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**Authority of Non-Human Agents:
Speech Act Analysis of the Peace Process Documents**

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12 August 2023

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Acceptance Page:

This paper prepared by **NORMAN RALPH B. ISLA** with the title “**AUTHORITY OF NON-HUMAN AGENTS: SPEECH ACT ANALYSIS OF THE PEACE PROCESS DOCUMENTS**” is hereby accepted by the Faculty of Information and Communication Studies, U.P. Open University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree DOCTOR OF COMMUNICATION.

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Biographical Sketch

Norman Ralph Isla is a faculty of English and Communication at Mindanao State University General Santos teaching communication, postcolonial theories in language and communication, critical discourse analysis and language testing. *They* has served MSU in various capacities such as being the Senior High School Academic Head, Chairperson of the Department of English and University Campus Secretary.

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I thank God the Almighty for giving me my awesome life and for providing me everything.

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Dedication

To my Nanay, Quero, Ate Love, and Kuyas, Ates, pamangkins,
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and to all who work for peace

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
University Permission Page	ii
Acceptance Page	iii
Biographical Sketch	iv
Acknowledgment	v
Dedication	vii
Table of Contents	viii
List of Figures	x
ABSTRACT	xii
CHAPTER I: RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	1
Research Framework	2
Grounding on Socio-Cultural Tradition	4
Nonhuman Agency: Paradox of Action and Agency by Francois Cooren	7
Action as Agent of Change	8
Textual Agency by Cooren	10
Speech Act Theory	21
Research Questions	25
CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	31
The (Mis)Focus of Communication Research on Mindanao Conflict	33
History of Conflict in Mindanao	36
Intersecting Communication and Peacebuilding: A Review	46
Theoretical Posturing on Communication and Peacebuilding	76
Culture and Communication for Peace	77
Communication for Development and Communication for Social Change	79
Civil Society, Activism and Communicative Action for Peace	82
Transgressive Communication for Peaceful Social Change	84
Nonviolent Communication (NVC)	86

CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	90
Research Design	90
Data Collection and Analysis	90
Ethical Considerations	92
CHAPTER IV: RESULT AND DISCUSSION	96
Authority and Power of Documents	96
Agency of Documents on Peace Process	99
Assertive (Affirming)	103
Recognize the Bangsamoro identity for the realization of the lasting peace	104
Affirm the autonomy of the Bangsamoro	121
Highlight the need for transition	127
Upholds the significance of socio-economic, cultural, and educational development	134
Directive (Command and Order)	137
Implement significant monitoring and transition mechanisms	139
Draft and pass a basic law	157
Devise a normalization program	162
Mandate equal representation	174
Commissive (Commitment)	181
Expressives, Declarations and Other Speech Acts	184
Bridging the Gap: The Authority of the Peace Documents	191
CHAPTER V: RESEARCH SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	193
Summary	193
Implications	195
Conclusion	197
Recommendations	200
References	202
Appendices	219

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. <i>The 1996 Final Peace Agreement signed (Manila Standard, September 2, 1996)</i>	108
Figure 2. <i>MILF declares truce... (Philippine Daily Inquirer, May 6, 2000)</i>	109
Figure 3. <i>Manila to KL: Okay send Nur... (Manila Standard, December 1, 2001)</i>	110
Figure 4. <i>Erap orders all-out war... (Philippine Daily Inquirer, March 22, 2000)</i>	112
Figure 5. <i>RP-MILF ceasefire deal snagged (Philippine Daily Inquirer, August 7, 2001)</i>	114
Figure 6. <i>Red Carpet for Gloria; peace deal... (Philippine Daily Inquirer, August 8, 2001)</i>	115
Figure 7. <i>Troops take MILF Camp (Philippine Daily Inquirer, February 15, 2003)</i>	116
Figure 8. <i>SC stops signing of pact (Philippine Daily Inquirer, August 5, 2008)</i>	117
Figure 9. <i>GRP, MILF sign "Declaration of Continuity" (MindaNews, June 3, 2010)</i>	119
Figure 10. <i>Signing of 2012 FAB (MindaNews, October 16, 2012)</i>	120
Figure 11. <i>Philippines, MILF sign peace agreement (Inquirer.net, March 28, 2014)</i>	121
Figure 12. <i>Philippines, wetland oil... (Mongabay, October 28, 2021)</i>	123
Figure 13. <i>Enactment of the Electoral Code (Bangsamoro, March 10, 2023)</i>	125
Figure 14. <i>BTA of a United BARMM (MindaNews, October 25, 2022)</i>	126
Figure 15. <i>From ARMM to BARMM (OPAPP, February 24, 2019)</i>	129
Figure 16. <i>Bangsamoro holds first session (Bangsamoro, March 29, 2019)</i>	130
Figure 17. <i>Bangsamoro Normalization... (OPAPPP, June 25, 2019)</i>	131
Figure 18. <i>GPH-MILF Joint Norm Committee sign... (OPAPRU, June 2022)</i>	132
Figure 19. <i>ICCMN highlights milestones... (OPAPRU, June 2022)</i>	133
Figure 20. <i>Milestones under Normalization (OPAPRU, October 25, 2022)</i>	135

Figure 21. <i>Arroyo abolishes Misuari's SPCPD (PhilStar Global, March 17, 2002)</i>	141
Figure 22. <i>Mindanao CSOs rally support... (OPAPRU, June 2022)</i>	152
Figure 23. <i>ICCMN highlights milestones in Bangsamoro peace...</i>	153
Figure 24. <i>New BTA unites former warring... (PIA, August 14, 2022)</i>	154
Figure 25. <i>Nur-Murad meeting... (MindaNews, September 12, 2022)</i>	155
Figure 26. <i>From ARMM to BARMM... (OPAPRU, June 2021)</i>	156
Figure 27. <i>Aquino signs EO... (Rappler, December 17, 2012)</i>	159
Figure 28. <i>Duterte signs BOL (PhilStar Global, July 26, 2018)</i>	161
Figure 29. <i>Decommissioning of 40,000 MILF... (OPAPP, August 14, 2019)</i>	163
Figure 30. <i>AFP to assist in healing... (OPAPP, August 23, 2019)</i>	164
Figure 31. <i>Decommissioning of combatants... (OPAPP, September 7, 2019)</i>	164
Figure 32. <i>MILF combatants ditch nom de guerre... (OPAPRU, June 17, 2022)</i>	165
Figure 33. <i>GPH-MILF Peace Implementing Panels...(OPAPRU, Nov. 8, 2021)</i>	166
Figure 34. <i>Decommissioned MILF combatants... (OPAPRU, February 3, 2022)</i>	170
Figure 35. <i>Mindanao CSOs rally support... (OPAPRU, August 16, 2022)</i>	172
Figure 36. <i>Normalization in the Bangsamoro (OPAPP, June 23, 2021)</i>	174
Figure 37. <i>BARMM Women converge... (OPAPRU, March 16, 2019)</i>	175
Figure 38. <i>Young MILF, MNLF combatants... (Bangsamoro, August 26, 2022)</i>	176
Figure 39. <i>MILF, MNLF united... (PhilStar Global, August 15, 2022)</i>	177
Figure 40. <i>New BTA unites (Philippine News Agency, August 14, 2022)</i>	178
Figure 41. <i>Nur – Murad Meeting... (MindaNews, September 12, 2022)</i>	179
Figure 42. <i>Misuari son, daughter join... (ABS-CBN News, August 14, 2022)</i>	180
Figure 43. <i>Gov't, MILF start talking peace anew...</i>	183
Figure 44. <i>Phils, MILF sign peace agreement... (Inquirer.net, March 28, 2014)</i>	185
Figure 45. <i>Duterte signs BOL... (PhilStar Global, July 26, 2018)</i>	187

ABSTRACT

Authority of the Non-human Agents: Speech Act Analysis of the Peace Process Documents

The study answered the questions “what is the authority of peace agreements” and “how do the peace agreements perform/invoke its power.” Exploring Francois Cooren’s seminal concepts on nonhuman agency and Searle’s Speech Act Theory, the study analyzed the two milestone peace agreements in the Philippines’ Mindanao peace process, namely (1) 1996 Final Peace Agreement and Implementation of 1976 Tripoli Agreement, and (2) 2014 Comprehensive Agreement of Bangsamoro (CAB). The authority of the peace agreement lies, first, on its assertives – its power to affirm and assure the implementation of those written provisions. Second is in directives, third is in commissives and last are expressives and declarations. The peace agreement has the authority to force two settling parties to enter into an agreement. Moreover, the agreements performed the following roles; under the assertives, the peace agreements in Mindanao assert to: (1) recognize the Bangsamoro identity for the realization of the lasting peace, (2) affirm the autonomy of the Bangsamoro, (3) highlight the need of transition, and (4) upholds the significance of socio-economic, cultural and educational development; and under the directives, the agreements command or order to (a) implement significant monitoring and transition mechanisms, (b) draft and pass the basic law, (c) devise a normalization program, and, (d) mandate equal representation.

Keywords: Peace Process, Non-human Agency, Authority, Speech Act Analysis, Documents

Chapter I

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Mindanao has been recorded as one of Southeast Asia's most publicized war-torn areas. As written in history, the struggle for peace and order had been interwoven in the fabrics of its land, its history, determinism, culture, and socio-politics. As a response of the government to appease the alarming peace situation in Mindanao, one administration to another harnessed the powers of the signed peace agreements.

Understanding the peace process in Mindanao means giving a clearer picture of how conflicts are acquired and justified. Epistemologically, the Mindanao peace process relies on a range of empirical research, historical analysis, policy documents, and personal and collective experiences of the Mindanaoans. Recognizing the diverse cultures and struggles, this study emphasizes the need to incorporate the voices in the system of understanding and addressing the complex dynamics of peace and conflict. Through the years, the peace in Mindanao has been shaped by principles of dialogue and respect for human rights. Knowledge in this study will be used to check on the peace agreements as documents attempt to bring comprehensive, just, and sustainable peace in Mindanao.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The existence of Mindanao peace springs and stems from the dynamics of the peace process as the content of the signed agreements. To set the ontological perspective on peace in Mindanao, literatures would dictate that various elements contribute to achieve peace in Mindanao; conflict, as plagued by several freedom fighters, is the main problem to be addressed; peace is the ultimate goal; dialogue and negotiation are central to the ontology of the Mindanao peace process; autonomy and self-determination is the primary goal of the political struggle of the process; the institutional mechanisms that acknowledge the value of strengthening peace panel, commissions/authority and monitoring teams, and the socio-economic development and justice that recognizes the long-term problems on economic inequalities, marginalization, social injustices, and poverty.

From one generation to another, the “Mindanao problem” seems to be in a loop wherein humans have its share on its failure; however, the part of the nonhumans must be also considered. Peace still becomes a perpetual issue for humans to solve around the world. Humans (and nonhumans) exist to create such a community; as Craig (1999) puts it “we exist in a socio-cultural environment that is constituted and maintained in large part by symbolic codes and media of communication.” The role of the written code, an agreement, and communication becomes a “symbolic process that produces and reproduces shared socio-cultural patterns. Communication here explains how social order (macrolevel phenomenon) is created, realized, sustained, and transformed (microlevel interaction processes).”

As a departure, the study positions itself in examining the authority of nonhumans, the documents, and how it imposed its provisions to be implemented.

The horror of the war and its effects disrupts the peace in Southern Philippines, wherein its government issued peace agreements to solve the perennial problem. The study analyzed the two milestone peace agreements: (1) the 1996 Final Peace Agreement of the 1976 Tripoli Agreement, and (2) the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement of the Bangsamoro (CAB).

The study is paving way to yield knowledge through the analysis of the authority and agency that the peace agreements as documents impose to bring and enforce peace in Mindanao. This study is a testament on how documents can create and transform the socio-political landscape for peace. Though documents are viewed as things that do not imply or necessitate acceptance of the underlying assumption that they exist as inert and static 'receptacles of content,' these mediating objects are important tools that allow agencies to do things, perform actions and undertake activities. Also, the results of the study will be an additional reference to the limited literatures on the role of textual documents in peace process and peace building.

This study considers that the peace documents are agents that impose an authority and direct mandates needed to be done for a place to gain peace. Peace agreements, as defined by Yawanarajah and Ouellet (2003), are contracts (documents) intended to end a violent conflict, or to significantly transform a conflict, so that it can be more constructively addressed.

Peace agreements are a document, a nonhuman agent that forge authority, power and seminal development in creation of peace. The agency of non-human entities is relatively easy to conceptualize in forms of documents like a peace agreement. According to Prior (2008), documents should not merely be regarded as containers for words, images, information, instructions, and so forth, but how they

can influence episodes of social interaction, and schemes of social organization.

Further, documents are used as a resource by human actors for purposeful ends and how documents function in and impact on creating a society. Let us confirm, agreements are a form of nonhuman agency. Hull (2012) argues that documents are 'constitutive of bureaucratic rules, ideologies, knowledge, practices, subjectivities, objects, outcomes, even the organizations themselves'. Frohman (2008) appreciates the value of documents in representing the objectification of the complex rules and power relations that make up the very structure of the organization (or entity).

In fact, most studies published on peace and development in Mindanao were all about historical pursuits towards determinism, causes and impacts as well as plans and strategies, but there is no substantial research in terms of elusiveness of peace on the verge of analyzing a nonhuman element like a document or a peace agreement. Then, a study on nonhuman agency should be conducted to determine the authority and agency of agreements in the looping problem of gaining peace. Furthermore, this trails the complexities and conventions of a peace agreement on its strengths for implementation and its weaknesses for its reliance on the creation of a new agreement. By this, the mystery of nonhuman counterparts in terms of peacebuilding can be peered through a study that will explore the authority and agency, the gains and failures, the power and promises of the peace agreements.

Grounding on Socio-Cultural Tradition of Communication

Language is the gateway to understanding society. According to Littlejohn and Foss (2011), socio-cultural tradition focuses on how our interpretations, meanings, standards, and roles are developed through interaction. This tradition is

more interested in patterns of interpersonal relationships than the psychosocial approach, which places a greater emphasis on individual traits. According to scholars in this paradigm, cultural norms, roles, and values develop through encounters (West and Turner, 2010). This means that communication is a necessary component of culture. Humans do not naturally possess any culture, but via socialization, we acquire culture and it shapes the way we see the world (Samovar et al., 2007).

Furthermore, although theories in the sociocultural tradition acknowledge that we process information cognitively as individuals, this is of less interest than how people work together to construct the realities of their culture, social groups, and organizations (Littlejohn and Foss, 2008). Because of this, any discussion of socio-cultural tradition tends to use a lot of words like "culture," "groups," "society," "traditions," "rules," and "norms." Researchers in this tradition advance the idea that language plays a central role in the construction of reality. In reality, most theories focus on how meaning is developed through social interaction. During such interactions, the word meanings and behavioral patterns are accorded considerable emphasis (Littlejohn, 2009).

According to Craig (2008), the socio-cultural tradition fosters communication techniques that respect cultural diversity, patience, and understanding as well as group responsibility over individual accountability. Littlejohn and Foss (2007) agree that cultural relativity exists and that "symbols take various meanings as you go from one setting to another." Additionally, the socio-cultural tradition emphasizes the importance of interactions in the development of identities. Scholars in this paradigm contend that identity is a combination of the individual self with society, social groups and cultures. This tradition holds that people adapt their identities

when they move from one environment to another and that culture has a significant impact on both communication and meaning (Littlejohn and Foss, 2008).

The socio-cultural tradition views communication as the creation and enactment of social reality. Craig (2008) argues that theorists in this tradition view communication as a symbolic process in which reality is produced, re-produced, maintained, repaired and transformed. This suggests that reality, according to this tradition, is created when actors interact with one another in groups, society, and different cultural contexts.

We can anticipate the issues that these interactions are likely to cause when we take into account the diversity of worldviews, beliefs, values, backgrounds, settings, and perceptions that are at play during the communication process. Problems are viewed in the sociocultural tradition as gaps in space and time. The first focuses on social diversity and relativity, whereas the second emphasizes sociocultural change (Craig and Muller, 2007). This argues that communication issues have arisen as a result of changes in technology, population, travel, the economy, and political systems.

Similarly, international terrorism, immigration patterns, breakdown of traditional social order are other developments that contribute to challenges in communication. As such this tradition has been applied in studies in the following areas: communication and conflicts, communication in relationships, gender and communication, power and communication, how media affects how we think about and respond to the world; communication and context; how society influences the construction of meaning and the influence of digital media on meanings and communication among others. West and Turner (2010) portend that in socio-cultural tradition, problems of communication are theorized as **conflict**,

alienation, **misalignment and failure of coordination**.

The creation of meaning through interactions in everyday contexts is the central concern of all ideas in this tradition. According to Griffin (2012), these theories are different in terms of the scale of the research (micro or macro levels), the balance between structural determination and personal agency, and the nature of the connections between social phenomenon levels. Based on these presumptions, sociocultural tradition theorists investigate how interactions between people use communication to create stable societal patterns that can subsequently be reproduced.

Nonhuman Agency: Paradox of Action and Agency by Cooren

Demanding a notion of textual agency calls into question more than 2,000 years of analysis of the concept of action. However, this reconceptualization can be rationally justified. One can utilize common usage to explain this, more specifically meanings from the dictionary that show how this term is used in everyday speech (Cooren, 2004).

So what lexicon is aligned with the 'action'? Eight definitions, with the oldest recorded meaning coming first, are proposed in the 1993 edition of the Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary:

- a. a proceeding in a court of justice by which one demands or enforces one's rights or the redress or punishment of a wrong;
- b. the working of one thing on another so as to produce a change
<*the action of acids on metals*>
- c. the doing of something usually in stages or with the possibility of continuation <*the action of singing*>
- d. : a thing done: **deed**; b: pl: **behavior, conduct**; c: readiness to engage in daring activity: initiative <*a person of action*>
- e. combat in war
- f. the unfolding of the events of a drama or work of fiction: **plot**
- g. an operating mechanism <*the action of a firearm*>

- h. an area or state of vigorous activity *<where the action is>*

Interestingly, none of these definitions refers explicitly to the concept of intention, which several authors use traditionally to define a true 'action' (e.g. Austin, Burke, Davidson and Searle). Moreover, two definitions (2 and 7) are perfectly compatible with the idea of a nonhuman agency exerting action, as one can speak of 'action of acids on metals' or 'action of a firearm.' (Cooren, 2004).

Besides these nuances, the term 'action' refers to the production of some kind of change (definitions 1 and 2), the doing of something (definitions 3, 4b, 5, 6, 7 and 8), the result of a doing (definition 4a), or the initiation of a doing (definition 4c). Whether performed by humans or nonhumans, 'action' in ordinary language refers to the accomplishment of something under the angle of its transformative (change), durative (ongoing process), inchoative (beginning) and

terminative (ending) dimensions (Greimas and Courtes, 1982). In these cases, one can delimit or circumscribe something that is currently happening or has happened. Since we can de-fine it, we can also identify its beginning and its end, i.e. its inchoative and terminative dimensions. This 'something' that we identify is the production of change, that is, the transformation from one state to another (Cooren, 2000a, b; Taylor, 1993; Taylor and Cooren, 1997).

Action as Agent of Change

An action then is a transformation of state operated by an agent. This transformation can exhibit reflexivity, transitivity, or even ditransitivity (Taylor and Van Every, 2000). Although using the term 'action' to refer to what ATM does could be considered hubristic, this execution may in fact explain why analysis has neglected the

role that nonhumans play in our everyday world (Latour, 1993).

Nonhumans perform tasks, but that does not negate human accomplishments. The main phenomenon, according to Latour (1993), is hybridicity, or the understanding that an action has no beginning. Take, for instance, the debate over gun restriction in the United States, where one side of the issue concentrates on the person using the weapon. They believe that humans kill others and that firearms are merely tools, "neutral carriers of will" (Latour, 1994). Gun control proponents counter with the catchphrase "Guns kill people," which emphasizes the difference a gun can make in someone's hands. It is more difficult to murder someone without a gun. As a result, nonhumans and humans trade properties. Without the gun, killing someone becomes harder. Thus, humans exchange properties with nonhumans.

As Latour (1994) points out:

"You are different with a gun in hand... the gun is another object because it has entered into a relationship with you. The gun is no longer the gun-in-the-armory or the gun-in-the-drawer or the gun-in-the-pocket, but the gun-in-your-hand, aimed at someone who is screaming. What is true of the subject, of the gunman, is true of the object, of the gun that is held. Both humans and nonhumans contribute to what is happening. The gun and the gunman both make a difference and it is their association that becomes the origin of action.

Recognizing nonhuman agency does not reduce human agency to an empirical artifact. On the contrary, it shows how a hybrid association could not do otherwise. A focus on nonhuman agency paves the way for nonhumans to do. They exchange properties with each other: the gun is different in a person's hand, just as the person is different with the gun in his hands. Knowledge of the hybrid relationship helps us understand the role that texts play in structuring (organizational settings).

Textual Agency by Cooren

Textual agency, according to Cooren (2004, 2010) is a phenomenon that appears particularly obvious when dealing with the production of written texts, that is, documents, letters, memos, notes, books, messages and so on. Kuhn (2008) would call it “concrete text” which are signs and symbols that are inscribed in some (relatively) permanent form, such as policy/technical documents, products, images, rules, instruments, emails or memoranda.

Whenever we write something, we will see that the same reasoning applies when we say something, what is produced displays a certain autonomy without which no communication could obtain. This is what Derrida (1998) calls the (impossibility) of communication. Communication is, to a certain extent, impossible precisely because the signs, marks and terms mobilized to communicate were not designed, so to speak, for the purpose of what is indexically meant by the interlocutors, in the here and now of their interaction. In other words, what they mean depends on the meaning of what they say, write, or perform.

As Derrida (1998) reminds us, any textual production implies the mobilization of... marks that need to be recognized in order to function. What is key in this argument is the prefix “re-” of recognized, which presupposes the iterable character of what is produced, its repeatability, its iterability. As Derrida (1998) notes that:

For a writing to be to be a writing it must continue to “act” and to be readable even when what is called the author of the writing no longer answers for what he has written, for what he seems to have signed, be it because of a temporary absence, because he is dead or, more generally, because he has not employed his absolutely actual and present intention or attention, the plenitude of his desire to say what he means, in order to sustain what seems to be written “in his name.”

Cooren (2010) reflected and tried to demonstrate wherein Derrida and Garfinkel and their seminal works on deconstruction and ethnomethodology respectively seem to nicely complement each other, especially regarding the question of the production of presence in interactional settings. Furthermore, Cooren (2010) revealed that one aspect of Derrida's thought that is compatible with ethnomethodology's research agenda but could deserve more attention from its representatives are the concepts of *iterability*, *hauntology*, and *restance*. This is what he meant to address the question of what he calls the "dislocal" character of interactions. However, recognizing ghostly effects and spectrality also consists in showing that speaking, writing, and interacting in general mean producing (oral, written, and gestural) marks "that will constitute a *sort of machine* which is productive in turn" (Derrida, 1988). This machine-like productivity is something to be acknowledged by linguistics but never really problematized, at least explicitly.

Here, Cooren proposed to call such a capacity of texts to do things (in the most literal sense of terms) as 'textual agency.' Textual agency is, of course, quite obvious when interactants orient to documents and papers (Brummans, 2007). Texts and documents such as contracts and lien waivers have authors, that is, they have been conceived and designed by human beings, but this argument is not sufficient to deny texts like documents the capacity to do things. Once a text is created, it can be oriented to as doing things is perfectly aware that they have been created by someone for a specific purpose. Furthermore, these documents are not simply created by someone; they are part of a chain of actions that ultimately led to the institution that officially created these forms. In other words, the person(s) who designed and created these documents certainly qualify as their authors, but the ultimate author is supposed to be the institution they represent, which guarantees its

authenticity and authority.

As is seen, it is another “general theory of action” (Derrida, 1988) that is at stake here, a theory that would precisely take into account these effects of action from a distance or *tele-action* that are so characteristic of the way communication works, even in so-called face-to-face interactions. Communicating, according to such a view, consists in producing texts, (and) marks... that are going to *do things on our behalf, in our name* (Cooren, 2000). Certainly, most of the time, this is *not* acknowledged. What the text has produced is what someone is doing, which means that the agency of the text ends up disappearing *for all practical purposes*. However, everyone knows of situations in which such agency is reconfigured and attributed to the texts one has produced.

As explained further by Cooren (2010), what then happens is that people singularize and identify what was done in saying something and attribute to this doing specific effects, that is, some form of *agency*. For instance,

... you ask me a question and your question leads me to think about something. Whether it was *your* intention to lead me to think what I am now thinking about is a separate issue, and the potential difficulty here points out the possible split in *agency* between speaker and text. By identifying and singularizing your question, I can ascribe some form of agency to it by, for instance, recognizing that it led me to think about something. Again, spectral effects are at work here. This question will be recognized *as such* to the extent that I know it was produced by somebody, in this instance, you. This is *your* question, and the spectral effects start right there when what you say starts to act on your behalf, in your name.

In support, action is differed and deferred, that every action is a form of *tele-action*, that many actors (human, textual, mechanical, organizational, supranatural) can be said to act in a chain of representations.

Cooren (2010) recognized that textual agency—and other forms of nonhuman agency for that matter (cf. Latour, 1996, 1999, 2005)—allows researchers and interactants to be better equipped to face criticism coming from macrosociologists, especially when they mobilize the hodgepodge term *structure* to supposedly tell us what might constrain or enable people's interaction and behavior. Latour (2002) pointed out, structure is what needs to be explained, that is, it is an *explanandum*; it is not what should do the explaining, that is, it is *not* an *explanans*. The problem with the term *structure* is that it tends to be used to speak of what allows or constrains people to do what they do (Giddens, 1984), whereas it is much more fruitful, analytically speaking, to refer to various forms of agency to explain this type of phenomenon.

As explained, Cooren then recognizes that all the complex work that is indeed done by members to follow a rule or an instruction, but it tends to be a little too indifferent to what these *textual agents* are precisely doing. To the extent that there is such a thing as “the following of instructions” (Garfinkel, 2002; Rawls, 2002), it means, logically speaking, that there is such a thing as the instructions leading. Following implies, by definition, leading. If following a series of arrows to get somewhere, this intractably means that these series of arrows are leading someone somewhere. Certainly, this thinking is absolutely right to insist on all the know-how that it takes to follow these signs (or any rules, procedures, or directives for that matter), but this should not prevent us from recognizing what these textual agents are literally doing in these circumstances.

Agency is always a debate, a problem, a decision that must pass through a certain experience of undecidability. It is also, and more generally, “performed into

being,” whether such performance comes from texts, architectural elements, technologies, or other forms of *agency* that appear to make a difference in a given situation. It might finally be time to speak about these ghosts who *haunt* our world (Cooren, 2010).

Even though other scholars acknowledge the agency role that machines, instruments, and tools play (Callon, 1986), the role that enables the functioning of texts must be discussed. For ordinary language philosophers, the analysis of textuality starts with human speakers who carry specific intentions and perform particular discursive actions in a given circumstance (Austin, 1962/1975; Searle, 1969, 1979). These scholars use hypothetical cases in which the speakers either meant what they said (direct speech acts) or used indirect ways to convey their intentions (indirect speech acts) to account for communication. In other words, these analyses tend to make texts or utterances almost invisible.

However, if we agree with Latour (1996b) that, when one acts, others proceed to action, then we should be able to recognize the status of these ‘others’ when people communicate with each other, whether they do this orally, graphically, or by sign. From Cooren (2010):

For example, in a research project that shadowed a manager’s routine activities, one particularly striking practice was the number of notes this manager wrote to himself when something had to be done (for example, calling back a tenant, checking on the price of something, calling a contractor). As soon as the manager identified a task ‘to be done,’ he simply wrote a note on a Post-it. Each time he went back to his office, he reviewed these notes and acted on some specific task (i.e. calling a tenant, a supplier, or a contractor) while postponing others. Once the task was completed, the note was simply dropped in the garbage can.

One interpretation of this practice is that these notes *reminded* the manager what needed to be done. Another possible read, as speech act theorists would claim, is

that *the manager* performed the act of reminding himself.

This interpretation, however, overlooks the contribution that notes make to this process, or the role of nonhuman agency. Certainly, the manager orients to and functions with his own notes (as texts, not the notes written by someone else). However, the actions of reminding oneself involve the participation of nonhuman actors, i.e. the notes. If the notes were not doing anything, they would not make a difference in the situation, and yet their mere presence is enough to trigger the manager's behavior (Cooren, 2010). Furthermore, saying that the notes remind him what to do is *not* incompatible with saying that the manager reminds himself what to do *with the help of the notes*. In the second account, the notes function as an intermediary or a simple tool whose agency is ignored. In this account, the manager appropriates what the notes are doing. What the notes are doing (reminding) becomes what the humans who produced them are doing. The first account, the one I would like to privilege, highlights the contribution of the notes. Because of their durability (they *last*, *endure*, *remain*—properties that human memory lacks), notes do things that managers rely on in their daily activities.

Now let us proceed, *appropriation* and its mirror concept, *attribution*, are core phenomena that provide insights into this mundane example. The concern is what is done when a text is *appropriated by* or *attributed to* someone. In the case reviewed, the action of reminding attributed to the note can *also* be attributed to the manager. Consistent with Latour's (1994) concept of hybridicity exemplified in the gun control debate, the manager *supplemented* his limited capacity to recall by associating himself with the notes he created. By appropriating the agency of the notes, he becomes *more powerful*. But this power derives from the capacity of the notes to do

things that humans alone do poorly, that is, reminding or recalling something *throughout space and time*. Through this appropriation, the manager's memory is increased, which aids in *structuring* different activities. In effect, programs of actions can be recalled any time the manager decides to look at his notes (Cooren, 2004).

This effect of appropriation/attribution goes even further:

For instance, a security system was installed at the entrance of the manager's building a few months after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. To access their offices, all the tenants now have to swipe a card in a machine. If they go through the security device without using their card, an alarm automatically goes off to warn personnel. A sign displayed in the hall says, 'All visitors must sign in. This building is under TV surveillance.' Each time a new visitor comes into the building, this sign invites the person to check in with the concierge of the building. The visitor check-in consists of (1) explaining the reason for the visit, (2) having a camera take a photograph of the person's face, and (3) automatically recording the sound of the person's voice when the concierge asks for her name. That way, if anything happens, anyone who has access to the building can be identified.

The sign in this situation displays agency in that it *invites* the visitor to check in and it *indicates* to them that the building is under video surveillance. By implication, the *organization* that manages the building can also be said to perform the acts of *inviting* and *indicating*. Thus, the actions of the sign can be *attributed* to and/or appropriated by the organization, which co-constitutes the sign. In like manner, organizational forms function as *de-authored* texts, in that traces of authorship tend to be erased from these texts. Most organizational forms that people fill out display the same kind of characteristics: passive sentences, the absence of any reference to 'I' or even 'we,' and a series of directives that indicate where and how to complete the form (for more details, see Yates, 1993). This 'ghost-writing,' as Hoskins and McLean call it, reduces the human actor to an intermediary, thereby reaffirming the existence of the organization. Like forms, the sign at the building

entrance acts *on behalf* of or *in the name* of the organization, and not necessarily on behalf of the person who produced it. The inscriptions, documents, and graphs produced in the organization's name attest to the identities of collective actors, even when their very existence is questionable. In some cases, the discourse shifts our attention to the ghost or the originator of the actions.

For example, use of the pronoun 'I' is reserved for *human* actors and its use *shifts* our attention away from the text to whomever appropriates it. When these shifters pop up in a text (whether orally or in writing), they make us look for the ghost who might appropriate the speech act. In this case, shifters signal 'action at a distance'; they point to the human who is speaking through the text.

This discussion of textual agency incorporates human involvement into this performance. It shows how the human who produced and designed texts can act *from a distance* across space and time. The sign displayed in the lobby helps the personnel in charge of organizational entry to instruct visitors without reiterating the same information each time a new person enters the building. A hybrid agent composed of security personnel and the sign tells people what to do and gives them information. Without the presence of personnel to reinforce the injunction, the sign might be useless or powerless; visitors might disregard it. Using Latour's (1994) terminology, the sign-in-the-presence-of-the- personnel is a more powerful mode of communication and the personnel- with-the sign reiterates the sign's injunction.

Recognizing textual agency moves organizational discourse analysts beyond their preoccupation with face-to-face communication. Instead of focusing on what members say, we focus on the oral, written, or iconic texts that they produce and how these texts span space and time. Furthermore, these texts, especially when

they become more autonomous (such as policies, contracts, forms), reaffirm the identity and existence of the organization. The sign in the lobby of the building not only acts in the name of security personnel but also acts on behalf of the organization at large. Organizations do things not only through human agents (Taylor and Cooren, 1997; Taylor and Van Every, 2000), but also through their nonhuman counterparts (documents, machines, technological devices, etc.). Analyzing nonhuman agency (whether textual or non-textual) enables us to reconceptualize organizational ontology; that is, the *mode of being and doing* of organizational forms. To this end, we address what textual agency consists of—what texts can or cannot do.

As discussed in the previous part, Cooren (2010) proposed to broaden and deepen the concept of *agency* by focusing on *textual agency*, the capacity of texts to do things in specific settings by means of interaction. Whereas Derrida's philosophical developments lead one to take into account all the different entities (human, nonhuman, individual, collective) that can potentially be said to be *doing things* in specific situations, Garfinkel's (2002) focus on the local production of interaction orders gives one the conceptual and methodological tools necessary to empirically grasp both the immediate particularities (haecceities) of any given situation—what Garfinkel also called its *just-thisness* – and its generalities while never leaving the terra firma of interaction. Interestingly enough, both approaches help analysts free their detailed analyses of interaction from their traditional “micro” straightjacket without mobilizing deus ex machina concepts such as the one of duality of structure proposed, for instance, by Giddens (1984).

So far, Derrida's ideas, far from revolutionizing the way one conceives of

communication, confirm at least some of the points made by scholars who have devoted their career to the detailed study of interaction. This should come as no surprise given that the principle of iterability seems a priori to be compatible with the idea of ethnomethodology. The challenge is indeed to both do justice to the uniqueness of the data analyzed while recognizing the methods people appear to use repeatedly or, to use a better term, *iteratively*, to interact with each other. In other words, they have to account for the reproduction of sameness while acknowledging the alteration implicit in any reproduction, precisely what Derrida attempted to capture with the term *iterability*.

This could also help us address an issue that has always been an object of debate between scholars interested in how the social world works and functions, that is, the question of the localness or *situatedness* of the analyses. At first sight, this what Derrida would have called a metaphysics of presence in which that which appears worthy of study and analysis remains mainly limited to how human actors do what they do here and now when they go about their business and interact with each other. In such a scene, human beings always seem to be the focus of attention, and a lot of 'agency' is attributed to them as if the decentering effects inherent in the "graphematic" structure of communication had not been acknowledged.

This might explain why, for instance, to those who are studying interactions are often accused of having so much difficulty scaling up from local interactions to translocal phenomena. It is as if they seemed to be trapped in the here and there. In a way, this is understandable, given their commitment to observing the details of interaction and to sticking to what is relevant to the participants. This is the interactional effects of *presence*, in both meanings of the term (temporal and spatial).

By opening such a scene, one sees that local work is, often and in ways, about pointing beyond what is *ready to hand*. In other words, there is no such thing as a purely local interaction, something that both Derrida and Garfinkel have helped us recognize. Because of the graphematic structure of communication that Derrida (1988) talked about, what at first sight appears to be local and situated is always already dislocated and transsituated as well, precisely through the way participants orient to various aspects of the context (Schegloff, 1992, 1997), what Lynch (1993) called “contextually relevant structures of social action.”

For example, one only has to read accounts of the “same” event in two different newspapers to realize the large number of categories that can be used to describe it. For instance, as feminists have pointed out, women, but not men, tend to be identified by their marital status, number of children, hair colour and even chest measurement. Such identifications, while intelligible, carry massive implications for the sense we attach to people and their behavior. Compare, for example, “Shapely, blonde, mother of five” with “thirty-two-year-old teacher.” Both descriptions may “accurately” describe different aspects of the same person. *But each constitutes very definitely how we are to view that person* (for instance, in the first, largely in terms of certain ways of constructing gender).

Although Silverman (1998; and Sacks, 1992, for that matter) would not use the same terminology, one could say that if these “categories” indeed change the way one views people, it is because these people end up representing, embodying, or incarnating for us or others many “things,” a phenomenon that Derrida (1988) tried to capture with his pun *hauntology*.

The way interactants orient to people and things in general, whether this orientation

is incarnated in what is said during the interaction, is also a way to *dislocate* the interaction, that is, to contaminate the here and now with there and then.

One sees here not only the implications of Derrida's (1994) thought for the functioning of communication in general, but also its complementarities with Garfinkel's approach. Communication is spectral to the extent that it consists, in many respects, in making present and relevant to the participants what could have otherwise remained absent or irrelevant. However, these effects of presence are always relative, as was just seen, hence the term *spectral* and the pun *hauntology* to account for the *science* of what *haunts* the world people daily experience.

As was seen, the localness and situatedness of the analyses proposed are always *relative* to the extent that one does indeed start from what participants are up to in interaction. By focusing on what is relevant to them, what they mobilize in their talk, what they orient to, what they produce in interaction, analysts end up *dislocating* the interaction, that is, showing what the human participants literally bring to the local. One ought to focus on what contextual features are relevant to the participants or what Lynch (1993) would call the local contexture of relevancies (see also Garfinkel and Livingston, 2003).

Speech Act Theory

Speech Act Theory, a subfield of pragmatics, examines how language is used both to convey information and to perform actions. J.L. A philosopher from Oxford developed the speech act hypothesis. American philosopher J.R. Austin expanded on this idea in his book "How to Do Things With Words." It takes into account how much an utterance is said to conduct perlocutionary, illocutionary, or locutionary

acts. To comprehend human communication more fully, several philosophers and linguists research the speech act hypothesis.

In terms of Searle's Five Illocutionary Points, the philosopher J.R. Searle is responsible for devising a system of speech act categorization. "In the past three decades, speech act theory has become an important branch of the contemporary theory of language thanks mainly to the influence of [J.R.] Searle (1969, 1979) and [H.P.] Grice (1975) whose ideas on meaning and communication have stimulated research in philosophy and in human and cognitive sciences.

From Searle's view, there are only five illocutionary points that speakers can achieve on propositions in an utterance, namely: the assertive, commissive, directive, declaratory and expressive illocutionary points. Speakers achieve the *assertive point* when they represent how things are in the world, the *commissive point* when they commit themselves to doing something, the *directive point* when they make an attempt to get hearers to do something, the *declaratory point* when they do things in the world at the moment of the utterance solely by virtue of saying that they do and the *expressive point* when they express their attitudes about objects and facts of the world (Vanderkeven and Kubo 2002).

In a paradigmatic illocutionary event, a speaker has a choice of which if any speech act to perform and her addressee will do her charitable best to discern that speaker's intentions and, where necessary, which conventions she may be invoking. It is observed that this paradigm is not true to the facts of many areas of communicative life, writing an account of linguistic interaction based on the idea of exchange glosses over the very basic facts that, to put it crudely, some people get to do more talking than others, some are supposed to do more listening, and not everybody's words are worth the same.

A pattern of culpable behavior could make a speaker unable to perform one speech act type. Could a pattern of culpable behavior—intentional or inadvertent—on the part of others in a speaker's community achieve the same effect? This could happen if enough such speakers decide never to accept one person's bets, warnings, or promises. Beyond such hypothetical cases, it has been argued that patterns of social inequality can prevent members of certain groups from performing the speech acts they would choose to.

Bird (2002) contests that uptake is necessary for the verbal act of refusal. He argues that such illocutions are similar to inviting and giving in that they can happen whether or not their target audiences understand or accept them. In a similar way, Maitra (2009) rejects the notion that the "silencing" argument should be framed in terms of speech acts and contends that the institution of pornography renders speaker-meant refusals incomprehensible. For example, one can speaker-mean that she refuses, but cognitive and affective reaction patterns will consistently make it difficult to understand the denial. McGowan (2009) contends that some speech acts can both cause and constitute oppression, expanding the field of research on the relationship between injustice and illocutionary events. Anderson, Haslanger and Langton (2012) provide overviews of research on racial, gender and related forms of oppression as they relate to speech acts.

In *Socio-Cultural Tradition of Communication*, Craig (1999) stipulates that "communication explains how social order (macrolevel phenomenon) is created, realized, sustained and transformed (microlevel interaction processes). Also, Carey (1989) defined communication as "a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed." Since there were several agreements produced, it is empirical to study what do these peace agreements had

accomplished.

Making the peace agreements as a nonhuman agent, the agency of peace will be analyzed from those documents. The study will use the agency framework. According to Saludadez (2015), the agency framework attempts to explain ‘how one can act from a distance’ or ‘teleact’ (Cooren, 2006, p. 82). The framework ‘views interactions as streams, flows, or processes’ and assumes that the ‘ultimate origin of what is happening in a given interaction’ is not the participants and their actions/moves ‘precisely because these participants are themselves moved or acted upon by specific reasons that they come to stage (or not) in their discussions’ (Cooren, 2010, p. 78).

As discussed earlier, peace process is both human and nonhuman, therefore, in agency theory, [it] assumes that action is shared between human and non-human agents configured upstream and downstream in a chain of agency. Within the agency framework, communication is seen as ‘not only a matter of people speaking or writing to each other, but that other things are continuously inviting and expressing themselves in ... interactions’ (Cooren, 2011, p. 11). These other things are agents. Being an agent means being able to act or speak ‘on behalf (or in the name) of principal” (Saludadez, 2015).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This present study analyzed the nonhuman agency and socio-cultural constructs in the peace in Mindanao by examining the peace agreements (document). The research uses the socio-cultural tradition of communication as springboard wherein Craig (1999) posits that “communication is a symbolic process that produces and reproduces shared socio-cultural patterns.” From those axioms, the present study answered the following questions: ***what is the authority of peace agreements?*** and ***how do the peace agreements perform/invoke its power?***

In this study, the researcher examined the authority and agency of the peace agreements as documents in realization of peace process through the analyses of how peace agreements work and influence its focal social sphere, or in this case, Mindanao.

Since the agreement is a text, it is fit to consider it as a textual agent. Cooren (2004) offers the 'concept' of textual agency that calls into question... that the term 'action' refers to the production of some kind of change, the doing of something, the result of a doing, or the initiation of a doing. Whether performed by humans or nonhumans, 'action' in ordinary language refers to the accomplishment of something under the angle of its transformative (change), durative (ongoing process), inchoative (beginning), or terminative (ending) dimensions (Greimas and Courtes, 1982). This something that is being identified is the production of change, that is the transformation from one state to another (Cooren, 2000a, b; Taylor, 1993, Taylor and Cooren, 1997).

Further, Cooren (2010) coined textual agency, as terra firma of his writings on nonhuman agency, is defined as the phenomenon that appear particularly obvious when dealing with the production of written texts (that is documents, letters, memos, notes, books, messages, and so on). In clear lens, any textual or semiotic production implies the mobilization of sounds, gestures, expressions, or marks that need to be recognized in order to function.

The present study is anchored in the socio-cultural tradition of communication. As mentioned by Littlejohn and Foss (2011), socio-cultural tradition addresses how our understandings, meanings, norms, roles and rules are worked out interactively. Unlike the psychosocial tradition that focuses on the individual characteristics, this tradition is more interested in patterns of interactions between people. Scholars in this tradition posit that cultural values, meanings, roles and rules are worked out during interactions (West and Turner, 2010). This implies that culture is created through communication. We are not born knowing any culture but through the process of socialization we learn culture, and this becomes the lens through which we view the world (Samovar et al. 2007).

