are provisions in the BOL that address social justice measures, but there are also a lot of functions in the Bangsamoro society, such as zakat – the Islamic system of granting food assistance to the poor. We also have cultural support mechanisms, for example if someone falls ill, is injured or dies, the community takes care of them. [...] So there are both provisions in the law and unwritten rules, a code of culture (Pb).

Similarly, looking at the separatist movement as a whole, restructuring society in accordance with *Shari'ah* is seen as the way forward to unify the *ummah*, thus creating a cohesive alliance opposing the hegemonic order of the government – a narrative that I found some women peace advocates to share (cf. San Juan 2006). Interestingly enough, while previous research has found that Islamic agendas, of which the MILF is now seen as the legitimate conduit, has acted as a unifying force to put forward an alternative paradigm, the voices raised in this study have rather expressed a frustration with the strategies currently employed by the MILF and BTA (cf. Adam 2018). The frustration pertains to the reluctance of the BTA to oppose requests from foreign investors and the national government, and a limited political arena that adheres to diverse voices in the BARMM, as illustrated above and in sections 5.1.1. and 5.1.3.

Preceding discussions in this chapter may indicate that forming cohesive alliances pushing for an alternative that is strong enough to challenge hegemony could be challenging. Nevertheless, I argue that a narrative of critical forces pushing for a transformative women's peace agenda, which will continue to keep the ruling elite on their toes, can also be discerned from the interviews and opinion pieces. This observation is drawn from the maintained scepticism directed toward the BTA by women peace advocates, and a strive among some of them to deconstruct oppressive narratives, on for instance gender, that feed into injustices.

6 Conclusion

From the experiences of women peace advocates and Bangsamoro narratives, an intricate story about injustice in the BARMM emerged. On one hand, challenges pertaining to multidimensional poverty, partisan politics, and discriminatory stereotyping along the lines of gender, ethnicity and religion were raised. On the other hand, optimism regarding novel opportunities to address historical grievances of the Bangsamoro peoples and to promote progressive conceptions of womanhood were expressed as positive outcomes of the peace-process as well as important ways forward in redressing the injustices that have been felt in Bangsamoro communities. While self-determination in the BARMM has formally been proclaimed, continued purveyance by the Philippine government of a depreciatory narrative mainly targeting Muslim communities, and market liberalisation allowing extractive policies to ravage ancestral lands, were identified as significant roadblocks in attaining sustainable peace and justice by the women peace advocates. Building on said women's perceptions, this research also finds that solely affirmative remedies to injustices have been introduced by the Philippine government, which is why their hegemonic order seemingly prevails, leaving few spaces for far-reaching social transformation.

Consequently, little suggests that measures have been taken to adequately address the structural causes of the injustices that have fuelled, and been fuelled by, the Bangsamoro conflict. Nevertheless, some opportunities for women's peace agendas to put forward counter-hegemonic forces were identified in this thesis. In spite of challenges pertaining to fragmenting divide-and-rule strategies employed by the Philippine government as well as competing ideologies obstructing the formation of a streamlined agenda in deconstructing oppressive conceptions and formulating an alternative paradigm for justice and peace, the prospects for social transformation are not lost, even though they may seem slim at the time of writing. Regardless of said challenges, this thesis finds that discriminatory structures are put under critical scrutiny by women peace advocates and alternatives to the current development paradigm are sought for, indicating that the transformative ambitions expressed in the women peace advocates' agendas for justice at the very least show few signs of ceasing.

On a final note, these intricate dynamics show that the project of making peace entails more than assembling building blocks of policies and reconciliation measures, as the mainstream development narrative on peacebuilding has been criticised for implying. Continuing this research agenda is therefore of utmost importance in expanding our understanding of social transformation in (post-)conflict contexts and its highly politicised nature.

6.1. Recommendations for further research

While the injustices uncovered in this thesis may not be novel per se, these results serve as an indicator for which justice claims are perceived by women peace advocates as most central to the political situation in the region. By looking closer at how the dimensions of these injustices interrelate, this thesis has shed some empirical light on the closely-knit and evolving political and economic conditions that spearhead said injustices, which have rarely been explored in the context of Mindanao (cf. Adam 2018). Furthermore, it has shed some light on which opportunities women's peace agendas in the region can serve as counter-hegemonic forces amid the consolidation of Bangsamoro autonomy, where little, if any, research has been conducted due to the recency of the establishment of the BARMM. Nevertheless, these results are just small pieces of a broader research agenda that requires further attention.

Hegemony and injustice are inherently vast and complex concepts. While this thesis has zoomed in on these concepts within a limited and recent timeframe, mechanisms of (counter-)hegemony are multifaceted and often evolve over long periods of time. In further exploring this topic, I recommend conducting historical ethnographic studies that would allow for a deeper understanding of the rationale of women's peace advocacy as a counter-hegemonic force. Moreover, as this thesis has focused on expressions of hegemonic orders purveyed from the national level, further research could benefit from looking at these dynamics on local, transnational, and global arenas as the foundations of hegemony are negotiated on all said levels (cf. Carroll 2006).

While this thesis has focused on how women peace advocates' agendas can contribute to push transformative change, it must be recognised that they act in a broader network of agendas. Further research should, therefore, also look into how women's peace advocacy plays into, and interacts with, broader counter-hegemonic movements. Attention should also be given to scrutinising the modes of agency that women have in affecting these agendas, as this study has mainly approached the topic from a structuralist perspective.

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Appendices

Appendix 1a: Scheme of interview participants

Ref.	Age ³⁰	Bangsamoro	Profession	Language	Date	Means of interview	Duration
a	40-50	Yes	Secretary General for an NGO working with grassroots mobilisation, inter-religious dialogue and conflict transformation	English	05-01-2020	WhatsApp	01:41:49
b	40-50	Yes	Journalist and grassroots activist working with human rights and legal issues	English	07-01-2020	Phone call*	00:15:03
c	40-50	No	Programme Coordinator for an advocacy organisation promoting democratisation, human security and people-to-people solidarity	English	23-01-2020	In person** (Davao)	00:58:38
d	40-50	No	Programme Director for peacebuilding NGO working with peacekeeping, peacebuilding, social justice and development	English	28-01-2020	In person (Manila)	00:41:42
e	60-70	No	Executive Director for peacebuilding NGO Programme Director for peacebuilding NGO working with peacekeeping, peacebuilding, social justice and development	English	28-01-2020	In person (Manila)	00:34:49

³⁰ Exact age is not stated here to reduce means of identification of the participants. The amount of background information provided on the interview participants is restricted to ensure anonymity of the participants. I opted to introduce additional restrictions on this information, due to the pool of women peace advocates in the BARMM being small, why the participants can be easier to identify.

f	40-50	Yes	Official with the Bangsamoro Transition Authority	English	28-01-2020	WhatsApp	00:25:51
g	40-50	Yes	Project Manager for Women's Rights Organisation working specifically with social and transitional justice concerns	English	04-02-2020	Skype*	00:32:44

* = Consent for audio-recording was not given. Interviews were transcribed in real-time. Quotes cleared through email confirmation.

** = Consent for direct citations not given.

Appendix 1b: Scheme of opinion pieces

Ref.	Thematic Areas Covered		Source	Date of publication
	Social Justice ³¹	Peace-process ³²		
a	Criticism of the lack of representative voices in peace negotiations, macho and militarist mindset	Scepticism toward the CAB and its potential in ensuring sustainable peace	Mindanao Goldstar Daily	28-10-2017
b	Damaged infrastructure and deprivation of economic opportunities	Civil society perspectives on the Marawi siege	MindaNews	10-11-2017
c	Civil society and Bangsamoro women demanding justice from the government	Duterte on historical grievances, negotiations with the MILF and the TJRC	SunStar Davao	02-03-2018
d	Discrimination and non-recognition of the Bangsamoro and indigenous peoples	Historical injustice and oppressive martial law in Mindanao	SunStar Davao	23-03-2018
e	Bangsamoro voices not recognised; processes driven by the national government and international donors	Transitional justice and reconciling Marawi	MindaNews	13-04-2018
f	Perspectives on poverty, education and peace	BOL plebiscite	MindaNews	08-02-2019
g	Struggles of young Bangsamoro women	Bangsamoro youth advocacy in the peace-process	MindaNews	24-03-2019*
h	Difficulties in ensuring that women's voices are adequately represented	Women as peace mediators in the BARMM	MindaNews	02-04-2019*
i	Women's participation, representation and protection in the BARMM	Gender provisions in the BOL and women representatives in the BTA	MindaNews	03-04-2019*

³¹ The opinion piece was deemed to fulfil the social justice criterion if it touched upon social justice claims following a Fraserian conceptualisation of the term. Economic, political, and sociocultural dimensions of injustice were deemed relevant. Opinion pieces were, however, excluded if they *exclusively* touched upon issues pertaining to transitional justice; redressing of human rights abuses through technical and legal means.