Additionally, although theories in the sociocultural tradition appreciate that as individuals we process information cognitively, this is of less interest than how individuals together create the realities of their culture, social groups and organizations (Littlejohn and Foss, 2008). For this reason, any discussion of the socio- cultural tradition is rich in the use of vocabulary such as culture, groups, society, traditions, rules, and norms. Researchers in this tradition advance the idea that language plays a central role in the construction of reality. In fact,

theories herein mainly deal with how meaning is created during social interactions. Both the meanings of words and behavioral patterns during such interactions are given high importance (Littlejohn, 2009).

Craig (2008) adds that the socio-cultural tradition nurtures communicative practices that esteem cultural differences, value forbearance and understanding and emphasize collective, as opposed to individual, responsibility. Agreeing with the idea of cultural relativity, Littlejohn and Foss (2007) state, 'symbols assume different meanings when you move from one context to another.'

Furthermore, formation of identities through interactions is key in the socio-cultural tradition. Scholars in this tradition argue that identity is a blend of the individual self with society, social groups and cultures. It is believed, in this tradition, that individuals adjust their identities as they move from context to context and the influence of culture on both communication and meaning cannot be overemphasized (Littlejohn and Foss, 2008).

Analyses and syntheses of the ideas will be centered on power and associations of power and authority, on the intermediary force of such a document as a mediator, on the sustainability of peace and on the complexity of the document as an agent of change. The nonhuman agency will be crisscrossing the interpretations and breadth of the socio-cultural constructs like history, politics, and society and on how this influence and shape the agreement as a nonhuman agent that assists Mindanao peace process in general.

As the researcher, one needs to follow such actors as scientists as they go

about making experiments, differentiating facts from artefacts, writing papers and reports, marshalling resources, translating interests, attributing agencies, arranging meetings, circulating texts, etc. On one level, all this can be read as falling in line with the long interpretive tradition in the social sciences in which the meanings that circulate within the social world are crucial to understanding it. However, as we have hinted above, and shall see in detail, 'meaning' is itself reinterpreted so that it accommodates the role of the nonhuman.

In the foregoing, it has been seen that knowledge is constructed as a heterogeneous process and entails the marshalling of a panoply of human and nonhuman elements, each of which are ascribed particular roles. The ascription involves the translation of the 'interests' of those elements, a translation which rests on associating those elements to one another.

Moreover, according to Bowers and Iwi (1993), socio-cultural theory cultivates that acknowledges cultural diversity and relativity, values tolerance and understanding, and emphasizes collective more than individual responsibility. The everyday practical discourse of blame and responsibility, for example, has clearly been influenced by theoretical discourse on 'society' in the socio-cultural tradition.

In addition to design, a researcher needs to identify the philosophical worldview(s) that he or she espouses. In support of this, Dornyei (2007) contends that a good study should clearly articulate the philosophical paradigms within which the study is situated. Ontology and epistemology are two key issues to be considered in thinking about philosophical worldviews (Jwan and Ong'ondo,

2011; Creswell, 2011; Lichtman, 2006).

Moreover, the study used Speech Act Theory, a subfield of pragmatics, examines how language is used both to convey information and to perform actions. J.L. A philosopher from Oxford developed the speech act hypothesis. American philosopher J.R. Austin expanded on this idea in his book “How to Do Things with Words.” It considers how much an utterance is said to conduct perlocutionary, illocutionary, or locutionary acts. To comprehend human communication more fully, several philosophers and linguists research the speech act hypothesis.

From Searle's view, there are only five illocutionary points that speakers can achieve on propositions in an utterance, namely: the assertive, commissive, directive, declaratory and expressive illocutionary points. Speakers achieve the *assertive point* when they represent how things are in the world, the *commissive point* when they commit themselves to doing something, the *directive point* when they make an attempt to get hearers to do something, the *declaratory point* when they do things in the world at the moment of the utterance solely by virtue of saying that they do and the *expressive point* when they express their attitudes about objects and facts of the world (Vanderkeven and Kubo 2002).

In summary, the sociocultural tradition focuses on how our groups and cultures influence what we say; how we say it and the interpretations we give to messages we receive, which ultimately shapes our worldview. As Littlejohn and Foss (2008) posit that ‘Reality is the sum of all the parts when viewing people as

components and the influence the sum has on the individual'. I find this tradition to be one of the most valuable when it comes to communication. Granted, individual qualities play a significant role in communication but we cannot underestimate the influence of culture, whether we are aware or not, in giving us rules of what, why, where and how we communicate. Even in times when we rebel against these rules, we are conforming to another set established by society on rebellion or resistance. At any given time, therefore, communication is culture and culture is communication.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The elusiveness of peace is the central enigma that stirs the direction of this paper in finding answers as to be of an instant resolution to a riddle or a permanent ending to a modern Mindanawon epic of war and peace. This particular part of the dissertation is intended to elucidate relevant research and related studies useful for the present study.

Theoretical and empirical studies on communicational aspect of peace had been reviewed and investigated to serve as overview of how comprehensive and to what extent the communication research on peace studies had been. In the rationale, we have discussed the scarce resources of studies related to communication (and even media use) in Mindanao and its peace processes. At this part of the paper, analyses, normative and empirical studies, techniques, and theories employed in various research studies are carried through a systematic evaluation of the literature.

Based on the studies cited here, most communication research on peace are into peace communication, political and strategic communication and peace education in relation to technology, intercultural/interreligious dialogue, peace journalism and communication practice. In addition, a number of theoretical frameworks, such as agenda-setting, framing, conflict, critical discourse analysis, and critical race theories, have been employed to clarify and support this area of study. Only a small number of studies have used a triangulation strategy, which incorporates the use of experiments, focus group discussions, critical discourse analysis, and surveys. The majority of studies have adopted the use of qualitative

and quantitative content analyses.

After the studies, this particular part also discussed the five communication models which used at trends in peace research and implementation. First, “Culture and Communication for Peace” which reviews the theoretical trajectory of Peace Research, with the definitions of different types of violence existing in societies and the role of communication in promoting peace. Second, “Communication for Development and Communication for Social Change” which addresses the field of Communication for Development and its evolution in the past decades towards Communication for Social Change. It reviews dominant approaches as well as alternative proposals and critical perspectives from the Third Sector, which is one of the leading actors in social dialogue and the implementation of actions aimed at improving people’s living conditions.

Third, “Civil society, activism and communicative action for peace” which stresses the role of communication in the actions and objectives of different actors in civil society to work for SDGs beyond project-based logics. Fourth, “Transgressive communication for peaceful social change” that reviews scholarly and practitioner proposals for new communicative criteria aimed at transgressing and transforming prejudicial discourse and producing alternative discourses to eradicate any type of violence. An approach based on cultural efficacy and transformation contributes to building imaginaries of new social, cultural and political realities based on peace, social justice, solidarity and intersectionality (Nos Aldas, Al Najjar and Farre, 2021). Fifth is the Non-Violent Communication which found relevant in achieving peaceful social interaction.

The (Mis)Focus of Communication Research on Mindanao Conflict

There are a handful researches on the peace situation in Mindanao and a limited number on its implementation while there is none in the areas of communication and nonhuman agency. On one hand, according to Espesor (2019), a review of the studies and research on Mindanao demonstrates that academics have not focused on examining power in relationships. It offers a scant evaluation of scholarly works and publications from 2012 to 2018 that are concerned with the Mindanao peace process. The Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro was signed by the Philippine Government and the MILF in 2012, hence that year is considered the beginning of the period (FAB). The literature review on Mindanao Peace research can be divided into six categories: the contemporary conflict in Mindanao, gender issues in grassroots peacebuilding initiatives, donors' roles in the peace process, violent extremism and rebel governance, Mindanao's illicit economy, policy recommendations to strengthen the peace process, and hybrid peace formation in Mindanao.

Several academics who studied the Mindanao peace process concentrated on the conflict's recent history (Abinales 2016; Curaming 2017; Montiel, Rodil, and de Guzman 2012); gender issues; and community-based peacebuilding strategies; (Hall and Hoare 2015; Cagoco-Guiam 2013; Davies, True and Tanyag 2016; Beza, Johnson, and Fuentes 2018). (Zaros, 2015; Adam and Verbrugge 2014; Bau 2018).

The engagement of donors and international organizations in the peace process in Mindanao has been the subject of some recent studies. For instance, the JICA's assistance to promoting peace and development in Mindanao were the subject of studies by Ochiai (2016) and Ishikawa (2014). The Organization of Islamic Countries' effect and role in the peace process in the southern Philippines were

studied by Ozerdem (2012). The Asia Foundation's 2013 study by Adriano and Parks, *The Contested Corners of Asia: Subnational Conflict and International Development Assistance*, in-depth studied the function of donor organizations and the effects of foreign aid on war-torn Mindanao (TAF). These studies are specifically created to assist funders in making decisions, or even to support the legitimacy and increase the appeal of JICA and TAF.

Recent research on Mindanao has also focused on the topic of violent extremism and rebel rule. For instance, South and Joll (2016) and Abuza (2014) showed how the United Bangsamoro Justice Party helped the MILF transition from a revolutionary organization to a democratic political institution. Before the 9/11 attacks, according to Quimpo (2016), jihadism has already entered the Moro nationalist organizations in Mindanao. He also foresaw the potential establishment of organizations linked to the Islamic State, like the Abu Sayyaf and the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Movement (BIFM) (Franco, 2016). As a result, Loesch (2017) stated in her most recent paper that the current peace process should be structured to prevent and convert violent extremism in Mindanao.

Academics have also critically examined the development and unchecked growth of an illicit or shadow economy in Mindanao when discussing radicalism and violent extremism. Because the Philippine government is unable to uphold the law in this war-torn region of the country, *Out of the Shadows: Violent Conflict and the Real Economy of Mindanao*, edited by Lara and Schoofs (2013), revealed the existence of a profitable black market in Mindanao. This book includes contentious and potentially damaging ethnographic analyses of the black market for drugs (Cagoco-Guiam and Schoofs 2013), the kidnapping for ransom industry (Gutierrez 2013), the black market for firearms (Quitoriano 2013), and the cross- border smuggling of products

(Villanueva 2013). Even though NGOs and their potential involvement in criminal operations are not covered in this book, it is important to highlight the thriving shadow economy that coexists with the violent conflict in Mindanao.

Research on the Mindanao peace process is now being conducted with the intention of making policy recommendations. Franco (2017) advised President Duterte to use his political clout to maintain the strategic alliance with the MILF in order to promote peace in Mindanao. To stop IS-inspired extremist organizations like the Abu Sayyaf and Maute Groups from gaining legitimacy, he also advised the president to steer clear of the MNLF Nur Misuari faction. Additionally, Buendia (2017) advocated for inclusive administration in Mindanao that is considerate of the requirements and justifiable complaints of many ethnic groups in the war zone.

The comprehensive work *Mindanao: The Long Journey to Peace and Prosperity*, edited by Paul Hutchcroft in 2016, features essays by eminent academics like Steven Rood, Patricio Abinales, Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, and Francisco Lara. Despite their popularity as liberal peace agents and power brokers in conflict-ridden Mindanao, NGOs are not specifically discussed in this book in terms of their roles or activities.

The most recent research on hybrid peacebuilding in Mindanao is primarily concerned with the provision of security and justice. In order to foster stability, prevent low-intensity conflict from turning into a full-fledged war, and establish sustainable justice in the ARMM, hybrid legal processes are deployed, according to Deinla's (2018) research, which is mainly based on legal viewpoints. The majority of the secondary data that is used to support the thesis in this study is used as supporting evidence. For instance, this paper thoroughly discusses the rido or war clan issue as the "power driving the dynamic hybridization of the justice system" in

the Bangsamoro (Deinla 2018).

However, comprehending the hybrid legal system in rido resolution only addresses with one facet of the hybrid peace creation in Mindanao. Additionally, Adam (2018) looks into how difficult it is to combine formal and informal institutions in the two provinces of Lanao in the southern Philippines to provide justice and security. He contends that the local authoritarianism in the conflict zone has been strengthened by the shift of authority from traditional leaders to elected politicians in resolving disputes. His work is crucial for comprehending the intricate phenomena of institutional hybridity, but it only examines one kind of power.

History of Conflict in Mindanao

One trusted literature in providing the history of the Mindanao conflict is the writing of Susan D. Russel, Lina Davide-Ong, April Rica Gonzales, Rey Ty, Nagasura Madale and Noemi A. Medina. Strong states are said to have developed in Maguindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, which are both centered on the island of Jolo, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (centered in present-day Cotabato in the Pulangi River Basin in Mindanao). However, the introduction of the Islamic religion and its governing precepts to the area dates back to the 13th century. Over the following several centuries, these states developed into fully-fledged sultanates, embracing several ethno-linguistic groups within their trading and alliance nexus that spanned modern-day Malaysia and Indonesia. During this time, Islamic principles and local statecraft also spread widely throughout Mindanao's interior, greatly influencing the growth of another Muslim federated state close to Lake Lanao.

In the past, the four federated estates, or *"pat a pengampong ko ranao,"* is the name of the multicentric power structure that characterizes the Maranao ancient

political system (Madale, 2003). By the 16th century, Muslim influence from these areas, as well as from Brunei and Borneo, had spread Islamization throughout the Visayan peninsula and as far north as Manila. The multinational and multiethnic economies of the southern Philippine sultanates were powered by a special mix of trade, raiding, and slavery, which gave rise to great polities (Russel et al, 2004).

Spain founded a colonial state in the Philippines in the sixteenth century in order to establish its presence in Southeast Asia and gain a foothold in the lucrative spice trade of eastern Indonesia. Although formal colonial rule was never established in the southern Philippines or the Cordillera region of northern Luzon, the Hispanic conquest of the Philippines happened rather quickly in the majority of the nation. As in Latin America, the foundation of Spanish colonialism was the conversion of oppressed populations to Roman Catholicism, not simply for the purpose of building an efficient colonial government in the Philippines. Due to the strength of the Islamic sultanates in the southern Philippines, which could violently repel Spanish military forces, Mindanao and Sulu escaped colonial rule for the majority of the 300 years of Spanish occupation.

The Treaty of Paris, which marked the end of the Spanish-American War, saw Spain transfer the Philippines to the United States. Sulu and Mindanao were incorporated into the pact even though they were never a part of Spain's colony in the Philippines. As a result of the fierce opposition from Muslim Filipinos in the south, who argued that they were sovereign republics, American military troops were forced to wage intense combat operations to put an end to armed resistance.

In the Battle of Bud Bagsak in 1913, the United States finally achieved their goal of integrating Mindanao and Sulu into the brand-new Philippine American colony. Various measures aimed at integrating Muslims into the greater, majority-

Christian Filipino community thereafter came into effect. Despite the effectiveness of many of these initiatives, armed resistance by different Muslim Filipino organizations continued to flare up on occasion both during American colonial authority and after the Philippines gained independence.

Armed insurrection returned to Mindanao in the late 1960s when Nur Misuari founded the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). The motivations behind this rebellion are varied, but a major one is the desire for Muslim Filipinos to once again enjoy the status of a separate, independent state, or "Bangsa Moro," where they would have better access to and control over social services and could thus actually profit from Mindanao's economic growth. They also desired to build an Islamic way of life and prevent Christian Filipino or other foreign enterprises and settlers from settling on their ancestral territories. The transmigration policies adopted by the American Government and later the national Philippine government were a major factor in the injustices and social injustice that Moro Filipinos faced and that ultimately led to outright rebellion.

At the turn of the 20th century, Mindanao was still seen by many in positions of authority in Manila as "the last frontier"—a sizable and wealthy island where natural resources had not yet been fully used. The U.S. colonial government established a homesteading policy to entice settlers from crowded areas of the central and northern Philippines to settle in what they perceived as the underpopulated southern Philippines in an effort to both exploit these resources and integrate the local populations of Mindanao and Sulu into the larger society. Policymakers in the United States and later in the Philippines believed that more intermixing would propagate national cultural values throughout this area and lessen the risk of future violent rebellion. The need to deal with rising tenant and

sharecropper unrest in Central Luzon, where poverty, injustice, and a lack of American political will to enact meaningful land reform was creating a favorable environment for communist insurgency, was another major factor in the United States' interest in promoting transmigration. During the American colonial era, there was only an unassertive migration from the north to Mindanao, but it increased in the decades following World War II.

By the early 1970s, Moro Filipinos and indigenous tribal Filipinos (Lumad) had become minorities in their own country as a result of the immigration of Christian Filipinos to Mindanao. In Mindanao, violent clashes over claims to ancestral territory as well as the loss of political power by local datu and their supporters had become commonplace. Moros and Christians as well as Christians and Lumads. Both Moros and Lumads believed that their cultural identities were being overpowered in addition to losing access to their ancestral lands and other productive resources. The national government's perception of the linguistically and ethnographically different Muslim (Moro) Filipinos as "religious" minority and the linguistically and ethnographically diverse non- Muslim, non-Christian (Lumad) Filipinos as "culture minorities" deepened during this time.

Unfortunately, the Moro National Liberation Front rebellion was initially met with a military response by the Manila administration, and battle erupted throughout Mindanao. Military clashes in the area also increased as a result of former President Ferdinand Marcos' proclamation of Martial Law in 1972. There have been numerous attempts to end the dispute, including the establishment of the Southern Philippines Development Authority and interventions by the Organization of Islamic Conference and other international parties. However, until Libyan President Gaddafi interfered, they had little impact.

The Philippine Government and the MNLF signed the Tripoli Agreement in 1976 in Libya. The thirteen provinces of Mindanao, Sulu, and Southern Palawan, which the Moro Filipinos saw as their historic homeland or area of influence, were given political autonomy. It also granted the insurgents' amnesty. The MNLF and its supporters, however, boycotted the vote when then-President Marcos insisted on a plebiscite vote in the impacted provinces to ascertain whether local populations supported autonomy. Separate autonomous regions were created in Regions IX and XII as a result of only four provinces voting in favor of autonomy. These independent administrations lacked political power and resources (May, 2002).

As a result of the failure to achieve genuine or meaningful autonomy, there were conflicts between the leaders of various ethno-linguistic and political factions within the MNLF. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front was founded in 1977 by Hashim Salamat and a handful of supporters, mostly from the Maguindanao- Iranun region. The leader of the MNLF, which the government acknowledged, was still Nur Misuari, formerly known as Tausug-Samal. The MNLF-Reformist Group, a second faction made up primarily of Maranaos, also rebelled against Nur Misuari's authority.

A new constitution was prepared in 1986, the year Corzaon Aquino was elected as President of the Philippines, and it included provisions for a new Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (as well as a Cordillera Autonomous Region in Northern Luzon, where communist insurgents were battling government forces). The MNLF was not involved in the creation of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), and only four of the thirteen provinces and none of the cities supported joining the ARMM in the ensuing plebiscite (May 2002). The war went on, and the ARMM's financial and political stability remained meager.

President Fidel Ramos reopened talks with Nur Misuari and the MNLF in 1992 with the assistance of Libya and the Organization of Islamic Conference. A Special Zone of Peace and Development (SZOPAD) and a Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development were established in 1996 as a result of an agreement reached by all stakeholders (SPCPD). The SZOPAD would be the focal point of peace and development initiatives and would consist of the 14 provinces (one was added) and 9 cities acknowledged in the Tripoli Agreement. The Christian, Moro, and "Cultural Communities" were each represented by one of the three representatives in the SPCPD, which was the governing body (Lumad). A Darul Iftah (religious advisory council) was chosen by the chairman to support it. A Consultative Assembly with 81 members was also stipulated in the agreement. It would be led by the Chair of the SPCPD and include the governor and vice governor of the ARMM, 14 provincial governors, 9 city mayors, 44 MNLF members, and 11 representatives chosen by non-governmental organizations (NGO) and people's organizations. The Consultative Assembly was tasked with advising the SPCPD, holding public hearings to hear complaints and diffuse controversy, and recommending policies to the President (May, 2002; Rodil, 2000).

In accordance with the terms of the 1996 Peace Agreement, MNLF rebels (the Bangsa Moro Army) may work for the Philippine National Police, the Philippine Armed Forces, and affiliated special forces. Provisions were created for socioeconomic growth, cultural support, and educational help for those who would not be absorbed in this way. Additionally, it established a new ARMM executive council, legislative assembly, and administrative structure with legislative authority for predetermined autonomous sectors like Shariah law and representation in the national government, including the Cabinet and National Security Council. For the

Muslim sectarian schools (madaris), special accommodations were made, such as the acceptance of Arabic language instruction and Islamic beliefs as a component of their basic curriculum.

Following his election as governor of the ARMM, Nur Misuari was later named Chairman of the SPCPD. The agreement's conditions called for another plebiscite in 1998. This referendum was not implemented until 2001. The newly defined ARMM was approved by a vote of just five provinces and one city. After being denied reelection as governor, Nur Misuari started an armed assault on the national army. Later, the Malaysian authorities apprehended him and turned him over to the Philippine Government after he attempted to flee to the Malaysian province of Sabah on the island of Borneo. He is currently incarcerated and awaiting trial on rebellion-related allegations (May, 2002).

The hope that this agreement inspired did not endure. Christian leaders in Mindanao protested the agreement's autonomy and other provisions. Consequently, the 44 MNLF members of the Consultative Assembly were removed from the final version of the executive order, which severely restricted the SPCPD's power to recommend policies or really control any area of government. The national government's supposed lack of commitment to peace or autonomy led to the MILF growing stronger as peace remained elusive. Many Moro Filipinos gave up hope for a better future through negotiation due to the reality of several broken promises and the fact that very few genuine social or economic advantages ever accrued to average Moro (or Lumad) peoples. The war persisted despite numerous Peace and Development Communities—led by former MNLF leaders and populated by Lumad and non-Muslims—being established with assistance from the United Nations Multi-Donor Assistance Programme.

President Joseph Estrada re-started military operations against the Moro Islamic Liberation Forces in 2000 as a result of their attacks on non-Muslim communities in North Cotabato and Maguindanao. There were thousands of fatalities and hundreds of thousands of displaced people as a result. More than 100,000 people had died in the conflict in Mindanao over a 26-year period beginning in 1970, according to the Armed Forces of the Philippines in 1996. Of these, 30% were killed by the government, 50% by the rebels, and 20% by civilians. While the number of military and civilians injured was reported at 55,000, it is unknown how many rebels were injured. The Armed Forces spent 73 billion pesos, or an average of 40% of its annual budget, on the war throughout that 26- year span.

Author of the book *Kalinaw Mindanaw: the Story of the GRP-MNLF Peace Process, 1975–1996* and member of the government negotiating panel with the MNLF, Dr. Rudy Rodil, has remarked that the price of negotiating peace with the MNLF between 1992–96 was less than 60 million pesos. After the Estrada administration's resumed conflict with the MILF, the government reported in 2001 that at least six billion pesos had been spent on the conflict in 2000, which is one billion more than what the government spends on constructing schools nationwide. To help displaced people and evacuees, an additional 16 million pesos were spent.

In 2002, Paul Dominguez, the Presidential Assistant for Regional Development, cited early findings from a World Bank study that showed the economic cost of a never-ending conflict in Mindanao would be at least 2 billion US dollars over the following ten years, without taking into account the social costs. This sum equals 10.8 billion pesos each year or 108 billion pesos over ten years. International economists who had other models to study, such Nicaragua, and who compared the situation in Mindanao to that of a never-ending war with sporadic flare-

ups computed the figures. It was also noted that Southwestern Mindanao, as well as the ARMM as a whole, had fallen to the bottom of the nation in terms of social services, including education, infrastructure, and population income.

Making issues worse, the Philippines' national budget increased following the conflict in 2000, going from 725 billion pesos in 2001 to 780.79 billion pesos in 2002, and then to 804.2 billion pesos in 2003. However, Mindanao's contribution to the national budget fell from 13.9% in 2001 to 11.9 percent in 2002. Only 10.55 percent of the national budget went to Mindanao in 2003. Because of this, the southern Philippine area as a whole paid an additional price in foregone benefits from the national government's budgetary allocation, despite the fact that the economic cost of the conflict in Mindanao is very high and the loss of life and social disruption immense.

These results may have contributed to President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's decision to restart peace talks with the MILF. A peace monitoring team led by Malaysia has currently arrived in Mindanao and is scheduled to stay there for up to a year as of this writing, in October 2004. After the end of the sacred Islamic fasting month of Ramadan, formal peace discussions between the Philippine government and the MILF, mediated by Malaysia and involving officials of the Organization of Islamic Conference, are anticipated to restart in Malaysia in November.

The objective is to discuss an all-encompassing solution that addresses a wide range of issues important to the Moro Filipino community, including as self-governance, socioeconomic development, education, a multi-cultural curriculum, and recognition of ancestral lands in the ARMM (Basilan, Lanao del Sur, Maguindanao, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, and Marawi City). The 12,000 members of the MILF are united and determined to talking with the Philippine national government over a pre-agreed-

upon set of problems in order to end the conflict, according to MILF head Ebrahim Murad's public statements.

While a majority of the MILF-GRP agreements were produced during this stage, one of the more notable agreements is the Memorandum of Agreement on the Ancestral Domain Aspect of the GRP- MILF Tripoli Agreement on Peace of 2001 (MoA-AD), which was controversially drafted and initialled in August 2008, but later struck down as unconstitutional by Supreme Court ruling G.R. 183591 (*The Province of North Cotabato v The Government of the Republic of the Philippines Peace Panel on Ancestral Domain*).

Viewed by many as the strongest manifestation and solution of the Moro determination, the ruling briefly halted the peace process, however negotiations resumed after a re- structuring of the GRP Peace Panel and a mutually acceptable agreement between the Government of the Philippines and MILF was reached. This was codified in the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB), which replaces the ARMM with the autonomous Bangsamoro Region, and agreements as recently as 2015 are continuing to implement the establishment of a Bangsamoro Region. The implementation phase of the peace process is scheduled to conclude with an Exit Document agreed upon by both Parties. This is one of the few processes to have been led by a female negotiator for the government side (GPH Peace Panel), with Professor Miriam Coronel-Ferrer acting as Chair for the GPH Peace Panel since 2012.

As a latest update, on July 26, 2018, President Rodrigo Duterte signed the Republic Act No. 11054 known as the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL). It is now officially called the Organic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (OLBARM). It is the result of decades-long peace negotiations between

the rebel groups in Mindanao, mainly the MILF, and the Philippine Government. The new law abolishes the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) which was established in 1989 through Republic Act No. 6734 and strengthened in 2001 through Republic Act No. 9054. ARMM was the result of the peace process negotiation between the MILF under Nur Misuari and the Government of the Philippines. Officials have earlier called the ARMM a failure because of frequent corruption and mismanagement. The new law then creates the now Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) encompassing the provinces of Sulu, Basilan, Tawi-Tawi, Maguindanao, and Lanao del Sur. Meanwhile President Duterte is also negotiating with Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) founding leader Nur Misuari to discuss a peace deal.

Intersecting Communication and Peacebuilding: A Review

The comparison and mapping studies related to the Mindanao peace process is opening possibilities on how communication shaped other tales of peace in perspective of various theoretical lenses, empirical data and diverse geo-socio-political landscapes. With regards to peacebuilding, one related study is **“Communication and Peace Building: The 2015 Presidential Elections in Nigeria” by Koblwe Obono and Ngozi Joy Onyechi (2017)**, wherein by using the discursive analytical approach, this study examines the pre- and post-election communication tactics and interactions that helped maintain peace in spite of the overwhelmingly negative campaigns and turbulence of the 2015 Nigerian presidential election process, and it looks at the role of communication in peacebuilding. As a result, this paper demonstrates the candidates' public media appearances and communicative behavior, which serve as a model for political peace communication. It also emphasizes the importance of strategic

communication for peace building, which has implications for an environment free from violence, for social order, and for political development in Africa.

Another study is by **Pablo Felipe Gomez Montanez's (2020), "The Carnival of Forgiveness Og Sibundoy, Colombia: Harmonization, Connectivity, and Communication for Peace."** In this paper, Bëtschnaté, called Carnival of Forgiveness of Kamëntsá in Colombia, was considered and analyzed as a great "speech act", and a tissue of languages and senses who transcends ritual symbolism and becomes social practice of conflict resolution in this ethnic group's everyday life. It draws a "theory of harmonization" as model of an indigenous peace. The study is an ethnography where it investigated certain significant carnival features that helped comprehend the indigenous way of peace searching that starts in the inner world and extends to a connection with "others" through participant observation and performance anthropology. In Betschnaté, this harmonizing link is the result of a sophisticated web of rituals and poetics, creating a scenario of communication for peace.

Another milestone research is the meta-analysis of peace communication studies in Thailand by **Phirahan Kai-nunna (2016), "The Synthesis of the Previous Research on Peace and Conflict Communication Related to the Southernmost Thailand."** Based on the meta-analysis, the political conflict to establish Islam Melayu Pattani is a new surge in internal conflict for Thailand. Consequently, there is limitation in the body of knowledge of communication as a tool for conflict reduction in Thailand. The study examined recent research on this conflict with three main focuses on pertinent topics of communication about the conflict in Thailand's southernmost provinces by academics and graduate students in Thai universities from 2004 to 2015, as well as to make recommendations for

additional research areas that would aid the peace process. The study's findings are: First, from 2004 to 2015, there were 48 research papers on pertinent subjects. Second, the usage of mass and personal media is the subject that is primarily studied. Mass media primarily focuses on new media in conflict zones, criticism of newsroom cultures, media and peacebuilding, and media landscape in conflict zones.

The scenario has positively impacted the body of information on communication in the peace process and conflict resolution to progress quickly and vividly, especially in the last 10 years, despite the fact that there was little knowledge on communication supporting the peace process prior to the conflict in 2004. Numerous research findings indicate that Thai media have recently helped to support the peace process in Southern Thailand. Third, the study should focus on cross-cultural communication, leaders' views on promoting peace, the media's contributions to the peace process, and the standards and metrics for reporting on war and peace in Thai media (Kai-nunna, 2016).

Both internal and external organizations, particularly the Thai government, have taken notice of the siege in southernmost Thailand since 2004 as a crucial player in conflict reduction. The military installation in the province of Narathiwat was invaded by fighters from an unidentified armed organization on January 4, 2004. 19 schools across the southernmost provinces were demolished, 413 firearms were stolen, and 4 soldiers were murdered because of the rebellion. According to Jitpiromsri and Panatnachee (2016), circumstances like this are still happening and have resulted in 6,543 fatalities and 11,919 injuries across 15,374 different incidents. Later, the parties to the conflict—representatives of the Thai government and Barisan Revolusi Nasional Melayu Patani (B.R.N.)—agree to engage in dialogue for

the resolution of their differences with the assistance of a Malaysian government official.

The news of the conflict has been widely disseminated around the country by Thai media for more than 12 years. The locals in the dangerous areas, however, condemn them for spreading false information about the region in their media coverage. This results in misconceptions about the local reality, including Islam, Muslims, background history, and cultures (Thapthiang, 2007). The media is also held accountable for escalating the dispute.

Research into Changkamon (2007), who examined the 232 news items from Thai qualitative and quantitative newspapers that were released at the outset of the conflict, finds that the majority of news is, respectively, peace journalism and war journalism. This promotes public interest in Thai media coverage of the crisis in southern Thailand. However, the absence of research on conflict and peace communication in Thai society is indicative of a lack of problem-solving knowledge. In 2002, Kaewthep, K., a well-known communication expert from Chulalongkorn University (CU), wrote the first paper on conflict and peace communication as a handout for students at Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University. The paper is divided into four chapters: communication, the relationship between peace and conflict; past research on communication and peace; peace communication in a new context; and the components of peace communication. However, with few materials and case studies of Thai society, the majority of the book's body of knowledge is illustrated in a western framework. Over a 12-year period, scholars have extensively explored the issues related to media and the peace process, media landscape, criticism of newsroom culture, mainstream media, and new media. Walakkamon Changkamol, an assistant professor in the faculty of communication sciences at

PSU's Pattani Campus, delivered the first study on peace journalism in Thailand in 2007. She looked at local conflict coverage in the major media and examined it using Johan Galtung's (1998) war and peace journalism indicators.

Data revealed that more news stories concerning war than about peace. After that, researchers turned their attention to other research areas, particularly broadcast journalism, which has the greatest influence on Thais. They found that following the signing of an MOU for peace talks on February 28, 2013, in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, between a representative of the Thai government and B.R.N., broadcast journalists significantly altered how they reported on the conflict. They track the peace's development, make their space available to all sides, look for alternative peace-making strategies, and allow touchy subjects like autonomy or decentralization to be debated in public (Chalermripinyorat, and Nilaphatama, 2014). This shift in broadcasting journalists serves as a crucial lesson in dispute resolution for the media.

Even though there were relatively few studies on cross-cultural communication in Thai society prior to the crisis in southern Thailand in 2004, the number of studies on cross-cultural communication in the media and in interpersonal communication has expanded over the ensuing 12 years. Regarding the media, a research found that local television in the region is unable to effectively depict the reconciliation program due to a centralized structure, a tight budget, and a dangerous work environment (Ranumas, 2006). For personal communication, there is a study of personal communication under the conflict context by Kaewseenuan, L. (2009). She revised the paradigm of cross-cultural communication suitable for the area: "DO IT RIGHT" (D: Development of relationship, O: Openness to cultural differences, I: Information sharing, T: Trust building, R: Respects for individualism, I:

Integration, G: Government fairness and policies, H: Harmony, and T: Team unity). The armed organizations, however, appeal to Muslims for assistance by citing various ethics and religions. In the combat zone, this leads to discord and mistrust between the Buddhists and the Muslims. However, despite differences in language, culture, and participation in community activities, at least two studies (Thiangwong, 2005, Kaewseenuan, 2009) have found a substantial relationship between the two groups (at least two others exist).

Also of similar study is **Samatacha Nilaphatama's "Roles of People's Media for Violence Negotiation in Deep South Thailand's Peace Process" (2020)** which studied the negotiation role of people's media against violence under the context of peace process in the deep south Thailand through an emergence and development of the public space initiated by local civil society actors. By gathering information from fieldwork, document analysis, and textual analysis, this study uses qualitative methodologies to examine the practices of eight media companies that covered the lives of ordinary people in the years 2017 and 2018. This study understands that the public space in the southern border provinces began to grow among the groups of intellectuals and development practitioners in the early years of the B.E. based on the analytical framework of the notions of citizen's media, public civil sphere, and speech actions. Following the resurgence of violence in 2004, they gradually switched toward peace- building strategies during the 2540s (1997-2007). Since the first century 2550 B.E., the expansion of public places has been linked to the emergence of a thriving society in this area (2007-2017).

In addition, local civil society at the time had a significant amount of negotiating leverage during this incredibly prosperous time for the public sphere in the southern border region. Moreover, it did not last long and finally deteriorated due

to the three factors: 1) funding sources from international donors to support local projects came to end; 2) attempts of Thai state to interfere and limit public space and; 3) disagreement and internal conflicts among local civil society actors in using state-funded budget for their activities. It will take some time for the local civil society to be able to effectively fulfill its intended duties as the third party to negotiate with the violence in this region given the decrease and reduction of public space in the area (Nilapathama, 2020).

Two significant aspects of how individuals in the southern border region use media are also specified in this study. People's media play two important roles: first, in the communication process, by empowering and transforming ordinary people "from the voiceless to voice," and second, in the negotiation of violence through the three communication approaches of confronting, creating space, and the backdoor channel. Local civil society actors are utilizing these strategies in an interactive manner inside the same communication ecology, but they are still having a difficult time persuading the parties to the dispute to stop using violence through negotiations. The most suitable and preferred season for violent negotiation is "the spring of peace," when civil society actors are empowered and capable of expanding political space where disputing parties are persuaded. Local civil society in deep south Thailand uses the three communication approaches to communicate with the public in a variety of ways (Nilapathama, 2020).

On the same page of peacebuilding, the study **"Workplace Peace Construction through Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication in the University of Calabar"** by Louisa Etebom Uwatt and Alexander Essien Timothy (2022) investigated university workers' perception of the verbal and non-verbal communication variables that are important to workplace peace. Data collection

involved the use of questionnaires. Simple percentages were used for the analysis. The findings demonstrated that participants believed that a strong vocabulary and clear diction were crucial to maintaining workplace harmony when speaking. The most crucial non-verbal cues for maintaining workplace harmony were civility and words of affection.

Some studies also highlighted the aspect of communication on peace through language and semiotics, one of these is by **Peniel Zaazra Nouhou (2022) “Language and Peace on WhatsApp and Facebook Messages on the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon,”** the study is set out to explore the promotion of peace by some social media messages related to the ongoing crisis in Southern Cameroons. The focus is on the lexical choices and writing style that illustrate methods of overcoming the distorted communication caused by the language crisis as well as potential effects of the messages on the readers' minds who are Cameroonians and other global citizens. The analysis of the data (150 messages) acquired from 75 participants (45 men and 30 females) from both WhatsApp (100) and Facebook (50) posts by English-speaking Cameroonians was guided by Fairclough's (1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b) theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The Android phone was used by the researcher and the field helpers to gather these data. Results show that practically every line of e-messages from either platform features intense word battles and word combat. Verbal bullying and the hostile atmosphere in the debates outweigh and eclipse the many words of peace. Some statements encourage readers to consider peaceful coexistence and promote national unity. In other words, communications of peace are more likely to attract militants than those calling for rebellion because readers are fed messages that make them resentful about the state of the nation and accept conflict for peace to

rule.

Another example is **“Principles and Peace Communication of Mahatma Gandhi: A Semiotic Analysis”** by Balasubramanian, Venkatraman and Dhanalaksmi (2021), its analysis on the ‘peaceful’ language use of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (Mahatma Gandhi) reveals a reckoning truth that at some time, an extinct political ideology in search of the human world as a promoter of non-violent policy by Mahatma Gandhi. Here, the communication style has been shown to have the missing Gandhian ideals. This essay will attempt to analyze Mahatma Gandhi's policy and philosophy in communication style, focusing on how the relationship between communications and Gandhi's philosophy connects to the 150th anniversary of his birth.

There were also recent analytical study that highlights the role of communication in media studies, **Muhammad Umar Riaz Abbasi (2022)** pointed out in his study **“Role of Main Stream Western Media in Peace Building and Conflict Prevention in Muslim Societies: Analytical Study in Contemporary Scenario,”** that the media has a major role in conflicted the news we see and hear. When shaping their news and disseminating it to the public, journalists use a variety of mass media. Understanding the beliefs and media dynamics is crucial in Muslim societies in order to disseminate peace through news channels and in entertainment. Conflict prevention and peacebuilding are also significant. Violence can be incited through the media. It is a suitable instrument for the audience to obtain current information about the world. People become dependent on the media by serving as its interpretation. With the development of technology, it has grown to play a significant role in our daily enjoyment and communication. Being a gatekeeper, it presents a balanced viewpoint, screens out problems, and sets objectives to bring

enjoyment to people all over the world.

In terms of reputation, the media has a detrimental impact on Muslim societies. Because of the Taliban and other terrorists, Muslims are given a bad reputation throughout the world. For Muslim societies worldwide, the media can help foster peace. The world will be able to accept and appreciate Muslims all over the world by showcasing the positive aspects of Muslim societies. The media can assist in peace negotiations and rally public support for establishing harmony and averting conflicts in Muslim countries. The only way to build positive relationships throughout the world and achieve a life of peace is through the media. The media may play a significant role in promoting harmony, goodwill, and the avoidance of conflicts in Muslim culture. Successful media campaigns can be run to show Muslims for who they really are and to educate the public about Muslim societies as they are in reality. Many international Islamic organizations can work together in the media to spread knowledge about the peace deal in order to bring about this transformation. There would be a lot of changes that Muslim societies could embrace in terms of promoting peace and avoiding violence (Abbasi, 2022).

Also, **Casanova, Hernandez and Quintero (2019)** studied the **“Community radio and peace building in Colombia: Communication, interaction and participatory planning for the post-conflict”** wherein they discuss some structural elements affecting spaces for social interaction within community radio processes, such as spaces for participatory planning and interpersonal communication that could be considered as a crucial contribution to the construction of peace in Colombia. The "Programming Boards" of community radio stations in the Caribbean and the "Local Thematic Committees" of community radio stations in northeast Antioquia were employed in the study as two anthropological vignettes to analyze

these spaces. This research is framed by the literature on participatory intensity and offers a critical and historical view on community communication for peace. It was discovered that it is essential to strengthen participatory planning with a political emphasis and that interpersonal communication should serve as the foundation of a radio designed to call and encourage civil society to meet, discuss, and dialogue in order to jointly construct peace.

Another study is by **Ugondo, Torwel, Ciboh and Jev (2022), “Perspectives of Peace Workers on Methods of Reporting Conflict and Terrorism in the News Media in Nigeria.”** This study looked at peace activists' perceptions on how violence and terrorism are covered in Nigerian news media. Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were used in the study's Critical Participatory Action Research methodology to collect data. The Dialogue, Reconciliation and Peace Centre (DREP), a licensed national NGO with offices in Jos, Nigeria, selected eight of its employees. Three women and five men made up the group's gender mix. Major themes that developed through interaction with the group were identified through the qualitative transcription and analysis of the data collected.

Findings demonstrate that the current reporting on conflicts in Nigeria concentrates more on the behavior of individuals, the journalist's profile, ethnic or religious groupings, and embellishes the truth by using images of past events and current events in other locations. In the context of the present, old tales are also retold. Many news outlets rely on user-generated content without conducting in-depth investigations or on social media blogs that are not vetted. That approach to conflict and terrorist reporting may have been motivated by the actions of crisis merchants who want crises for specific gains as well as attempts by journalists to appease readers' curiosities about strange happenings rather than positive news.

Sectionalism, racial and religious prejudices all had an impact on how crises were reported. The study also urges greater adherence to the 'Do no Harm' ethical standard in war and terrorism reporting among reporters, in addition to the inclusion of peace journalism courses in the Mass Communication curriculum (Ugondo, Torwel, Ciboh and Jev, 2022).

Next set of studies prove that communication is political. This was highlighted in the study of **Hasan, Ibnu and Arifin (2022), "Aceh Government Political Communication in the Process of Determining Officer (Pj) Governor, Regent and Mayor 2022: Reflecting on the History of Post- Tsunami Aceh Political Communication.** The 2024 General Election stage is also a new turning point in the dynamics of Aceh's political communication, taking into account the history of Aceh's political communication in promoting peace, stability, and sustainable development. 2022 marks the start of the political year. Taking into account that the next legitimate elections for the leadership will only take place in 2024. It is both a task and an opportunity to keep the regional administration stable while dealing with serious issues and preparing for the execution of the major democratic celebration. One of them entails incorporating the process of regional and national political communication in the process of replacing the acting leader of the region. In addition, the contract is over three years long.

Ten regional heads in Aceh will have their periods of office expire in July 2022. Along with filling vacancies, the turnover of power also ensures that the administration is stable and can continue to support regional and national growth until a permanent regional leader is elected. In order to determine the official (Pj) based on the history of Aceh's political communication, it is vital and interesting to understand the political communication process of the Aceh government. In this

study, the application of political communication to the selection of officials (Pj) is examined in light of the history of post-peace political communication in Aceh. This study consists of character interviews, observations, and a review of the literature. The research data was evaluated in a descriptive and qualitative manner. According to the study's findings, knowing the dynamics of political communication in Aceh's past can help the Aceh government and other parties involved in choosing the acting (Pj) Governor, such as mayors and regents, have effective political conversations today. Politics is communicated through direct or indirect means (Hasan, Ibnu and Arifin, 2022).

The Aceh government directly engages in legislative and executive political communication at both the national and regional levels, makes recommendations for candidates to the Ministry of Home Affairs, and engages in political dialogue with the President. Universities, ulama, non-governmental organizations, and the mass media are just a few of the forces that are indirectly involved. An incumbent (Pj) who meets expectations in general, who possesses honesty, reliability, ability, and capacity, is aware of Aceh's traditional wisdom (Hasan, Ibnu and Arifin, 2022).

As part of strategic political communication, the study of **Bachtiar, Purnamasari and Juwita (2022), "Crisis Communication Strategy as a Solution to Bridge the Peace Agreement Between Kopassus and OPM in West Papua"** explores the security crisis in West Papua (which) is getting hotter in recent days, although the escalation of the conflict is sometimes high and sometimes low. Armed criminal groups in West Papua frequently target the shooting of Indonesian National Armed Forces troops stationed there, as well as innocent locals who are also victims of these occurrences. Therefore, a mutual peace agreement must be held to reduce losses brought on by shooting occurrences. A peace accord between Kopassus, an

institution that stands in for the Indonesian government, and the armed groups or OPM (Free Papua Organization) in West Papua is thought to be possible with the use of the crisis communication approach. When two parties have opposing viewpoints, it is deemed appropriate to use the crisis communication method.

In social media, communicating and interpreting peace propagates, like in the study **“Reading the Message of Peace Campaign in the Global Happiness Challenge Instagram: The Digital Communication Era”** by Sulhizah Wulan Sari, Baiatun Nisa, Maulani Pangestu and Muhammad Azwar (2022) wherein the pointed out that humans live in industry 4.0, digital communication has become the most accessible one which one example is Instagram. One of the most popular among young people worldwide is Instagram. It is employed to transmit meaning as well as to store images and movies. The pictures posted on Instagram compel viewers to infer the implicit meaning from the picture or its background. The aim of this study is to interpret and evaluate the peace message included in Morshad Mishu's Instagram post for The Global Happiness Challenge at that point. This Instagram account focuses on wars in Islamic nations while covering conflicts throughout the world. Instagram displays images of battle in two different ways: black-and-white design and colorful design. The goal of this study is to use Instagram to spread the message of peace in the digital age, which is one of the long-term objectives of all campaigns for better living.

A descriptive qualitative technique is used in the investigation. The interpretation of seven images is based on the semiotic theory of Roland Barthes, with three stages of the analysis: (1) denotation meaning, (2) connotation meaning, and (3) myths. The key conclusion that can be drawn from reading the seven photographs in The Global Happiness Challenge Instagram is that the use of peace

as a negotiating chip to end the war is revealed in these seven images. Only tears, sadness, fear, death, and destruction have resulted from the war (Sari, Nisa, Pangestu and Azwar, 2022).

In terms of strategic communication, the peace communication in social media domain was also studied. **‘Peace is not just the suspension of war:’ Peace Communication on Twitter”** by **Aistė Klimašauskaitė (2021)**. ‘Strategic communication is something we are very bad at’, tells us a tweet from the Geneva Peace Week. One of the examples of strategic communication is public engagement content on Twitter. Empirical studies, however, never looked at public engagement content about peace on Twitter. To study and map peace communication among seven research groups and events in the West, grounded theory methodologies are utilized in turn. There are 9,874 English-language tweets in the data set altogether. Atlas.ti's thematic coding produces 4,274 codes that are organized into 63 different themes. According to data, the primary type of peace is sustainable peace. The principles that ostensibly support it, such as transparency, accountability, and health, are, nevertheless, minor. While gender is one of the prominent issues, it often appears disjointed and is not effectively integrated into other topics like participation or health. ‘A pattern emerges of the level of view that is mainly positioned on the global, with the local, community, family left at the margins.’

Well, **Demeke Chanie Mengitsu (2021)**, in the study, **“An Assessment of the Practices and Challenges of Using Social Media as a Communication Tool for Peace Building: The Case of Ministry of Peace”** considers that communication plays a vital role for creating favorable conditions for peace building process. The use of social media as a tool for communication is growing among many people, governments, and non-governmental organizations. The study's major goal is to

evaluate Ministry of Peace's use of social media as a communication instrument for promoting peace, as well as its successes and difficulties in doing so. Interviews and a content analysis technique were used to carry out the descriptive study design. Techniques for gathering both quantitative and qualitative data were employed in this study, along with non-probability sampling methods.

The Ministry of Peace personnel were interviewed for the research, which was based on the data acquired. Additionally, 656 posts from the Ministry's Facebook page, which had received a total of 139, 838 likes, comments, and shares, were collected. In accordance with their themes, the obtained data were also presented and analyzed. As a result, the posted data received 71.9 percent likes, 22.4 percent shares, and 5.7 percent comments out of all user reactions. The research revealed that 63.1% of the content uploaded on the Facebook page was a combination of text and photos. 72.4 percent of users engaged with the content posted by this sort of publishing medium by like, commenting, and sharing it (Mengitsu, 2021).

Furthermore, the results demonstrated that when the Ministry's Facebook page had more material uploaded, more people responded, whereas less users responded when the page had fewer items posted. Similarly, 62% of the content posted dealt with promoting peace, while 37% dealt with other daily activities. When user comments were evaluated, it turned out that 25% of them were adversely expressed, while 75% of them were positive. Despite the lack of social media usage policies, the Ministry's Facebook page served as one of the primary platforms for informing its stakeholders. Additionally, the Ministry misused its Facebook page for effective peacebuilding and two-way communication. The study comes to the conclusion that social media directly affects the process of fostering peace, and the Ministry is in charge of fostering peace throughout the nation. As a result, the study

strongly advised the Ministry to develop and implement social media usage guidelines, utilize various social media platforms in various languages, and utilize all posting mediums proportionately (Mengitsu, 2021).

Intercultural Communication is another theoretical lens explored by most researchers. **Hsu Thiri Zaw's study (2019) "Culture Communication: Is an Effective Support for Conflict Resolution and Peace Process in Myanmar?"** recalled that Myanmar and its citizen has suffered the trauma of ethnic conflicts throughout the history since 1948. The governments of Myanmar have always relied on the political approach to resolve disputes and advance the peace process. It is time to think about an alternate strategy for resolving disputes and advancing the peace process that is based on the culture, which serves as a representation of the populace. The study's main goals are to offer the Myanmar government a fresh perspective on conflict resolution and a means of assistance that can help ethnic minority groups in Myanmar uncover their obscured and long- forgotten cultures and identities through cross-cultural dialogue. The researcher held two in-depth conversations for specific facts and information with ethnic people in two ethnic regions of Myanmar. The research emphasizes the value of cultural communication as a superior instrument for peacemaking and conflict resolution based on the authentic voices of ethnic groups.

In the study of **Umaru Pate and Sharafa Dauda (2015), "Cross Cultural Communications, Peace Education and Development in Nigeria,** "communication, peace and development are inextricably linked concepts that define the direction of societies. In very simple terms, communication fortifies the foundation of peaceful coexistence which facilitates the process of development in a country." Early development theories defined development as going beyond

structural expansion and industrialization. It is positively seen as a culturally motivated process that raises a people's standard of living within the context of their socio-economic and political dynamics. Therefore, living in peace is a fundamental requirement for development, and the absence of it impedes both individual and societal advancement in general. A society that lacks the culture of peace does not develop, because culture, popularly seen as the way of life of a people, provides the environment and context for development and assured sustenance (Soola, 2003). For UNESCO (2013), culture “is that set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or social group, encompassing all the ways of being in that society; at a minimum, including art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions, and beliefs”.

The relationship between the ideas of communication, education, peace, and development is established by this claim. Simply put, culture provides the framework for development; without peace, growth is impossible; without communication, education is impossible; and without education, there is no way for society as a whole to appreciate and value development. In conclusion, the ideas are mutually exclusive; they are all positively connected. In human relationship, communication is essential. It is a social process that encourages communication among and amongst members of a society. Communication occurs on many different levels and takes many different shapes, but it always aims to communicate meaning from a source to an intended receiver in the hopes of receiving a response (Pate and Dauda, 2015).

Moreover, **Misnawati, Rozalena and Astuti's** study (March 2023) **“Communication of Mutual Assistance in the Melemang Tradition of Karang Raja Muara Enim Village.”** This study aims to elucidate the communication pattern of the lelang tradition of mutual aid as a cultural inheritance passed down from

generation to generation in Karang Raja Village, Muara Enim Regency, South Sumatra. This communication research is qualitative in design, with the object of study being cooperation activities in the lemang tradition. Residents of Karang Raja Village served as research subjects. Non-participant observation, interview approaches, and document analysis were employed to collect data from three critical informants. The data analysis technique used the Miles and Huberman interactive model, which goes through data reduction, data display, verification, and concluding. The study's findings show that: 1) the lemang tradition is an ancestral heritage with symbols associated with religious, customary, and social values; 2) mutual cooperation communication is an inseparable part of the lemang tradition itself, which is the behavior of togetherness, kinship, loyalty, and the culture of eating together with the people of Karang Raja Village; and 3) the communication pattern of gotong royong that was formed was carried out by the people of Karang Raja Village before and after the implementation of the lemang tradition on 10 Muharram. These three things demonstrate the residents of Karang Raja Village's devotion to the identity of regional traditions passed down through centuries, constantly living in harmony, peace, and a high level of cohesiveness. The study's conclusion shows that the lemang tradition reflects the communication of mutual cooperation carried out from generation to generation and tends to have a vertical pattern.

Groff (2002)'s Intercultural communication, interreligious dialogue, and peace" discussed that in an increasingly interdependent world including great cultural, ethnic, racial, national, and religious diversity. It is essential to unite as a human family while also valuing and recognizing our various differences. We must discover alternatives to violence in order to settle disputes in the nuclear age, the bioterrorism age of today, and the aftermath of September 11, 2001. Intercultural

communication and interreligious dialogue offer vital skills to assist individuals in dealing with all these differences in more constructive ways that foster understanding among people and can enrich people's lives. disputes must still be resolved, but recognizing other people's cultures, negotiating methods, and religions will help avoid needless misunderstandings of other people's actions that might worsen already-existing disputes.

In order to build more peaceful futures, this article discusses a variety of constructive methods and instruments for coping with difference from the intercultural and interreligious dialogue sectors. The fundamental premise of this essay is that for there to be a more peaceful world, everyone must adopt a dynamic, interdependent, complex (not homogenized), whole systems worldview that respects both our unity and interdependence as well as our diversity of racial, ethnic, cultural, national, and religious backgrounds. A new chapter in human history has begun for our generation with the emergence of a global community: "We are becoming more interdependent as a result of modern communications, trade, and international relations as well as the security and environmental challenges we all confront. Nobody is able to live alone. We must therefore learn to coexist as a huge and diversified human family, whether we like it or not. We need to be more conscious of our communal and individual responsibilities." (Groff, 2002).

On Islamic perspective on peace education, **Qamar Abbas Jafri (2022)** "**Islam and Peace Education in Pakistan**" emphasizes that peace education is an emerging field in the context of contemporary issues in mainstream education. It focuses on students learning the concepts of peace at the school level. These concepts can include conflict resolution, conflict transformation, and values of dialogue, tolerance, respect, and inclusivity. To be specific, from an Islamic

perspective, there is not enough literature on religious principles of peace education. Around the world, more than one billion people practice the faith of Islam. Muslims are portrayed as being fanatical, radical, and conservative in thought and deed in the major religious wars of the modern world. By being portrayed in this way, Muslims are portrayed as having no commitment to promoting world peace.

The Qur'anic teachings on peace are examined in this study. The curriculum for madrasa—Islamic religious schools—in Pakistan has been developed using the textbook "Islam and Peace Education," which offers an interpretation of these texts. The Peace and Education Foundation, Pakistan, was the organization that launched the campaign. The study uses the content of the peace textbook along with data from in-person interviews with members of the Peace and Education Foundation team. Through the interpretation of Quranic verses, the findings of this chapter imply that the Muslim holy book, the Qur'an, promotes societal variety, critical thinking, conflict resolution, religious freedom, anti-racism, and peaceful communication.

On **“The Peace Narrative and Interfaith Notions of Sekar Ayu Community” by Mibtadin Mibtadin (2022)**, *this study* reveals that the presence of Islamist activism in Ngargoyoso encourages the role of places of worship from places of voice of harmony to mouthpieces of intolerance. The community of interfaith women in Sekar Ayu challenges the intolerant thesis. How did Sekar Ayu bring Ngargoyoso to peace? The goal of this study is to ascertain Sekar Ayu's contribution to fostering peace in Ngargoyoso. With a sociology of religion perspective, this research is descriptive qualitative. Direct observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation were used to acquire the data. Its data analysis employs interactive analysis techniques, such as data supply, data reduction, and conclusions. As a social movement of Ngargoyoso civil society, the ecumenical

women's group of Sekar Ayu is actively fostering a culture of peace. First, Sekar Ayu promotes religious and humanitarian issues at the local community level based on places of worship while actively fostering communication and conversation amongst religious groups.

Second, Sekar Ayu evolved into a venue for interfaith community encounters, hosting a variety of events such as worship services and family get-togethers as well as debates on religious, social, and cultural topics as a means of living dialogue. Third, Sekar Ayu encourages interfaith women to create a lifestyle that benefits both religions. Fourth, Sekar Ayu is intended to promote religion as a social ethic and to emphasize an inclusive, pluralist approach in all of its actions.

Relating to communication for peace and peace education, **Phirakan Kainunna (2018)** in the paper, **“Communication for Peace: Concept and Recommendations for Curriculum Design in Master’s Degree Program, Faculty of Communication Sciences, Prince of Songkla University, Pattani Campus, tried to address** the concept of communication for peace and makes the recommendation for the Master Degree program in Communication for Peace. With qualitative methodology, this research finds that three core components of curriculum should be considered: philosophy of higher education, perspectives and aspects of peace communication, desirable characteristics of graduates in peace communication field.

Graduate programs should emphasize the process of learning through research with critical and analytical abilities (inductive, deductive, and holistic learning), as well as the capacity to connect communication expertise to other academic disciplines, particularly peace and conflict studies. The curriculum might

be based on field research, a comparative analysis of theoretical stances, and the functions of media and communication in various conflict zones. The study of conflict resolution and peace studies, the production and reproduction of physical and symbolic violence, information and communication strategies, peace journalism, media representation of conflict and violence and its effects, the mechanism of news production, social meanings that escalate into conflict and violence, etc. are some of the suggested study areas in communication for peace that are discussed. The curriculum should teach knowledge and understanding of the various social contexts and conflict dimensions, networking skills for news reporters or communication professionals, information management skills, and media production skills with a commitment to professionalism in order to achieve the program's objectives (Kainunna, 2018).

On peace education, in the study of **Victoria McDermott, Cortney Smith and Amy May (2022)** entitled **“The Communication Discipline and Peace Education: A Valuable Intersection for Disrupting Violence in Communication Centers”**, discussed that violence is a significant issue impacting the physical, mental, social, and economic health of our learning communities. The field of peace education has studied how non-physical violence affects students and teachers for many years, as well as how to develop more peaceful, less violent, and fair educational practices. Although communication frameworks have been employed in research on peace education, no studies have been discovered that theorize the possible benefits of peace education for the discipline of communication. This essay aims to challenge entrenched norms and behaviors in communication centers from the standpoint of peace education by using the setting of communication centers. We give a general review of the area of peace education, explain how

communication centers might employ peace education frameworks, theory, and practice to construct pedagogies of renewal, and then offer concrete suggestions for the future.

Another study is by **Sara Koopman and Laine Seliga (2021)**, “**Teaching Peace by Using Nonviolent Communication for Difficult Conversations in the College Classroom**” highlighted that having empathy and respect for oneself and others when engaging in difficult dialogue is an essential part of peace education. Gandhi stressed that incorporating emotions into education was more transformative than just logical approaches. Marshall Rosenberg's nonviolent communication (NVC) is a method for promoting empathy and establishing cross- cultural understanding. In every college classroom, using NVC for challenging talks is a method to integrate peace education into the whole curriculum. Despite the fact that there is literature on challenging conversations in college classes as well as the usefulness of NVC in general and in K–12 schools, there is little or no literature on NVC in college settings or NVC for tough conversations. College students were invited to use NVC to discuss debatable peaceful behaviors in this mostly qualitative study. Students were able to use NVC to address divisive protests in a class with a plurality of opinions, and it was discovered that needs for respect were largely met even when both the professor and the students were NVC beginners. NVC might be used as a tool for emotional management for nonviolent action or as a contemporary version of satyagraha's purification. It was also helpful for deepening examination of the success of nonviolent efforts. (Koopman and Seliga, 2021).

In terms of educational technology, the study of **David Terkura Bakkihs and Myom Terkura (2021)**, “**Information and communication technology (ICT) education: a means for promoting peace and security in Nigerian higher**

institutions of Learning,” examines the possibility of using information and communication technology (ICT) education in the tertiary institutions of learning in Nigeria with the aim of promoting peace and security in the country. The study used a survey research approach with a descriptive survey design to gather data in order to investigate the impact ICT plays in fostering peace and security toward the effective diffusion of peace education in Nigerian schools. Three research topics were used to guide the study's conduct. Using a rigorous random sampling technique, 30% of the 216 academic staff members at the university were chosen for the data collection. 66 academic staff members were also sampled from different departments and faculties within the school. The study made use of a modified Likert type 4-point scale questionnaire. The validity and dependability of the research tool were also established. The mean score, grand mean (GM), and standard deviation (SD) were used to examine the data. Results from the responses and the findings revealed that ICT could be utilized in the Nigerian schools towards promotion of peace and security by proper dissemination of peace education. The survey also showed that ICT teaching and learning play huge and important roles in Nigerian universities.

In relation to gender, **Syed Shah's (2022) study, “Gender and media matters in Peace Communication – A case study of Pakistan”** opens the point Researching the dyad of gender and media in the Field of Peace Communication was never as important as of now. The modern media landscape is characterized by the accumulation and juxtaposition of actors, technology, and media goods that are all fast developing. Stereotypical pictures and a noisy assault on gender equality coexist with critical and inventive content. The perpetuation of a hegemonic worldview of male supremacy is continuously observed not just in actional

programming strands but also in factual programming strands. (e gender bias continues despite the recent more innovative and critical content produced through co-creation and contestation. (e ways in which women are signed in the media send important messages to the audience about women's role, women's lives, and women's place .

It is suggested that a good representation of theoretical and empirical views from the Global South is essential for the global discourse on gender studies. The inclusion and universality of our thoughts will be improved by researching gender and media from various cultural perspectives using information from current communications. This research uses a set of analytical terminology and nuanced language to question the cultural frameworks being circulated in the Pakistani media by applying feminist media theory. By giving voice to the perspectives of women from the Global South and using a feminist lens, this study broadens the range of perspectives on the topic and helps to highlight new or lesser-known aspects of gender and media studies (Shah, 2022). Communication and conflict is always connected. As a result, study on the media's participation in many wars and conflicts, such as the two World Wars, the Cold War, and conflicts that occurred in African and Middle Eastern nations, is widely available in literature. Scholars have continued to discuss the concepts of war and peace along normative and ethical lines since Galtung and Ruge's mention of the media's role in fostering peace during conflict by disseminating peace.

Nohrstedt and Otossen (2015) debated on the applicability and importance of peace communication by pointing out that the majority of the work done in this field is dispersed geographically and cannot be reproduced globally. As a result, the authors suggested the need for a combined effort between universities, colleges, training

institutions, non-governmental organizations, and intergovernmental organizations in order to globalize and improve the ethical standards of media related to violent conflicts. Accordingly, this can only be accomplished by further conceptualizing peace journalism, which is based on fusing Galtung's peace journalism strategy with knowledge from other theories and methodologies like Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Bordieu's idea of doxa.

Mitra (2016) addressed the propensity for peace communication in many post-conflict nations to go from normative discipline to practice-related implementation without taking into account the socio-cultural contexts and situations in which communication operates. In different contexts, the author contends, it is necessary to assess the relevance and acceptability of the normative framework of peace communication. As a result, the author contends that the academic sub-fields of "manufacturing consent," "media contest," and "media culture" derived from the subject of media and conflict might teach peace communication some valuable lessons.

With extant research towing the lines of normative discussions on peace journalism, Lee and Maslog (2005) conducted the first empirical study in this field by adapting and building on Galtung's classification. By using quantitative research technique, the writers classified conflict coverage as either war coverage or peace coverage. The authors developed a case for the promotion of peace journalism by examining the coverage patterns of four conflict episodes in four Asian newspapers using the markers of war vs peace journalism. The authors noted that more descriptive and less interventionist reporting tended to be the main indications of peace journalism. They put forth a model that reflected the telltale signs of war and peace reporting. The model's indicators were divided into two categories: language

and approach. The approach based criteria include the (1) reactive or proactive approach, (2) visible or invisible effects of war, (3) elite or people orientation, (4) differences or agreements, (5) focus on here and now or on causes and effects, (6) good vs. bad dichotomy or no labeling, (7) two or multiple party involvement, (8) partisanship or non-partisanship, (9) zero-sum or win-win approach, and (10) the continuation of reports. The language-based criteria included: (1) demonising, (2) victimising, and (3) emotive words.

Through theoretical and real-world setting, Ottosen (2007) makes the case that the visual components of peace communication should be explored and emphasized upon because they have been undervalued when analyzing how the human brain processes textual and visual impulses. The study makes the case that giving visual elements like graphics and photographs importance can help peace reporting by using the Norwegian media's coverage of Colin Powell's UN Security Council speech prior to the Iraq War in 2003 and the US and Iraqi forces' attack on the Iraqi town of Fallujah in November 2004 as examples.

In their study of newspaper accounts of the post-presidential election violence in Kenya, Onyebadi and Oyedeji (2011) found that, in contrast to Rwandan media, which exacerbated the 1994 genocide there, Kenyan news reports and editorials focused on peace-building. The authors draw the conclusion that the media can help reduce war in Africa in light of their findings.

Meanwhile, Ogenga (2012) observed that given its proximity to the wars and conflicts that occur in Africa, African media have the best possibilities to practice peace communication. As a result, the study investigated the potential for Kenyan media to practice such by combining three quantitative and qualitative research

approaches. The author attributed this to the lack of peace reporting training that Kenyan journalists had at the time of the study, which indicated that the Kenyan media did not use peace communication frames in their coverage of the incident under review.

Prakash (2013) investigated the degree to which the coverage of the Balochistan/Pakistan war has displayed the indicators of peace communication put forth by Johan Galtung and other researchers on social and traditional media using the peace journalism theory and content analysis study method. Based on the peace journalism theory developed by Lynch and McGoldrick (2000) using Shinar's five active peace journalism indicators and Lee, Maslog and Kim's three passive indicators, the analysis of traditional media with a focus on national newspapers was conducted. Comparisons between social and traditional media were possible because to the use of passive and active indicators. The analysis and coding of social media needed that a new model be established from Galtung's peace table, leading to the development of indicators that were open but precise in addressing the issue. This was necessary because tweets can only be expressed in 140 characters. The study's conclusions showed that peace news is more prevalent in social media than in traditional media, and that war news is more prevalent in Pakistani media.

Perez de Fransuis (2014) gives an in-depth research of peace journalism as advocated by Galtung and applies the theory to the case study of the American coverage of the war in Iraq with the goal of studying the content of conflict coverage and how it may be influenced by peace communication. The results of this study showed that American coverage of the Iraq War has components of peace, as defined by the many orientations put forth by Galtung, Lynch, and McGoldrick. In his

research, Arthur (2015) examined the connections between the peace journalism approach to reporting and media portrayals of Australian Muslims. In here, peace communication through peace journalism has the potential to advance contextualization of conflicts, draw attention to issues with prevailing news practices, such as bureaucratic sources, question the notions of objectivity in mainstream journalism, and give audiences chances to experience empathy. The research discovered that the intensification and entrenchment of Islamophobic representations in the chosen newspapers were significantly influenced by narratives of violent conflict.

The Critical Discourse Analysis technique, put forth by Nohrstedt and Ottosen (2010) to investigate how mediated discourses are related, is another theoretical framework that has been applied to peace communication. Lee (2010) also pointed out that, despite academics' failure to agree on a concept of framing, the framing theory supports peace. By arguing that the critical race theory, framing theory, and media's ability to set agendas, as well as Habermas' public sphere model, can be used to explain peace, Lynch and Galtung (2010) and McMahon and Chow-White (2011) supported Lee and provided a theoretical foundation for peace communication.

Also, Ogenga (2012) made a contribution to the field of peace communication studies theory and used a theoretical framework that blends peace communication and peace journalism principles with theories of media representation. Ogenga (2012) concentrated on political economics ideas, theories of news production, and theories of cultural studies. These ideas, in the author's opinion, were appropriate since they highlighted the language used in news reports, which is crucial for comprehending media representations.

Theoretical Posturing on Communication and Peacebuilding

On trends of communication models for peace, five are known in the peace studies. Four of which are helmed to promote the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by the United Nations in 2015 as provided by **Eloisa Nos Aldas, Tamer Al Najjar and Alessandra Farre (2021)** in their chapter “**Communication for Peaceful Social Change and Global Citizenry**” and a project trend called **Non-Violent Communication**. This entry provides a theoretical overview of the contributions of scholars and practitioners who highlight the importance of a transformative, educational and emancipatory communication by different social actors to establish the main lines of action for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. This communicative model involves the coordination of actors and strategies, both short- and long-term, cross-cutting actions and discourses to build social, cultural and political settings based on the criteria of peace, equality, social justice and human rights.

Specifically, this entails a contribution to the objectives set out in SDG 16, “Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions”, given that the theoretical framework is grounded in Communication for Peace and Communication for Social Change, and includes a systematization of different strategies and experiences from a variety of social issuers, mainly institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or social movements, aimed at promoting peaceful and inclusive societies. Specifically, communication for peaceful social change and global citizenry contributes to the achievement of specific SDG 16 objectives, particularly:

- 16.1. Significantly reduce all forms of violence;
- 16.6. Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels;
- 16.7. Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels;

- 16.8. Broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance;
- 16.10: Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements, and,
- 16.B: Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development.

1. Culture and Communication for Peace

The examination of suggestions to end violence and the analysis of all events that cause human suffering have been the main focuses of peace research since it became a discipline after World War II (Wallensteen 2011; Young 2010). According to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, "there can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development" (United Nations 2015: 2), this strategy is in line with this statement. The study of all forms of violence and its characteristics is a necessary starting point for theoretical contributions from peace research in order to suggest transformative actions towards peace. These theoretical contributions discuss the conditions for establishing peaceful societies and educating people in peace studies.

As cited by Nos Aldas, Al Najjar and Farre (2021), "Johan Galtung, considered the founding father of Peace Research, fostered a thorough analysis on violence, concluding that to achieve peaceful societies it is also necessary to understand and tackle cultural and symbolic aspects (such as discourses) that legitimize and justify situations of direct violence (deprivation of life) and structural violence (poor living conditions such as deficient access to water or healthcare). Thus, these three types of violence are interrelated and conform a "triangle of violence", in which "direct violence is an event; structural violence is a process with ups and down; cultural violence is an invariant, a permanence" (Galtung 1990)."

With the passage of time and changes in history and society, the idea of peace has changed. At first, people thought of peace as just the absence of war (negative peace). This idea was challenged by the growth of peace research, which revealed the need for social justice and development to coexist with the absence of direct violence in order to achieve constructive peace. In order to confront the problem of cultural violence and the necessity to change it (create a culture of peace), the idea of peace has undergone an epistemological reconstruction since the 1990s. With a focus on the importance of cultivating human interactions to create societies devoid of violence, the study of the cultural aspects of peace, also known as peace culture or culture of peace, enables discussion on the profound, long-term transformations that support intercultural dialogue and non-violence (Martnez Guzmán 2006; Reardon 2001).

Nos Aldas, Al Najjar and Farre (2021) also emphasized that “these scholarly contributions impacted at the institutional and international level, such as in the UN Program of Action on a Culture of Peace, which emphasized the role of culture in eradicating all types of violence, inequality and injustice by protecting human rights, promoting equality between men and women, ensuring access to education, and guaranteeing freedom of expression, among others (United Nations, 1999).”

As discussed, “Peace culture is related to cultural and communication studies, given the significant role of symbolic and cultural aspects in configuring societies, and scholars dedicated to peace communication have focused on the role of communication in delegitimizing violence, and on those narrative features that best contribute to imagining and building alternatives based on peace and social justice (Hoffman and Hawkins 2015). Different theoretical perspectives conceive communication as a social practice and a product influenced by different contexts

(Fairclough 1989; Hall 1997). Therefore, the subject of communication necessarily involves reference to the configuration of individual, group and institutional relationships: “a medium through which cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialization take place” (Habermas, 1987).

These communicative relations act as social and cultural mediators (van Dijk, 2001), and the discursive aspects play an important role in configuring realities and interlocution among different social actors. Therefore, the analysis of discourses (Cobley 2008) addresses their socio- cultural implications, their contextual effects, and the values, attitudes and meaning that they convey. Language (and so, any discourse) is performative (Austin 1976), which means that communication is an action, and every communicative act has consequences. The way in which reality is expressed, represented and framed affects how people think and conceive things, because frames are mental structures that shape our way of interpreting the world (Lakoff 2004). Some content may keep fostering cultural violence (for instance, stereotypes and prejudices), however, communication also entails dialogue, denouncing oppression, contextualizing events, and promoting transformation based on social justice criteria (Nos Aldás and Pinazo 2013) and non-violence. In fact, following the principle and lesson of Peace by peaceful means (Galtung 1996), Communication for Peace must be grounded in, and promote, non-violence (Nos Aldás 2013). Consequently, building a peace culture means confronting the cultural responsibility and commitment embedded in each communicative action, by promoting discursive strategies that foster equality and inclusive diversity.

2. Communication for Development and Communication for Social Change

Communication promotes discourses and, therefore, plays an essential role in society and its development. In the 1970s, several countries encouraged reflection on a

New World Information and Communication Order, which was embraced by UNESCO and articulated in the MacBride report (1980) on the importance of communication and media for global development.

Communication for Development (C4D) is an established field of study and practice, dedicated to exploring the role of communication in promoting development. It is a heterogeneous field closely linked to the evolution of different conceptions and approaches to development (Lancaster and Van de Walle 2018). The dominant paradigm of development emerged in the post-World War II era of the 1950s and 1960s, and consolidated around the goal of economic growth and the belief that this would bring “development” and modernization to “underdeveloped” countries” (Nos Aldas, Al Najjar and Farre, 2021).

Concurrent to the evolution of the concept of development, with proposals grounded in post-colonial, post-development and gender perspectives (Klein and Morreo 2019; Parpart et al. 2000), was growing criticism of a dominant C4D, which focused on transmitting information from governments to the public in a top-down hierarchical way, with critics advocating the need to rethink the role of communication on development.

The consolidation of alternative ideas over the past few years has highlighted the necessity of embracing regional perspectives from Africa and Asia (Servaes 2013), as well as Latin America's contribution with its cultural and participatory “communicology” (Martn Barbero 2008; Aguirre Alvis 2019). Education for Development (Skinner et al. 2013) and the Third Sector, in particular non-governmental development organizations (NGDOs), have also made contributions to the rethinking of C4D. The Finding Frames (Darnton and Kirk 2011) paper on the function of communicative frames in mobilizing individuals for social causes and the eradication of global poverty serves as a reference in this area. This study reveals how the frames utilized in the prevailing discourse on

development fail to engage the public in social issues by emphasizing that poverty is inevitable. These frames express the asymmetrical roles of a superior savior of a passive, incompetent receiver. The study suggests constructive frameworks that might be applied in C4D to encourage citizen engagement for change based on more collaborative and horizontal interactions for justice.

Another relevant Third Sector contribution to the renewal of C4D is the work of the Irish Association of Non-Governmental Development Organizations (Dóchas) through its code of conduct on images and messages; this group has produced an Illustrative Guide (Dóchas 2014) with examples of how to effectively communicate messages (not only in text, but also through the use of images) based on principles of respect, equality, solidarity and justice, and avoiding a subjugated, stereotyped view of people.

As a result, a first step toward a critical global citizenry committed to the SDGs is a dialogue between the developing communicative tradition based on sustainable and eco-social criteria, including epistemologies from the South (de Sousa Santos 2016), and a Global Citizenship Education that is a part of the most recent trends in development education (Bourn 2020; UNESCO 2017) aimed at understanding the fundamental, interconnected causes of inequalities and discriminatory processes. Overall, the critical viewpoints and research being done in the subject of C4D are concentrated on finding effective transformative discourses that may envision and create better realities (Rodríguez 2017; Tufte 2017). This transformative C4D approach intersects with Communication for Social Change, which promotes a more cultural, participatory focus on social actors, structural changes and the role of media and cultural production in order to engage people in the transformation of injustice.

3. Civil society, activism and communicative action for peace

The role of communication in the reaching SDGs is linked to the communicative tradition that emerges in NGDO research and in recent civil society activism and its creative, transformative communication actions (Boyd and Mitchell 2012; Jenkins et al. 2020). At present, this reality relates closely to multi-layer communication and the creative contributions of citizen's techno-political experiences (Toret and Calleja, 2014) in hybrid and transmedia scenarios (Treré, 2018). The design of communication scenarios for the 2030 Agenda requires an awareness of which actors work specifically towards SDGs and of their dependence on communicative processes; but it also needs to draw attention to how all the social actors are involved in the potential success of SDGs within a cross-cutting panorama. A global citizenry approach also encompasses companies that can be defined by their citizenry role, for instance, or commercial advertising that displays awareness of its promoter's social and cultural responsibilities in its representations and stated commitments (the performativity of its discourse).

Communication for peaceful social change and global citizenry seeks to strengthen a peaceful and sustainable society, which involves action by social, economic and political structures, and engagement and capacity-building for social justice on the part of all social actors (governments, political parties and voters; NGOs, trade unions, associations and sponsors; companies and consumers; international institutions and citizens...). It also involves denouncing structural violence within these contexts, and calling out the root causes of the problems the world faces, pressing other actors to take just and coherent actions in line with SDGs, and applying SDG proposals and encouraging the necessary transformations associated to them (Nos Aldas, Al Najjar and Farre, 2021).

Therefore, organizational communication, strategic communication and advocacy communication – in the broad sense, (Cohen 2001: 178; Wilkins 2014) – are a central part of this chapter. In other words, communication that can effectively enhance SDGs needs to adopt an integrative, dialogic approach in which not only communicative actions themselves but also education, legislation, social economy or direct political action and political decisions require strategic cooperation in order to achieve these goals. Communication is responsible for providing informal education, as people get as much education (information, knowledge and wisdom) in their daily life contexts (the family, the media, entertainment...) as they do in formal or non-formal educational contexts.

These communication scenarios involve all kinds of social actors with their individual idiosyncrasies that need to assume the SDGs in order to make them possible. Such actors include states, markets, Third Sector organizations (structured civil society), non-structured civil society actors and social movements, all of whom can be defined as the main variables operating within the machinery of social relations and sustainable development. As extensions of these agents, two other actors to be considered are, first, international organizations such as the UN and UNESCO, or the International Court of Justice, as mechanisms devised by states for global action; the official offices created by such organizations work on social justice and peace cultures as mediators between governments and civil actors, but depend on the states. And, second, another piece in this puzzle are the media (mass, social...), that respond to either a market actor, a state actor, a Third Sector actor or a civil society platform depending on their funding, structures and goals (Guedes Bailey, et al. 2008). The preponderance of their organizational structures and funding models have been indicated as enabling, or complicating, their ability to achieve their

cultural and transformative goals. Internal communication is seen as key to achieving cross-cutting communication, which requires a more horizontal, cooperative relations with stakeholders and partners.

Therefore, organizational and strategic communication requires specific working criteria in this sector to plan, produce and assess the cultural efficacy of their communication (in terms of collective goals) and cultural efficiency (regarding the political and cultural consequences of their communicative actions even when their goals are private). This means that consistency is essential in every communicative decision taken that strives to political transformation (Nos Aldas, 2013). In fact, platforms, networks and global actions implemented in collaboration with similar or dissimilar actors have to be included also as key actors in these communication scenarios, to acquire influence and resolve the complexity of collective goals and the limitations of private needs.

In short, the challenge of a non-violent, transformative communication implies an understanding of communication that develops processes of awareness of interdependencies, agency, possibility and engagement for a global citizenry from collective and culturally resonant action frames (Benford and Snow 2000). This communication aims not only to stage protests but also to achieve appropriate representation and recognition for all the different social and cultural groups, and to present proposals and strengthen economic, political, educational and cultural structures for global social justice.

4. Transgressive communication for peaceful social change

This theoretical overview allows us to understand the importance of communicative processes on a cultural, political and educational level in order to

transform situations of violence, inequality or injustice. The field of critical studies in Communication for Social Change has played an important role in incorporating a reflective view of different realities to propose transformative and constructive narrative criteria to establish new communicative paradigms that are more inclusive, pluralistic and participatory. This involves understanding communicative processes as tools for transformation to eradicate all structures that generate violence. Social change requires new mental and action frames and, therefore, new language that enables us to rethink “the goals we seek, the plans we make, the way we act, and what counts as a good or bad outcome of our actions” (Lakoff, 2004). Therefore, CSC with peaceful goals aims to alter and transgress all dominant frames that legitimate an unjust social order and behavior that generate inequalities, hence, the concept of transgressive communication (hooks, 1994) as a critical, transformative communication based on a collective exercise of freedom and creativity with peaceful but subversive aims.

Transgressive Communication for Social Change explores which narrative criteria provide greater cultural consensus to achieve peaceful societies and strengthen civil society in the pursuit of social justice, presenting alternatives from local to global level. For instance, some studies (Mesa et al. 2013) indicate the need to incorporate values in narratives and discourses for peaceful change: inclusive (such as solidarity and care), universal (dialogue and diversity) and emancipatory (freedom, resistance and hope) values. This approach requires the evaluation of the consequences of any discourse through a cultural efficacy approach (Bosch 2012), which takes into account the relevance of cultural variables in all communicative actions to anticipate and avoid any possible violence that hinders the transformation of cultural and symbolic elements counterproductive to peace. Therefore, cultural

efficacy “can be seen as the goal for those discourses that arise from social and collective aims and have social education as their final and unique aim” (Nos Aldás, 2013).

The importance of making peace more visible from different media settings is also outlined in the Measuring Peace report that analyzed 164,000 international news items and concluded “that stories related to violence do get the most coverage” (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2011). Recent studies on violent media content also suggest exploring transformative, communicative actions through the implementation of critical counter-narratives (Poole, et al. 2019), particularly when discourses imbued with hatred and racism endanger principles of human rights.

Chouliaraki (2013) argues that in media content it is necessary to continue to incorporate narratives and frames connected to human rights, social justice, cosmopolitanism, interculturality and hospitality in order to address solidarity in a cross-cutting way. These discursive features are the basis of a transgressive communication for peaceful social change, and they engage with other concepts. On the other hand, the concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991; Yuval-Davis 2011) helps to envisage the different facets and overlapping of inequality and discrimination, addressing the intersections of different categories connected to the system of oppression and privilege (gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality and origin, among others).

5. Nonviolent Communication (NVC)

Observing interactions for peace building words in mediation sessions is likely to give some insight through analysis of how people relate and respond to words spoken particularly during a highly emotional time involving conflict. Also,

determining whether or not these words make the difference in resolution and/or reconciliation could aid peace processes in the long term.

Nonviolent communication (NVC) is form of speaking interpersonally that was created and currently taught and championed by Dr. Marshall Rosenberg. As a sought after speaker and mediator, Rosenberg has formulated this tool to answer two questions he had within himself concerning communication and conflict. “First, [he] wanted to better understand what happens to human beings that leads some of us to behave violently and exploitatively” (Rosenberg, 2012, p. vii). Secondly he wanted to better understand if there was a way to educate people to be/remain compassionate in the face of violent behavior. (Rosenberg, 2012)

Believing that it is innate in human beings to be compassionate, Rosenberg offers that the basis of all communication, intrapersonally and interpersonally is to fulfil a need. He defines needs as “resources that life requires in order to sustain itself” (Rosenberg, 2012, p. 3). Thus, understanding this truth about people, he names five habits of NVC practitioners have support resolving conflicts: (1) Expressing our own needs, (2) Sensing the needs of others; regardless of how others are expressing themselves, (3) Checking to see whether needs are accurately being received, (4) Providing the empathy people need in order to hear the needs of others, and (5) Translating proposed solutions or strategies into positive action language (Rosenberg, 2012).

Empathy is at the root of hearing the needs of others and managing conflict in a peaceful way. “Empathic connection is an understanding of the heart, where we see the beauty in the other person...we connect with it” (Rosenberg, 2012, p. 155). Nonviolent Communication became an incentive to move past mere resolution and

get to reconciliation. Reconciliation provides a pathway to warm peace. At the core of Nonviolent Communication is communication. What words do we use to return to peace? Discussing NVC allows me and the students to study words. We can also discuss reasons behind words, how words reflect to intrapersonal communication and also what words and how words are communicated interpersonally.

Every communicative action has the capacity to sustain or ignite situations of violence or injustice, but also the potential to facilitate peace and social change. The paradigm of transgressive communication for peaceful social change presented here reveals how symbolic elements can contribute to transforming violence from its cultural and symbolic basis, which is also effective on the structural and direct level. This chapter has reviewed a series of criteria to analyze and assess the cultural consequences of communicative actions. They point to the importance of discourses, their effects and the representations and values they share on certain realities. The model suggests discourse and narratives that follow criteria of peace and social justice imbued with inclusive, universal and emancipatory values, such as freedom, creativity, resilience, solidarity, hope or non-violence, which contribute to the transgression and transformation of cultural violence.

In this way, communication acts as a tool, a space and a process of transformation with social and educational aims connected to the SDGs, to enable the construction of a more peaceful and inclusive world, and “significantly reduce all forms of violence” (SDG 16.1). The participation and interaction of multiple actors - such as institutions, NGOs, companies or the media - are key factors in the transformation of social problems from their roots, appealing to the social responsibility of all citizens.

The peaceful transformation of all current violent situations, of inequality and

injustice, requires transgressive communicative models that give greater visibility to potential and successful actions of social change, recovering the voices of those who have been silenced or marginalized, explaining the deep causes and complexities of the system of oppression and exclusion and, ultimately, educating in peace culture.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research design, data collection and analysis and ethical considerations to be utilized in this study.

Research Design

In this study, the researcher used qualitative research design using the Content Analysis and anchoring from the concepts based on non-human agency and socio-cultural tradition of communication. To set things properly, the socio-cultural tradition holds the view that communication and its problems are best understood and explored from the contexts of culture, society and groups. Then, it would almost naturally be biased toward qualitative research. According to Creswell (2011), qualitative research is a means of exploring and understanding the meanings individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011) further argue that this approach to inquiry 'emphasizes a naturalistic search for relativity in meaning, multiplicity of interpretations, detail and flexibility in studying a phenomenon...' It would follow then that the researcher in this tradition would be seeking to understand and explain the various possible meanings of a subject in its natural setting. This is a flexible process that allows room for emerging issues (like the culture of peace).

Data Collection and Analysis

The subjects of the study are the two milestone peace agreements: (1) 1996 Final Peace Agreement and Implementation of 1976 Tripoli Agreement, and (2) 2014 Comprehensive Agreement of Bangsamoro (CAB). Purposive

sampling was used to select all available agreements from the official website of the Office of Presidential Adviser on Peace, Unity and Reconciliation. The electronic copies of the written peace agreement were readily available in the Internet.

The paper posits to answer the problem on **what is the authority of peace agreements and how do the peace agreements perform/invoke its power**. As a document, what particular provisions are observed, followed and violated by the concerned parties: Government of the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front and Moro Islamic Liberation Front. In this study, the researcher used and explored Francois Cooren's seminal concepts on nonhuman agency (textual agency), Searle's Speech Act Theory.

To answer the sub-problem 1, the researcher examined what authority has the peace agreements have in enforcing peace in Mindanao. The researcher determined the type of speech acts in the peace agreements and further analyzed the textual agency present in the texts.

To answer sub-problem 2, the study traced the events (news articles) that occur prior and after the signing of the peace agreements. In short, an action then is a transformation of state operated by an agent. Also, the researcher located the notions of agency in terms of its actions from the peace agreements and determine the networks and relation roles it creates. Based on Irvine-Smith (2016), agreements, for documents qua documents to be conceptualized as agents of change, these must be shown to be active participants such that they affect the situation.