³² The opinion piece was deemed to fulfil the peace-process criterion if it addressed political developments in the BARMM, from October 2017 to April 2020 (when data collection was finalised), referencing peace-matters such as the CAB, BOL, BTA and the Marawi siege.

j	Self-reflexion on Filipino, Moro and Muslim identity	Peace education in the BARMM	Mindanao Goldstar Daily	21-10-2019
k	Recognition of Bangsamoro identities	Implementation of the BOL	SunStar Davao	07-04-2020
l	Islam and Bangsamoro culture as a way of overbridging flawed efforts of reconciliation	Reconstruction and reconciliation after the Marawi siege	SunStar Davao	07-04-2020

* = Funded by the Government of Canada, explicitly stated in the opinion piece.

Appendix 2: Interview guide

Interview guide
<p>Background</p> <p>- Would you like to tell me a bit about yourself?</p> <p>Should include: gender identity, name, age, ethnicity, professional background, educational background.</p>
<p>Social Justice - Conceptualisation and imagination</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Are you familiar with the term social justice?- Against the backdrop of your profession, how would you define social justice in the context of the BARMM?- Describe how a socially just BARMM would look for you.- How does that compare to the current situation?
<p>Understanding the Modalities of Social Justice</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Keeping your idea of a socially just society in mind, what do you think is needed to reach that point? Is it possible? Why/why not? <p>Possible follow-up questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">a) Which strategies can be used?b) Who needs to be included in the processes?c) What are the main obstacles to attaining social justice?
<p>Situating the Self in the Present - Understanding the Role of Activism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- The BOL includes provisions on social justice. There they define social justice in the terms of “<i>provision of the basic necessities and equal opportunities in life</i>”. What do you think of this definition? How do they compare to your image of social justice?- Building on what we have discussed so far, how do you perceive the ongoing political processes in the BARMM?- How do you perceive your own role in the current political developments in the BARMM?- What are the main obstacles for you in continuing your advocacy?
<p>Finishing-up</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- How was the interview situation for you?- Is there anything you would like to add to what we have been talking about today?- Is there anything in particular you think I should consider or look closer into continuing my research?

Appendix 3a: Sample Consent Form (English)



PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

Participant Numerical Reference/Initials

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	/	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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Consent Form Information Sheet 26/11/2019

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed as part of this research. The purpose of this consent form is to ensure that you understand what topic this research aims to explore and its purpose. The form also aims to ensure that you understand the purpose of your involvement in the study, and your rights as a participant throughout the research process.

The purpose of the proposed study is to gain knowledge on how women who have been involved in the women's rights advocacy in the peace process in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (BARMM): i) Perceive and define social justice; 2) Perceive the current political developments in the BARMM, and; 3) Situate themselves and their advocacy in these political processes. The information that you will provide through the interview will contribute to the completion of the master's thesis of the researcher.

The data for the study will be collected through semi-structured interviews. This means that the researcher, prior to the interview, has identified a few thematic areas that they are interested to inquire about. However, there is no strict set of questions and you will have the opportunity to lead the conversation in the interview situation. The researcher's role is to ask follow-up questions and pose questions that guide the interview participant to talk about the thematic areas that should be covered. You are encouraged to freely express your opinions and please be assured that there are no right or wrong answers. You are not obliged to answer all of the researcher's questions and you can choose to terminate the interview if you feel uncomfortable, or if you for any other reason do not wish to continue.

Ideally, the interview will be recorded and later on transcribed. If you for any reason do not wish to be recorded, the researcher will only take written notes. Please be advised that the recordings and transcriptions will not be shared with anyone other than the researcher, their supervisor. You have the right to request and take part of any material the researcher has produced about you. Upon request, you will also be given the opportunity to correct any factual errors in the transcript from your interview.

The material collected through the interviews will be compiled and analysed in the beginning of 2020. The final research product is expected to be finalized in June 2020, although the exact timing may be subject to change. The final research product will be published in Lund University's thesis database that is open to the public. However, this publication will not include the full interview transcripts, and it will be completely anonymised. As such, it will not contain any information that will make it possible for anyone to connect the study to you or your responses.



PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

Participant Numerical Reference/Initials

□□ / □□□□

Consent Form for Interviews

Thank you for reading the information sheet about the interview study. If you are happy to participate then please complete and sign the form below. You are free to give partial consent. Please initial the boxes below to confirm that you agree with each statement:

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated [26/11/2019] and have had the opportunity to ask questions. □

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. □

I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research. □

I agree for this interview to be tape-recorded. I understand that the audio recording made of this interview will be used only for analysis and that extracts from the interview, from which I would not be personally identified. I understand that no other use will be made of the recording without my written permission, and that no one outside the research team will be allowed access to the original recording. □

I agree that my anonymised data will be kept for future research purposes such as publications related to this study after the completion of the study. □

I agree that I do not expect do receive any material benefits or payment for my participation in this study. □

I agree to take part in this interview. □

Some parts of the interview may be quoted directly, if consent is given. I agree to:

- Be quoted directly if my name is not published, and an alias is used.
□ I do not agree to my words being quoted directly

Name of participant Date Signature

Principal Investigator Date Signature

The interview participant has the right to contact the researcher, Alexandra Håkansson Schmidt, to inquire about the study after the interview through the following channels:

Copies: Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, and the information sheet. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be placed in the main project file which must be kept in a secure location.

Appendix 3b: Sample Consent Form (Tagalog)



PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

Participant Numerical Reference/Initials

<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	/	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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Consent Form Information Sheet 26/11/2019

Maraming salamat sa pagkasali sa interview na ito. Ang purpose ng porma nito ay para maintindo mo ang lahat ng mga kailangan alam tungkol sa proyekto na ito. Ang mga tema, yung mga katwiran mo bilang isang participante sa research na ito, at iba pa.

Ang research na ito ay tungkol sa pagkakasalian ng mga Babae sa Bangsamoro Women's Agenda. Ang mga tanong ng researcher ng proyekto ay ito; 1) Ipaliwanag at identifika katarungan sa sociedad. Ano ang katarungan? 2) Ipaliwanag ang mga importanteng pag-unlad sa Bangsamoro Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (BARMM), 3) Maglahad ng mga karanasan ng mga babaeng mismo sa pagkasulong ng mga nilang advokasiya. Ang mga salita na ito ay para sa masterals tesis ng researcher.

Ang data para sa proyekto na ito ay mangolekta sa mga pakikipanayam. Ang mga pakikipanayam na itoy ay tawag na "semi-structured" ibig sabihin ay hindi masyadong mahigpit ang instruktura ng pakikipanayam. Mag simula lang ang researcher sa mga pangunahing tema, at mga importanteng tanong, pero pwede mag kuwentuhan ng participante ng silang mismong pagpapakahulugan ng sitwasyon, at pwede mag isalaysay ng sariling mong karanasan sa proseso ng BARMM. At mag tatanong ang researcher ng mga "follow up questions" sa mga sagot mo. Pwede ka mag sagot ng kahit ano sa pakikipanayam, at pag hindi ka comfortable, o hindi mo gusto mag sagot sa kahit anong tanong pwedeng pwede mag huminto ng pakikiyaman, ito ang katarungan mo bilang isang participante. Wala kang obligacion mag sagot ng lahat ng mga tanong pag hindi mo gusto.

Magpatalala ang pakikipanayam para sa proseso ng research, pero pag hindi mo gusto mag patalala ng inyong pakikipanayam, i-sabihin mo lang sa researcher. Ang lahat ng mga nota at pagtalala (pag mayroon) ay hindi ma ibigay sa kahit anong tao, maliban sa researcher mismo. At pag may mga mali o hindi mo gusto mong ipakuwento sa pagtalala o nota sa pagatapos ng pakikipanayam, pwede ka mag contact lang ang researcher para ma korrekta nito.

Lahat ng mga sagot ibuboo sa isang papel umpisa ng 2020, at yung kumpletong ulat itapusin ng mga Junio ng 2020. Ang pangwakas na proyekto na ito ay ilathala sa "Lund University Press" at mararating sa publikong database. Pero lahat ng mga transcripto at pakikipanayam ay maging anonimo, para sa katarungan ng palihim ng mga participante. Ibig sabihin walang makikilala ng mga personal na detalye ninyo.



PARTICIPANT REFERENCE
Participant Numerical Reference/Initials

□ □ / □ □ □ □

Consent Form for Interviews

Maraming salamat sa pagkabasa ng porma na ito. Paki punuin ng mga checkboxes dito para malaman ng researcher ng antas ng konsento mo. Pwede ka mag bigay ng pumapanig ng konsento pag hindi ka komfortable sa lahat ng mga punto.

Nagbasa ako ng lahat ng detalye sa porma na ito [26/11/2019] at nagkaroon ako ng oportunidad para mag tatanong sa reasearcher tungkol sa proyekto na ito.