To fully construct the proper analysis, the researcher first analyzed Cooren's concepts on nonhuman agency and referred to his ideas of textual agency. The

teleaction and presentification (representations) created and manifested in the agreements will set the power and influence of these texts in (re)producing peace.

To deepen the analysis, the socio-cultural constructs were used as a springboard to level off discussions on power and influence in history, politics and society. Latour (2005) posits that nonhuman agents like the textual agreement, are important to maintain power, like society, is the final result of a process and not a reservoir, a stock or a capital that will automatically provide an explanation. Power and domination have to be produced, made up, composed.” The researcher determined the dynamics of power and associations of authority in creating the agreement and its trajectory effect on both parties and beneficiaries.

Ethical Considerations

Unlike the quantitative method which relies on statistics and numbers, qualitative methods find their analysis from the basis of descriptive data. Many critics stated that qualitative study is ‘less reliable’ than the quantitative; but, this particular notion is argued by some research experts like Lincoln and Guba (1985, cited by Creswell, 2003) because qualitative research can be highly reliable if it passes the standards.

Before assessing the study and its plausibility, theoretical and empirical will be presented here. Theoretical plausibility connects the 'alignment' of the meaning of the study to the world of knowledge it is related and contributing to. The study opens discussions on the nonhuman agency element of the peace agreements in Mindanao. Meanwhile, empirical plausibility refers to the meaning process and recognition of the results of the study. The analyses will be confirmed with published

research works on this subject matter as well as to consult experts to support the claims of the study. This is an important way of understanding local perspectives on different issues as it involves the communities in the process of identifying problems and in devising and developing ways and concepts being identified by the study.

To provide the trustworthiness of this study, we will adopt Lincoln and Guba's criteria of a trustworthy qualitative study: credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability and reflexivity.

First, credibility refers to the truth value of the study. Even though the study is within the context, culture and environment of the researchers, their particular knowledge is limited though they read, studied and consulted various literatures, studies and readings on the subject matter. To properly set the degree of credibility of the literature used and analyses, the study will use document analysis as its form of triangulation and support of evidence data. As discussed by Bowen (2009), document analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation – 'the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon. The qualitative researcher is expected to draw upon multiple (at least two) sources of evidence; that is to seek convergence and corroboration through the use of different data sources and methods. By triangulating data, the researcher attempts to provide 'a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility (Eisner, 1991). By examining information collected through different methods, the researcher can corroborate findings across data sets and thus reduce the impact of potential biases.

Second, transferability pertains to the applicability of the results to other contexts. Since this study is about the socio-cultural implication of nonhuman agency and its other related concepts towards the value of peace agreements, this becomes

useful (transferable) to discuss timely and relevant studies of today. Furthermore, the study opens the meaning behind the action (contextual explanation) of the society and actors in drafting and finalizing each of peace agreements and on how various perspectives (multiple) on culture of peace are formed and created.

Third, dependability is the consistency of the findings. The study is consistent in terms of its results – there are contextually similar and related ideas to be found in the content analyses of the peace agreements. Since the peace agreements are textual agents in realization of the culture of peace, the wording and contextualization of its written form will surface the consistent message of what parties/entities agreed upon. As such, analysis is continuous throughout the documentation process in order to follow up on emergent ideas and to organize insights and incorporate them into further analysis and synthesis. The use of reading and comparing the results from other studies help in the plausibility of their study.

Fourth, the confirmability submits on the idea of neutrality of the findings. The researcher will be an outsider, omniscient analysts of the peace agreements therefore it is best to assume that the study is neutral in providing sample texts and direct quotations from the texts. Though the lines are selected, this particular evidence will be categorized in themes and can be confirmed with the researcher's audit trail.

Lastly, in terms of reflexivity, this is the continual process of engaging with and articulating the place of the researcher and the context of the research. Since study is, if not first of its kind, new in terms of analyzing the nonhuman agency element in the peace agreements and its agent activity as a mobilizer of peace. Other studies published five years before this study will be used to provide supplementary comments and the researcher will conduct consultation to experts in the Mindanao

Peace and Conflict Management ranging from history professors, peace advocates and NGOs.

Above all, the researcher will uphold honesty and truth in the conduct of the researcher. Davies and Dodd (2002) therefore stated that the plausibility of the research should also be formulated in terms of attentiveness, empathy, carefulness, sensitivity, respect, reflection, conscientiousness, engagement, awareness, and openness on the part of the investigator(s) (researchers).

CHAPTER IV

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the results of the study regarding the question on the authority of peace agreements and what do its agencies carry and perform in the greater scale of the peace process in Mindanao.

Authority and Power of Documents

As defined by Yawanarajah and Ouelette (2003), “peace agreements are contracts intended to end a violent conflict, or to significantly transform a conflict, so that it can be more constructively addressed.” Such agreement serves a purpose to negotiate for peace, cease all hostilities and violence, proceed to transition, and work for sustainability of peace, development, and normalization. Peace agreements, though textual, are powerful agents of transformation and implementation of specific actions. Not all agreements can directly give an impact or the desired resolution, but its gradual pace helps towards a comprehensive settlement.

Once signed, the peace agreement holds the ultimate manifesto of both parties being settled. This serves as a guide on how two previously quarreling entities should come to terms and fully achieve consolidation of a better, harmonious community. To make things clearer, signed agreements have an authority to influence and create power to mobilize the agency of fulfillment and realization of the provisions stated therein – it has a ‘holding’ of authority.

“Holding” a position means having “the authority to give the commands required for the discharge of these duties” (Weber, 1922/1968). Giddens (1984, p.

258) proposes that authoritative resources derive “from the capability of harnessing the activities of human beings.” Haugaard (1997, p. 111) further explains that “the actors who possess authoritative resources are those who can influence the life chances of others and/or patterns of structural reproduction.” Holding that position may be achieved through bureaucratic rules but also through economic and legal tools.

Some authors stressed the role of communication and situate authority and power in the realm of interaction, at least in broad strokes. For instance, for Chester Barnard (1938/1968, p. 163): Authority is the character of a communication (order) in a formal organization by virtue of which it is accepted by a contributor to or a “member” of the organization as governing the action he contributes; that is as governing or determining what he does or is not to do so far as the organization is concerned.

If the agreement is a document that is organized, the “character” in a communication (that) makes it authoritative, thus (by) putting the emphasis on the “message,” Barnard’s suggestion can also be read, in a more generous manner, as leaving room for the “recipient” of authority to choose or not to be guided by that message, thus offering elements of an interactional approach, (whether to implement the message or not.

Formal authority can be defined as “an act of influence perceived to be ‘right’ because it is in concordance with existing and accepted organizational structures” (Benoit-Barné & Cooren, 2009, p. 6) such as institutional rules, roles, and practices. Taylor and Van Every (2014) note that while power and authority are commonly linked, little work has been done to clarify their relationship, with few empirical studies that actually examine “authority in practice.”

However, formal authority does not necessarily mean having power over others, given that an individual in a position of formal authority is obligated to fulfill the expectations of her role (an issue that is repeatedly made explicit in the conflict episode) (Castor and Saludadez, 2020).

In social sciences, authority is the exercise of the legitimate influence by one social actor to another entity. Authority is not synonymous to power, but these two terms are related. Peace agreements oblige both parties in conflict and authorize a set of people to be the mediator to settle disputes and formulate laws, plans and programs for the benefit of the active participants in the peace process.

The authority in peace agreements might be not regarded as coercive— the use of force, which in many cases would be illegal. It is in the detailed plan and framing of any peace agreement that the process should be diplomatic, participative, and encouraging. This holds the idea that authority that both parties in conflict are valid participants with power and right to have a good life, dwell in safety and order and possess and repossess property. In all cases, peace agreement legitimizes the act of influence as legal and inclusive.

The use of physical force is not limited to the state nor excluded from the exercise of authority as described. Instead, the idea of authority encompasses a range of social interactions and is held by several different social actors. Via the instruments of peace process, the leading panel of participants have control over the implementation of the agreement. Even early research in organization theory focused heavily on the issues of why authority dynamics occur in organizations and how they help to coordinate organizational action and organizational behavior.

The legitimacy that separates coercive power from authority rests not on some

theoretical normative foundation but rather on de facto social convention. That legitimacy is not whether an actor's behavior satisfies some ideal ethical norm but rather whether it fits with social norms held in common by real people in society. People in power granted and vested peace agreements (nonhuman) such power; and peace agreements enact and grant authority to both parties (human) to settle conflict, follow the provisions and implement the plans within the jurisdiction of the signed agreement.

Agency of Documents on Peace Process

Since the study has a terra firma that the authority of the peace documents is to forge commitment to be followed by the concerned parties, the question remained is that how do these peace documents perform or invoke their authority?

Authority carries agency – this is the premise. The peace agreement having its authority does affect the agency of an action to be realized and fulfilled to results. As a document type, peace agreement banks on non-human agency wherein ‘we identified in epistemological position that consists of acknowledging that we share our world with entities that do things in some specific circumstances. This does not mean, however, that they always make a difference’ (Cooren, 2004). But on peace process, there are provisions in the peace agreement that were implemented whether full or minimal, while others are not implemented at all.

‘To do something – this is a general property of action,’ which is valid for all types of interactants (humans included) – others have to proceed (Latour, 1996). Any documents are not written or produced for no apparent reason or a designed

purpose. In forms of speech acts, whether it is an assertive, a commissive or a directive, these presupposes that in all provisions in the agreement both the parties in conflict should take part in its realization. In other words, what the agreement is capable of should be attributed to the humans who furnish it. The panel who drafts the agreement joined the agreement to formally translated their ideals and plans into text. As Cooren (2004) would put it, 'living in a world of agencies implies that actions are shared between different entities,' – human plus nonhuman.

Given that agency is a trait that tends to be reserved for human beings and only human beings (Giddens, 1984), claiming that non-humans like machines, documents, texts, or signs do act can appear quite hubristic to many scholars (McPhee, 2004; MCPhee and Seibold, 1999). However, by agency, we do not mean that inanimate objects have a soul or that there is a ghost in the machine (this type of 'ontological bet' is of no interest to us) (Cooren, 2004). What we simply want to acknowledge is that objects *do things*, that is, that they contribute, in their own way, to the emergence of organizational and social processes. For instance, once we recognize that entities other than humans do indeed do things, we can observe how a peace agreement can solve or end a problem in a specific area.

According to Saludadez (2015), the agency framework explains 'how one can act from a distance' or 'teleact' (Cooren, 2006). The framework 'views interactions as streams, flows, or processes' and assumes that the 'ultimate origin of what is happening in each interaction' is not the participants and their actions/moves 'precisely because these participants are themselves moved or acted upon by specific reasons that they come to stage (or not) in their discussions' (Cooren, 2010).

Within the agency framework, communication is seen as 'not only a matter of

people speaking or writing to each other, but that other things are continuously inviting and expressing themselves in day-to-day interactions' (Cooren, 2011, as cited by Saludadez, 2015). These other things are agents. Being an agent means being able to act or speak 'on behalf (or in the name) of principal'. In the narrative economy, principal refers to a collective entity like a group, organization, or society (Taylor and Van Every, 2000, as cited by Cooren, 2006).

The agency theory, as what Latour (1999) noted, demonstrates that actions are hybrid, which means that they can be attributed to – or appropriated by – many different entities depending on the situation. His idea on non-human agency highlights the role of documents, machines and technology which help humans communicate or send his/her message. Cooren (2004) stated that, 'non- human agency does not mean that objects become completely autonomous and that humans are reduced to puppets. Non-human agency does not mean that we stop thinking about the humans who designed and set them up. On the contrary, most of the time, we attribute agency to non-humans.

On to our discussion on agency in peace agreement, it is deemed suitable to start the discussion with these two milestone peace deals. After years of violent conflict that claimed thousands of lives, the Bangsamoro Liberation Fronts and the GRP entered the peace process negotiations. First, there was **1996 Final Peace Agreement** (the GRP-MNLF peace process) which led to the establishment of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) in 1989 and the designation of the MNLF communities as Peace and Development Communities (PDC), whose residents went on to receive funding for peace and development initiatives from the government and different donors. The second was the **2014 Comprehensive Agreement in the Bangsamoro** (GRP–MILF peace process) which was

successfully passed in 2018; after President Duterte approved the Bangsamoro Basic Law, this established the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) in place of the ARMM. To note, these two agreements were referred as documents on peace process. In general terms, a **Peace Process** refers to any social and/or political process in which conflicts are resolved through peaceful means. It is a procedure that incorporates politics, diplomacy, negotiation, conversation, and transforming interpersonal connections. Its goal is to address the core causes of conflict via communication, compromise, and constructive action rather than just put an end to war or manage ongoing violence. A peace process in this conflict aims to improve the atmosphere for people to realize their full potential and change hostile interactions into friendly ones. It is frequently drawn out and full of difficulties because it is a process that frequently entails difficult and delicate problems. This was the hallmark of the negotiations for peace between the two Bangsamoro Liberation Fronts and the Philippine Government.

Since 1975, we have had almost 50 signed various documents, but in history, there are only two (2) peace processes: One was with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the second was with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). These agreements took time in the long chronicle of war and peace in Mindanao.

The framework used in answering this problem is the Speech Act Theory following the classification of John Searle. In Searlean's theory, instead of focusing on performative verbs, he distinguishes twelve dimensions of variation in which illocutionary acts differ from one another. However, he decides to build his taxonomy mainly around two: the *illocutionary point* and the *direction of fit* (Searle, 1979).

To begin, the illocutionary point is the purpose of the utterance. The

illocutionary point of a *description* is different from, let us say, a *command*; but a *request* and a *command* have the same illocutionary point: “both are attempts to get the hearer to do something” (Searle, 1979, p. 3). Searle’s illocutionary point is part of Austin’s illocutionary act. In any case, there is something more that distinguishes illocutionary acts, namely, their direction of fit.

There are five classification of Speech Acts which are used in this study: (1) Assertives – to obligate the speaker to something being the case (truth value) includes assertions, statements, claims and hypothesis, (2) Directives – attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something includes commands, requests, invitations, (3) Commissive – commit the speaker to some future course of action includes promises, pledges and vows, (4) Expressives – express a psychological state like acknowledgment, congratulations, apologies and condolences, (5) Declarations – create new states of affairs by representing them as being the case like terminating a contract.

The analysis of speech acts reveals the authority and agency of the peace documents. These are also important precursors on the implementation of the peace agreements. Based on the results, the most dominant speech acts in the agreements are assertives (affirming), followed by directives (command), directives (order) and commissives (commitment). Other speech acts found are assertives (assuring, recall and confirm), directives (request and prohibition), commissives (pledge) and expressives (thanking) and declaration.

1. Assertive (Affirming)

Assertives can be found in the peace agreements. These are the speech acts in which the speaker asserts ‘a proposition to be true or state a fact’, using such verbs as affirm, believe, conclude, report, deny. Though assertive verbs are not

mainly used, most assertive speech acts are phrases directly positing authority. As the most dominant speech acts, the peace agreements tend to “affirm” specific ideas to be implemented. Contrary in the study, the use of assertive verbs is limited only to ‘affirm, reaffirm, compose, vest, extend, respect,’ like “the parties affirm their solemn commitment in the aforementioned Statement of Understanding as well as Memorandum of Agreement; reaffirm the General Cessation of Hostilities dated 18 July 1997 and the General Framework of the Agreement; Bangsamoro shall be composed of the Chief Minister, a Deputy Chief and such other ministers necessary to perform the functions of the government; legislative power shall be vested in the Regional Legislative Assembly; Bangsamoro Waters shall extend up to 22.224 kilometers (12 nautical miles) from the low-water mark of the coast; and Indigenous people’s rights will shall be respected.”

These speech acts are stating the right information. The ‘affirming’ type of assertive speech act is mainly found in the peace agreements. The affirming assertives mandate ‘authority and/or responsibility,’ establish ‘power, position, office, and by placing a feature or function.

In the peace agreements, the assertive speech acts have specific functions. The peace agreements in Mindanao assert to: (1) recognize the Bangsamoro identity for the realization of the lasting peace, (2) affirm the autonomy of the Bangsamoro, (3) highlight the need of transition, and (4) upholds the significance of socio-economic, cultural and educational development.

a. Recognize the Bangsamoro identity for the realization of the lasting peace.

Peace agreement has the capacity to end wars and resolve conflict for the general welfare of the affected communities. The agentive role of the written

agreement in real sense of 'stopping violence and decommissioning of weapons' can be actualized by this 'powerful' text, but in the peace agreements, the recognition of the Bangsamoro identity is the central axiom in the imposition of lasting peace in Mindanao.

The Bangsamoro identity is emphasized and asserted by the panel to be included in covering all provisions for the purpose of creating a new peace framework in this side of Mindanao. For example, in the Paragraph 1 of the GPH- MILF Decision Points on Principles as of April 2012, it was stated that:

The Parties **recognize Bangsamoro identity** and the legitimate grievances and claims of the Bangsamoro people.

To add, in paragraph 7, Agreement on Peace Between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front:

recognizing that peace negotiations between the GRP and the MILF is for the advancement of the general interest of the Bangsamoro people and other indigenous people.

Also, reiterated in the Article V – General Framework of Agreement of Intent between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front;

The Parties recognize that there will be lasting peace in Mindanao when there is mutual trust, justice, freedom, and tolerance for the identity, culture, way of life and aspirations of all the peoples of Mindanao.

In addition, Section 1 of the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro stated that:

The Parties recognize the Bangsamoro identity.

C. Ancestral Domain Aspect, Agreement on Peace between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, on the aspect of ancestral domain, the Parties, in order to address the humanitarian

and economic needs of the Bangsamoro people and preserve their social and cultural heritage and inherent rights over their ancestral domain, agree that the same be discussed further by the Parties in their next meeting.

In 1996 Final Peace Agreement, the reason of its crafting was the Bangsamoro problem. The Bangsamoro problem was on the agenda of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) meeting on February 29, 1972, so it appears that they were aware of the predicament of the Muslims in the Southern Philippines. The OIC was successful in getting the GRP and MNLF to the bargaining table on January 18–19, 1975 in Saudi Arabia after several rounds of mediation.

The MNLF's initial demand, the Bangsamoro identity is for its independence, is interesting to discuss. The MNLF was compelled to forgo independence in return for a powerful autonomous area with internal security forces because the OIC was only *"ready to endorse autonomy with the geographical integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of the Philippines."* However, this may surmise that the OIC, being conservative governments themselves, would not also permit any faction to secede and dismember any section of their various countries, if, for example, it was to happen to them. In any case, the negotiations went forward with autonomy at their core. The Tripoli Agreement was finally signed on December 23, 1976, by the GRP and the MNLF in the presence of OIC members.

However, because Tripoli Agreement was so lacking in details, with many of its provisions left to later discussions, it became very contentious. As it turned out, succeeding talks held in Libya and in Manila to discuss details of the provisions, eventually led to the bogging down and collapse of the peace talks. Overall, the GRP and MNLF panels *"could not agree on the degree of autonomy to be handed down to the Moros and the definite role the MNLF had to play in it."*

Conflicts between MNLF and government forces occasionally broke out in the

latter half of 1977. The MNLF declared its independence once more in early 1980 because of the intermittent violence and deadlocks that marred all attempts to advance the peace process between 1977 and that time. On April 17, 1980, Nur Misuari made this announcement at a press conference in London.

As we can sense the 1976 Tripoli Agreement was not even used or effected, after the People Power Revolution of 1986 resulted in the downfall of Marcos six years after the MNLF regained its independence and following the election of Cory Aquino, a new administration expressed a desire to restart talks with the Moro rebels. The OIC has expressed interest in supporting a fresh round of negotiations for peace between the Moro rebels and the incoming administration. Unfortunately, Marcos Sr.'s and Cory Aquino's administrations failed.

Reviving the peace process with the MNLF was the first thing Fidel Ramos did after taking office. Beginning in 1992, he assembled a delegation to hold preliminary discussions with the rebel movement. On September 2, 1996, Ramos dealt with the MNLF with greater tact than before. The 1996 Final Peace Agreement was signed by the GRP and the MNLF twenty years after the Tripoli Agreement.

Figure 1. *The 1996 Final Peace Agreement signed (Manila Standard, September 2, 1996)*



The 1996 Final Peace Agreement was divided into two phases: Phase I, a three-year transitional period designed to allow the MNLF to "calm down," and Phase II, the adoption of an amended organic act that will create a new autonomous government and expand its area based on the outcome of a plebiscite. The territories listed in the original 1976 Tripoli Agreement were designated as the Special Zone of Peace and Development (SZOPAD) as part of the agreement. This area was to be the focus of concentrated and stepped-up peace and development operations. The Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD) was established to "organize, promote, and expedite the peace and development initiatives" in the SZOPAD.

To discuss the agency of 1996 agreement, in a span of 27 years, only half of the provisions were implemented according to Peace Accord (2015). The ceasefire was then effective; though there are no reports of any attacks by the MNLF or any armed clashes between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the MNLF following the Final Agreement, reports show a drastic increase in

MILF strength from 8,000 in 1996 to 15,420 in 1999, which suggests that MNLF fighters are planning to continue the fight joined MILF in large numbers (Villanueva and Aguilar, 2008).

Following the imposition of the cease-fire agreement, secessionist organizations like the New People's Army (NPA) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front have grown stronger and more powerful (MILF). Global Terrorism Statistics (2011) states that the NPA, MILF, and Abu Sayyaf Organization were still active in 1998 and 1999.

Although the MNLF carried out the agreement's implementation, other Moro political organizations are at battle with the government. The Global Terrorism Database (2011) lists 118 assaults carried out by various armed organizations in the nation. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front was responsible for the majority of the attacks (MILF). According to the 2012 Uppsala University Conflict Database, only the GRP and MILF engaged in civil war in 2000, which resulted in over a thousand battle-related fatalities but managed to sit for peace talks.

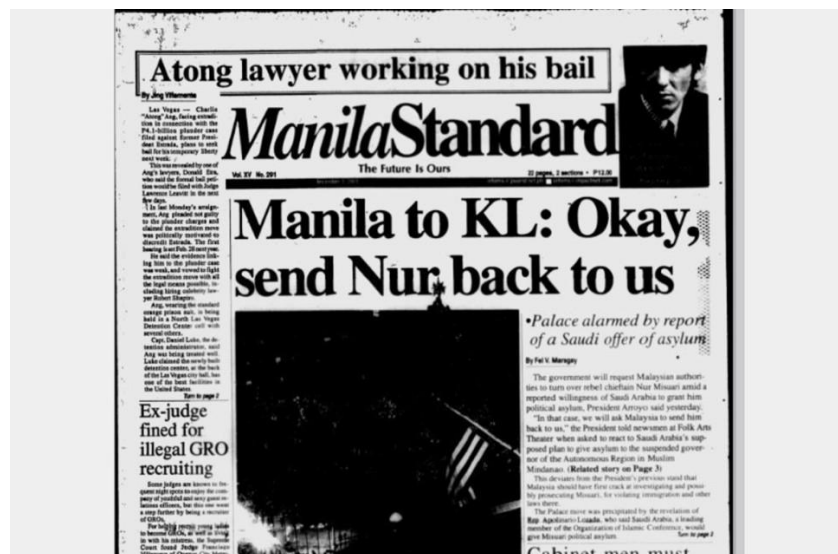
Figure 2. MILF declares truce... (Philippine Daily Inquirer, May 6, 2000)



As stipulated in the peace agreement, in August 2001, a regional plebiscite on the ARMM's (Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao) proposed expansion to four provinces was held. The Muslim-majority island province of Basilan was the only one to vote in favor of joining the ARMM. The Governor of ARMM and founder of the MNLF, Nur Misuari, disagreed with the validity of the plebiscite election. In an attack on an AFP installation in Zamboanga and Jolo Island in November that claimed 140 lives, a new section of MNLF followers committed to Nur Misuari's original objectives or vision carried out the attack. Nur Misuari was detained by AFP security forces in the Philippines after being detained upon entering Sabah, Malaysia.

Though the conflict may have been sparked by Nur Misuari's rhetoric, Misuari condemned the violence and made an attempt to flee. The new faction's identity is also founded on adherence to the original Nur Misuari goal. So, this incident can be regarded as a breach of the cease-fire or the start of a new fight involving a new splinter group.

Figure 3. *Manila to KL: Okay send Nur...* (Manila Standard, December 1, 2001)



Another trail is on the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, there have been attempts to have peace pact with MILF even from the past, but the matter became illicit due to the political situation and its conflict with MNLF. Inspired by the success of the signing of the 1996 Final Peace Agreement with the MNLF, Ramos made initiatives to revive the peace negotiations with the MILF. Exploratory discussions got underway with a series of one-on-one meetings between MILF vice chair for political affairs Ghazali Jaafar and Executive Secretary Ruben Torres. The two parties described the meeting as "historic" and "a milestone towards the attainment of a just and sustainable peace in Mindanao" in a joint press release issued after the meeting.

However, when President Ramos' term ended in 1998, Joseph Estrada, who took over, appeared to take the opposite tack. The discussions were ruined by armed clashes between government soldiers and MILF fighters, as subsequent events demonstrated. Skirmishes swiftly turned violent before turning into the well-known All-Out-War of 2000. The Armed Forces of the Philippines took control of every MILF camp, including the largest and most important Camp Abubakar, between March and July 2000. Because of the government's superior firepower, the MILF was forced to simply abandon their camps and engage in guerilla warfare. In other words, President Estrada's all-out war did not put an end to the uprising.

Figure 4. *Erap orders all-out war...* (Philippine Daily Inquirer, March 22, 2000)

[illegible]

The peace process went on despite the setbacks. The peace negotiations were formally restarted in March 2001 when Al Hadj Murad Ebrahim, the chair of the MILF panel at the time, and Eduardo Ermita, the then-presidential adviser on the peace process, signed a contract. According to the treaty, both parties must "honor, respect, and implement any prior agreements and other supplemental agreements" that they have jointly signed. On June 22, 2001, in Tripoli, Libya, they also signed another declaration in which they decided to concentrate the discussion's topic on three issues: security, rehabilitation, and ancestral domain.

One interesting notion is the way the term **explicates willingness to continue negotiations**. Continuity on peace process is a pendulum between the government and the liberation fronts, but in most of the speech acts, continuity of peace negotiation is valued. Both Parties (the GPH and the MILF) agree to resume the stalled peace negotiations, to hold the first formal meeting, to strengthen the GRP-MILF agreement, to activate working committees for the purposes of discharging their mandates, (agree) to the following principles which shall further guide discussions, (agree) to the continuity of negotiations in the context of agreed documents, (agree) that normalization is vital to peace process, (agree) on the following process that shall guide transition, to intensify development efforts for rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the Bangsamoro, and to work out a program for transitional justice to address the legitimate grievances of the Bangsamoro people.

In connection with action, the notion being discussed is true in a statement under General Framework of Agreement of Intent Between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GPH) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF):

"Stipulated in the article A, Paragraph 3 that, in accordance with the incremental characteristics of the peace process and agreement on the General Framework for the Resumption of the Peace Talks, the Parties, as represented by their respective Peace Panels, consider that normalization in conflict affected areas can be achieved if certain principles and guidelines of conduct and action are adhered to by the Parties. That among these are.

3. The Parties agree to invite representatives of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) to observe and monitor the implementation of all GRP MILF Agreements. The Parties further agree to strengthen the GPP-MILF Agreement on the General Cessation of Hostilities dated 12 July 1997. Upon signing of this Agreement, a Monitoring Team shall be constituted with representatives..."

Security was a crucial issue for both parties to address first because it was necessary for rehabilitation and other themes in the peace negotiations. Security measures have to be put in place to prevent misunderstandings that could quickly turn into major wars from interfering with the peace talks. Note that the absence of regulations that both sides of the conflict were expected to follow contributed to both the little and significant violence that occurred between 1997 and 2000.

Figure 5. RP-MILF ceasefire deal snagged (Philippine Daily Inquirer, August 7, 2001)



On August 7, 2001, both parties (with Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo as President) signed the Implementing Guidelines on Security Aspect to avoid mistakes from being made again.

Figure 6. Red Carpet for Gloria; peace deal... (Philippine Daily Inquirer, August 8, 2001)

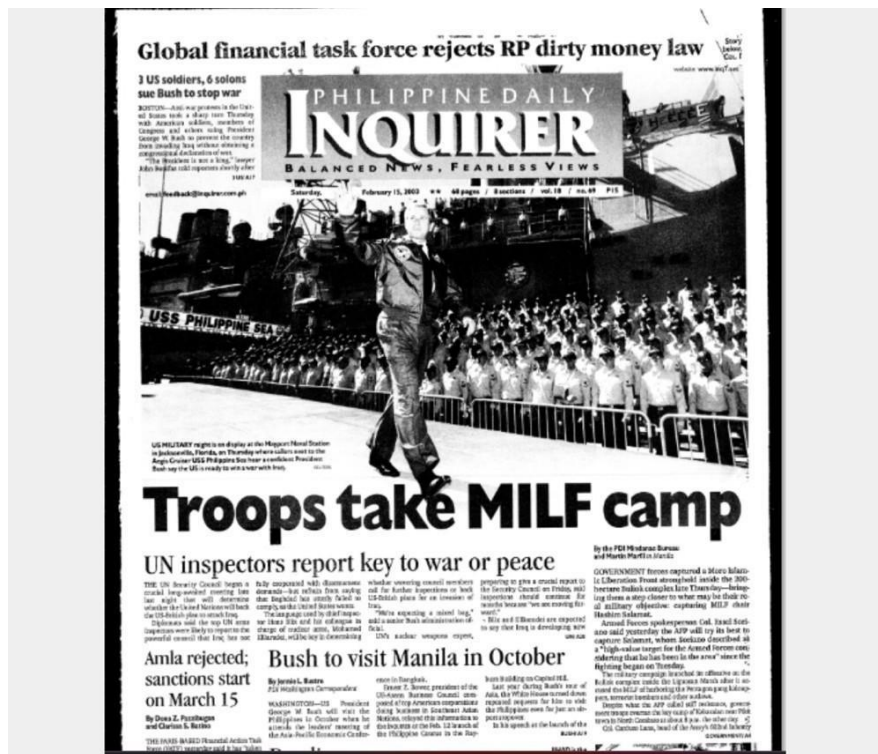
August 08, 2001
Philippine Daily Inquirer



Through this, the government and MILF agreed to refrain from engaging in unlawful hostility and provocative behavior, coordinate their respective movements to avoid mishaps, halt hostilities to permit the conduct of an incident investigation by the GRP-MILF Coordinating Committee on Cessation of Hostilities (CCCH), and ensure the security of the negotiating panels as well as that of the CCCH members.

However, despite this development, fighting erupted once more when in February 11, 2003 the military launched a significant operation at the MILF headquarters in the Liguasan marsh's Buliok Complex. The military charged the MILF with attempting to retake the camps that government forces had taken in the all-out conflict of 2000. On the other hand, the MILF counter-accused by claiming that the soldiers were the ones who initially harassed them. As far north as Lanao del Norte, this wave of violence spread to other areas of central Mindanao. As a result, 37,000 civilians were forced to relocate.

Figure 7. Troops take MILF Camp (Philippine Daily Inquirer, February 15, 2003)



The GRP and MILF created the terms of reference for the International Monitoring Team (IMT) in 2004 with the goal of monitoring the implementation of the security guideline as well as serving as an objective referee between the two parties in the event that hostilities erupt. This was done as part of their ongoing efforts to find innovative ways to improve the security aspect of the peace process. The first team, which included individuals from Malaysia, Brunei, Japan, and Libya, was sent out in 2004.

From 2004 until the first half of 2008, when news of the covert signing of a Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain broke, everything appeared to be proceeding according to plan (MOA-AD). A focus of the GRP-MILF discussions was ancestral domain, along with security and rehabilitation. The paper was due for signature on August 5, 2008. But the MOA-AD never happened because the Philippine Supreme Court issued a Temporary Restraining Order (TRO) a day before it was meant to be signed.

Figure 8. SC stops signing of pact (Philippine Daily Inquirer, August 5, 2008)



There were several protests caused by the leaked information on the MOA-AD and the TRO issued by the Supreme Court. Primarily, the largely "Christian" regions of Iligan, North Cotabato, and Zamboanga conducted public demonstrations against a document that they believed was having an unintended impact on their lives. Following that, violent attacks against Christian communities in North Cotabato and Lanao del Norte were initiated by regional MILF commanders like Bravo and Umbra Kato. The two leaders were then the target of military actions by the AFP. In total, the hullabaloo resulted in the displacement of more than 600,000 Muslim and Christian inhabitants in the two provinces. On October 14, 2008, the MOA-AD was ultimately declared unconstitutional by the Philippine Supreme Court.

The MOA-AD was deemed unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, although it can still be "renegotiated or another one will be drawn up to carry out the ancestral domain part," as was agreed upon in 2001. In September 2009, the parties decided to establish an International Contact Group (ICG) to assist them in making sure that

the peace process' successes are maintained. This is why the peace process persisted despite the MOA-AD fiasco.

Another example is written in the Agreement on the General Framework for the Resumption of Peace Talks between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front under the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, it states that:

“according to the Article I The Parties agree to resume the stalled peace negotiations immediately after the signing of this Agreement, and continue the same from where it had stopped before April 27, 2000 until they shall have reached a negotiated political settlement of the Bangsamoro problem.”

As published on June 3, 2020 by MindaNews, it was foreseen that with that war recorded as a scar of a broken agreement, MILF and the government continued to have peace talks to pay respect to their previous agreements. As an effect, both parties signed the Annex 3 - Agreement on the General Framework on the Resumption of Peace Talks on March 24, 2001 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and the Annex 4 – Agreement on Peace between the Government of the Philippines and the MILF on June 22, 2001 in Tripoli, Libya. From 2001 to 2011, there was no GRP-MILF related war incidents happened and even cemented by the signing of the Declaration of the Continuity for Peace Negotiations between the GRP and MILF on June 3, 2010 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Figure 9. *GRP, MILF sign “Declaration of Continuity” (MindaNews, June 3, 2010)*

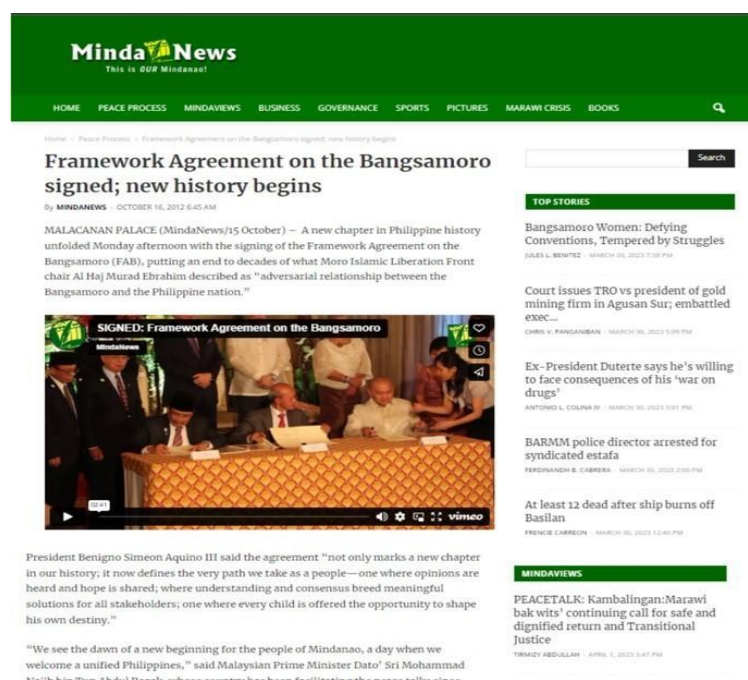


On one hand, on recognizing the Bangsamoro identity, **“recognize”** means **values an idea or plan**. In the signed 2014 CAB, ‘recognize’ is used to deliver a message of hope and sincerity towards the goal. As evidence, both parties recognized that there will be lasting peace in Mindanao when there is mutual trust, justice, freedom, and tolerance for the identity, culture, way of life and aspirations of all the peoples in Mindanao, recognize the Bangsamoro identity and the legitimate grievances and claims of the Bangsamoro people and recognize the collective democratic rights of the constituents of the Bangsamoro people.

Because much time, effort and resources had already been invested and some gains were becoming apparent, the peace panels ensured that the negotiations would be sustained. The Declaration of Continuity for Peace Negotiations was thus signed by the parties on June 3, 2010, which was still within President Arroyo’s tenure. The peace process was then formally restarted on February 9, 2011, by the Government of the Philippines led by President Benigno Aquino III. To demonstrate his seriousness and commitment to pursuing a peaceful

solution to the Bangsamoro conflict, he then met with MILF Chair Murad Ebrahim. The Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB), which outlines the main principles, procedures, and steps in building a new autonomous political entity to succeed the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, was then signed on October 15, 2012.

Figure 10. *Signing of 2012 FAB (MindaNews, October 16, 2012)*



More features and flesh were added to the structure, greatly improving the FAB. The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB), the final document's name at the time, was signed on March 27, 2014.

Figure 11. *Philippines, MILF sign peace agreement (Inquirer.net, March 28, 2014)*



The CAB, which serves as the peace negotiations' final document, serves as the GPH and MILF's binding contract. It specifies out precise information on the Bangsamoro's position after the new autonomous political entity is established, as well as the degree of budgetary and political autonomy.

Learning from the fault of the past, the Government of the Philippines learnt its lessons on pushing for peace pact without considering decommissioning the weapons of the warring political group. With that, in dealing with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front Peace Deal, one salient feature of the 2014 CAB is its decommissioning programs under the Normalization plans. The roadmap of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, notably in the Annex on Normalization, which has been approved by the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and MILF, serves as a guide for the decommissioning process of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) forces.

b. Affirm the autonomy of the Bangsamoro

The peace agreements assert to affirm the autonomy of the Bangsamoro.

The Republic Act 6734 – Establishment of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao was repealed. With the “experimental” loopholes in the past, the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement of the Bangsamoro provided in its Annexes the necessary programs for the proper implementation of the peace process.

For example, in the Paragraph 2 - Annex on Revenue Generation and Wealth Sharing,

The Parties acknowledge that wealth creation (or revenue creation and sourcing) is important for the operation of the Bangsamoro, considering that the Bangsamoro territory is among the most underdeveloped in the Philippines due to the decades-long conflict.

There will be power-sharing and wealth-sharing between the National Government and the new political entity.

The Parties jointly pursue measures to increase the Bangsamoro's revenue generation and wealth creation capacity.

The fact remains that wars destroy opportunities of development in Mindanao. Investments and public works are hampered and discouraged due to the possibility of loss and failure of the project. War and conflict also contribute to the displacement and migration of peoples that affect their employment, livelihood and/or businesses.

Another good point regarding the Bangsamoro's aim to autonomy is on the Paragraph 9 of the Bangsamoro Waters and Zones of Joint Cooperation Addendum to the Annex on Revenue Generation and Wealth Sharing and the Annex on Power Sharing:

“According to the Paragraph 9 of the Bangsamoro waters and zones of joint cooperation addendum to the annex on revenue generation and wealth sharing and the annex on power sharing. The Bangsamoro people, other indigenous peoples in the adjoining provinces, and the resident fishers in the Bangsamoro shall have preferential rights over fishery, aquamarine, and other living resources in the Zones of Joint Cooperation.”

As reported in the Mongabay last October 28, 2022, in fact, the control of natural resources, particularly land but also mining, forestry, oil, gas, and fishing

resources, is at the heart of the conflict in Mindanao. Finding a compromise that upholds both the Regalian Doctrine and the Moro people's right to self-determination is ultimately the biggest issue. From this concern, the 2014 Peace Agreement constituted the last annex which is Addendum on the Bangsamoro Waters and Zones of Joint Cooperation signed on 25 January 2014 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Figure 12. *Philippines, wetland oil... (Mongabay, October 28, 2021)*



In achieving the full autonomy, Bangsamoro must prove that it has its own reliable form of government, therefore, it is part of the peace agreements that the Bangsamoro should have an electoral code. As written in Section 1 – Establishment of the Bangsamoro, Paragraph 2 Framework Agreement on The Bangsamoro,

The Parties agree to entrench an electoral system suitable to a ministerial form of government. The electoral system shall allow democratic participation, ensure accountability of public officers primarily to the constituents and encourage formation of genuinely principled political parties. The electoral system shall be contained in the Bangsamoro Basic Law to be

implemented through legislation enacted by the Bangsamoro Government and correlated with national laws.

It was also reiterated in the Article II B Paragraph 5 Annex on Transitional Arrangements and Modalities, that,

The BTA shall continue to perform its function as interim Bangsamoro Government until the duly elected officials of the Bangsamoro shall have been qualified into office in 2016.

From these provisions, a law providing for the Bangsamoro Electoral Code of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao is enacted by the Bangsamoro Transition Authority in Parliament. According to the Bangsamoro Electoral Code of 2023, section 2 it states that, “pursuant to the Bangsamoro’s right to self-governance to freely pursue its political, economic, social, and cultural development, the Bangsamoro Government hereby promulgates this Code to prescribe the structural, functional, and procedural principles in the conduct of elections, plebiscites, initiatives, referenda, recall proceedings and encourage the formation of genuinely principled political parties in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM).”

Looking forward, the BTA has yet to come up with and pass priority measures which include the Electoral Code which has just passed last March 8, 2023, the Bangsamoro Local Government Code, Revenue Code, and Indigenous Peoples' Code. The Electoral Code sets the guidelines and procedures for the conduct of Parliamentary elections in the BARMM alongside the national elections and ensures the protection of the people’s right to suffrage and the integrity of the electoral process (Bangsamoro, 2023).

Figure 13. *Enactment of the Electoral Code (Bangsamoro, March 10, 2023)*



When the transition government leaves office on June 30, 2025, it is anticipated that the Bangsamoro region will have a fully operational government that is distinct from all other regions in the nation due to its autonomy and parliamentary system under a presidential form of government. This regional government was created as a result of the Bangsamoro people's struggles for self-determination on the battlefield and at peace negotiations.

Figure 14. BTA of a United BARMM (MindaNews, October 25, 2022)



The creation of the BARMM, according to the BOL, is *"in recognition of the justness and legitimacy of the cause of the Bangsamoro people and the aspirations of Muslim Filipinos and all indigenous cultural communities in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao to secure their identity and posterity, allowing for meaningful self-governance within the framework of the Constitution and the national sovereignty as well as territorial integrity of the Republic of the Philippines."*

For the 50 years of peace process, the BARMM is the first Bangsamoro autonomous government agented by a peace agreement as the previous autonomous governments – the Regional Autonomous Governments under the administration of Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. was a unilateral decision of Marcos exercising legislative powers under martial law even as the 1976 Tripoli Agreement with the MNLF provided for only one autonomous region, while the Autonomous

Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) was a product of Republic Act 9054 citing the 1987 Constitution, set up in 1990 or six years before the 1996 Final Peace Agreement (FPA) with the MNLF, and amended supposedly to enhance and expand the ARMM by incorporating provisions of the 1996 peace pact (MindaNews, 2022).

c. Highlight the need for transition

The assertive speech acts analyzed in this study highlight and lobby the need for transition. Change is constant. Of the corpora being examined in the study limited only to a few terms like agree, ensure, and recognize, these assertive speech acts were used frequently in the written agreement. For instance, the term “agree,” as expected, will be heavily used in crafting the provisions on the text. The term connects directly with the accepting the transition or open to change.

For example, “agree” may mean **to have the same opinion about something or to give consent to do something that has been suggested**. In the 2012 Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB) under 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, it was stipulated in the Establishment of the Bangsamoro that:

The Parties **agree** that the status quo is unacceptable and that the Bangsamoro shall be established to replace the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. The Bangsamoro is the new autonomous political entity (NPE) referred to in the Decision Points of Principles as of April 2012.