Naintindi ako na lahat ng pagkasali sa proyekto ito ay volontaryo, at pwede ako magkalis kahit saan, o kailanman pag gusto ko, para sa kahit anong rason. Naintindi ako na hindi ko kailangan mag sagot ng mga tanong pag hindi ko gusto.

Naintindi ako na lahat ng mga sagot ko ay magiging anonimo. At naintindi ako na pangalan ko ay hindi mag babangit sa kahit anong documento o porma sa pagkatapos na itong proyekto.

Naintindi ako na pwede ipagtalala ng mga sagot ko galing sa pakikipanayam ko (Pag gusto ko). Pero lahat ng mga ipagtalala ay maging aninomo narin, at ay gamitin lamang para sa ikumpletuhin ng proyekto mismo. Hindi magagamit ang ipagtalala para sa ibang layunin, iba sa proyekto, at hindi mababangit o gagamit ang infomation ko na wala ang pahintulot ko. At walang tao maliban sa researcher, ay makikita ang orihinal na ipagtala.

Pumayag ako magagamit ang mga sagot ko para sa proyekto na ito, at pumayag ako ng mga information na ito ay pwedeng gamiting sa mismong publikasyon.

Pumayag ako makasali sa proyekto na ito, at alam ko hindi ako makaroon ng kahit anong pagbabayad sa pagkasalian dito.

Pumayag ako mag pakikipanayam.

Pumayag ako mag sipiin ang sagot ko. Paki pili ng isa, po.

- Pumayag ako mag sipiin ng diretsyong mga sagot ko, pero gamitin ng alias.
- Wag mo akong sipiin na diretsyong po

Pangalan

Petsa

Pirma

Pangalan ng researcher

Petsa

Pirma

Pwede ka mag kontakt ng researcher Alexandra Håkansson Schmidt dito pag mayroong kang mga ibang tanong XXXXXXXXXX

Mga Kopya: pagkatapos ng pumirma dito, makaroon ka ng sarili mong kopya ng porma na ito na pumipirma ng researcher, makaroon ka na rin ng information sheet tungkol sa proyekto na pumirma narin ng researcher. Lahat ng mga orihinal na porma maiitabi sa ligtas na lugar.

Appendix 4: Overview of Findings

Types of injustice	Emergent themes across interviews and opinion pieces			
	Justice claims	Gov. response	Challenges	Reactions by women peace advocates
Maldistribution	<i>Poverty and lack of basic services</i>	Livelihood and development programmes which results in spaces for foreign influence	The objective precondition of participatory parity is not met as the subaltern struggle to challenge maldistributive structures	Emphasising the potentials of Bangsamoro and Islamic practices, such as <i>zakat</i> , as a potential to remedy distributive ills in society.
	<i>Wealth is making it possible for wealthy elites to capture society</i>	Market liberalisation including cooperation with wealthy elites and economic deals with the BTA.	The objective precondition of participatory parity is not met as the subaltern struggle to challenge maldistributive structures	
	<i>Land-grabbing, displacement and continued violence in resource-rich areas</i>	Continued oppression through cultural stereotyping and myth-making.	Misframing of the poor, pertaining to Westphalian political structures	
Misrecognition	<i>Religious and cultural stereotyping and discrimination</i>	Recognising the grievances of the Bangsamoro, emphasising the common good of multiculturalism.	Voices are still being silenced through terrorist narrative, fragmenting oppositional Bangsamoro movements.	Redefining womanhood, grounded in the Quran as a shared conception. Sensitising and educating people about the true meaning of Islam.
	<i>Autonomy not guaranteed/stable</i>	None, oppressive measures continue. Referring back to the right stipulated in the BOL, emphasising that autonomy is in fact given.	Meta-political misrepresentation through means of misrecognition	
	<i>Myths on Islam and womanhood</i>	Few, if any, policies introduced to redress this. Stereotyping of	Few like-minded groups on gender make it difficult to	

		Muslim peoples continue.	build alliances	
Misrepresentation	<i>Deprivation of opportunities of self-rule</i>	Autonomy granted through the establishment of the BARMM	Problematic power structures will remain as the Westphalian system is affirmed	New and extended spaces for women's leadership are seen as positive, and as an important step in purveying transformative agendas that redress the injustices that are felt by women and men alike in the BARMM.
	<i>Equal political representation not possible due to maldistribution of wealth</i>	Few, if any, redistributive policies introduced to remedy this. Market liberalisation is valued.	The objective precondition of participatory parity is not met, while meta-political misframing is making it even harder for the subaltern to claim their rights.	
	<i>Women's representation increase, however only women from the elite</i>	N/A	Women's diverse voices are not adequately represented.	