At the signing of the 2012 Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro wherein the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front forged, the Moro National Liberation Front commented a message of hope and threat that the MILF would take since it agreed with the GPH towards peace.

The peace negotiations between the MILF led by Nur Misuari and the Philippine government led to the creation of ARMM. The ARMM has been labeled a failure by officials in the past due to widespread corruption and poor management. The new law then creates the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) encompassing the provinces of Sulu, Basilan, Tawi- Tawi, Maguindanao, and Lanao del Sur. Meanwhile President Duterte is also negotiating with Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) founding leader Nur Misuari to discuss a peace deal.

The Bangsamoro Autonomous Region was formally established on January 21, 2019, with the adoption of the Bangsamoro Organic Law following a plebiscite. This process saw the liquidation of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM).

As provided, the *Section VII Transition and Implementation paragraph 1 Framework Agreement on The Bangsamoro*, states that

The Parties agree to the need for a transition period and the institution of transitional mechanisms.

The Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) will be established in accordance with the law until the election of the new region's government officials in 2022. The transition body is anticipated to include 105 members in total (80 appointed members and 25 ARMM elected officials) until June 30, 2019. The body would consist of only 80 members after that date.

Until the BTA was constituted, Section 5 of Article XVI of the Bangsamoro Organic Code established a caretaker body consisting of the same 25 ARMM officials and the initial 20 members of the Bangsamoro Transition Commission until the BTA was established. On February 22, 2019, the 80 newly appointed BTA

members took their oaths, and on February 24, 2019, the ARMM was officially changed as to the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao.

Figure 15. *From ARMM to BARMM (OPAPP, February 24, 2019)*



In details, Presidential Peace Adviser Carlito G. Galvez Jr. emphasized that the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) will provide the Bangsamoro people an opportunity to achieve their long-held aspirations: “through the BTA, the Bangsamoro people shall have stronger voice and have the power to chart their own course of development.”

In addition, Section II B of the Bangsamoro Transition Authority, paragraph 3 on Transitional Arrangements and Modalities, stipulated that:

The BTA shall serve as the main mechanism for the MILF's leadership in the Bangsamoro during the transition process.

President Duterte also challenged the BTA to “always embody the dreams and aspirations of the great men and women who came before and fought for the

recognition of right to determine the future... To lead this new region towards a brighter tomorrow, never to waver in your commitment to build an institution that is founded on the rule of law, the promotion of good governance, and the defense of our most cherished democratic values.” On March 29, 2019, the Bangsamoro Transition Authority convened for the first time as the Interim Bangsamoro Parliament. BTA has a legislative power during the entire transition period.

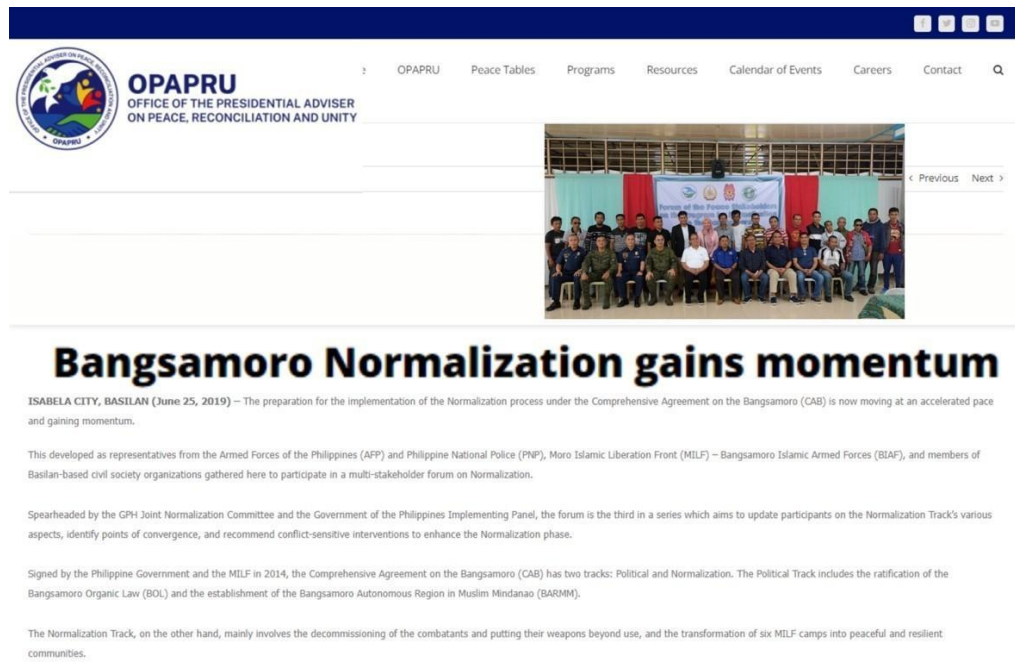
Figure 16. *Bangsamoro holds first session (Bangsamoro, March 29, 2019)*



In terms of Normalization, the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) implementation process was progressing better. This came about as participants in a multi-stakeholder forum on normalization from the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) - Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF), the Philippine National Police (PNP), the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), and Basilan-based civil society organizations gathered in a forum. The forum is the aims to inform participants about the various facets of the Normalization Track, identify points of convergence, and suggest conflict-sensitive interventions to improve the Normalization phase. It is spearheaded by the GPH Joint Normalization Committee

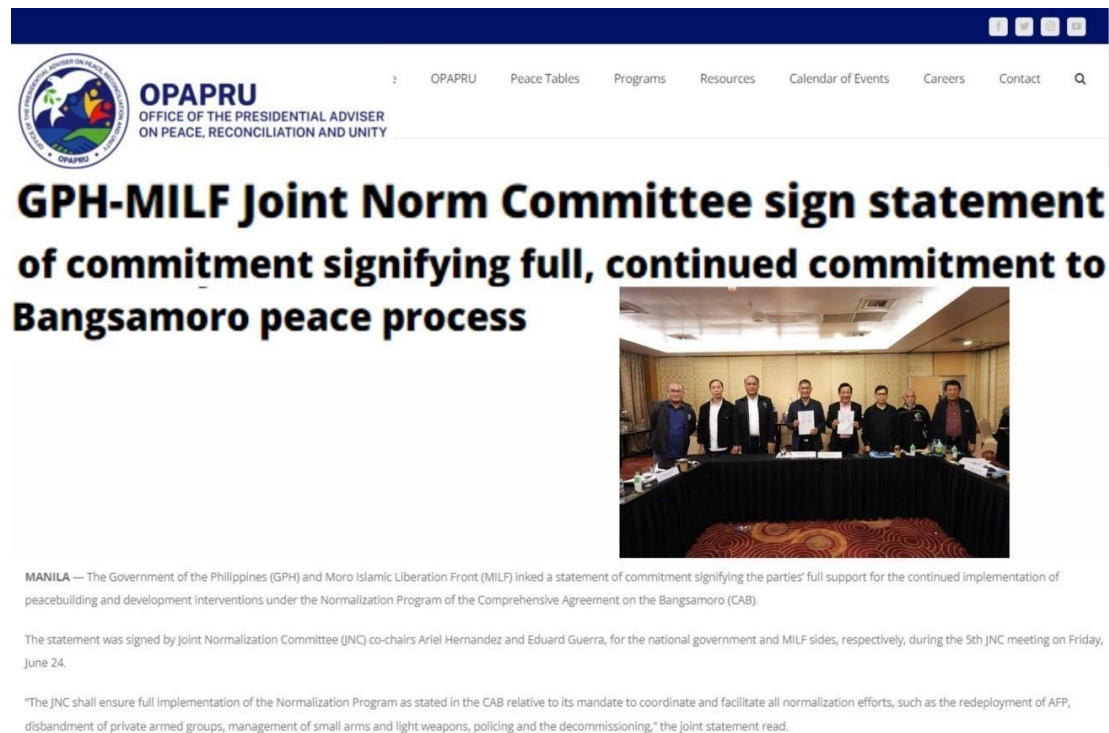
and the Government of the Philippines Implementing Panel.

Figure 17. *Bangsamoro Normalization...* (OPAPPP, June 25, 2019)



As written in the Annex part of the agreement, the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) inked a statement of commitment signifying the parties' full support for the continued implementation of peacebuilding and development interventions under the Normalization Program titled GPH-MILF Joint Norm Committee (JNC), as constituted. The JNC shall ensure full implementation of the Normalization Program as stated in the CAB relative to its mandate to coordinate and facilitate all normalization efforts, such as the redeployment of AFP, disbandment of private armed groups, management of small arms and light weapons, policing and the decommissioning.

Figure 18. GPH-MILF Joint Norm Committee sign... (OPAPRU, June 2022)



Under the new agreement, the provisions on the Normalization Program guides the implementation of the transition which the process is safeguarded by a new structure created – the Inter-Cabinet Cluster Mechanism on Normalization (ICCMN). This cluster ‘has enabled the Duterte Administration to push forward the implementation of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) amidst the challenges caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and to ensure that the next administration will be able to properly accomplish the remaining necessary tasks. ICCMN is composed of four clusters based on the major components of the normalization track: the security aspect, socio-economic development program, confidence-building measures, and transitional justice and reconciliation.’ (OPAPRU, 2019).

Figure 19. *ICCMN highlights milestones... (OPAPRU, June 2022)*



We have discussed several significant structures and policies established and created for the purposes of addressing a specific problem. The peace agreement has the authority to create and end and that only its relevance and socio-political landscape of the implementers can dictate to the results of the peace process.

The Transition process will be over once all election in BARMM has the result. The provision on “cease to exist” is written in Section I – A, Transition Mechanism and Modalities Paragraph 3 of Annex on Transitional Arrangements and modalities;

The Transition Commission will be independent from the ARMM and other government agencies. The GPH shall allocate funds and provide other resources for its/ effective operation. All other agencies of government shall support the Transition Commission in the performance of its tasks and responsibilities until it becomes functus officio and ceases to exist.

As what Pickering (1993) explained, a small but significant body of work has demonstrated that documents have the constitutive capacity to form ideas and concepts into entities real enough to allow actions to be performed on and with

them in every-day human activities. In this alone documents can be said to have agency.

d. Upholds the significance of socio-economic, cultural and educational development

Peace documents like the two milestone agreements discussed in this study are agents of mediation. According to Irvine-Smith (2016), mediating objects are not necessarily material objects. This suggests that human practices are mediated in the first instance by language (documents), as well as by tools and artefacts. Similarly, mediating artefacts include 'instruments, signs, language, and machines' (Conole, 2009). But mediation acknowledges materials and artefacts because these helps constitute human sociality (Schatzki, Knorr Cetina and von Savigny 2001). And Nicolini asserts that artefacts, both material and symbolic, are a way of conveying the past into what we do and in doing so expand our practice (Nicolini 2012), surely documents are integral to this proposition.

Based on the Section on Transitional Period Phase 1,

The joining of the MNLF forces with the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) THE PHILIPPINES PEACE AGREEMENT 2 September 1996

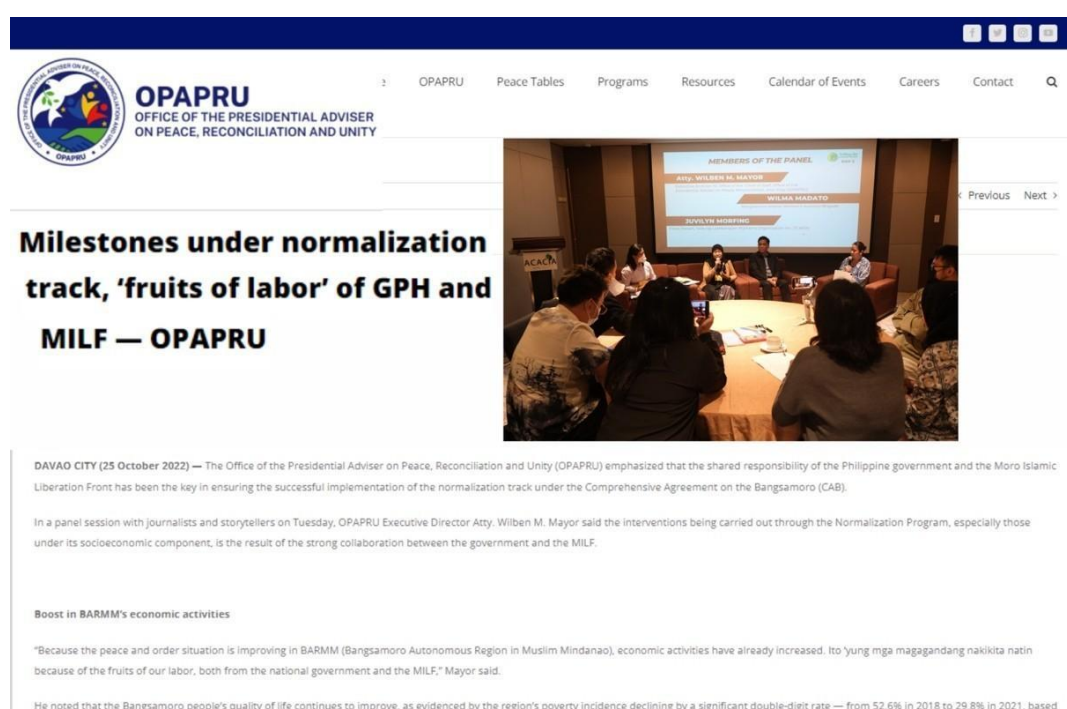
There shall be a special socioeconomic, cultural and educational program to cater to MNLF forces not absorbed into the AFP, PNP and the SRSF to prepare them and their families for productive endeavors, provide for educational, technical skills and livelihood training and give them priority for hiring in development projects.

One major provision from the agreement that has good fore sighting is that the BARMM's ***economic activities are strengthened***. The Office of the Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity (OPAPRU) emphasized that the shared responsibility of the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front has been the key in ensuring the successful implementation of the

normalization track under the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) (OPAPRU, 2022).

“Because the peace and order situation are improving in BARMM (Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao), economic activities have already increased... because of the fruits of our labor, both from the national government and the MILF,” OPAPRU Executive Director Wilben Mayor stated. Also, it was noted that the quality of life in the Bangsamoro Region ‘continues to improve, as evidenced by the region’s poverty incidence declining by a significant double-digit rate – from 52.6% in 2018 to 29.8% in 2021, based on data from the Philippine Statistics Authority (2021).

Figure 20. Milestones under Normalization (OPAPRU, October 25, 2022)



Peace experts claimed that the good economic improvements in BARMM is the effect of the improved peace condition in the area. Economists predicted that if GPH and MILF’s various peace plans prosper, better results and regaining of

investments are expected.

According to then *Socio-Economic Development Program, Annex on Normalization*;

The Parties agree to intensify development efforts for rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the Bangsamoro, and institute programs to address the needs of MILF combatants, internally displaced persons, and poverty-stricken communities.

The peace mechanisms 'composed of national government representatives, as well as the those coming from the MILF,' becomes proactive because the needs of the community and the combatants are always discussed first by both parties before these programs are implemented.

Though the assertiveness helps in pushing for rights and privileges, all the provisions stated above are either minimally implemented or not implemented at all. We understood that assertives can help documents (Searle, 1979, and Vanderveken, 1990) because it acts to inform, indicate, say, tell, assert, deny, suggest, predict, and even prophesy. During the deliberation process in preparing the peace agreement, each human participant asserts their opinions and debates on multitude of arguments. But after the signing, the peace agreement becomes a cold text of plans and provisions. The assertions and emotions are not anymore translated to fruition. Or as what Cooren (2004) stated, texts are not able to assert in doing something (because) a human presence cannot be ascribed to texts and documents. In other words, the oral or written text produced to perform such act can display *physical* agency: it transmits, broadcasts, or serves as physical support. If the provisions in the peace agreements are implemented then human to text can be confirmed to the extent that it also displays a form of hybridicity; that is, that this text can be identified as coming from some human or collective agent.

2. Directive (Command and Order)

Searle defines directives as that kind of speech act that represent attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to do something. This definition is also supported by Yule (1996). Considering the above description, the most prominent context in directive speech act is about the hearer and the relationship between speaker and hearer. Relationship between speaker and hearer can be an indicator that makes the speaker use a different way to ask a question, make a request, or issue an invitation. Based on its functions, directive speech acts can be used as command, request, prohibition, and question.

Commands are sentences which normally have no overt grammatically subject, and whose verb is in the imperative mood (Quirk,1976). The command is also used to instruct somebody to do something.

Command is a form of speech act that is usually uttered since the speaker wants the interlocutor to do something for. It is almost same as requesting, but command has stronger effect since it is usually spoken by those who are higher in position to the lower one. The directive speech act of command was a speech act conveyed by the speaker to his speech partner to take any action by what the speaker expects.

To issue orders one must be in a position of power or authority over the hearer. The content of the order utterance/statement must be about the future event – the future act of the hearer. It is important to note that order and command are not

the same speech act. To give an order is to demand of the hearer that he will do something in the future. Order is to require authoritatively a direction or instruction to be done/implemented.

Though peace agreements are written, they have the authority to insinuate actions proving its agency to move or implement something. Cooren (2004) has clarified that some of these discursive actions agented by directives are restricted to humans: begging, supplicating, imploring, entreating, beseeching. However, some specific types of documents can *request* someone to do something. Other texts can also advise, ask, suggest, invite, recommend, warn, but also notify, order, solicit, demand, press, summon, enjoin, forbid, ban, allow, authorize, or stipulate.

In the array of the terms to be used in the agreements, only ten directive terms are used in both – amend, create, determine, establish, exercise, implement, involve, provide and repeal, and the verb phrase “shall be.” The comprehensiveness of the 2014 Peace Agreement is evident in the number of its directive terms. In most illocutionary acts, directives or commanding is the primal authority that documents perform/ed. At this part, concrete examples of the directive speech acts are “create or establish, exercise and determine.”

A peace agreement has a formal authority as it is a legal, constitutional or official document. According to Cooren (2004), “authorizing can just be performed by documents that have the ‘force of law,’ (constitutional, legal or official)” and this entails that humans should be ready to apply or conduct what is attributed in the peace agreement for capacity to act. The directives of the agreement (nonhuman) should ideally be materialized by the agreeing parties (humans). The directive speech acts in the agreements mandate to (a) implement significant monitoring and

transition mechanisms, (b) draft and pass the basic law, (c) devise a normalization program, and, (d) mandate equal representation.

a. Implement significant monitoring and transition mechanisms

The peace agreements were able to give directives to implement significant monitoring and transition mechanisms - the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD) in 1996 FPA and the Bangsamoro Transition Commission (BTC) in 2014 CAB.

It was acknowledged that the success of the peace process specifically in ending violence is the first step on the long-term rally for sustainable and durable peace. The peace agreement is a piece of document happened to be authorized to settle and bestow power to the mediators and facilitators. Though there were challenges, the written agreement also controls the recurrence of war and conflict through the realization of some provisions stated.

By the authority of the peace agreement, this is able to constitute a structure or a specific organization for such purpose and even create a mandatory policy to control the recurrence of war and violence. The power coming from the two parties being settled is being transferred to the peace document – giving it a legal influence to provide an institution that will implement the provisions.

In 1996 Final Peace Agreement, inter-ethnic state relations in 1996, constitutional reform happened in 2001, and the reintegration and educational reform was fully implemented in 2004-2005. In the case of 2014 Comprehensive Agreement of the Bangsamoro, the past served as a lesson paving the way to the creation of Annex on Transitional Arrangements and Modalities signed on 27

February 2013 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and, Annex on Normalization signed on 25 January 2014 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. These structures served its functions to improve the living condition of the population in those areas and together stop the recurrence of hostilities.

In the 1996 Final Peace Agreement, both parties recognized the importance of an inter-ethnic state relations wherein it recognized the diversity of populace of Mindanao, as stated:

Article 4:

There shall be established a Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD), composed of one (1) Chairman, one (1) Vice Chairman and three (3) Deputies, one each representing the Muslims, the Christians, and the Cultural Communities. They shall be appointed by the President.

As a result, President Fidel Ramos gave Executive Order no. 371 creating the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD) to help integrate the Moro people into the Filipino nation. The SPCPD was an unelected administrative body under control of the president. It had five members on a main council and an 81-member Consultative Assembly. It was agreed that the five-member main council would have a Muslim chairman and at least one other Muslim member and 44 of the 81 seats in the Consultative Assembly would be held by Muslims. The SPCPD was a transitional body to be dissolved after the plebiscite, which was originally scheduled for 1999. The creation of SPCPD is a result of the terms in the written agreement.

Though the said institution is created under Ramos Administration, SPCPD's term was extended by President Joseph Estrada's executive orders no. 288 on September 22, 2000, which extends executive order 161's term till May 2001, and no. 161 on September 30, 1999, which extends the period of executive order 371 by

one year. The SPCPD's tenure has been extended for a further three years, but the governor of the ARMM has asked President Estrada to also postpone the referendum on extending the ARMM for a further three years according to Article XVIII, Section 16 of the R.A. 9054. With no more consideration as his name is not in the written agreement, President Estrada rejected the plea and officially dissolved the SPCPD. After Estrada's impeachment, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo abolished the SPCPD.

Figure 21. *Arroyo abolishes Misuari's SPCPD (PhilStar Global, March 17, 2002)*



In terms of constitutional reform, the RA 6734 was repealed. Even though the SPCPD's term was abruptly cut, the legacy it has left is the creation of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) in which the 1996 peace document provided:

Whereas, the parties affirm the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines;

Article 2:

Phase II shall involve an amendment to or repeal of the Organic Act (RA 6734) of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) through Congressional action, after which the amendatory law shall be submitted to the people of the concerned areas in a plebiscite to determine the establishment of a new autonomous government and the specific area of autonomy thereof.

While peace and development programs are being implemented in the SZOPAD, a bill to amend or repeal the RA 6734 shall be initiated within Phase I (1996-1997). The bill shall include the pertinent provisions of the final Peace Agreement and the expansion of the present ARMM area of autonomy. After a law shall have been passed by Congress and approved by the President, it shall be submitted to the people for approval in a plebiscite in the affected areas, within two (2) years from the establishment of the SPCPD (1998).

b. The new area of autonomy shall then be determined by the provinces and cities that will vote/choose to join the said autonomy (1998). It may be provided by the Congress in a law that clusters of contiguous Muslim-dominated municipalities voting in favor of autonomy be merged and constituted into a new province(s) which shall become part of the new Autonomous Region.

As it is written, then it must be followed. In 2001, the Expanded ARMM Law, also known as Republic Act 9054, was passed. Republic Act 9054 established an ARMM Regional Assembly with 24 seats that would allow current ARMM provinces and new provinces to vote on whether to become ARMM members, as stipulated under the 1996 agreement. The question of support or opposition for including provinces and cities in the autonomous region's expanding territory was put to the voters.

On August 14, 2001, a plebiscite to expand the ARMM took place. One more province (Basilan) and one city (Marawi) of the SZOPAD's 14 provinces and 9 cities opted to be a part of the new, larger ARMM. The plebiscite saw participation from about half of the 4.9 million eligible voters.

Aside from inter-ethnic relations, reintegration and inclusion was highlighted in the 1996 Final Peace Agreement, as mandated:

II. The Transitional Period, Article 19:

a. There shall be a special socioeconomic, cultural and educational program to cater to MNLF forces not absorbed into the AFP, PNP and the SRSF to prepare them and their families for productive endeavors, provide for educational, technical skills and livelihood training and give them priority for hiring in development projects.

Since it is written, it must be done. Though in 1996-2004, it has only a minimum implementation. After signing of the agreement, plans for reintegration programs that were expressly designed to offer livelihood training to MNLF militants who were not integrated into the Army, or the National Police were being made. Due to their involvement there since the early 1990s and their projects intended to help reduce poverty and improve good governance, USAID helped to support reintegration in Mindanao (e.g., GEM and Governance and Local Democracy projects). The three main initiatives in Mindanao that USAID financed were ELAP, LEAP, and SWIFT.

The United Nations Multi-Donor Programme (GOP-UNMDP) starts its first phase in 1997. The GOP-UNMDP program supported a reintegration aid program for some 70,000 MNLF ex-combatants and their families in association with the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) and Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD). The Government of the Philippines' United Nations Multi-Donor Programme's Action for Conflict Transformation (ACT) received the most funding from Australia (GOP-UNMDP Report).

Aside from that, the Emergency Livelihood Support Program was launched by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in August 1997

with the help of the Berger Group (ELAP). The goal of ELAP was to turn 13,000 ex-MNLF guerillas into successful farmers. The Berger Group has been conducting the acclaimed Growth with Equality in Mindanao (GEM) Program since 1995 in cooperation with USAID, SPCPD, the National Economic and Development Authority, and the Bangsamoro Women's Foundation for Peace and Development. ELAP is a part of this program (BMWFPD). With \$2.15 million in funding, GEM/ELAP began offering three key programs: a literacy program for 600 ex-combatants and their female family members, participant-managed community credit funds, and farm supplies and training to produce corn and seaweed. With a big task to do, ELAP began with 4000 MNLF recipients.

From August 1997 to December of 1998, over 4000 MNLF ex-combatants joined the corn and seaweed initiatives. On average, ELAP farmers produced twice as much corn per hectare and five times as much seaweed than non-ELAP farmers in the same regions (AAP Newsfeed, 1997).

In December 1997, in a meeting attended by leaders from the Consultative Group for the Philippines, \$500 million was committed for the development of Mindanao, including projects to train people in livelihoods and the creation of mobile teams for the integration of former MNLF members.

As recorded, the government has no flagship agency that led the reintegration initiatives though the partners and concerned non-government organizations propagate the matter. Not until President Ramos authorized a program to engage former MNLF combatants to build a total of 163 bridges in the Southern Philippines, popularly known as peace bridges, to help reintegrate the MNLF rebels back into civilian life. It took place in January 1998 (Associated Press Worldstream, 1998).

The GOP-UNMDP Phase started in 1998. Since then, 320 private investments totaling more than \$700 million would be made in Mindanao through USAID GEM/ELAP program. 57,000 new employments in Mindanao are attributed to the GEM initiative. With funding from the U.S. company World Education Organization, a literacy program was started in September 1998. It was recorded that 934 persons had finished the functional literacy program by May 2000.

Another help was from the SWIFT program, which stands for Support with Implementing Fast Transitions, started in April 1999 with the same goals as preceding initiatives (GEM/ELAP), namely, assisting with farming and other forms of subsistence. The GRP would act as the go-between between USAID and the MNLF in the SWIFT initiative to foster partnerships and confidence. The SWIFT program also aimed to create local democratic organizations and post-harvest processing facilities to increase economies of scale. There were not seemed to be any information on the number of farmers who engaged with these facilities throughout harvest (SWIFT, 2000).

According to a USAID SWIFT fourth quarter progress report, 16,899 families and 9,945 former fighters participated. (SWIFT 2001). The ELAP/LEAP and SWIFT external audits indicate modest gains as the SWIFT program comes to an end in December. While GEM was designed as a five-year program running from 1995 to 2001, rising terrorism in Mindanao in 2000 and 2001 led USAID to prolong its activities. Several ex-combatants, when surveyed, credited the programs with deterring them from returning to armed struggle.

Phase III of the United Nations Multi-Donor Programme (GOP-UNMDP) started in 2001 as well. The GOP-UNMDP program supported a reintegration aid

program for some 70,000 MNLF ex-combatants and their families in association with the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) and Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD). The Government of the Philippines' United Nations Multi-Donor Programme's Action for Conflict Transformation (ACT) received the most funding from Australia (GOP-UNMDP).

In 2002, GEM-2 started with a plan of running from 2002 to 2007. ELAP is renamed as Livelihood Enhancement and Peace Program (LEAP); these programs only operate until 2007. As of June 2004, the UNDP Program had provided livelihood assistance to 101 cooperatives with 4,388 beneficiaries (3,513 males and 875 females). UNDP provided 57 training courses on agricultural technologies and cooperative financial management to 1,867 beneficiaries (1,553 males and 314 females).

Finally, in 2005, the Action for Conflict Transformation (ACT) is the fourth phase of the Government of the Philippines — United Nations Multi-Donor Programme (GOP-UNMDP) that started in 1997. The last phase, which is being funded by Australia, New Zealand, and Spain, is being carried out from June 2005 to May 2010. It included the four provinces and three cities in the Caraga Region as well as the 16 provinces and 14 cities of the former Special Zone for Peace and Development (SZOPAD) in the Southern Philippines, which were mentioned in the GRP-MNLF Final Peace Accord. The Regional Government of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) was the primary implementing agency for the ARMM territories, with the Mindanao Economic Development Council (MEDCo) serving as the overall implementing agency. The managing body for the entire program was the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Based on the

USAID report, almost 28,000 former MNLF soldiers received assistance in GEM-2 from 2002 to 2007.

The minds who created the 1996 Final Peace Agreement put premium on education as a prime mover of sustainable peace. The agreement stressed that an educational reform was integral in attaining peace and development in Mindanao, for example, in some provisions below, it was written as:

Article 94:

The Regional Autonomous Government shall have an educational component comprising of existing schools, colleges and universities in the present area of autonomy and such other schools and institutions in the future expanded area of autonomy, with the possible inclusion of state universities and colleges (SUCs) to be decided later on. The relationship of the Regional Autonomous Government educational body with the national educational system shall be that of a system and sub-system with emphasis on the autonomy of the sub-system. In the event that SUCs should be included as part of the educational component of the Regional Autonomous Government, the autonomous government recognizes the fiscal autonomy and academic freedom of the SUCs as mandated by their respective charters.

Article 95

The Regional Autonomous Government educational system shall, among others, perpetuate Filipino and Islamic ideals and aspirations, Islamic values and orientations of the Bangsamoro people. It shall develop the total spiritual, intellectual, social, cultural, scientific and physical aspects of the Bangsamoro people to make them God- fearing, productive, patriotic citizens, conscious of their Filipino and Islamic values and Islamic cultural heritage under the aegis of a just and equitable society.

According to the education provisions of the 1996 agreement, ARMM schools must adhere to the same fundamental standards and regulations as the national Filipino school system, while offering equitable opportunity for education in the

ARMM is the Philippine Government's main implementation duty. Practically speaking, this should entail equal support for ARMM schools that is appropriate to the ARMM's population size. According to data obtained from the GRP National Statistics Office, the amount of money given to the ARMM educational system appears to be equitable in comparison to the funding of the other provinces. In accordance with the Department of Education's budget then, 38.2 million dollars (1.6 billion pesos) were for Kindergarten.

At that time, ARMM received 52.1 million pesos (1.2 million U.S. dollars). 3.14 percent of the nation's total kindergarten spending went to the ARMM (GRP, 2012). Based on the population, ARMM made up 3.15 percent of the global population, so, the Philippine Government seemed to be critical in giving money to ARMM education sector. It was estimated that the Government provided an equitable share of financing to ARMM schools in relation to the size of the ARMM based on information from the fiscal yearbooks.

In addition, as stipulated in Article 104, "the management and control, and supervision of the entire educational system in the area of autonomy shall be the primary concern of the Regional Autonomous Government." Before its enactment, the consideration of 1996 Final Peace Agreement influenced the Republic Act No. 9155 (also called the Governance of Basic Education Act) which was passed in August 2001. Section 13 of the Act states that the "ARMM is responsible for the educational system in the autonomous region. Republic Act 9155 made primary education compulsory and free for children age 7-13, and secondary education free but not compulsory." Also, King and Guerra (2005) report that in 2001, the Philippine Government implemented a decentralized approach to education with respect to the ARMM.

In full implementation, based on DepED Order No. 51, issued by the Department of Education in 2004, authorized the growth and institutionalization of Madrasa Education. In the same year, the ARMM also approved Executive Order No. 13-A, which, along with the national standard curriculum, essentially brings Madrasa schools into the national fold for the first time by enabling them to qualify for national funding (DepEd, RGRP 2004).

Since 2004, Madrasas have accepted Arabic as a language of instruction. The teaching of secular subjects at Madrasas that want to be recognized by the Department of Education has been improved and standardized through the power of Department of Education Order No. 51 and ARMM RG Executive Order No. 13-A.

Sadly, according to the USAID which helped to educate teachers in Mindanao since 2005, the integration initiative for Private Madrasas had not received any financial support from the Government of the Philippines. According to DepEd Order No. 51 of 2004, private madaris are required to follow a Standard Curriculum and include basic education subjects in their daily schedules. The Standard Curriculum and a broader set of suggested rules known as a Roadmap for Improving Muslim Basic Education have not yet secured any government financing for execution, therefore they remain merely a policy for the time being.

According to the agreement and legislation, it is unclear whether the Government was required to pay for the Standard Curriculum for Private Madaris program's textbooks. The International Islamic Call Society of Libya provided financing as of 2005 for the publishing of textbooks and instructional materials for the subjects "Islamic Values," "Arabic Language," and "Islamic Studies" for Grades 1 and 2. Also, it was stated that a publisher was creating the textbooks and

instructional materials for Grades 3 through 6, but these had never been printed.

Aside from the reforms inspired by the 1996 Peace Agreement, specific actions to constitute structures for purposes of monitoring and mediation were made – the Local Monitoring Team (LMT) later created the Ad Hoc Joint Action Group and the International Monitoring Team.

A Local Monitoring Team (LMT) was also established to keep tabs on the provincial cease-fire agreement. The LMT is noteworthy because it institutionalized local participation in the peace process by selecting members from the Local Government Unit, local political committee of the MILF, non- governmental organizations (NGO), and religious community.

Both sides agreed to isolate and interdict criminal groups because they believe their activities hinder the peace process. As a result, they established the Ad Hoc Joint Action Group (AHJAG) in 2002, which is made up of PNP, AFP, and MILF members and whose duty it is to carry out the arrest and neutralization of criminals operating in or close to MILF areas or taking refuge there. The AHJAG was a form of confidence-building strategy to encourage amity and collaboration between the government and MILF fighters, who had previously engaged in conflict.

The Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the 12,000-member Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) convened in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, from February 19 to 20, 2004, and as a result, the International Monitoring Team (IMT) was created. Discussions between the GRP and the MILF started soon after the GRP and the Moro National Liberation Front signed the Final Peace Accord in January 1997. (MNLF). When Arroyo ordered the Philippine Army to target MILF hideouts in the North Cotabato hamlet of Pikit, previous President Joseph Estrada

ordered a full-scale attack on the MILF headquarters at Camp Abubakar in the Maguindanao town of Matanog. The Arroyo administration has since taken a more lax stance, but the hostilities and claims that some MILF rebel factions are providing cover for members of the Jemaah Islamiyah terror network have hurt the peace process and continue to cast doubt on the viability of negotiations between all parties.

To create or to establish, the merit of an agreement lies on the power of the implementation or realization of an office or agency that it tries to constitute. For example, under the 2014 CAB, in the stipulations on “Policing:”

According to Section A paragraph 4, Pending the establishment of the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA), the Panels shall create a mechanism to facilitate a consultative process between the Parties in the appointment, employment and deployment of the existing police force. Employment refers to the utilization of units or elements of the Philippine National Police (PNP) for purposes of protection of lives and properties, enforcement of laws, maintenance of peace and order, prevention of crimes, - arrest of criminal offenders and bringing of offenders to justice, and ensuring public safety, particularly in the suppression of disorders, riots, lawlessness, violence, rebellious and seditious conspiracy. insurgency, subversion or other related activities. Deployment shall mean the orderly and organized physical movement of elements or units of the PNP within the province, city or municipality for purposes of employment as herein defined.

As documented by the Office of the Presidential Adviser on Peace, the BTA is realized but it is called Bangsamoro Transition Commission ergo creating its police force. Though it differs in the nomenclature, the goals are still intact. PUSAKA, INC. headed by Executive Director Farserina Mohammad noted that with the inclusion into the BTA of the children of Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) Chairman Nur Misuari, they are “more than healing and very much hopeful... When

we see leaders (mostly the second generation) come together and start talking, it gives a different feeling of relief. It is essential for the BTA to succeed in crafting appropriate legislation and effective governance. It must be clear to communities what success means to their leaders or their representatives,” Mohammad said.

Figure 22. *Mindanao CSOs rally support... (OPAPRU, June 2022)*



Under the Annex on Normalization of the 2014 CAB, it was stated that:

“According to Section B, Paragraph 2 of the annex on normalization. It states that, to ensure effective security collaboration, several joint mechanisms shall be established. The Joint Normalization Committee (JNC) shall coordinate the different processes in normalization. The Joint Peace and Security Committee (JPSC) shall coordinate the security component of the normalization process. The Joint Peace and Security Teams (JPSTs) shall be the operating units composed of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), the PNP, and the MILF's Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF). These mechanisms shall work for the maintenance of peace and order and the stability of the areas mutually identified by the GPH and the MILF”

This section is realized through the Executive Order No. 6. “According to EO No. 6: WHEREAS states that the Executive Order (EO) No. 79 (s. 2019) established the Inter-Cabinet Cluster Mechanism on Normalization (ICCMN), and mandated the same to ensure timely, appropriate, and efficient delivery of the Normalization Program, which is parallel and complementary to the provisions of Republic Act No. 11054 or the "Organic Law for the

Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao;"

Under the new agreement, the provisions on the Normalization Program guides the implementation of the transition which the process is safeguarded by a new structure created – the Inter-Cabinet Cluster Mechanism on Normalization (ICCMN). This cluster 'has enabled the Duterte Administration to push forward the implementation of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) amidst the challenges caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and to ensure that the next administration will be able to properly accomplish the remaining necessary tasks. ICCMN is composed of four clusters based on the major components of the normalization track: the security aspect, socio-economic development program, confidence-building measures, and transitional justice and reconciliation.' (OPAPRU, 2019).

Figure 23. ICCMN highlights milestones in Bangsamoro peace...

(OPAPRU, June 2021)



Another interesting directive speech act is on “exercise” wherein the doer of the action takes on a process or activity carried out for a specific purpose, especially one concerned with a specified area or skill. This may refer to the application of a right or a faculty to implement a task.

For example, under the Annex on the Transitional Arrangements and

Modalities of the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, states that

F. The Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA)

“According to Section F of the annex on transitional arrangements and modalities. The BTA shall have as its core function the preparation for the transition to the ministerial government in the Bangsamoro. It shall exercise governance functions devolved to the Bangsamoro in accordance with the Basic Law, and shall set up the institutions and mechanisms necessary to establish the Bangsamoro ministerial government.”

The participation of the MNLF particularly under the leadership of Chair Nur Misuari is a product of the convergence effort of the OPAPRU to harmonize the Bangsamoro peace agreements that include the 1976 Tripoli, the 1996 Final Peace Agreements and the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (Philippine News Agency, 2022).

Figure 24. *New BTA unites former warring... (PIA, August 14, 2022)*



The 1996 Final Peace Agreement is pending while the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro is paving its way towards normalization. With constant peace negotiations, the MNLF and MILF agreed to be under one Transition Authority wherein the latter is the officiating leader. The MILF Chair

Murad serves as the as Chief Minister of the 80-member transition body. Among the 80 members, 41 are from the MILF, seven from the MNLF under Misuari and seven from another faction of MNLF under Muslimin Sema (MindaNews, 2022). The remaining 39 members meanwhile are endorsed by the Government of the Philippines (GPH) (ABS-CBN News, 2022).

Figure 25. *Nur-Murad meeting... (MindaNews, September 12, 2022)*



Furthermore, according to annex on transitional arrangements and modalities, Section B stated that once the TC is created:

Once the TC is created, it shall exercise its functions in accordance with the FAB and its Annexes, and such other functions that are necessary in the performance of its mandate as provided in the Executive Order. To facilitate its tasks, it may create technical committees and a secretariat. The TC may also solicit assistance and advice from experts. The TC shall adopt necessary administrative guidelines for the speedy efficient and effective performance of its functions.”

As an effect, until the BTA was constituted, Section 5 of Article XVI of the Bangsamoro Organic Code established a caretaker body consisting of the same 25 ARMM officials and the initial 20 members of the Bangsamoro Transition

Commission until the BTA was established. On February 22, 2019, the 80 newly appointed BTA members took their oaths, and on February 24, 2019, the ARMM was officially changed as to the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao.

Figure 26. *From ARMM to BARMM... (OPAPRU, June 2021)*



A united Bangsamoro will usher in a true and inclusive peace not just in the BARMM but also throughout Mindanao and the entire nation. For the benefit of everyone in Mindanao, it is a historic time for the leaders of the MNLF and MILF to unite the peace agreements under the BTA. The written peace agreement set the parameters for the implementation of the peace process, the agency is present in the BTA to ensure that the transition period will succeed and deliver the avowed promises to the Moro people (ABS-CBN News, 2022).

Though the directives have an agency to authorize an action, the result or realization of action is not all the time achieved. There were provisions in the agreement which are not implemented or fully implemented. For an instance, there

are directive terms which are not even realized in the course through of the 1996 Final Peace Agreement but not used in the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro. These are 'give' and 'hold':

As stipulated in the 1996 peace agreement,

"the Regional Autonomous Government shall be given some representations in the Board of Directors or in the policymaking body of the Government-Owned and Controlled Corporations (GOCCs) or their subsidiaries consistent with their respective charters,"

But in the span of 20 years, no initiative or action was conducted or recorded to facilitate this. While 'hold' is mentioned in the provision, *"as necessary, the Civil Service Commission shall hold special civil service examinations in the region to further increase the number of eligible therein,"*

As per record, there is no special CS Examinations in the country but rather focus the examinations on the closest progressive city like Cotabato City and Iligan City. The directives 'give' and 'hold' are terms for a control to reinforce action for the specific task, though these were not implemented. Moreover, this form of control shows how a text *makes a difference* because it tells, reminds, and asks implementers a big task of what needs to be done and that makes them more accountable (Cooren, 2004).

b. Draft and pass a basic law

It is safe to claim that the GRP-MILF Peace Process learned from the GRP-MNLF Peace Process. The Government used the previous peace agreement as a springboard and a guide to properly set the peace plan in Mindanao. From this, the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement to the Bangsamoro pushed for the approval of the pivotal annexes: (1) Transitional Arrangements and Modalities which created the Bangsamoro Transition Commission (BTC) and later constituted the Bangsamoro

Transition Authority (BTA); and (2) Normalization which provided the decommissioning of weapons and creation of the Joint Normalization Committee.

As stated,

Section B - Operation of the Transition Commission Article I Annex on Transitional Arrangements and Modalities,

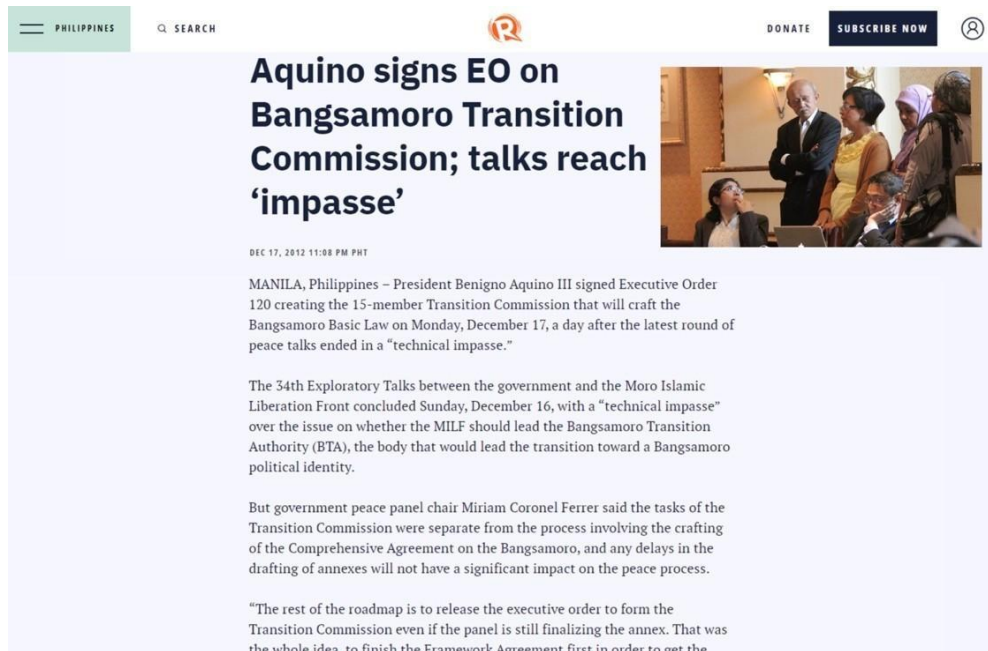
Once the TC is created, it shall exercise its functions in accordance with the FAB and its Annexes, and such other functions that are necessary in the performance of its mandate as provided in the Executive Order

Section C - The Bangsamoro Basic Law Article I Annex on Transitional Arrangements and Modalities,

The TC shall work on the drafting of the Bangsamoro Basic Law, in accordance with the provisions of the FAB.

Following the 2012 Framework Agreement of the Bangsamoro, there should be a Transition Commission that will facilitate the drafting of the Basic Law. On December 17, 2013, by virtue of Executive Order No. 120, the Bangsamoro Transition Commission was created. As ordered, the BTC will be disestablished upon the enactment of the the Bangsamoro Basic Law.

Figure 27. Aquino signs EO... (Rappler, December 17, 2012)



As part of the pact, the creation of the Bangsamoro Transition Commission is ordered in the Executive Order 120 by President Benigno Aquino III. The BTC is a government body that will draft the Bangsamoro Basic Law which will serve as the foundation for a new Bangsamoro political entity in accordance with the Framework Agreement.

Aside from transition and normalization (which the implementation shall be discussed on later pages), it should be noted that the GPH-MILF Peace Panels and the BTC envisioned the Bangsamoro having control and powers over inland waters, including those that feed the hydroelectric plants in Lanao, strategic minerals like uranium, petroleum and natural gas, Bangsamoro waters, etc. in both the CAB and the proposed House Bill 4994. The concept states that the Republic of the Philippines shall be the only government institution with jurisdiction over natural resources. The chief negotiator of the MILF Iqbal however stressed that:

...(the Regalian Doctrine) is the reason why we lost our lands in Mindanao, because our lands are controlled by the state”.

In fact, the control of natural resources, particularly land but also mining, forestry, oil, gas, and fishing resources, is at the heart of the conflict in Mindanao. Finding a compromise that upholds both the Regalian Doctrine and the Moro people's right to self-determination is ultimately the biggest issue.

A total of 12 annexes formed part the integral peace documents of the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement of the Bangsamoro which was signed by the Philippine Government and Moro Islamic Liberation Front on March 27, 2014. President Rodrigo Duterte amended Executive Order 120, issued by his predecessor Noyoy Aquino, by issuing Executive Order No. 8 in 2016, which increased the BTC's membership.

Last July 26, 2018, President Rodrigo Duterte signed Republic Act No. 11054, also known as the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL). The Organic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao is its current name (OLBARMM). It is the outcome of lengthy peace talks between the Philippine government and the rebel organizations in Mindanao, particularly the MILF. The Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), which was founded in 1989 by Republic Act No. 6734 and strengthened in 2001 by Republic Act No. 9054, is abolished by the new law.

Figure 28. *Duterte signs BOL (PhilStar Global, July 26, 2018)*



The peace negotiations between the MILF led by Nur Misuari and the Philippine government led to the creation of ARMM. The ARMM has been labeled a failure by officials in the past due to widespread corruption and poor management. The new law then creates the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) encompassing the provinces of Sulu, Basilan, Tawi- Tawi, Maguindanao, and Lanao del Sur. Meanwhile President Duterte is also negotiating with Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) founding leader Nur Misuari to discuss a peace deal.

The Bangsamoro Autonomous Region was formally established on January 21, 2019, with the adoption of the Bangsamoro Organic Law following a plebiscite. This process saw the liquidation of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) will be established in accordance with the law until the election of the new region's government officials in

2022. The transition body is anticipated to include 105 members in total (80 appointed members and 25 ARMM elected officials) until June 30, 2019. The body would consist of only 80 members after that date.

c. Devise a normalization program

Selected directives in the peace agreement are mandating normalization programs. Normalization plan is not part of the 1996 Final Peace Agreement, so learning from the fault of the past, the Government of the Philippines learnt its lessons on pushing for peace pact without considering decommissioning the weapons of the warring political group. With that, in dealing with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front Peace Deal, one salient feature of the 2014 CAB is its decommissioning programs under the Normalization plans.

Based on Article VIII Paragraph 1 Normalization Framework Agreement on The Bangsamoro,

The Parties agree that normalization is vital to the peace process. It is through normalization that peace process... communities can return to conditions where they can achieve their desired quality of life, which includes the pursuit of sustainable livelihoods and political participation within a peaceful deliberative society.

The roadmap of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, notably in the Annex on Normalization, which has been approved by the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and MILF, serves as a guide for the decommissioning process of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) forces.

Ordered by *Article VIII Paragraph 9 Normalization Framework Agreement on The Bangsamoro*,

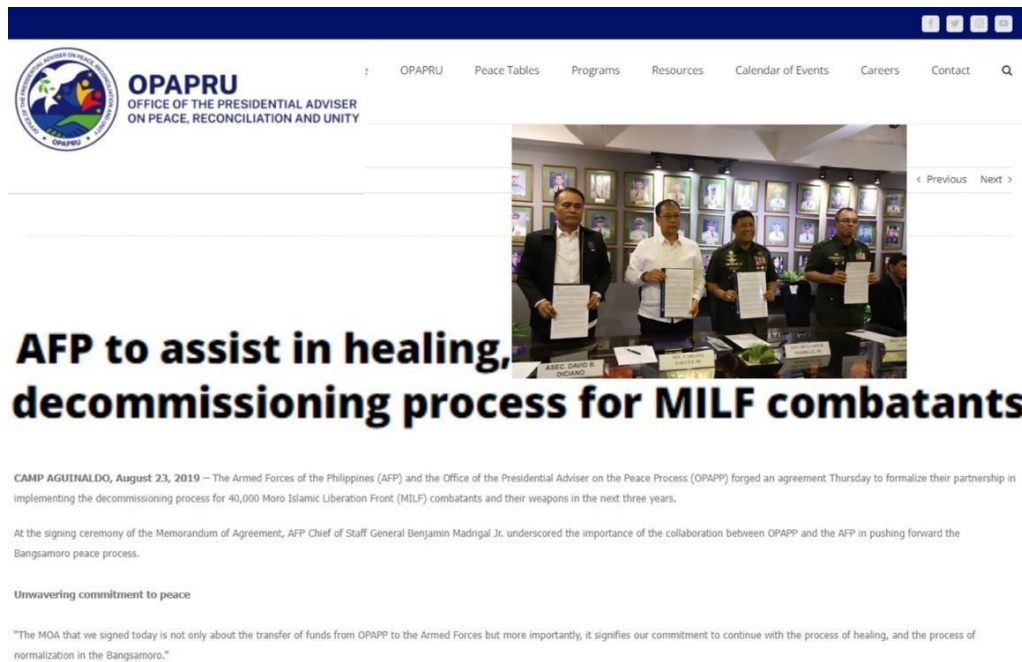
The details of the normalization process and timetables for decommissioning shall be in an Annex on Normalization and shall form part of this Agreement.

Figure 29. Decommissioning of 40,000 MILF... (OPAPP, August 14, 2019)



As a strategy, the MILF will be decommissioned in four (4) percentage-based phases: ceremonial in Phase 1, 30% in Phase 2, 35% in Phase 3, and residual MILF troops in Phase 4. The GPH and MILF parties decided to name the Independent Decommissioning Body as the third-party entity that would expressly be in charge of overseeing the deactivation of MILF forces in order to safeguard the integrity and uphold a high level of trust and confidence. It consists of international experts from Turkey, Norway, Brunei Darussalam, Japan, as well as the designation of qualified local experts from the GPH, including retired LtGen Rey C. Ardo, commander of the AFP Western Mindanao Command, former congressman Prof. Mario Aguja of MSU, and other local representatives.

Figure 30. AFP to assist in healing... (OPAPP, August 23, 2019)



The decommissioning process is the initial stage that enables MILF warriors to seamlessly shift from armed warfare to peaceful, fruitful, and civilian life, thereby enabling them to shed their guerilla character. As part of the decommissioning procedure, weapons must also be turned in and rendered useless.

Figure 31. Decommissioning of combatants... (OPAPP, September 7, 2019)



This is to set the record straight that it is inaccurate to claim or allege that there is a missing list of MILF forces. The list of decommissioned combatants is safely secured and maintained by the IDB and the DSWD. The list is covered by the non-disclosure agreement and the Data Privacy Act of 2012 which provides for the protection of individual personal information as part of their constitutional rights.

Figure 32. *MILF combatants ditch nom de guerre... (OPAPRU, June 17, 2022)*



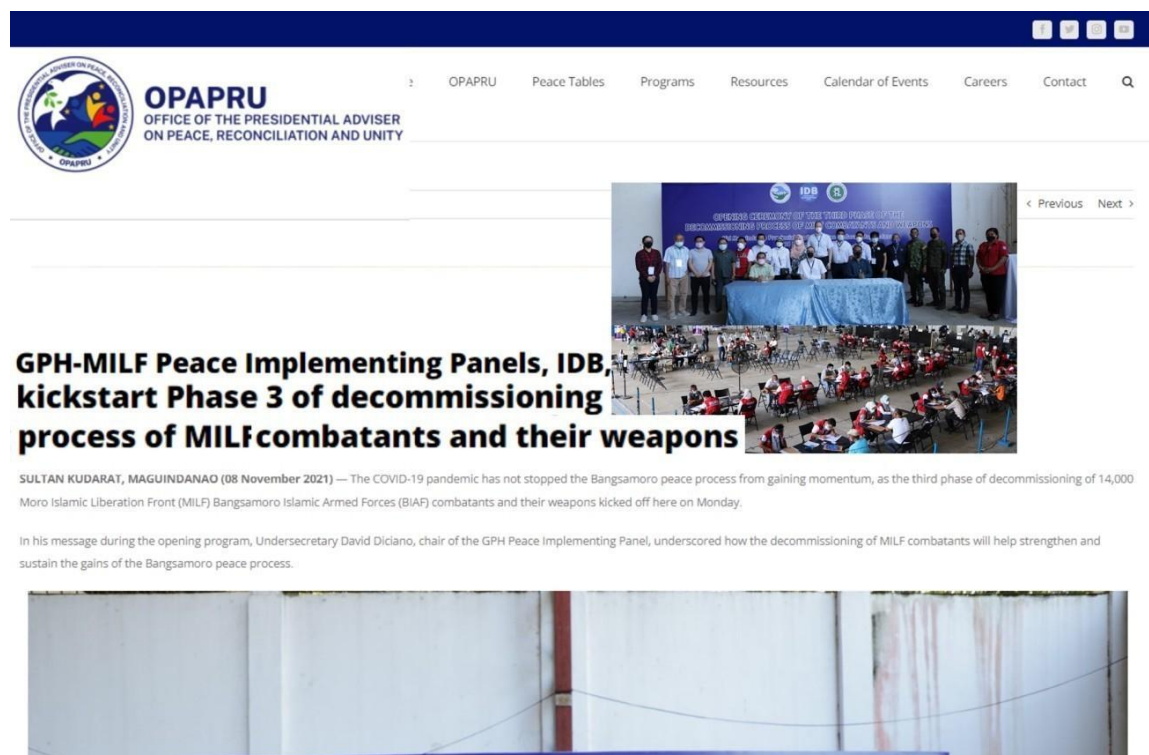
To the IDB, the MILF sends a list of approved combatants and weaponry. With the Verification and Monitoring Assistance Teams' help, the IDB shall verify, register, validate, and inventory the MILF's weapons and forces (VMATs). The VMAT, which is made up of a delegate from each country (Turkey, Brunei, Norway, AFP/PNP, and MILF), undertakes a thorough validation procedure at the decommissioning site through interviews and thorough vetting.

The IDB collects each combatant's pictures and fingerprints for printing on the IDB-issued ID or the decommissioned combatants ID in order to confirm and

register them using biometrics. The same interview and registration-related data are handled using an IDB database system with the utmost care for security and confidentiality.

The GPH and MILF developed a pre-Assembly and Processing Area (Pre-APA) to jointly undertake a pre-screening and pre-registration of MILF combatants scheduled for decommissioning in order to better improve the validation process. With the assistance of the international community, the identities of MILF soldiers are further validated through civil registration and the provision and processing of certificates of live birth to verify their legal identities.

Figure 33. GPH-MILF Peace Implementing Panels...(OPAPRU, Nov. 8, 2021)



After the decommissioning process, the validated and registered combatants will be turned over for social-intake interview under the Task Force for

Decommissioned Combatants and their Communities (TFDCC) and Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). Each decommissioned combatant receives Php 100,000.00 as transitional cash assistance with a DSWD-issued ID (biometric system) as part of their transformation to civilian, productive lives.

To make ensuring that the transitional cash assistance is used effectively to support the decommissioned combatants in their transformation, the DSWD puts them through a case management procedure. With the DSWD, the OPAPRU engaged case workers to keep track of and manage the status of all decommissioned combatants. These assessments were crucial for planning socioeconomic interventions that were suitable for their requirements. The parties established the Third Party Monitoring Team (TPMT) to properly monitor, assess, and evaluate the implementation of the CAB in order to ensure effective and efficient delivery of commitments in the Normalization Program, including the decommissioning process.

The processes, protocols and mechanisms established in the decommissioning program of the MILF forces were crafted under the peace agreement to ensure integrity, professionalism and level of trust and confidence in the process. It is a product of careful and several consultation processes with various stakeholders, taking into account the best practices from disarmament, demobilization and reintegration processes from other peace processes in other countries.

The various tasks and contributions from other government agencies and other departments of the government are required for the total metamorphosis of combatants, whereby they will be leaving behind their guerilla identity. In fact, the

MILF, a party to the peace agreement, is assisting the government in its fight against lawless individuals and violent extremism, as evidenced by the efforts of the MILF during anti-illegal drugs operations in Liguasan Marsh in 2016, operations against BIFF in 2016, the Marawi siege in 2017, and other significant law enforcement operations in Basilan, Sulu, and Maguindanao.

This is true even though normalization is still in progress. The decommissioning process along with other interventions such as socioeconomic development program, transitional justice and reconciliation, and confidence-building measures which forms part of the Normalization Process of the CAB ensures the holistic transformation and healing towards normalcy, and the attainment of just and lasting peace in the Bangsamoro.

Another matter is the active participation of the combatants to the decommissioning of weapons. No arms, lesser violence, no triggers for war, this is a simple logic that can be explained easier. For Mindanaoans, having a gun is a liquid asset – it can be used not just as a weapon but a valued property, a piece for dowry, and a social status. For Latour (2004), guns have agency once the owner of it imposed its authority. But in time that the owner of the gun knows how fatal his/her gun can be, the sense of responsibility and humanity can be insinuated thus contributing good track to the peace process.

Decommissioning of weapons in GRP-MILF is an ongoing implementation of the provisions of the Annex on Normalization of the 2014 CAB. A total of 23,985 MILF personnel had already been disbanded/decommissioned as of October 24, 2022. This corresponds to the beneficiaries receiving close to Php 2.4 billion in transitory cash assistance. These financial benefits are in addition to the nearly Php

750 million in other socioeconomic projects that these former combatants are eligible for from the government, such as social protection, capacity development, assistance with livelihood and employment opportunities, and small-scale infrastructure projects. The national government and many international donor agencies have combined their resources to provide a total of Php 3.1 billion, which has been set aside for the implementation of socioeconomic initiatives for the families and communities of retired soldiers. (OPAPRU, 2022).

Even Presidential Peace Adviser Secretary Carlito G. Galvez Jr., stressed that the implementation of the socioeconomic development aspect of the normalization track is crucial to the Bangsamoro peace process, as they are meant to uplift the lives of the former combatants and their families. The Inter- Cabinet Cluster Mechanism on Normalization's (ICCMN) socioeconomic sub- cluster are gearing up towards the inclusion of normalization in its regular programs and credited the successful run of the normalization to the 'shared commitment and effort of the Government and the MILF counterparts who continue working to fast track the implementation of the programs so that we can successfully transform the lives of our MILF brothers and sisters and bring sustainable peace and development to their communities.' (OPAPRU, 2022).

Figure 34. Decommissioned MILF combatants... (OPAPRU, February 3, 2022)



In the latest Mindanao Peace Process which is 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, the breathing air that makes it thriving is the **continuing support and unity** of both parties – GRP and MILF and the various civil society organizations and even the MNLF. The peace agreement attracts people and agencies to join and be proactive in contributing to the peace efforts towards development.

Aside from the commitment of the line agencies of the government, the recent show of support of the Mindanao civil society organizations to the newly appointed Bangsamoro Transition Authority is tantamount to how serious all socio-political precursors of bring peace in Mindanao. The support mechanism is a shared responsibility that even GRP and MILF could not be taken for granted.

For example, the League of Bangsamoro Organizations stated that 'through the new BTA members, 'the quest for genuine peace in the Bangsamoro is a wake-up call to all to choose the path of peace and unity... By sustaining the MILF (Moro

Islamic Liberation Front) at the helm of BTA leadership, putting a significant number of Misuari and Sema-Jikiri factions in the BTA, reappointing previous non-MILF BTA members, and appointing new members from different sectors who are supportive of the peace process and Bangsamoro government, President [Ferdinand] Marcos [Jr.] is strongly sending the message to all to support the call for unity, peace, and development in the Bangsamoro and the entire country.'

In addition, according Bangsamoro Civil Society Chairperson Guiamel Alim lauded the appointment of the new BTA members, describing them as "one problem-solving institution which can address the long-pending development in the BARMM (Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao." Another civil society organization that expressed its joy towards the current peace status is the PAKIGDAIT Inc. wherein they highlighted the inclusive nature of the new Bangsamoro Transition Authority towards a wider conflict-sensitive and peace-monitoring representation. Kapatut Bangsa Sug, Inc. reminded BTA members of their mission to ensure "social accountability" to which "no one must be left behind in terms of Peace, Progress and Development."

Moreover, PUSAKA, INC. headed by Executive Director Farserina Mohammad noted that with the inclusion into the BTA of the children of Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) Chairman Nur Misuari, they are "more than healing and very much hopeful... When we see leaders (mostly the second generation) come together and start talking, it gives a different feeling of relief. It is essential for the BTA to succeed in crafting appropriate legislation and effective governance. It must be clear to communities what success means to their leaders or their representatives," Mohammad said.

Figure 35. Mindanao CSOs rally support... (OPAPRU, August 16, 2022)



The GRP-MILF Peace Process Normalization had also the support from President Marcos Jr. The President 'call' for the BTA members to work together and effectively carry out their mandate in the next three years in order to accomplish the remaining targets under the political and normalization tracks of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro during the extended transition period. The first election for the 80-member Bangsamoro Parliament will take place in May 2025, and President Marcos Jr. has committed to fully support the fulfillment of the execution of all agreed Bangsamoro peace agreements by June 30, 2025.

The history of peace in Mindanao is being rewritten with news on normalization and that the combatants are becoming peace advocates themselves as they are determined to ensure peace in former war-torn communities. One good example is the story of Abdul Jalil Maminta, a Bangsamoro Mujahid wherein he

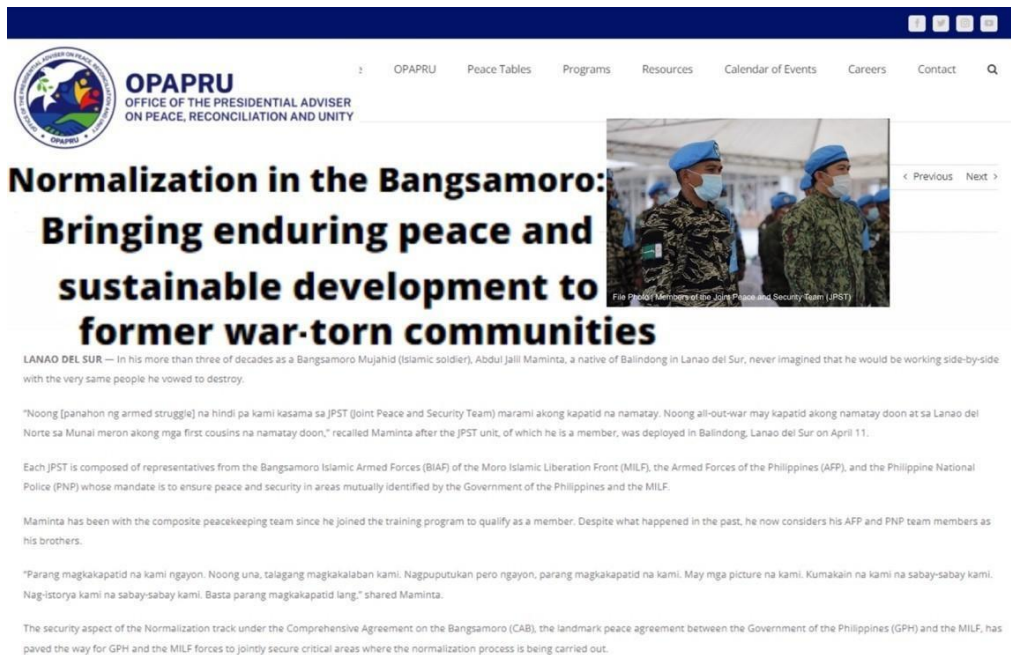
'never imagined that he would be working side- by-side with the very same people he vowed to destroy'. As part of his team, they were able to settle quarelling families and resolve a rido (clan wars) due to land dispute. Maminta has been a member of the composite peacekeeping team ever since he enrolled in the training course to become one. Despite what occurred in the past, he now views the members of his AFP and PNP squad as brothers. He recalled:

"Noong [panahon ng armed struggle] na hindi pa kami kasama sa JPST (Joint Peace and Security Team) marami akong kapatid na namatay. Noong all-out-war may kapatid akong namatay doon at sa Lanao del Norte sa Munai meron akong mga first cousins na namatay doon,"

"Parang magkakapatid na kami ngayon. Noong una, talagang magkakalaban kami. Nagpuputukan pero ngayon, parang magkakapatid na kami. May mga picture na kami. Kumakain na kami na sabay-sabay kami. Nag-istorya kami na sabay-sabay kami. Basta parang magkakapatid lang.

To ensure responsible and inclusive realization of peace and order, the Joint Peace and Security Team is established as it is composed of representatives from the Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF) of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), and the Philippine National Police (PNP) whose mandate is to ensure peace and security in areas mutually identified by the Government of the Philippines and the MILF. The JPST is part of the security aspect of the Normalization track under the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro.

Figure 36. Normalization in the Bangsamoro (OPAPP, June 23, 2021)



d. Mandate Equal Representation

Directive speech acts commands equal representation, as stated in Paragraph 7, Part 1, Annex on Power Sharing:

as a matter of policy, the Central Government shall ensure the participation and representation of the Bangsamoro in national agencies and other Central Government instrumentalities through the intergovernmental relations mechanism.

The equal representation of Bangsamoro should be seen and recognized by the national government. Bangsamoro leaders and heads of offices have been granted opportunities to be part of line agencies.

Aside from mentioned above, inclusivity and participation are seen to be keys to better peace settlement plan. The current agreements valued the major roles of women and the youth in creating a peaceful community as stated in the Article VI – Basic Rights (2012 FAB), *“(the) right of women to meaningful political participation,*

and protection from all forms of violence... are guaranteed.”

As inspired from that provision, 400 women leaders and sectoral representative did not hesitate to participate in the in the first Women Stakeholders’ Regional Forum in Cotabato City and take part in the crafting of a comprehensive Women’s Development Agenda for the Bangsamoro Peace Process.

Figure 37. BARMM Women converge... (OPAPRU, March 16, 2019)



The gathering ‘emphasized the invaluable contribution of women leaders in the peace process, particularly in the implementation of the Normalization phase and in the work to be carried out by the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA). Discussions during the forum centered on the best practices and lessons learned in the ARMM government, as well as recommendations on how to move forward in the new Bangsamoro government. The deliberations focused on good governance practices, peace and development concerns, provision of basic social services, emergency disaster response and multi-sectoral representation and empowerment.’ One Executive Director remarked that:

“Let us be an inspiration to all, especially to the young women of the Bangsamoro. May you wield a stronger voice against injustice, violent extremism and conflict, and continue to be the women leaders who can move the Bangsamoro and the whole nation forward,” Executive Director Mercado added.

The 2014 Peace Agreement also highlighted the role of the youth in making the better, peaceful Bangsamoro. The provisions in the agreement even motivated various organization to conduct peace projects for the youth specially to reshape the minds of the young MILF and MNLF combatants. In Cotabato City, an estimated 200 young combatants from the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) take part in the Positive Peace Project (PPP) of the Bangsamoro Youth Commission (BYC). Launched during the International Youth Day (IYD) culmination activity on Aug. 24, PPP aims to “co-develop a flagship program centered on civic engagement, leadership, management, peace promotion, and entrepreneurship in aid of producing positive reintegration outcomes among identified vulnerable youth combatants of MILF and MNLF and young people widely exposed to violent conflict across the region.”

Figure 38. *Young MILF, MNLF combatants... (Bangsamoro, August 26, 2022)*



Moving forward, the Bangsamoro Peace Process takes one step higher as it seemed that the 1996 Final Peace Agreement (with MNLF) and the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (with MNLF) convened into one **‘united authority’ towards peace**. Former warring members of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) have been united under the new Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA). As discussed, the BTA is the interim government of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM), which replaced the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. The 80-member governing body is tasked to pass crucial laws to operationalize the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL) and exercise legislative and executive powers during BARMM’s transition period.

Figure 39. *MILF, MNLF united...* (PhilStar Global, August 15, 2022)



This particular chapter reveals the new regained hope in Mindanao. In spite of the historical feuds of the two massive Moro Liberation Fronts, the peace agreements were able to facilitate the meetings of the two together with the Philippine Government. As remarked by OPAPRU Secretary Galvez emphasizing the inclusion of both MNLF and MILF members.

“It has been a long time since the MNLF and the MILF have split but under the Marcos administration, they are one in pushing for sustainable peace and development in the Bangsamoro, ... With the joining of the MNLF and the MILF, and with the 'balanced' and equitable composition of the 39 GPH nominees... this is now no longer just the BTA of the old BARMM but the BTA of a 'United BARMM,’”

The participation of the MNLF particularly under the leadership of Chair Nur Misuari is a product of the convergence effort of the OPAPRU to harmonize the Bangsamoro peace agreements that include the 1976 Tripoli, the 1996 Final Peace Agreements and the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (Philippine News Agency, 2022).

Figure 40. *New BTA unites (Philippine News Agency, August 14, 2022)*



It can be paradoxically claimed that the peace in Mindanao is an overdue

agreement or a product of old age; but the heads of the two Bangsamoro Liberation Fronts are capable to discuss and forge peace to one another. On September 11, 2022, Nur Misuari, chair of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) had a meeting with Bangsamoro Chief Minister Ahod “Al Haj Murad” Ebrahim, chair of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front.

The 1996 Final Peace Agreement is pending while the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro is paving its way towards normalization. With constant peace negotiations, the MNLF and MILF agreed to be under one Transition Authority wherein the latter is the officiating leader. The MILF Chair Murad serves as the as Chief Minister of the 80-member transition body. Among the 80 members, 41 are from the MILF, seven from the MNLF under Misuari and seven from another faction of MNLF under Muslimin Sema (MindaNews, 2022). The remaining 39 members, meanwhile are endorsed by the Government of the Philippines (GPH) (ABS-CBN News, 2022).

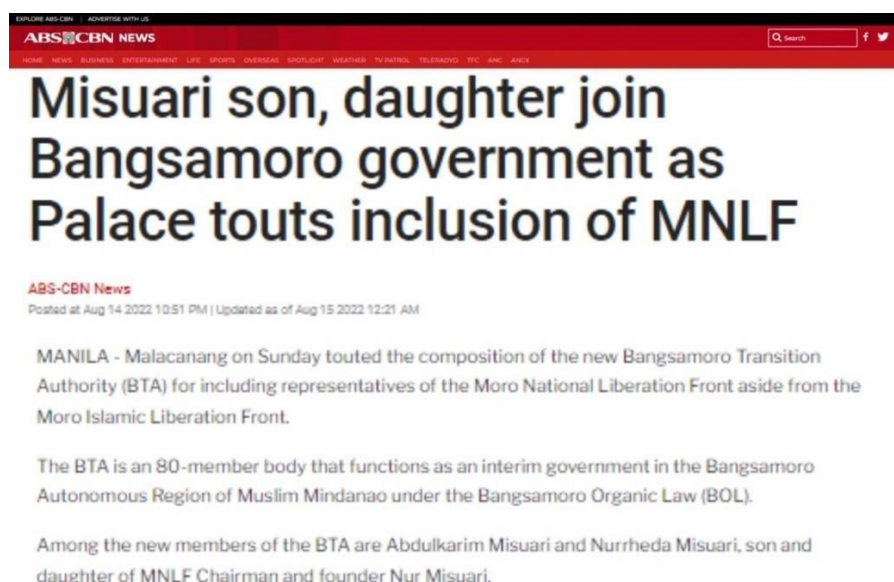
Figure 41. *Nur – Murad Meeting... (MindaNews, September 12, 2022)*



Among the 80 are 15 children of Bangsamoro revolutionary leaders, commanders and peace panel members, two of the new members are Abdulkarim Misuari and Nurrheda Misuari, son and daughter of MNLF Chairman and founder Nur Misuari. Since the BTA is extended, President Ferdinand Marcos Jr. confirmed that the purpose of extending the BTA's tenure from 2022 to 2025 is to allow the organization more time to finish the objectives assigned to it by the BOL. As evident in his speech in the oath-taking of new BTA members:

"We are given another chance...but we have three years and it is not a long time for this rather basic, fundamental, and highly important pieces of legislation that have to be produced now by the Transition Authority. I'm specifically referring to fiscal policy. You have to define taxation and fiscal policy, and how they are going to be defined and what are the rules to be followed," Marcos said in a speech in Malacanang on Friday.

Figure 42. *Misuari son, daughter join... (ABS-CBN News, August 14, 2022)*



A united Bangsamoro will usher in a true and inclusive peace not just in the

BARMM but also throughout Mindanao and the entire nation. For the benefit of everyone in Mindanao, it is a historic time for the leaders of the MNLF and MILF to unite the peace agreements under the BTA. The written peace agreement set the parameters for the implementation of the peace process, the agency is present in the BTA to ensure that the transition period will succeed and deliver the avowed promises to the Moro people (ABS-CBN News, 2022).

3. Commissive (Commitment)

Commissives are those kinds of speech acts that speakers use to commit themselves to some future action. They express the speaker's intention. They are promises, threats, refusals, and pledges, and they can be performed by the speaker alone or by the speaker as a member of a group. "In using a commissive, the speaker undertakes to make the world fit the words (via the speaker)" (Yule, 1996: 54). When people perform commissives, they may say their speech by using the performative verbs such as promise, swear, guarantee, and vow.

Commissive speech acts is the act when the speaker makes an utterance regarding the future. In other words, it means that the speaker commits something to the hearer that contains intention or thought in any kinds of forms. The kinds of form are being discussed more in Ratnasari & Edel (2017) based on Searle's theory which are promise, offer, or even swear. Like most of the written agreement, the key implementers are expected to act out and do the agreed terms and conditions in the future or in a period set by the agreement.

Other commissive terms which are used frequently used are "commit." Commit means that both parties on peace process **share to work together and be responsible to uphold their agreed terms and conditions**. For example, "both parties commit to protect and enhance the right of the Bangsamoro People and

other inhabitants in the Bangsamoro to human dignity; commit to faithfully abide by honor, respect, implement and entrench these agreements, and nurture the integrity of the whole peace process, commit the armed forces of the GRP and the MILF to a General Cessation of Hostilities, commit themselves to negotiate with dignity and sincerity with mutual trust, justice and freedom, and respect for their identity, culture and aspirations, commit to work further on the details of Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro, and commit to uphold the deeds and previous accords signed.

One specific example is in the repealing clause of the domain of Agreement for General Cessation of Hostilities (which part of the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro) that states:

NOW, THEREFORE, the GRP and MILF, through their undersigned authorized representative, agree, as they hereby agreed on the following:

1. To commit the armed forces of the GRP and the MILF to a General Cessation of Hostilities;

With the 12 annexes of the 2014 CAB, two of which were already signed in nineties – the Agreement for the General Cessation of Hostilities signed July 18, 1997 in Cagayan de Oro City and the General Framework of Agreement of Intent between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front on August 27, 1998 in Sultan Kudarat, Maguindanao. Though there were series of conflicts and shooting incidents, the MILF remained to its commitment to keep track of its promise in realization of the agreement in early 2000.

Figure 43. Gov't, MILF start talking peace anew...

(Phil. Daily Inquirer, March 2, 2000)



Also in the 2014 CAB, the Agreement on the General Framework for the Resumption of Peace Talks between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, the commissive “commit” highlights the commitment of parties, to wit:

“Article IV states that The Parties commit to honor, respect and implement all past agreements and other supplementary agreements signed by them. Details of implementation shall be discussed by the Panels.”

As stipulated in the peace agreement, in August 2001, a regional plebiscite on the ARMM's (Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao) proposed expansion to four provinces was held. The Muslim-majority island province of Basilan was the only one to vote in favor of joining the ARMM. Governor of ARMM and founder of the MNLF, Nur Misuari, disagreed with the validity of the plebiscite election.

Those sample commissive terms discussed above were proof that in peace process commitment of both parties towards the goals is its vital characteristic to be

present. This idea is supported by Francois Cooren (2004) wherein “texts, like contracts, commit their signatories to do things and guarantee, vouch or assure specific actions or advantages to some person or entity.” The signed agreement binds and commands the two parties/signatories to fulfill what they have agreed.

In addition, commitment is not something that a text can do for itself. A document cannot really commit itself to do something, but it can commit for other agents. The agency of such documents exists if they commit their signatories to a particular action in the future (Cooren, 2004).

4. Expressives, Declarations and Other Speech Acts

The other two speech acts – expressives and declarations were also used in the peace agreements though less compare with the first three. This supports the claim that peace agreements after series of deliberation may finally refine emotion and impulse in writing the text. To express one’s feelings and to formally declare are minimally used in documents on peace process.

Expressives are the speech acts in which the speaker expresses an attitude to or about a state of affairs using such verbs as apologize, appreciate, congratulate, deplore, detest, regret, thank, welcome, etc. This type of speech act is present in the agreements; as an example, the 2014 CAB states that:

“According to the CAB, which stated Supplementary to the CAB are the various agreements, guidelines, terms of reference, and joint statements duly signed and acknowledged by the Parties in the course of the negotiations between the two Parties beginning in 1997. The Parties commit to honor, respect, and implement all these past agreements and supplementary documents signed by them and as further elaborated in the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro and its Annexes.”

More features and flesh were added to the structure, greatly improving the FAB. The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB), the final document's name at the time, was signed on March 27, 2014.

Figure 44. *Phils, MILF sign peace agreement... (Inquirer.net, March 28, 2014)*



The CAB, which serves as the peace negotiations' final document, serves as the GPH and MILF's binding contract. It specifies out precise information on the Bangsamoro's position after the new autonomous political entity is established, as well as the degree of budgetary and political autonomy.

In addition, the common expressive in the peace agreements is to acknowledge and give gratitude to the individuals, nations and entities that helped in the peace process.

For an instance:

The Parties express their gratitude for the gracious hospitality of the Government of Malaysia in hosting and facilitating the dialogue that has resulted in this Agreement.

The Parties express their collective appreciation and gratitude to the Great Leader of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, and to the Chairman of the Gaddafi International Foundation for Charitable Associations, Saif Al Islam Gaddafi, for hosting the Formal Opening of the Resumption of the GRP-MILF Peace Talks in Tripoli, Libya; to His Excellency Dato Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, Prime Minister of Malaysia and His Excellency Abdurrahman Wahid, President of the Republic of Indonesia, for their full and continuing support.

The Parties give special appreciation to His Excellency President Benigno Simeon Aquino III for his leadership and to the MILF Central Committee headed by Chair Al Haj Murad Ebrahim for their continued commitment to the peaceful resolution of the Bangsamoro Question.

They also commend the Bangsamoro Transition Commission as they earnestly work towards completing the draft Bangsamoro Basic Law

The Parties welcomed the participation of the European Union (EU) as the Coordinator of the Humanitarian, Rehabilitation and Development Component of the IMT and accepted the guidelines proposed by the EU. The Parties also welcomed the participation of Norway in the IMT Security Component.

The Parties expressed their gratitude to President Gloria Macapagal- Arroyo and to Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk' Sri Mohd. Najib bin Tun Haji Abd ul Razak for their generous and steadfast support and assistance to the pursuit of these goals.

On the other hand, the use of declarations is mainly at the beginning or at the end part wherein the legality of the agreement is proclaimed or attested. The declarations are the speech acts in which the speaker aims to change the world via his/her utterances. As evident in the 1996 agreement, the declarations are worded in toto as follows:

(1) This agreement shall take effect immediately upon the signing of hereof by the parties, unless otherwise provided herein. Done in the City of Manila on the 2nd Day of September 1996.

(2) Whereas, this final peace agreement constitutes the full implementation of the Tripoli Agreement.

As implemented through the Republic Act No. 11054, "*Organic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao*." The purpose of this Organic Law is to establish a political entity, provide for its basic structure of government in recognition of the justness and legitimacy of the cause of the Bangsamoro people and the aspirations of Muslim Filipinos and all indigenous cultural communities in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao to secure their identity and posterity, allowing for meaningful self- governance within

the framework of the Constitution and the national sovereignty as well as territorial integrity of the Republic of the Philippines.

Last July 26, 2018, President Rodrigo Duterte signed Republic Act No. 11054, also known as the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL). The Organic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao is its current name (OLBARM). It is the outcome of lengthy peace talks between the Philippine government and the rebel organizations in Mindanao, particularly the MILF. The Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), which was founded in 1989 by Republic Act No. 6734 and strengthened in 2001 by Republic Act No. 9054, is abolished by the new law.

Figure 45.

Figure 45. *Duterte signs BOL... (PhilStar Global, July 26, 2018)*



With great efforts to invest, the expressives and declarations were used to value the contribution of those individuals and entities which helped in the realization of peace agreement. These specific speech acts can only confirm what humans usually do, that is to extend its appreciation through words (text). Moreover, *documents have properties that humans do not have*: Derrida (1988) calls this *restance*, that is, their 'staying capacity,' wherein a legal document

requests something from someone, this text *remains active* as long as it is recognized or not destroyed. Thus, what texts and documents do are performances of a particular kind, since their actions last as long as they remain intact or recognized (Cooren, 2004). In relation to peace process, the individuals and entities who have shaped and helped in formulation and creation of the agreement will remain in the records or to what Derrida calls “restance.”

Aside from the main speech acts, there were also minimal items on other speech acts, namely: Assertive (assuring, recall and confirm) and Directive (request and prohibition).

There were assertive speech acts that function in assuring. Searle and Vanderveken (1985) describe assuring as asserting with the perlocutionary intention of convincing the hearer of the truth of the propositional content in the world of texts/utterances. Wierzbicka (1987) states that to assure is also concerned with the removal of ‘worry’ from the mind of the hearer. For example, in the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro:

The two Parties shall ensure the establishment of a new Bangsamoro political entity...

The Bangsamoro Transition Authority shall ensure that the continued functioning of government in the area of autonomy is exercised pursuant to its mandate under the Basic Law.

The Bangsamoro shall ensure transparency mechanisms consistent with open government practices.

In years of not achieving peace, the written agreements must assure the realization of its provisions. Assuring is specifically concerned with people as (contrasted with confirm, where one can confirm reports), additionally assuring means telling someone of the truth or accuracy of something.

Other two assertive speech acts are recall and confirm. To recall is to

assert/mention to a hearer with the additional preparatory condition that the hearer once knew and might have forgotten the propositional content (Searle and Vanderveken, 1985), while to confirm is to assert the truth or to attest the validity of something. Confirm implies the removing of doubts by an authoritative statement or indisputable fact. This is to corroborate and strengthen what is already true or partly true.

In the 1996 Final Peace Agreement, the recall or notation of the past agreement is withheld, while in 2014 CAB, the GPH and MILF confirm the importance of the basic law.

The Parties took note of the agreements on the Terms of Reference of the Civilian Protection Component of the IMT and the Implementing Guidelines of the project on the clearing of landmines and unexploded ordnance signed on the 5th of May as part of the overall gains since 1997 related to their determination to build on previous achievements and intended to move the GRP-MILF Peace Process forward into the next steps to bring about a political settlement;

The Parties shall confirm the fact of ratification of the promulgation of the Bangsamoro Basic Law.

Moreover, directive speech acts that function as request and prohibition are found in the agreement. A request is a way of ordering something from the hearer. The request is not like a command, it is generally less demanding. Searle in Cole (1975) states that sometimes a speaker may utter the sentence “I want you to do it” by way of requesting the hearer to do something. Here, the utterance is incidentally meant as a statement, but, it is also meant primarily as a request made by way of making a statement. The request speech acts mostly referred its concern to the institutions (i.e. COMELEC, Supreme Court).

As examples from the two agreements,

The Panels shall request the COMELEC to conduct a special registration before the date of the plebiscite on the Bangsamoro Basic Law.

The GRP shall request the Supreme Court to create the Office of the Deputy Court Administrator for the Area of Autonomy, and to appoint thereto a qualified person recommended by the Head of the Regional Autonomous Government.

Under the directive speech act on prohibition. Prohibition means to prevent the hearer from doing something. The form of directive speech acts according to Prayitno (2010) states that a prohibition is an act of language that aims to make the interlocutor not allowed at all or be prohibited from doing anything. In the prohibition directive speech act, there is a function of prohibiting and preventing. The directive speech acts have the following functions – to prohibit. The prohibiting function is to express speech that contains the intention of instructing the speech partner not to do something or not allowing to do something.

As examples found in the agreements, the prohibition is a full stoppage of a function or to alter the previous provisions.

This Agreement shall not be implemented unilaterally.

Religious instruction in public schools should be optional, with the written consent of the parent/guardian, taught by the authorities of the religion to which the student belongs, and should not involve additional costs to the government in accordance with national policies.

Bridging the Gap: The Authority of the Peace Documents

So what is the authority of the peace documents? Based on the analysis of speech acts, the authority of the peace agreement lies on its assertives – its power to affirm a binding ideal of peace to both parties. Two parties in conflict signed an agreement (a nonhuman agent) and that nonhuman agent becomes a guide for the next steps that they will do to achieve peace. That agreement also contains directives to establish their responsibilities and authority as part of the peace process as well as their commissives, their commitment to being the counterpart/s of the peace process.

Ascribing agency to documents *does not* mean that texts are severed from their human creators. Ascribing agency to texts *never* means that humans completely disappear from the picture (Cooren, 2004). This emphasized in textual agency that functions to the extent that texts are recognized as being purposely produced for some specific effect – i.e. peace agreement to peace process.

Any interaction needs human and nonhuman actors; these elements create an organized body of texts that can help foster peace and end conflict and hostilities in certain areas. The peace agreement, as written by humans, is a complete contract of two parties in which its documents has achieved and stated criteria of success (assertives), define objectives (directives), commit employees and managers (commissives), and sanction or reward performance (expressives). Certainly, there are ghostly presences or hybridicity in these texts; humans do not disappear, and human appropriation *always* occurs. But textual agency, especially in its written form, enables delegation through *tele-action* and *tele-communication*. By *remaining*, these textual agents fabricate relatively fixed spaces and times; they define objectives; they forbid specific behaviors; and they invite or enforce humans to follow specific organizational pathways (Cooren, 2004). Recognizing what nonhumans do bridges the gap between the micro and the macro dimension of organizing, since we saw that action, according to this conception, does not have any point of origin. Humans are acted upon as well as acting through the textual and objects (texts) that they produce. They enter a chain of actions that extend beyond their original contributions. Instead of using the term ‘structure’ to explain these effects, let us start from agency—in all its forms.

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter consists of four parts namely: Summary of the purpose of the study, research and methodology, Implications, Conclusion; and Recommendations in view of the results of the study.

Summary

The study is conducted to analyze the authority and agency that the peace agreements as documents impose to bring and enforce peace in Mindanao. This study is a testament to the power of documents to shape the sociopolitical environment and bring about peace. Even though documents are seen as things that do not imply or require acceptance of the underlying assumption that they exist as inert and static "receptacles of content," these mediating objects are crucial tools that enable agencies to do things, perform actions, and engage in activities.

The study analyzed the two milestone peace agreements: (1) 1996 Final Peace Agreement and Implementation of 1976 Tripoli Agreement, and (2) 2014 Comprehensive Agreement of Bangsamoro (CAB). Purposive sampling was used to select all available agreements from the official website of the Office of Presidential Adviser on Peace, Unity and Reconciliation. The electronic copies of the written peace agreement were readily available on the Internet. The paper answered the problem on **what is the authority of peace agreements and how do the peace agreements perform/invoke its power**. As a document, what provisions are observed, followed, and violated by the concerned parties: Government of the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front and Moro Islamic Liberation Front. In this study, the researcher used and explored Francois Cooren's seminal

concepts on nonhuman agency (textual agency), Searle's Speech Act Theory.

To answer the sub-problem 1, the researcher examined what authority has the peace agreements have in enforcing peace in Mindanao. The researcher determined the type of speech acts in the peace agreements and further analyzed the textual agency present in the texts.

To answer sub-problem 2, the study tracked the news articles that happen before and after the signing of the peace agreements. Then, the researcher located the notions of agency in terms of its actions from the peace agreements and determine the networks and relation roles it creates. To set the proper analysis, the researcher first analyzed Cooren's concepts on nonhuman agency and referred to these ideas of textual agency. To deepen the analysis, the socio-cultural constructs were used as a springboard to level off discussions on power and influence in history, politics, and society.

Based on the analysis of speech acts, the authority of the peace agreement lies on its assertives – its power to affirm and assure the implementation of those written provisions. Second is in directives, third is in commissives and last are expressives and declarations. The peace agreement has the authority to force two settling parties to enter into an agreement. Those assertive speech acts discussed in the previous chapter were proof that in peace process – the will power of both parties towards the goals is its vital characteristic to be present.

Moreover, the agreements performed the following roles; under the assertives, the peace agreements in Mindanao assert to: (1) recognize the Bangsamoro identity for the realization of the lasting peace, (2) affirm the autonomy of the Bangsamoro, (3) highlight the need of transition, and (4) upholds the significance of socio-economic, cultural and educational development; and under

the directives, the agreements command or order to (a) implement significant monitoring and transition mechanisms, (b) draft and pass the basic law, (c) devise a normalization program, and, (d) mandate equal representation.

Implications

The authority of peace agreements in the Mindanao Peace Process lies in the legal and political frameworks signed and agreed upon. The peace agreements between the government of the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front form the foundation of the peace process till its evolution and revision in the present. The agency of the peace agreements relies on the written provisions, assertives, directives and commissives. The agreements propel the political authorities, national and regional, to play a crucial role in implementing and overseeing the peace agreements. Based on the results, the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace, Reconciliation and Unity (OPAPRU) coordinates the general peace process, while the Bangsamoro Transition Authority serves as the interim government until the establishment of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM).

Aside from both parties being included in the peace process, the peace documents highlight the existence of the international third-party monitoring team. These representatives ensure compliance with the agreements and their commitment to peace-making. The peace documents post their authority through the agency of the peace implementation, its enforcement, and its effectiveness.

Peace agreements are powerful documents that hold immense significance in resolving conflicts and promoting peace in Mindanao. Once signed, the agreement gains its legitimacy. Peace agreements provide a formal and legitimate

framework for ending hostilities and establish a set of agreed-upon principles, rules, and commitments that are recognized by the involved parties and the international community like the United Nations. Moreover, peace agreements not only aim to stop violence but also to lay the foundation for lasting peace. They often outline measures to promote post-conflict peacebuilding, including social, economic, and political reforms, as well as mechanisms for transitional justice, truth, unity, and reconciliation.

Agreements are proven in this study to have authority in conflict resolution and binding commitments. The peace documents offer a means to settle disputes between conflicting parties. They provide a platform for negotiations, discussions, and compromises, enabling conflicting parties to find common ground and reach a mutually acceptable resolution. In addition, peace agreements contain specific commitments and responsibilities that are legally binding on the signatory parties. These commitments include measures to end hostilities, decommission armed groups, promote reconciliation and cooperation, address root causes of conflict, and establish mechanisms for the implementation.

One interesting insight from the study is that peace documents serve as a symbol and encapsulate an abstract idea of peace. The agreements hold symbolic value as these represent a commitment to move beyond conflict, acknowledge the suffering and pain of the past, and envision a peaceful future. Peace documents inspire hope, rebuild trust, and create a sense of unity among divided parties and communities.

Filipinos in Mindanao learned extensively about the multitude of peace processes and peace documents signed. As confirmed, peace is not a product, it is a process. A peace agreement's legitimacy – which in turn depends on how much

social, political, and economic actors feel a sense of ownership over the deliberative process that led to the agreements and their implementation. Achieving peace is challenging because it demands cooperation and coordination of institutional and civil society actors in national and international, civil, and military domains.

Above all, it is important to note that the attainment of peace depends on various factors, including the willingness of parties to adhere to their commitments, the inclusivity of the negotiation process, the level of international support, and the presence of mechanisms to address potential challenges and spoilers. However, the well-written and planned peace agreement is the start of the peace process.

Conclusion

Is peace really elusive to human affairs? In this study, what one can conclude is that it is not; peace has a chance. As supported by our claims, peace process is a combination of human and non-human agents. The study is firm in its notion that peace agreements have authority and agency in imposing and enforcing peace in Mindanao. Once we have recognized that action is something that is always shared, it seems non-problematical to account for interactions while recognizing that these latter always participate in something that transcends them. This what Cooren called 'teleaction' that presupposes a central phenomenon, which is representation, that is, the act consisting of making present, of presentifying something or someone in the interaction.

Human actors create and negotiate 'what is 'in' the document, or how that content comes into being, is interesting than a focus on how documents are used "as a resource by human actors for purposeful ends" and "how documents function

in and impact on, schemes of social interaction...'

After its signing, the two milestone agreements become not just 'inert and static 'receptacles of content,' but mediating objects which are important tools allowing agencies to do things, perform actions and undertake activities. As argued "documents should not merely be regarded as containers for words, images, information, instructions, and so forth, but how they can influence episodes of social interaction, and schemes of social organization" (Prior (2008); rather we have proven in the study that documents can forge peace to make two parties in conflict come to terms, direct each other, and affirm responsibilities and agree in peace.

Even though there were series of agreements forged in the history of peace in Mindanao, mediating objects like the peace agreements help constitute human sociality; this asserts that both material and symbolic, are a way of conveying the past into what we do and in doing so expand our practice, surely documents are integral to his proposition. Also, documents are active social entities that can bring diverse groups of people together in their pivotal roles as boundary objects (Brown and Duguid 2000), the concept of mediation that has been similarly well accepted.

The peace agreements had the formal authority to be a guide in peace process. However, formal authority does not necessarily mean having power over others, given that an individual in a position of formal authority is obligated to fulfill the expectations of (its) role (an issue that is repeatedly made explicit in the conflict episode) (Castor and Saludadez, 2020), the peace agreement has that authority that carries an agency of mediating both parties towards making peace.

Through peace agreements, we see that hostilities and violence can be stopped, that mediating institutions and structures can be established and developed for the welfare of both parties, that a piece of paper can remind the terms

agreed and responsibilities promised by both parties, and that it is not yet too late to start again and present more beautiful stories of hope to inspire others. Peace agreements have the agency. As Cooren (2004) would put it: “agency is the capacity of an entity to act, to perform, to do something in the material world. Scholars argue about the degree to which human agency is fettered by structure, but most would concede that humans have agency – the capacity to act - to a greater or lesser degree.”

Peace documents may be small but (it is a) significant body of work that has demonstrated how documents have the constitutive capacity to form ideas and concepts into entities real enough to allow actions to be performed on and with them in the course of every-day human activities. In this alone documents can be said to have agency. Here non-human entities have the ability to act upon the human participants in situations thereby affecting and changing their actions. This study is successful in examining that documents as active agents in the work and social practices of humans are few, but those which exist give us a tantalising hint that this work could be taken further. It seems possible that documents can be agents in certain activities and situations, not only by allowing ideas and concepts to be constituted as entities, but as active agents of change in human affairs.

Much like other social phenomenon, humans (and nonhumans) exist to create such a community; as Craig (1999) puts it “we exist in a socio- cultural environment that is constituted and maintained in large part by symbolic codes and media of communication.” The role of the written code, an agreement, becomes a “symbolic process” wherein humans are an active participant and the main indicator of the success of any peace endeavor as communication reveals how a peaceful society is created, realized, sustained and transformed for the better.

Recommendations

This study is another contribution to the field of communication studies, agency (non-human agency), peace studies, sociolinguistics and language studies. This study adds up to the idea that communication is ‘the plenum of agencies’ of interdisciplinary of studies. Through the analysis of the two milestone agreements – 1996 Final Peace Agreement of the 1976 Tripoli Agreement and the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, the notions on authority and agency are explained and associated to the dynamics of the Mindanao society in attaining peace and development.

Though there were challenges encountered in writing the study but still it was done. The study is limited but it offers new perspectives to take into consideration; here are the following recommendations:

In terms of research, future studies can analyze other documents, texts or forms. Since the study is only on the two milestone agreements, researchers can analyze minutes on drafting and strategic planning, and the proceedings of formulating the electoral code, government code and other pertinent guidelines in the implementation of the Bangsamoro Organic Law. Also, future researchers can have more comprehensive analysis by going beyond the feminism and postcolonialism and other theoretical posturing like Marxism. Also, the researchers can have a comparative study on the best practices in implementation of provisions of various peace agreements in the Philippines with other countries in Southeast Asia, Asia, or the World. In social organizations, this study can be used as evidence that nonhuman agents are important in organizational functions. Future experts on organization may investigate the notions found in the study and relate it to agency framework and formal authority especially in companies with upstream and

downstream mechanisms.

With regards to peace building, this study can be presented to concerned offices to serve as a literature on how language and communication are vital in attaining peace in Mindanao. This can guide the concerned personnel when to write/use assertives or other types of speech acts to be part of their communication.

In terms of peace process, this study can be a written document – analysis of the peace documents – that would serve proof that the discourse of realizing peace is a cycle of conversation and action through time. The study proved that peace process documents are not just receptacles of promise to attain peace but agents imposing its authority to have a better community.

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APPENDICES

EXCERPTS	CODE AND DESCRIPTION
<i>The Parties affirm their commitment to protect and respect human rights in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.</i> <i>The Parties acknowledge their responsibilities to uphold the principles of justice.</i> <i>The Parties acknowledge the identity and legitimate grievances of the Bangsamoro.</i> <i>Both Parties acknowledge the important contribution of the international community through the Malaysian Facilitator acting impartially together with the International Contact Group, the International Monitoring Team and its Civilian Protection Component.</i> <i>The Parties acknowledge that wealth creation (or revenue creation and sourcing) is important for the operation of the Bangsamoro, considering that the Bangsamoro territory is among the most underdeveloped in the Philippines due to the decades-long conflict.</i> <i>The Parties agree that the following matters are reserved for the competence of the National Government: defense and external security, foreign policy, common market and global trade, coinage and monetary policy, citizenship and naturalization and postal service.</i> <i>The parties agree that wealth creation (or revenue generation and sourcing) is important for the operation of the Bangsamoro</i> <i>The Bangsamoro shall have the authority to contract loans, credits, and other forms of indebtedness with any government or private bank and other lending institutions, except those requiring sovereign guaranty, which require Central Government approval.</i>	Assertive (Affirming) These speech acts are used when the text asserts 'a proposition to be true or state a fact, Assertive is stating the right information. The 'affirming' type of assertive speech act is mainly found in the peace agreements. The affirming assertives mandate 'authority and/or responsibility,' establish 'power, position, office, and by placing a feature or function. The agreements affirm the Bangsamoro authority and its wealth creation. The agreements value the importance of lasting peace to be an integral interest of the peoples of the Bangsamoro.

The Bangsamoro will have the authority to receive grants and donations from domestic and foreign sources and hock grants and subsidies from the Central Government Subject to acceptable credit worthiness, it shall also have the authority to contract loans from domestic and foreign lending institutions, except foreign and domestic loans requiring. sovereign guaranty, whether explicit or implicit, which would require the approval of the Central Government.

The Bangsamoro shall have a just and equitable share in the revenues generated through the exploration, development or utilization of natural resources obtaining in all the areas/territories, land or water, covered by and within the jurisdiction of the Bangsamoro, in accordance with the formula agreed upon by the Parties.

The Parties accept the concept of devolution as inspired by the principle of subsidiarity.

The Parties recognize that there will be lasting peace in Mindanao when there is mutual trust, justice, freedom, and tolerance for the identity, culture, way of life and aspirations of all the peoples of Mindanao.

Recognizing that peace negotiations between the GRP and the MILF is for the advancement of the general interest of the Bangsamoro people and other indigenous people;

The Parties recognize Bangsamoro identity and the legitimate grievances and claims of the Bangsamoro people.

The Parties recognize the need to strengthen the Shari'ah courts and to expand their jurisdiction over cases.

Both Parties recognize the Bangsamoro aspiration for the exercise of additional fiscal powers in order to reach full fiscal autonomy...

Both Parties recognize the Bangsamoro

The agreements recognize the Bangsamoro identity, its dark past and its aspirations to have its own jurisdiction and government.

aspiration for the exercise of additional fiscal powers in order to reach full fiscal autonomy...

The Parties recognize the Bangsamoro identity.

The Parties recognize the need to attract multi-donor country support, assistance and pledges to the normalization process.

The Parties recognize the need to attract multi-donor country support, assistance and pledges to the normalization process. For this purpose, a Trust Fund shall be established through which urgent support, recurrent and investment budget cost will be released with efficiency, transparency and accountability.

The Parties agree to resume the stalled peace negotiations immediately after the signing of this Agreement, and continue the same from where it had stopped before April 27, 2000 until they shall have reached a negotiated political settlement of the Bangsamoro problem.

To resume and proceed with the formal peace talks in a venue to be mutually agreed upon between the GRP and the MILF Panels

The Parties shall agree to hold the first formal meeting of their panels at a mutually agreed venue within three months from the signing of this agreement.

The Parties agree to the continuity of negotiations in the context of agreed documents.

To pave the way for the immediate normalization of the situation in Mindanao, the Parties agree to undertake relief and rehabilitation measures for evacuees, and joint development projects in the conflict affected areas.

The Parties agree to invite representatives

The agreements affirm the role of the peace negotiations.

The agreements respect the ancestral

<i>of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) to observe and monitor the implementation of all GRP-MILF Agreements. The Parties further agree to strengthen the GRP-MILF Agreement on the General Cessation of Hostilities dated 18 July 1997. Upon signing this Agreement, a Monitoring Team shall be constituted with representatives from the OIC</i> <i>In order to pave the way for relief and rehabilitation of evacuees and implementation of development projects in the areas affected by conflict, the Parties agree to implement the GRP-MILF Agreement on the General Cessation of Hostilities dated July 18, 1997.</i> <i>On the aspect of ancestral domain, the Parties, in order to address the humanitarian and economic needs of the Bangsamoro people and preserve their social and cultural heritage and inherent rights over their ancestral domain, agree that the same be discussed further by the Parties in their next meeting.</i> <i>Immediately upon signing of this Agreement, the Parties hereby agree to activate working committees for the purpose of discharging their mandates, particularly the implementation of all agreements between the Parties.</i> <i>The Parties agree to the following principles, which shall further guide discussions on the substantive agenda of the negotiations.</i> <i>The Parties agree that the status quo is unacceptable and that the Parties will work for the creation of a new autonomous political entity in place of the ARMM.</i> <i>The Parties agree that the new autonomous political entity shall have a ministerial form of government.</i> <i>The Parties agree to the need for a transition period and the institution of transitional mechanisms in order to</i>	domain rights of the Bangsamoro people. The agreements uphold the need for the new autonomous political entity in Bangsamoro as well as to have a ministerial form of government. The agreements pave way the electoral code.
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<i>implement the provisions of the agreement.</i> <i>The Parties agree to the creation of (third party) monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, which may utilize competencies already available in existing mechanisms, e.g. ICG, IMT, CCCH.</i> <i>The Parties agree to entrench an electoral system suitable to a ministerial form of government.</i> <i>The Parties agree that the status quo is unacceptable and that the Bangsamoro shall be established to replace the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The Bangsamoro is the new autonomous political entity (NPE) referred to in the Decision Points of Principles as of April 2012.</i> <i>The Parties agree that sustainable development is crucial in protecting and improving the quality of life of the Bangsamoro people.</i> <i>The Parties agree to the need for a transition period and the institution of transitional mechanisms.</i> <i>The Parties agree to adopt and incorporate an Annex on Transitional Arrangements and Modalities, which forms a part of this Framework Agreement.</i> <i>The Parties agree that normalization is vital to the peace process. It is through normalization that peace process... communities can return to conditions where they can achieve their desired quality of life, which includes the pursuit of sustainable livelihoods and political participation within a peaceful deliberative society.</i> <i>The Parties agree on the following process that shall guide the transition from the status quo to the entrenchment of the Bangsamoro.</i> <i>The Parties agree to continue negotiations on the form, functions and relationship of the</i>	The agreements highlight the need for a transition period and the normalization process.
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police force of the Bangsamoro taking into consideration the results of the independent review process mentioned in paragraph 4.

The Parties agree to intensify development efforts for rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the Bangsamoro, and institute programs to address the needs of MILF combatants, internally displaced persons, and poverty-stricken communities.

The Parties agree to work out a program for transitional justice to address the legitimate grievances of the Bangsamoro people, correct historical injustices, and address human rights violations.

The Parties agree that as a consequence of the change in the territory constituting the Bangsamoro, the Basic Law shall provide for a new redistricting or other modalities of ensuring more equitable representations of the constituencies in the Bangsamoro Assembly.

As part of the normalization process, the Parties agree to intensify development efforts for rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the Bangsamoro, and institute programs to address the needs of BIAF members internally displaced persons (IDPs), and poverty-stricken communities.

The Parties agree to allow either party to access funds from donors for the operations of the different mechanisms under the normalization process to supplement the budgetary requirements provided by the GPH.

The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) consolidates and affirms the understanding and commitment between the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), herein referred to as Parties.

An Exit Agreement shall be crafted and signed by both Parties when all agreements have been fully implemented

The agreements affirm to end the war and to implement the cessation of hostilities as a form of justice.

The agreements recognized the human rights instruments and humanitarian efforts done.

To direct their respective Sub-Committee on Cessation of Hostilities to meet on 30 July 1997, and on such dates thereafter, but not to exceed two (2) months, to draw and finalize the guidelines and ground rules for the implementation of this Agreement

The Bangsamoro Basic Law shall provide for justice institutions in the Bangsamoro.

The Central Government shall provide a block grant to the Bangsamoro.

The Central Government shall also provide for a Special Development Fund to the Bangsamoro for rehabilitation and development purposes upon the ratification of the Bangsamoro Basic Law.

The Executive Order shall provide for the composition of the TC, its authority and functions. its relationship with government agencies and branches of government, and the budgetary allocation sufficient for its operations.

BBL shall provide for the repeal of Republic Act 9054, and the creation of the Bangsamoro Transition Authority.

The observance of international humanitarian law and respect for internationally recognized human rights instruments and the protection of evacuees and displaced persons in the conduct of their relations reinforce the Bangsamoro people's fundamental right to determine their own future and political status.

The Parties met under an atmosphere of cordiality and candor, determined to continue engaging with each other in the GRP-MILF Peace Process until they finally conclude and reach a comprehensive compact;

The Parties discussed points of consensus on an Interim Agreement with a view of moving towards the Comprehensive Compact to bring a negotiated political

settlement.

It shall be formulated by the Bangsamoro people and ratified by the qualified voters within its territory.

The TC will serve as the central transitional mechanism for the MILF's participation in the joint tasks required under the FAB.

The BTA shall serve as the main mechanism for the MILF's leadership in the Bangsamoro during the transition process.

All devolved authorities shall be vested in the Bangsamoro Transition Authority during the interim period.

The Bangsamoro shall be governed by a Basic Law.

The Bangsamoro Council of Leaders shall be chaired by the Chief Minister.

The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) consolidates and affirms the understanding and commitment between the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), herein referred to as Parties.

Reaffirming the General Cessation of Hostilities dated 18 July 1997 and the General Framework of the Agreement of intent signed between the Parties on 27 August 1998, and committing to reach a negotiated political settlement of the Bangsamoro problem, and enduring peace and stability in Mindanao;

Decommissioning shall be a process that includes activities aimed at achieving a smooth transition for the BIAF members to productive civilian life.

There shall be a Philippine Congress - Bangsamoro assembly forum for purposes of cooperation and coordination of legislative initiatives.

There will be power-sharing and wealth-

The agreement asserts the role of an entity to lead and manage.

sharing between the National Government and the new political entity.

The Transition Commission will be independent from the ARMM and other government agencies. The GPH shall allocate funds and provide other resources for its/ effective operation. All other agencies of government shall support the Transition Commission in the performance of its tasks and responsibilities until it becomes functus officio and ceases to exist.

The TC will be independent from the ARMM. All government agencies, including but not limited to, the ARMM Regional Government, local government units, and GOCCs shall support the TC in the performance of its tasks and responsibilities.

The BTA shall be MILF-led

The police force for the Bangsamoro shall be professional, civilian in character, effective and efficient in law enforcement, fair and impartial, and accountable under the law for its actions. It shall be responsible both to the Central Government and the Bangsamoro Government, and to the communities it serves

The Bangsamoro Government shall have exclusive powers that it exercises within its territorial jurisdiction.

The Bangsamoro shall have authority to regulate power generation, transmission, and distribution operating exclusively in the Bangsamoro.

The Bangsamoro shall have authority and jurisdiction over exploration, development and utilization of mines and minerals in its territory.

The Bangsamoro Waters shall extend up to 22.224 kilometers (12 nautical miles) from the low-water mark of the coasts that are part of the Bangsamoro territory.

Law enforcement and maintenance of peace and order in the Bangsamoro shall be the primary function of the police force for the

The agreement respects the regional in scope of the future endeavor.

The agreement affirm the authority of the regional autonomous government to lead and select their work force.

Bangsamoro.

The parties affirm their solemn commitment in the aforementioned Statement of Understanding as well as the Memorandum of Agreement signed in the 1st Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta, Indonesia on October 25-November 7, 1993; the Interim Agreement signed in the 2nd Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on September 1-5, 1994; the Interim Agreement signed in the 3rd Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on November 27-December 1, 1995; the Interim Agreement signed in the 4th Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on August 29, 1996; and in the nine (9) meetings of the Mixed Committee held in various places and dates in the Philippines and Indonesia.

Legislative power shall be vested in the Regional Legislative Assembly.

It shall be civilian in nature or character.

It shall be regional in scope of operations.

It shall have regional, provincial, and city or municipal offices.

The management and control, and supervision of the entire educational system in the area of autonomy shall be the primary concern of the Regional Autonomous Government, consistent with the declared policies of national educational bodies.

The selection, recruitment, appointment and promotion of teachers and employees shall be the responsibility of the Regional Autonomous Government in accordance with general qualification standard prescribed by the Civil Service Commission (CSC) provided that the Regional Autonomous Government can initiate regionally-defined standards which are not below national standards.

The selection, recruitment, appointment and

The agreement upholds the importance of socio-economic, cultural and educational programs to be integral part of the peace and development.

promotion of elementary, secondary and tertiary education employees shall be the responsibility of the Regional Autonomous Government in accordance with general standards of the Civil Service Commission (CSC) and other recognized bodies.

The Chairman of REPOLCOM shall be an ex-officio Commissioner of the NAPOLCOM.

Administrative sanctions deemed appropriate and reasonable as determined by the Civil Service Commission will be the area of concern of the Regional Autonomous Government.

The Regional Autonomous Government will be responsible for specific administrative, management functions and powers, educational supervision and school administration, and regulation over private schools.

Locally funded programs will be the responsibility of the Regional Autonomous Government.

Primary disciplinary authority over officials and employees of the Regional Autonomous Government will be the area of concern of the Regional Autonomous Government in accordance with Civil Service Commission (CSC) rules and regulations.

The powers and functions of the PNP Regional Command for the Autonomous Region/SRSF, which shall be exercised within the territories covered by the Regional Autonomous Government (RAG)

At the provincial level, there shall be a provincial office, headed by a Provincial Director.

There shall be a special socioeconomic, cultural and educational program to cater to MNLF forces not absorbed into the AFP, PNP and the SRSF to prepare them and their families for productive endeavors, provide for educational, technical skills and

<i>livelihood training and give them priority for hiring in development projects.</i> <i>The addition of more required learnings and instructional materials shall be the prerogative and responsibility of the Autonomous Government</i> <i>The Regional Autonomous Government educational system shall, among others, perpetuate Filipino and Islamic ideals and aspirations, Islamic values and orientations of the Bangsamoro people.</i> <i>Whereas, the parties acknowledge the valuable role of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in promoting and upholding the rights, welfare and well-being of Muslims all over the world;</i> <i>Whereas, the parties likewise, acknowledge the role of OIC Ministerial Committee of the Six comprising the nations of Indonesia as Chair, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh, Senegal and Somalia in the search of a just, comprehensive and durable peace in Southern Philippines;</i> <i>Whereas, this final peace agreement constitutes the full implementation of the Tripoli Agreement.</i>	
The two Parties shall ensure the establishment of a new Bangsamoro political entity... The Bangsamoro Transition Authority shall ensure that the continued functioning of government in the area of autonomy is exercised pursuant to its mandate under the Basic Law. The Bangsamoro Transition Authority shall ensure that the continued functioning of government in the area of autonomy is exercised pursuant to its mandate under the Basic Law. The Bangsamoro shall ensure transparency mechanisms consistent with open	Assertive (Assuring) Searle and Vanderveken (1985) describe assuring as asserting with the perlocutionary intention of convincing the hearer of the truth of the propositional content in the world of texts/utterances. Wierzbicka (1987) states that to assure is also concerned with the removal of 'worry' from the mind of the hearer. Assuring is specifically concerned with people as (contrasted with confirm, where one can confirm reports), additionally assuring means telling

government practices. In the utilization of public funds, the Bangsamoro shall ensure that the needs of women and men are adequately addressed. As a matter of policy, the Central Government shall ensure the participation and representation of the Bangsamoro in national agencies and other Central Government instrumentalities through the intergovernmental relations mechanism. The Central Government shall ensure the protection of the rights of the Bangsamoro people residing outside the territory of the Bangsamoro and undertake programs for the rehabilitation and development of their communities. The intergovernmental relations mechanism shall ensure the cooperation and coordination between the Central Government and the Bangsamoro Government on the exploration, development and utilization of non-living resources in the Zones of Joint Cooperation and determine the sharing of income and revenues derived therefrom. Determined to establish a peaceful environment and a normal condition of life in the Bangsamoro homeland; To ensure effective security collaboration, several joint mechanisms shall be established. The Joint Normalization Committee (JNC; shall coordinate the different processes in normalization. The Joint Peace and Security Committee (IPS) shall coordinate the security component of the normalization process The Joint, Peace and Security Teams (JPS13) shall be the operating its composed of the Armed Forces of the Philippines AFP, the PNP, and the MILF's Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF).	someone of the truth or accuracy of something.
The Parties took note of the agreements on the Terms of Reference of the Civilian	Assertive (Recall)

Protection Component of the IMT and the Implementing Guidelines of the project on the clearing of landmines and unexploded ordnance signed on the 5th of May as part of the overall gains since 1997 related to their determination to build on previous achievements and intended to move the GRP-MILF Peace Process forward into the next steps to bring about a political settlement;	Recall is to assert/mention to a hearer with the additional preparatory condition that the hearer once knew and might have forgotten the propositional content (Searle and Vanderveken, 1985)
The Parties shall confirm the fact of ratification of the promulgation of the Bangsamoro Basic Law.	Assertive (Confirm) Confirm is to assert the truth or to attest the validity of something. Confirm implies the removing of doubts by an authoritative statement or indisputable fact. This is to corroborate and strengthen what is already true or partly true.
<i>The Bangsamoro shall formulate its development plans, consistent with national development goals but recognizing their unique needs and aspirations.</i> <i>The ministers shall constitute the cabinet which will be convened and presided over by the Chief Minister, or in his or her absence and with his or her consent, the Deputy Chief Minister.</i> <i>The Central Government and the Bangsamoro shall exercise concurrent powers within the Bangsamoro.</i> <i>Once the TC is created, it shall exercise its functions in accordance with the FAB and its Annexes, and such other functions that are necessary in the performance of its mandate as provided in the Executive Order</i> <i>The Joint Coordinating Committees on Cessation of Hostilities (JCCCH) as well as the Ad hoc Joint Action Group (AHJAG) with the participation of the International Monitoring Team (IMT) shall continue to monitor the ceasefire agreement until the full decommissioning of the MILF forces.</i> <i>The Central Government shall continue to levy national taxes in the Bangsamoro.</i>	Directive (Command) <i>Commands are sentences which normally have no overt grammatically subject, and whose verb is in the imperative mood (Quirk, 1976). The command is also used to instruct somebody to do something.</i> <i>Searle defines directives are that kind of speech act that represent attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to do something. Considering the above description, it can be seen that the most prominent context in directive speech act is about the hearer and the relationship between speaker and hearer.</i> <i>Command is a form of speech act that is usually uttered since the speaker wants the interlocutor to do something for. It is almost same as requesting, but command has stronger effect since it is usually spoken by those who are higher in position to the lower one.</i>

The Negotiating Panel of both Parties shall continue the negotiations until all issues are resolved and all agreements implemented.

The BTA shall continue to perform its function as interim Bangsamoro Government until the duly elected officials of the Bangsamoro shall have been qualified into office in 2016.

The Basic Law shall reflect the Bangsamoro system of life and meet internationally accepted standards of governance.

The MILF shall undertake a graduated program for decommissioning of its forces so that they are put beyond use.

The Bangsamoro Transition Commission shall undertake an inventory of the powers and consider the proposed recommendations from the review of the process of the 1996 Final Peace Agreement between the Government of the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front for possible incorporation into the Bangsamoro Basic Law.

The MILF shall undertake a graduated program for decommissioning of its forces so that they are put beyond use.

The Parties shall work together in order to ensure the widest acceptability of the Bangsamoro Basic Law as drafted by the Transitory Commission and the core areas mentioned in the previous paragraph, through a process of popular ratification among all the Bangsamoro within the areas for their adoption.

The TC shall work on the drafting of the Bangsamoro Basic Law, in accordance with the provisions of the FAB.

The TC shall work on proposals to amend the Philippine Constitution for the purpose of accommodating and entrenching in the Constitution the agreement of the Parties

The directive speech act of command was a speech act conveyed by the speaker to his speech partner to take any action by what the speaker expects.

One command is to implement the Bangsamoro Transition Commission.

Another command is to draft and pass the Bangsamoro Basic Law.

whenever necessary without derogating from any prior peace agreements.

There shall be created a Transition Commission through an Executive Order and supported by Congressional Resolutions.

There will be created a third-party monitoring team to be composed of international bodies, as well as domestic groups to monitor the Implementation of all agreements.

The Bangsamoro may create its own auditing body and procedures for accountability over revenues and other funds generated within or by the region from external sources.

The Joint Normalization Committee shall be created to ensure the coordination between Government and remaining MILF forces, through which the MILF shall assist in maintaining peace and order in the area of the Bangsamoro until decommissioning have been fully completed Other bodies supporting the work of the JNC shall be defined in the Annex on Normalization.

An independent commission shall be organized by the Parties to recommend appropriate policing within the area.

The President of the Republic of the Philippines shall issue an executive order effecting the establishment of a Transition Commission. Congress shall express its support for such establishment.

The TC shall draft the Bangsamoro Basic Law, using as bases the FAB and its annexes.

The government shall redeploy AFP units and troops from or within the Bangsamoro, consistent with a normal and peaceful life and the progress in the other aspects of normalization.

The JNC shall recommend criteria for the

Normalization programs shall support the implementation of the peace process.

*1996 Final Peace Agreement
mandated the right and equal*

redeployment of AFP units and troops from former conflict areas. Consistent with its functions, the Third-Party Monitoring Team (TPMT) shall monitor the aspects of the redeployment of AFP units and troops.

Right of representation shall not be construed in such a way that applicants from the Autonomous Region, especially Muslims, and Cultural Communities, for lower positions in the above organs of the government cannot be appointed anymore thereto.

To ensure the successful implementation of this Interim Ceasefire Agreement, the forces of both parties shall remain in their respective places and retrain from any provocative actions or any acts of hostilities contrary to the spirit and purposes of this said Agreement: provided that the representatives of the OIC shall help supervise in the implementation of this Agreement through the Joint Committee:

The GRP shall endeavour to cause the appointment, as a member of the Judicial and Bar Council, a qualified person to be recommended by the Head of the Regional Autonomous Government.

This Joint Committee shall prepare its own detailed guidelines and ground rules for the implementation of this Agreement and submit the same to all parties concerned not later than 30th November 1993 for approval by duly designated representatives of all the parties concerned.

While peace and development programs are being implemented in the SZOPAD, a bill to amend or repeal the RA 6734 shall be initiated within Phase I (1996-1997).

There shall be established a Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD), composed of one (1) Chairman, one (1) Vice Chairman and three (3) Deputies, one each representing the Muslims, the Christians, and the Cultural

representation in the autonomous region.

One command set to be the priority is the establishment of the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development.

<i>Communities.</i> <i>The new area of autonomy shall then be determined by the provinces and cities that will vote/choose to join the said autonomy (1998).</i> <i>Five thousand seven hundred fifty (5,750) MNLF members shall be integrated into the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), 250 of whom shall be absorbed into the auxiliary services.</i> <i>Exercise operational control and general supervision and disciplinary powers.</i> <i>The PNP Regional Command for the Autonomous Region/SRSF shall be charged with the maintenance and preservation of peace, law and order, and protection of life, liberty and property in the region in consonance with the Constitution. Organization of the PNP Regional Command for the Autonomous Region/SRSF.</i> <i>The elementary level shall follow the basic national structure and shall primarily be concerned with providing basic education; the secondary level will correspond to four (4) years of high school, and the tertiary level shall be one year to three (3) years for non-degree courses and four (4) to eight (8) years for degree courses, as the case may be in accordance with existing laws.</i> <i>The organizational structure of the educational system in the autonomous region shall follow the basic structure of the national educational system.</i> <i>The same textbooks of the National Government will be used by schools in the Autonomous Region. The formulation, shaping and revision of textbooks are the responsibilities of the Regional Autonomous Government and the National Government and within agreed norms, academic freedom and relevant legal limits, the formulation and revisions shall emphasize Islamic values or</i>	<i>Education in all levels must a be priority.</i>
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<i>orientation, in addition to Filipino values which include Christian values and values of indigenous people, modern sciences and technology as well as the latest educational thrusts.</i> <i>The Regional Autonomous Government educational system will adopt the basic core courses for all Filipino children as well as the minimum required learnings and orientations provided by the national government, including the subject areas and their daily time allotment.</i> <i>The integration of Islamic Values in the curriculum should be done gradually after researches and studies are conducted.</i> <i>Employ/deploy the elements of the Regional Command through the Regional Director.</i> <i>Assign/reassign officers and other personnel through the Regional Director.</i> <i>Recommend to the President the appointment of the Regional Director and his two (2) Deputies.</i> <i>Oversee the preparation and implementation of the integrated regional public safety plan.</i> <i>Impose, after due notice and summary hearings of citizen's complaints, administrative penalties on personnel of the Regional Command except Presidential Appointees.</i> <i>The Regional Autonomous Government educational system shall, among others, perpetuate Filipino and Islamic ideals and aspirations, Islamic values and orientations of the Bangsamoro people.</i> <i>As necessary, the Civil Service Commission shall hold special civil service examinations in the region to further increase the number of eligibles therein.</i> <i>While peace and development programs are</i>	<i>One command is to amend the RA 6734 – the Establishment of Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao.</i>
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<i>being implemented in the SZOPAD, a bill to amend or repeal the RA 6734 shall be initiated within Phase I (1996-1997).</i> <i>Detain and arrest a person for a period not beyond what is prescribed by law, informing the person so detained of all his rights under the Constitution and observing the inherent human rights of the citizens.</i>	
The Panels shall request the COMELEC to conduct a special registration before the date of the plebiscite on the Bangsamoro Basic Law. The TC may coordinate with legislative bodies in order to accomplish its duties. <i>The GRP shall request the Supreme Court to create the Office of the Deputy Court Administrator for the Area of Autonomy, and to appoint thereto a qualified person recommended by the Head of the Regional Autonomous Government.</i> <i>The GRP shall request the Supreme Court to create the Office of the Deputy Court Administrator for the Area of Autonomy, and to appoint thereto a qualified person recommended by the Head of the Regional Autonomous Government.</i>	Directive (Request) A request is a way of ordering something from the hearer. The request is not like a command, it is generally less demanding. Searle in Cole (1975) states that sometimes a speaker may utter the sentence “I want you to do it” by way of requesting the hearer to do something. Here, the utterance is incidentally meant as a statement, but actually, it is also meant primarily as a request made by way of making a statement.
This Agreement shall not be implemented unilaterally. <i>Religious instruction in public schools should be optional, with the written consent of the parent/guardian, taught by the authorities of the religion to which the student belongs, and should not involve additional costs to the government in accordance with national policies.</i>	Directive (Prohibition) Prohibition means to prevent the hearer from doing something. The form of directive speech acts according to Prayitno (2010: 51) states that a prohibition is an act of language that aims to make the interlocutor not allowed at all or be prohibited from doing anything. In the prohibition directive speech act, there is a function of prohibiting and preventing. The directive speech acts have the following functions; prohibit and prevent. The prohibiting function is to express speech that contains the intention of instructing the speech partner not to do something or not allowing to do something. The function of preventing is to express speech that

	contains the intention of holding the speech partner, so that the speech partner does not do something.
<i>All past agreements of the Parties shall be implemented in accordance with the Agreement on the General Framework for the Resumption of the Peace Talks signed in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on 24 March 2001 for the progressive resolution of the Bangsamoro problem with honor, justice, and integrity for all sectors of society.</i> <i>The Transition Commission shall be composed of fifteen (15) members all of whom are Bangsamoro. Seven (7) members shall be selected by the GPH and eight (8) members, including the Chairman, shall be selected by the MILF.</i> <i>The provinces, cities, municipalities, barangays and geographic areas within its territory shall be the constituent units of the Bangsamoro. The authority to regulate on its own responsibility the affairs of the constituent units is guaranteed within the limit of the Bangsamoro Basic Law.</i> <i>There shall be an intergovernmental fiscal policy board composed of representatives of the Bangsamoro and the Central Government in order to address revenue imbalances and fluctuations in regional financial needs and revenue-raising capacity.</i> <i>The Bangsamoro Cabinet shall be composed of the Chief Minister, a Deputy Chief and such other ministers necessary to perform the functions of government.</i> <i>The details of the normalization process and timetables for decommissioning shall be in an Annex on Normalization and shall form part of this Agreement.</i> <i>Vested property rights shall be recognized and respected. With respect to the legitimate grievances of the Bangsamoro people arising from any unjust</i>	Directive (Order) To issue orders one must be in a position of power or authority over the hearer. The content of the order utterance/statement must be about the future event – the future act of the hearer. It is important to note that order and command are not the same speech act. To give an order is to demand of the hearer that he will do something in the future. Order is to require authoritatively a direction or instruction to be done/implemented. One order is the composition of the Bangsamoro Cabinet.

<i>dispossession of their territorial and proprietary rights, customary land tenure or their marginalization shall be acknowledged.</i> <i>Indigenous peoples' rights shall be respected.</i> <i>The TC shall cease to exist upon the enactment of the Bangsamoro Basic Law.</i> <i>It shall be headed by a Regional Director who shall be assisted by two (2) Deputies, one (1) for Administration and one (1) for Operations.</i> <i>The civil service eligibility requirements for appointment to government position shall be applicable in the Autonomous Government.</i> <i>Filipino and English shall be the medium of instruction in the areas of the Autonomy; provided that Arabic shall be an auxiliary medium of instruction.</i> <i>The REPOLCOM shall be under the supervision of the NAPOLCOM.</i> <i>The Regional Autonomous Government shall have an educational component comprising existing schools, colleges and universities in the present area of autonomy and such other schools and institutions in the future expanded area of autonomy, with the possible inclusion of state universities and colleges (SUCs) to be decided later on.</i> <i>Act as the Deputy of the National Police Commission (NAPOLCOM) in the region and shall be the ex-officio Chairman of the Regional Police Commission (REPOLCOM).</i> <i>It shall be policy of the National Government that there shall be at least one (1) member of the Cabinet (with the rank of Department Secretary) who is an inhabitant of the Autonomous Region to be recommended by the Head of the Autonomous Government.</i> <i>It shall be the policy of the National Government that the Regional Autonomous</i>	Another order is that after the enactment of the Bangsamoro Basic Law, the Transition Committee shall end its term. There is an order to create the REPOLCOM as response to strengthen the police power in the region.
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Government shall have one (1) representative in Congress as a Sectoral Representative.

It shall be a policy of the National Government that at least one (1) justice in the Supreme Court and at least two (2) in the Court of Appeals shall come from the Autonomous Region.

It shall likewise be a policy that there shall be at least one (1) official in each of the departments and the constitutional bodies of the national government who shall be appointed in executive, primarily confidential, highly technical policy-determining positions, from among the inhabitants of the Autonomous Region upon recommendation by the Head of the Autonomous Government.

It shall be policy of the National Government that there shall be at least one (1) member of the Cabinet (with the rank of Department Secretary) who is an inhabitant of the Autonomous Region to be recommended by the Head of the Autonomous Government.

It shall likewise be a policy that there shall be at least one (1) official in each of the departments and the constitutional bodies of the national government who shall be appointed in executive, primarily confidential, highly technical policy-determining positions, from among the inhabitants of the Autonomous Region upon recommendation by the Head of the Autonomous Government.

The Legislative Assembly shall be composed of members elected by popular vote, with three (3) members elected from each of the Congressional Districts.

They shall be appointed by the President.

When the new regular Autonomous Regional Government shall have been established, there shall be created or constituted a PNP Regional Command for the new Autonomous Region, which shall be

the Special Regional Security Forces (SRSF) as referred to in Paragraph 8, Article III of the Tripoli Agreement.

The concerned officials of the Council (e.g. the Chairman and his Deputies) shall be provided security and protective assistance by the national government, as the security situation warrants and as part of confidence building measures

The PNP Regional Command for the Autonomous Region/SRSF shall be composed of the existing PNP units in the area of autonomy, the MNLF elements and other residents of the area who may later on be recruited into the force.

Muslim culture, mores, customs and traditions which are mainly based on Islam, as well as the cultures, mores, customs, and traditions of Christians and indigenous people, shall be preserved through the regular public and special schools in the Autonomous Region, considering that schools are perpetuating vehicles of the values of the people.

The Regional Autonomous Government shall be represented in the Board of SUCs in the region as co-chairman or at least, co-vice-chairman, as may be provided by law.

There shall be created a Regional Police Commission (REPOLCOM) by the Regional Legislative Assembly consistent with the Constitution.

The teachings of Islamic Values, as well as Filipino values, shall be incorporated in Good Manners and Right Conduct in appropriate grade levels including the tertiary level subject to agreed norms, academic freedom, and legal limitations.

The minimum requirements and standards prescribed by the Department of Education Culture and Sports (DECS), Commission on Higher Education (CHED) and Technical Education and Skills Development Authority

The 1996 FPA ordered that Muslim culture along with the cultures of the Christians and Indigenous peoples shall be preserved.

Islamic Values should be part of the education as ordered.

There is an order to repeal the RA 6734.

<i>(TESDA) will be followed by the Autonomous Region.</i> <i>the Regional Autonomous Government shall be given some representations in the Board of Directors or in the policymaking body of said GOCCs or their subsidiaries consistent with their respective charters.</i> <i>Phase II shall involve an amendment to or repeal of the Organic Act (RA 6734) of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) through Congressional action, after which the amendatory law shall be submitted to the people of the concerned areas in a plebiscite to determine the establishment of a new autonomous government and the specific area of autonomy thereof.</i>	
Both parties pledge to continue to conduct multisectoral dialogues and consultations, take into account the concerns of the stakeholders, generate broad-based support, and ensure wide participation in the various mechanisms and processes that shall be instituted.	Commissive (Pledge) Pledge is an oral or written agreement to do or not to do something. Pledging (Promise) is an utterance used to remind the speaker about something to be done in the future. Pledging is a declaration made, as to another person, with respect to the future, giving assurance that one will do or not to do something. It is a commitment by one person to another agreeing to do.
They commit to protect and enhance the right of the Bangsamoro people and other inhabitants in the Bangsamoro to human dignity; reduce social, economic, and political inequalities; correct historical injustice committed against the Bangsamoro; and remove cultural identities through the agreed modalities aimed at equitably diffusing wealth and political power for the common good. The parties commit to faithfully abide by, honor, respect, implement and entrench these agreements, and nurture the integrity of the whole peace process. To commit the armed forces of the GRP and	Commissive (Commitment) Committing means that entity or entities take part in a specific cause or goal. This commissive speech act is to bind entities in dedication to certain law or policy.

the MILF to a General Cessation of Hostilities. The parties commit to pursue the peace negotiations on the substantive issues as soon as possible, and resolutely continue the negotiations until the Parties reach a negotiated political settlement. The Parties commit to honor, respect and implement all past agreements and other supplementary agreements signed by them. Details of implementation shall be discussed by the Panels. The Parties commit themselves to negotiate with sincerity and mutual trust, justice and freedom, and respect for their identity, culture and aspirations of all peoples of Mindanao. The Parties commit to work further on the details of the Framework Agreement in the context of this document and complete a comprehensive agreement by the end of the year. The Parties commit to jointly pursue measures to increase the Bangsamoro's revenue generation and wealth creation capacity. Both Parties commit to work in partnership for the reduction and control of firearms in the area and the disbandment of private armies and other armed groups. Both Parties commit to uphold the "Deed of Commitment under Geneva Call for Adherence to a Total Ban un–Anti-Personnel Mines and for Cooperation in Mine Action" signed by the MILF on 7 April 2002. Parties also hereby commit to jointly undertake mines/unexploded ordnance (UXO); detection and clearance (de-mining) as well as mine risk education with the assistance of concerned organizations (experts), including the project provided in the "Guidelines for the Implementation of the Philippine Campaign to Ban Landmines	Here, both parties on peace process share to work together and take responsibility in upholding the agreement's terms and conditions. Both parties commit for the realization of all the agreements.
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Foundation Suisse do - Deminage Project" of 5 May 2010.	
The Parties acknowledge the leadership of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo in pursuing an all-out peace policy in Mindanao. The Parties express their gratitude to the very important role of the following... The Parties express their gratitude for the gracious hospitality of the Government of Malaysia in hosting and facilitating the dialogue that has resulted in this Agreement. The Parties expressed their gratitude to President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and to Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk' Sri Mohd. Najib bin Tun Haji Abd ul Razak lor their generous and steadfast support and assistance to the pursuit of these goals. The parties also thank the international community and local and national civil society organizations for the steadfast support that they have extended to the peace process in their different capacities. They also commend the Bangsamoro Transition Commission as they earnestly work towards completing the draft Bangsamoro Basic Law The Parties express their collective appreciation and gratitude to the Great Leader of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, and to the Chairman of the Gaddafi International Foundation for Charitable Associations, Saif Al Islam Gaddafi, for hosting the Formal Opening of the Resumption of the GRP-MILF Peace Talks in Tripoli, Libya; to His Excellency Dato Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, Prime Minister of Malaysia and His Excellency Abdurrahman Wahid, President of the Republic of Indonesia, for their full and continuing support.	Expressive (Thanking) Thanking expression is a speech act to express gratitude to someone for a favor. Thanking also means an expressions of gratitude kindly and grateful thought. Thanking expression is used to express the satisfaction about something that should be told to the hearer. The speech act of thanking is concerned with how we express gratitude and appreciation in communication. The expression of gratitude is conveyed by the speaker on a past act performed by the hearer. The speaker believes he/she benefited from the act and feels appreciative or indebted toward the hearer, and thus makes a statement which expresses his/her appreciation (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986). Gratitude can be expressed in response to various situations such as support and favors.

The Parties give special appreciation to His Excellency President Benigno Simeon Aquino III for his leadership and to the MILF Central Committee headed by Chair Al Haj Murad Ebrahim for their continued commitment to the peaceful resolution of the Bangsamoro Question. The Parties welcomed the participation of the European Union (EU) as the Coordinator of the Humanitarian, Rehabilitation and Development Component of the IMT and accepted the guidelines proposed by the EU. The Parties also welcomed the participation of Norway in the IMT Security Component.	
This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature. Done at the Dawah Center, Crossing Simuay, Sultan Kudarat, Maguindanao, this 27th day August, 1998. An Exit agreement shall be crafted and signed by both Parties when all agreements have been fully implemented. Done on this 27th day of March in the year 2014, Manila, Philippines <i>This agreement shall take effect immediately upon the signing of hereof by the parties, unless otherwise provided herein. Done in the City of Manila on the 2nd Day of September 1996.</i>	Declaration The use of declarations is mainly at the end part wherein the legitimacy of the agreement is proclaimed or attested. The declarations are the speech acts in which the speaker aims to change the world via texts or utterances.

NEWS ARTICLES

/ ITEMS

ITEM NO. 1

Agreement		1996 FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT
Theme/Domain		Implementing Structure And Mechanism of this Agreement 1 Phase 1
Specific Text		<i>"Section I, phase 1 states that IMPLEMENTING STRUCTURE AND MECHANISM OF THIS AGREEMENT 1. Phase 1 shall cover a three (3) year period starting after the signing of the peace agreement with the issuance of Executive Order establishing the Special Zone of Peace and Development (SZOPAD), the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD), and the Consultative Assembly."</i>
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	Manila Standard, September 2, 1996

Reviving the peace process with the MNLF was the first thing Fidel Ramos did after taking office. Beginning in 1992, he assembled a delegation to hold preliminary discussions with the rebel movement. On September 2, 1996, Ramos dealt with the MNLF with greater tact than before. The 1996 Final Peace Agreement was signed by the GRP and the MNLF twenty years after the Tripoli Agreement.



The 1996 Final Peace Agreement was divided into two phases: Phase I, a three-year transitional period designed to allow the MNLF to "calm down," and Phase II, the adoption of an amended organic act that will create a new autonomous government and expand its area based on the outcome of a plebiscite. The territories listed in the original 1976 Tripoli Agreement were designated as the Special Zone of Peace and Development (SZOPAD) as part of the agreement. This area was to be the focus of concentrated and stepped-up peace and development operations. A Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD) was established to "organize, promote, and expedite the peace and development initiatives" in the SZOPAD

ITEM NO. 2

Agreement	1996 FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT
Theme/Domain	AGREEMENT FOR GENERAL CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES
Specific Text	NOW, THEREFORE, the GRP and MILF, through their undersigned authorized representative, agree, as they hereby agreed on the following: 1. To commit the armed forces of the GRP and the MILF to a General Cessation of Hostilities; 2. To direct their respective Sub-Committee on Cessation of Hostilities to meet on 30 July 1997, and on such dates thereafter, but not to exceed two (2) months, to draw and finalize the guidelines and ground rules for the implementation of this Agreement, and 3. To resume and proceed with the formal peace talks in a venue to be mutually agreed upon between the GRP and the MILF Panels.
Status Implementation	of Implemented, but not the date
Publisher/Date Article	of <i>Philippine Daily Inquirer, March 2, 2000)</i>

With the 12 annexes of the 2014 CAB, two of which were already signed in nineties – the Agreement for the General Cessation of Hostilities signed July 18, 1997 in Cagayan de Oro City and the General Framework of Agreement of Intent between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front on August 27, 1998 in Sultan Kudarat, Maguindanao. Though there were series of conflicts and shooting incidents, the MILF remained to its commitment to keep track of its promise in realization of the agreement in early 2000.



ITEM NO. 3

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		General Framework Of Agreement Of Intent Between The Government Of The Republic Of The Philippines (GPH) And The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)
Specific Text		<i>"According to Article IV, The Parties pledge to refrain from the use or threat of force to attain undue advantage while peace negotiations on the substantive issues are on-going."</i>
Status Implementation	of	Implemented but GRP violated
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>Philippine Daily Inquirer, March 22, 2000</i>

However, when President Ramos' term ended in 1998, Joseph Estrada, who took over, appeared to take the opposite tack. The discussions were ruined by armed clashes between government soldiers and MILF fighters, as subsequent events demonstrated. Skirmishes swiftly turned violent before turning into the well-known All-Out-War of 2000. The Armed Forces of the Philippines took control of every MILF camp, including the largest and most important Camp Abubakar, between March and July 2000. Because of the government's superior firepower, the MILF was forced to simply abandon their camps and engage in guerilla warfare. In other words, the President Estrada's all-out war did not put an end to the uprising.

Villar to lead moves for PSE replacement

Justice Purisima faces sanctions

BY DONNA S. CRISTO

MANILA (AP) — President Joseph Estrada's move to replace the Philippine Securities Exchange (PSE) with a new body, the Philippine Stock Exchange (PSE), has been met with a strong reaction from the justice department. Justice Secretary Eduardo Purisima has threatened to file a complaint against Villar for allegedly violating the law on the PSE.

Erap orders all-out war vs Moro rebels

SEC finds evidence vs Tan, 4 others

BY TINA ARCE-DEGUAD

MANILA (AP) — President Joseph Estrada has ordered an all-out war against the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) rebels in Mindanao. The president's move has been met with a strong reaction from the justice department. Justice Secretary Eduardo Purisima has threatened to file a complaint against Estrada for allegedly violating the law on the MILF.

Basilan rebels threaten to kill 43 hostages

Palma on her old PCSO board: We're not Estrada rubber stamp

BY JUAN V. BARRONDO JR.

MANILA (AP) — The Philippine National Police (PNP) has threatened to kill 43 hostages held by the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) rebels in Basilan. The PNP's move has been met with a strong reaction from the justice department. Justice Secretary Eduardo Purisima has threatened to file a complaint against the PNP for allegedly violating the law on the ASG.

A TIME for war is in the details of a military Hummer vehicle (bottom) which President Estrada boards Tuesday in Zamboanga.

ITEM NO. 4

Agreement		1996 FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT
Theme/Domain		Agreement On The General Framework For The Resumption Of Peace Talks Between The Government Of The Republic Of The Philippines And The Moro Islamic Liberation Front
Specific Text		<i>"Article IV states that The Parties commit to honor, respect and implement all past agreements and other supplementary agreements signed by them. Details of implementation shall be discussed by the Panels."</i>
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>Philippine Daily Inquirer, May 6, 2000</i>

Although the MNLF carried out the agreement's implementation, other Moro political organizations are at battle with the government. The Global Terrorism Database (2011) lists 118 assaults carried out by various armed organizations in the nation between January 1 and December 31. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front was responsible for the majority of the attacks (MILF). According to the 2012 Uppsala University Conflict Database, only the GRP and MILF engaged in civil war in 2000, which resulted in over a thousand battle-related fatalities but managed to sit for peace talks.



As stipulated in the peace agreement, in August 2001, a regional plebiscite on the ARMM's (Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao) proposed expansion to four provinces was held. The Muslim-majority island province of Basilan was the only one to vote in favor of joining the ARMM. Governor of ARMM and founder of the MNLF, Nur Misuari, disagreed with the validity of the plebiscite election.

ITEM NO. 5

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		General Framework Of Agreement Of Intent Between The Government Of The Republic Of The Philippines (GPH) And The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)
Specific Text		<i>"Stipulated in the article A, Paragraph 3 that, in accordance with the incremental characteristics of the peace process and agreement on the General Framework for the Resumption of the Peace Talks, the Parties, as represented by their respective Peace Panels, consider that normalization in conflict affected areas can be achieved if certain principles and guidelines of conduct and action are adhered to by the Parties. That among these are.</i> <i>3. The Parties agree to invite representatives of the Organization of blamic Conference (CIC) to observe and." monitor the implementation of all GRP MILF Agreements. The Parties further agree to strengthen the GPP-MILF Agreement on the General Cessation of Hostilities dated 12 July 1997. Upon signing of this Agreement, a Monitoring Team shall be constituted with representatives..."</i>
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>Philippine Daily Inquirer, August 7, 2001</i>

Security was a crucial issue for both parties to address first because it was necessary for rehabilitation and other themes in the peace negotiations. Security measures have to be put in place to prevent misunderstandings that could quickly turn into major wars from interfering with the peace talks. Note that the absence of regulations that both sides of the conflict were expected to follow contributed to both the little and significant violence that occurred between 1997 and 2000.



ITEM NO. 6

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		Agreement On Peace Between The Government Of The Republic Of The Philippines And The Moro Islamic Liberation Front
Specific Text		<i>"Stipulated in the article A, Paragraph 3 that, in accordance with the incremental characteristics of the peace process and agreement on the General Framework for the Resumption of the Peace Talks, the Parties, as represented by their respective Peace Panels, consider that normalization in conflict affected areas can be achieved if certain principles and guidelines of conduct and action are adhered to by the Parties. That among these are. 3. The Parties agree to invite representatives of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) to observe and." monitor the implementation of all GRP MILF Agreements. The Parties further agree to strengthen the GPP-MILF Agreement on the General Cessation of Hostilities dated 12 July 1997. Upon signing of this Agreement, a Monitoring Team shall be constituted with representatives..."</i>
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>Philippine Daily Inquirer, August 8, 2001</i>

On August 7, 2001, both parties (with Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo as President) signed the Implementing Guidelines on Security Aspect in order to avoid mistakes from being made again.

August 08, 2001
Philippine Daily Inquirer



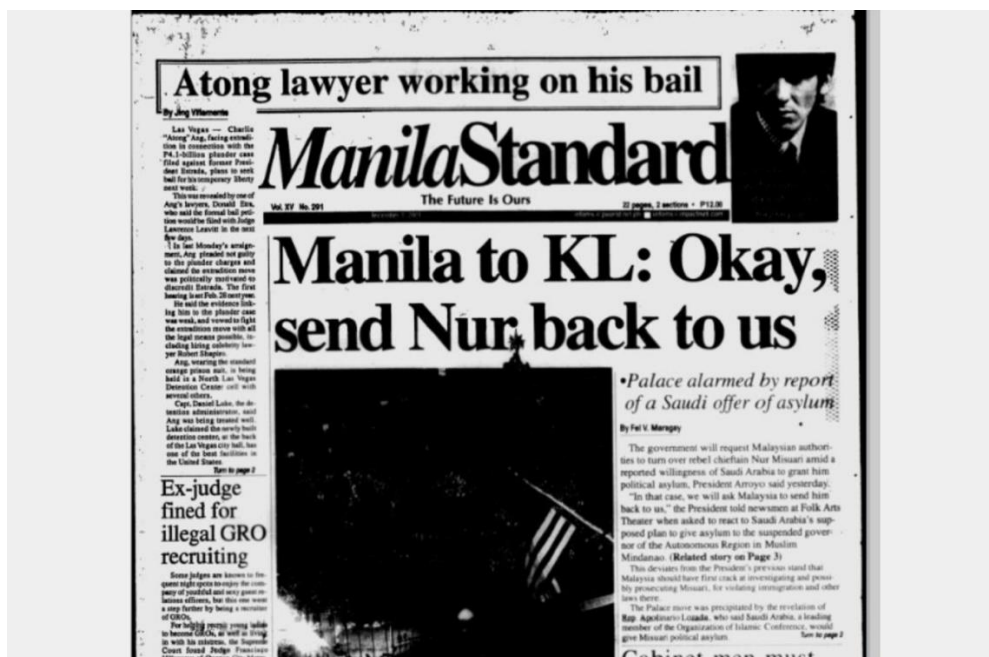
Through this, the government and MILF agreed to refrain from engaging in unlawful hostility and provocative behavior, coordinate their respective movements to avoid mishaps, halt hostilities to permit the conduct of an incident investigation by the GRP-MILF Coordinating Committee on Cessation of Hostilities (CCCH), and ensure the security of the negotiating panels as well as that of the CCCH members.

ITEM NO. 7

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO	
Theme/Domain	Agreement On Peace Between The Government Of The Republic Of The Philippines And The Moro Islamic Liberation Front	
Specific Text	<i>"Stipulated in the article A, Paragraph 1 that, in accordance with the incremental characteristics of the peace process and agreement on the General Framework for the Resumption of the Peace Talks, the Parties, as represented by their respective Peace Panels, consider that normalization in conflict affected areas can be achieved if certain principles and guidelines of conduct and action are adhered to by the Parties. That among these are.</i> <i>1. All past agreements of the Parties shall be implemented in accordance with the Agreement on the General Framework for the Resumption of the Peace Talks signed in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on 24 March 2001 for the progressive resolution of the Bangsamoro problem with honor, justice and integrity for all sectors of society"</i>	
Status Implementation	of	Implemented but MNLF interfered
Publisher/Date Article	of	Manila Standard, December 1, 2001

In an attack on an AFP installation in Zamboanga and Jolo island in November that claimed 140 lives, a new section of MNLF followers committed to Nur Misuari's original objectives or vision carried out the attack. Nur Misuari was detained by AFP security forces in the Philippines after being detained upon entering Sabah, Malaysia.

Though the conflict may have been sparked by Nur Misuari's rhetoric, Misuari condemned the violence and made an attempt to flee. The new faction's identity is also founded on adherence to the original Nur Misuari goal. So, this incident can be regarded as a breach of the cease-fire or the start of a new fight involving a new splinter group.



ITEM NO. 8

Agreement		1996 FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT
Theme/Domain		Implementing Structure And Mechanism of this Agreement 1 Phase 1
Specific Text		<i>"Section 1, phase 1 states that IMPLEMENTING STRUCTURE AND MECHANISM OF THIS AGREEMENT 1. Phase 1 shall cover a three (3) year period starting after the signing of the peace agreement with the issuance of Executive Order establishing the Special Zone of Peace and Development (SZOPAD), the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD), and the Consultative Assembly."</i>
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	PhilStar Global, March 17, 2002

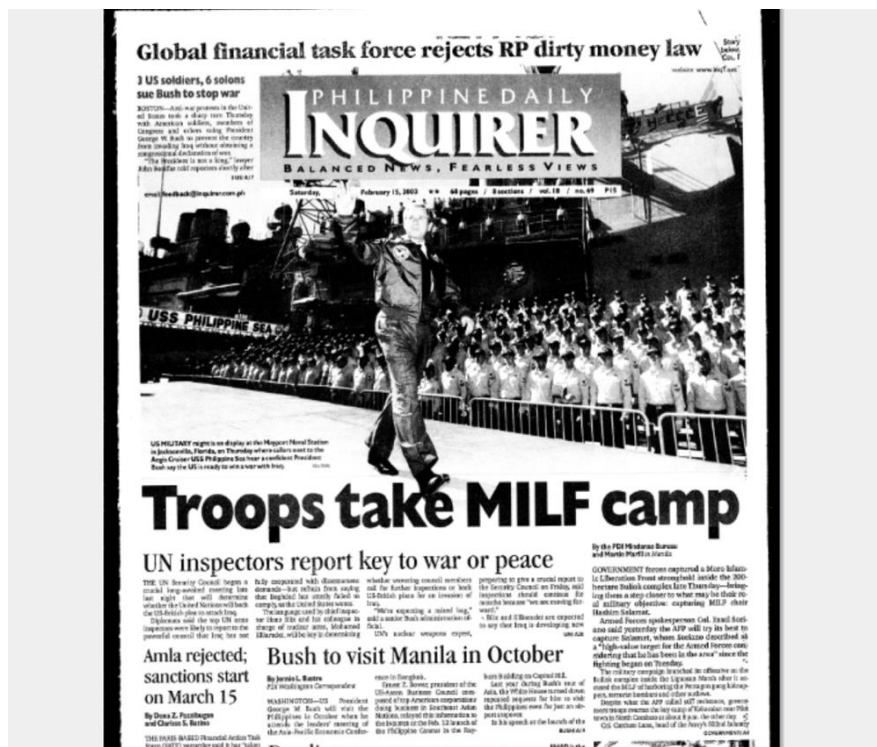
Though the said institution is created under Ramos Administration, SPCPD's term was extended by President Joseph Estrada's executive orders no. 288 on September 22, 2000, which extends executive order 161's term till May 2001, and no. 161 on September 30, 1999, which extends the period of executive order 371 by one year. The SPCPD's tenure has been extended for a further three years, but the governor of the ARMM has asked President Estrada to also postpone the referendum on extending the ARMM for a further three years according to Article XVIII, Section 16 of the R.A. 9054. With no more consideration as his name is not in the written agreement, President Estrada rejected the plea and officially dissolved the SPCPD. After Estrada's impeachment, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo abolished the SPCPD.

The image is a screenshot of a news article from PhilStar Global. The header features the PhilStar Global logo and a navigation menu with links to HOME, HEADLINES, OPINION, NATION, WORLD, BUSINESS, SPORTS, ENTERTAINMENT, LIFESTYLE, OTHER SECTIONS, and SUPPORT PHILSTAR. The article is titled "Arroyo abolishes Misuari's SPCPD" and is dated "March 17, 2002 | 12:00am". The text of the article states: "President Arroyo has abolished the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD), an interim body created under the peace agreement signed in September 1996 between the government and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). The abolition of the SPCPD, along with its consultative assembly, was embodied in Executive Order 80 issued by the President on March 11." Social media sharing icons for Facebook, Messenger, and Twitter are visible on the right side of the article text.

ITEM NO. 9

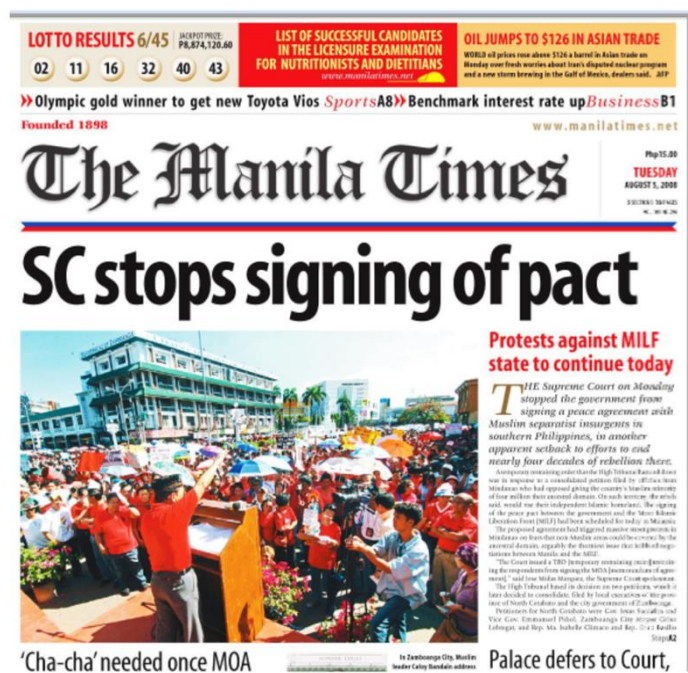
Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		Agreement For General Cessation Of Hostilities - Implementing Operational Guidelines of the GRP-MILF Agreement
Specific Text		"Section 3, paragraph b. state that the following are considered prohibited hostile acts: b. Aggressive action such as attacks. raids. ambushes, landminings, and offensive military actions such as shelling reconnoitering. And unjustified massing of troops"
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>Philippine Daily Inquirer, February 15, 2003</i>

However, despite this development, fighting erupted once more when in February 11, 2003 the military launched a significant operation at the MILF headquarters in the Liguasan marsh's Buliok Complex. The military charged the MILF with attempting to retake the camps that government forces had taken in the all-out conflict of 2000. On the other hand, the MILF counter-accused by claiming that the soldiers were the ones who initially harassed them. As far north as Lanao del Norte, this wave of violence spread to other areas of central Mindanao. As a result, 37,000 civilians were forced to relocate.



Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		Agreement On Peace Between The Government Of The Republic Of The Philippines And The Moro Islamic Liberation Front – On Ancestral Domain
Specific Text		“Stipulated in Article C. state that On the aspect of ancestral domain, the Parties, in order to address the humanitarian and economic needs of the Bangsamoro people and preserve their social and cultural heritage and inherent rights over their ancestral domain, agree that the same be discussed further by the Parties in their next meeting.”
Status Implementation	of	Not Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>The Manila Times</i> , August 5, 2008

From 2004 until the first half of 2008, when news of the covert signing of a Memorandum of Agreement on Ancestral Domain broke, everything appeared to be proceeding according to plan (MOA-AD). A focus of the GRP-MILF discussions was ancestral domain, along with security and rehabilitation. The aforementioned paper was due for signature on August 5, 2008. But the MOA-AD never happened because the Philippine Supreme Court issued a Temporary Restraining Order (TRO) a day before it was meant to be signed.



ITEM NO. 11

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		AGREEMENT ON THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE RESUMPTION OF PEACE TALKS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES AND THE MORO ISLAMIC LIBERATION FRONT
Specific Text		"according to the Article I The Parties agree to resume the stalled peace negotiations immediately after the signing of this Agreement, and continue the same from where it had stopped before April 27, 2000 until they shall have reached a negotiated political settlement of the Bangsamoro problem."
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>MindaNews, June 3, 2010</i>

With that war recorded as a scar of a broken agreement, MILF and the government continued to have peace talks to pay respect to their previous agreements. As an effect, both parties signed the Annex 3 - Agreement on the General Framework on the Resumption of Peace Talks on March 24, 2001 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and the Annex 4 – Agreement on Peace between the Government of the Philippines and the MILF on June 22, 2001 in Tripoli, Libya. From 2001 to 2011, there was no GRP-MILF related war incidents happened and even cemented by the signing of the Declaration of the Continuity for Peace Negotiations between the GRP and MILF on June 3, 2010 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.



ITEM NO. 12

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		“According to Sub-section B2 paragraph a & b. The JPSC shall be under the JNC. it shall have the following functions: a. Coordinate with the two Parties' command structures on security arrangements relevant to its functions; b. Develop policies and operational guidelines for the effective partnership of the JPSTS;and”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>Rappler, October 5, 2012</i>



If we traced the history, when MNLF had its peace deal with Philippine Government, MILF was one of the political groups that caused fiasco in Mindanao. However, last January 27 – February 2, 2014, the Armed Forces of the Philippines attacked the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters even the Annex on Normalization was recently signed. The 6th Infantry Division of the Army's Col. Dickson Hermoso said that the offensive was unrelated to the annexing of the peace treaty and that the government had been working with the MILF to launch an operation against the BIFF even before the annex was signed. Umbra Kato, the leader of the BIFF, and other leaders were targeted by the government offensive in an effort to be detained for numerous offenses. This confirms that MILF put its commitment to help the government even fighting the BIFF.

ITEM NO. 13

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Specific Text	ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BANGSAMORO 1. The Parties agree that the status quo is unacceptable and that the Bangsamoro shall be established to replace the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. The Bangsamoro is the new autonomous political entity (NPE) referred to in the Decision Points of Principles as of April 2012
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	Rappler, October 15, 2012

At the signing of the 2012 Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro wherein the Philippine Government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front forged, the Moro National Liberation Front commented a message of hope and threat that the MILF would take since it agreed with the GPH towards peace. The line “good luck but beware” gave a hint of being hopeful yet careful towards dealing with the Government; this comment is after when MNLF had major setbacks on the turnout of their respective peace process.

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MNLF to MILF: Good luck but beware

OCT 15, 2012 6:52 PM PHT
VOLTAIRE TUPAZ

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A peace negotiator says the deal with the MILF is inclusive

MANILA, Philippines – Today, October 15, marked the signing of the Framework Agreement between the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the “death of the final peace agreement with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF),” a leader of one of the 3 MNLF factions said.

“Sana mas-succeed sila (government) pati MILF but we have our doubts. (I

ITEM NO. 14

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		Framework Agreement On The Bangsamoro
Specific Text		"according to Article 1 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BANGSAMORO, paragraph 1. The Parties agree that the status quo is unacceptable and that the Bangsamoro shall be established to replace the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). The Bangsamoro is the new autonomous political entity (NPE) referred to in the Decision Points of Principles as of April 2012."
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	MindaNews, October 16, 2012

Because much time, effort and resources had already been invested and some gains were becoming apparent, the peace panels ensured that the negotiations would be sustained. The Declaration of Continuity for Peace Negotiations was thus signed by the parties on June 3, 2010, which was still within President Arroyo's tenure. The peace process was then formally restarted on February 9, 2011, by the Government of the Philippines led by President Benigno Aquino III. To demonstrate his seriousness and commitment to pursuing a peaceful solution to the Bangsamoro conflict, he then met with MILF chair Murad Ebrahim. The Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB), which outlines the main principles, procedures, and steps in building a new autonomous political entity to succeed the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, was then signed on October 15, 2012.



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Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro signed; new history begins

By MINDANEWS - OCTOBER 16, 2012 6:45 AM

MALACANAN PALACE (MindaNews/15 October) — A new chapter in Philippine history unfolded Monday afternoon with the signing of the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB), putting an end to decades of what Moro Islamic Liberation Front chair Al Haj Murad Ebrahim described as "adversarial relationship between the Bangsamoro and the Philippine nation."



President Benigno Simeon Aquino III said the agreement "not only marks a new chapter in our history, it now defines the very path we take as a people—one where opinions are heard and hope is shared; where understanding and consensus breed meaningful solutions for all stakeholders; one where every child is offered the opportunity to shape his own destiny."

"We see the dawn of a new beginning for the people of Mindanao, a day when we welcome a unified Philippines," said Malaysian Prime Minister Dato' Sri Mohammad Najib bin Tun Abdul Razak, whose country has been facilitating the peace talks since

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ITEM NO. 15

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND MODALITIES
Specific Text		“According Section 1. THE TRANSITION PROCESS paragraph A. Creation of the Transition Commission (TC) The President of the Republic of the Philippines shall issue an executive order effecting the establishment of a Transition Commission. Congress shall express its support for such establishment. The Executive Order shall provide for the composition of the TC. its authority and functions, its relationship with government agencies and branches of government, and the budgetary allocation sufficient for its operations.”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	Rappler, December 17, 2012

Following the 2012 Framework Agreement of the Bangsamoro, there should be a Transition Commission that will facilitate the drafting of the Basic Law. On December 17, 2013, by virtue of Executive Order No. 120, the Bangsamoro Transition Commission was created. As ordered, the BTC will be disestablished upon the enactment of the the Bangsamoro Basic Law.

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Aquino signs EO on Bangsamoro Transition Commission; talks reach 'impasse'

DEC 17, 2012 11:08 PM PHT

MANILA, Philippines – President Benigno Aquino III signed Executive Order 120 creating the 15-member Transition Commission that will craft the Bangsamoro Basic Law on Monday, December 17, a day after the latest round of peace talks ended in a “technical impasse.”

The 34th Exploratory Talks between the government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front concluded Sunday, December 16, with a “technical impasse” over the issue on whether the MILF should lead the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA), the body that would lead the transition toward a Bangsamoro political identity.

But government peace panel chair Miriam Coronel Ferrer said the tasks of the Transition Commission were separate from the process involving the crafting of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, and any delays in the drafting of annexes will not have a significant impact on the peace process.

“The rest of the roadmap is to release the executive order to form the Transition Commission even if the panel is still finalizing the annex. That was the whole idea. to finish the Framework Agreement first in order to oet the



As part of the pact, the creation of the Bangsamoro Transition Commission is ordered in the Executive Order 120 by President Benigno Aquino III. The BTC is a government body that will draft the Bangsamoro Basic Law which will serve as the foundation for a new Bangsamoro political entity in accordance with the Framework Agreement.

ITEM NO. 16

Agreement		1996 FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT
Theme/Domain		ON CEASEFIRE
Specific Text		“according to the 1976 PEACE AGREEMENT is state in its 8 th WHEREAS, the parties affirm their solemn commitment in the aforementioned Statements of understanding as well as the Memorandum of Agreement signed in the First Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta, Indonesia on October 25 - November 7, 1993; the Interim Agreement signed in the 2nd Round of Formal Peace Talk held in Jakarta on September 1-5, 1994; the Interim Agreement signed in the 3rd Round of formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on November 27 - December 1, 1995; the Intern Agreement signed in the 4th Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on August 29, 1996; and in the nine (9) meetings of the Mixed Committee held in various places and dates in the Philippines and Indonesia;”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented but MNLF violated
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>GMA News Online, August 16, 2013</i>

As recorded, Rev. Absalom Cerveza, a spokesman for Nur Misauri, denied that the MNLF arrived in Zamboanga City as part of a peace caravan and claimed that the present conflict there was for their declaration of independence. A previous claim that Misuari disowned Commander Habier Malik was also refuted by the spokesman.

The screenshot shows a news article from GMA News Online. The headline is "MNLF confirms 'declaration of independence', girds itself for possible fighting". The article is dated August 16, 2013, at 12:22am. The text of the article states that a spokesperson for the Moro National Liberation Front confirmed that its founder and chairman, Nur Misuari, declared independence for Mindanao in Talipao, Sulu on August 12. It also mentions that the signing of the framework agreement na magkakaroon sila ng comprehensive agreement within the year—notwithstanding the fact that the final peace agreement of 1996 still exists and is valid—for us is, technically, tantamount to an abrogation of the 1996 peace agreement, said Habib Mujahab Hashim in Chino Gaston's report on GMA News TV's "24 Oras".

On the right side of the article, there is a section titled "At a Glance" which lists other news items: "Arnie Teves made requests for assurance of safe return –lawyer", "MIAA braces for 1.2M passengers at NAIA amid Holy Week break", and "NGOs slam missed chance to prevent seabed mining".

On September 9, 2013, the MNLF entered the city and killed four individuals. Barangays Rio Hondo, Santa Barbara, Santa Catalina, and a portion of Talon-Talon were among MNLF controlled. 20 civilians were held captive by the terrorists in Barangay Sta. Catalina, more than 200 citizens were reportedly being held captive and used as human shields by the MNLF about noon.

ITEM NO. 17

Agreement		1996 FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT
Theme/Domain		ON CEASEFIRE
Specific Text		“according to the 1976 PEACE AGREEMENT is state in its 8 th WHEREAS, the parties affirm their solemn commitment in the aforementioned Statements of understanding as well as the Memorandum of Agreement signed in the First Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta, Indonesia on October 25 - November 7, 1993; the Interim Agreement signed in the 2nd Round of Formal Peace Talk held in Jakarta on September 1-5, 1994; the Interim Agreement signed in the 3rd Round of formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on November 27 - December 1, 1995; the Intern Agreement signed in the 4th Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on August 29, 1996; and in the nine (9) meetings of the Mixed Committee held in various places and dates in the Philippines and Indonesia;”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented but MNLF violated
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>PhilStar Global, September 9, 2013</i>

In the 1996 Final Peace Agreement, MNLF had a rebellion against the Philippine Government out of its frustration to the peace process. For an instance, on September 8, 2013, the initial altercation took place at around 8:00 p.m when MNLF started its attack to Zamboanga City. At the coastal barrio of Rio Hondo, a naval patrol boat seized a sizable motorboat and eight other smaller boats carrying armed men. Due to this, there was a shooting match that resulted in multiple deaths, including one navy member and two bystanders.

The screenshot shows the PhilStar Global website interface. The top navigation bar includes links for HOME, HEADLINES, OPINION, NATION, WORLD, BUSINESS, SPORTS, ENTERTAINMENT, LIFESTYLE, and OTHER SECTIONS. The main headline is "Zamboanga City shut down as MNLF men attack its villages" by Dennis Carcamo, Louis Bacani, and Roel Pareño, dated September 9, 2013, at 8:38am. The article text reports that six people have been killed and dozens wounded in Zamboanga City as MNLF rebels infiltrated coastal villages. It also mentions that 24 people were wounded in an encounter between government troops and rebels, and that elite Navy personnel clashed with at least 100 armed MNLF rebels on a large motorboat.

ITEM NO. 18

Agreement		1996 FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT
Theme/Domain		ON CEASEFIRE
Specific Text		“according to the 1976 PEACE AGREEMENT is state in its 8 th WHEREAS, the parties affirm their solemn commitment in the aforementioned Statements of understanding as well as the Memorandum of Agreement signed in the First Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta, Indonesia on October 25 - November 7, 1993; the Interim Agreement signed in the 2nd Round of Formal Peace Talk held in Jakarta on September 1-5, 1994; the Interim Agreement signed in the 3rd Round of formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on November 27 - December 1, 1995; the Intern Agreement signed in the 4th Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on August 29, 1996; and in the nine (9) meetings of the Mixed Committee held in various places and dates in the Philippines and Indonesia;”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented but MNLF violated
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>PhilStar Global, September 10, 2013</i>

'Overwhelming' force deployed in Zamboanga City

Alexis Romero - The Philippine Star ⓘ
September 10, 2013 | 7:15pm

MANILA, Philippines - The military has deployed what it described as an “overwhelming” force in Zamboanga City even as it remains on standby to pave the way for a peaceful resolution of the hostage crisis.

A naval blockade composed of seven ships has been set up to prevent Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) supporters in Basilan and Sulu from entering the city.

Navy spokesman Lt. Commander Gregory Fabic said four multi-purpose attack craft, two patrol gun boats and a diesel fast boat have been tapped to conduct patrols in Zamboanga City’s coastal villages.

By daybreak, the MNLF was attacking military positions with mortars and rocket-propelled grenades. Many evacuated their homes when the MNLF and government forces engaged in combat, although some were unable to leave because they feared being trapped in the crossfire. The MNLF and the Army Forces of the Philippines engaged in firefights after a fire broke out in Barangay Santa Barbara in the afternoon, destroying five homes. Due to the MNLF snipers present, four fire trucks responded but were delayed since they required military approval before approaching the area.

ITEM NO. 19

Agreement		1996 FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT
Theme/Domain		ON CEASEFIRE
Specific Text		“according to the 1976 PEACE AGREEMENT is state in its 8 th WHEREAS, the parties affirm their solemn commitment in the aforementioned Statements of understanding as well as the Memorandum of Agreement signed in the First Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta, Indonesia on October 25 - November 7, 1993; the Interim Agreement signed in the 2nd Round of Formal Peace Talk held in Jakarta on September 1-5, 1994; the Interim Agreement signed in the 3rd Round of formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on November 27 - December 1, 1995; the Intern Agreement signed in the 4th Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on August 29, 1996; and in the nine (9) meetings of the Mixed Committee held in various places and dates in the Philippines and Indonesia;”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented but MNLF violated
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>World ASIA, September 10, 2013</i>

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Philippine rebels use ‘human shields’ in stand-off with troops

About 180 residents are being used as ‘human shields’ in six villages

Published: September 10, 2013 15:43
AFP



Government troops take up positions as about 200 rebels, enraged by a broken peace deal with the Philippine government, held scores of hostages as human shields on Tuesday.
Image Credit: AP

Zamboanga, Philippines: Muslim militants traded gunfire with Philippine troops Tuesday and were using almost 200 villagers as human shields, officials said, in a stand-off after a deadly attack on a southern city.

The Philippine government sent out a bigger force to the city on the second day. More soldiers and forces were dispatched, including four special squadrons from the Naval Special Operations Group, and a naval blockade was established. 30 MNLF members were prevented from joining the main faction by city police around daybreak.

ITEM NO. 20

Agreement		1996 FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT
Theme/Domain		ON CEASEFIRE
Specific Text		“according to the 1976 PEACE AGREEMENT is state in its 8 th WHEREAS, the parties affirm their solemn commitment in the aforementioned Statements of understanding as well as the Memorandum of Agreement signed in the First Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta, Indonesia on October 25 - November 7, 1993; the Interim Agreement signed in the 2nd Round of Formal Peace Talk held in Jakarta on September 1-5, 1994; the Interim Agreement signed in the 3rd Round of formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on November 27 - December 1, 1995; the Intern Agreement signed in the 4th Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on August 29, 1996; and in the nine (9) meetings of the Mixed Committee held in various places and dates in the Philippines and Indonesia;”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented but MNLF violated
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald, September 15, 2013</i>

Jejomar Binay, the Vice President of the Philippines at that time, called Nur Misuari via phone and agreed on a ceasefire. Despite of the pressures that President Benigno Aquino III issued, still the ceasefire failed.

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World

Ceasefire fails in Philippines

Norman P Aquino and Joel Guinto

September 15, 2013 – 3.00am

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Philippine soldiers and Muslim rebels traded fire in the restive south as the death toll rose to 53 in the most serious security crisis President Benigno Aquino's administration has faced.

Four civilians, six soldiers and police officers and 43 Moro National Liberation Front rebels had died since fighting began on September 9, military spokesman Major Angelo Guzman said on Saturday. About 69,000 residents had fled homes in Zamboanga City, said Adriano Fuego of the Office of Civil Defence.

The rising death toll increases the pressure on Mr Aquino to end the standoff in Mindanao, a resource-rich region where four decades of insurgency have killed about 200,000 people and stifled development.

ITEM NO. 21

Agreement		1996 FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT
Theme/Domain		ON CEASEFIRE
Specific Text		“according to the 1976 PEACE AGREEMENT is state in its 8 th WHEREAS, the parties affirm their solemn commitment in the aforementioned Statements of understanding as well as the Memorandum of Agreement signed in the First Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta, Indonesia on October 25 - November 7, 1993; the Interim Agreement signed in the 2nd Round of Formal Peace Talk held in Jakarta on September 1-5, 1994; the Interim Agreement signed in the 3rd Round of formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on November 27 - December 1, 1995; the Intern Agreement signed in the 4th Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on August 29, 1996; and in the nine (9) meetings of the Mixed Committee held in various places and dates in the Philippines and Indonesia;”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented but MNLF violated
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>ABS-CBN News, September 28, 2013</i>

After days of fighting, the Army said that government forces had killed 120 rebels and now held 80 percent of the previously held territory. The Philippine Department of Social Welfare and Development reports that 110,000 people have been forced to leave their homes as a result of the war. It is also said that some MNLF fighters who were arrested revealed that they had been offered Php 10,000 in exchange for combatting against the government. According to the military, 20 MNLF fighters, including Habier Malik, are still in Zamboanga City.

The screenshot shows the ABS-CBN News website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with links to TV Patrol, Bandila, BFP, Current Affairs, ANC, DZMM, Local TV Patrol, and ABS-CBN.COM. Below this is a search bar. The main content area features a large headline: "Palace: Zamboanga crisis is over" with the subtext "ABS-CBNnews.com" and "Posted at 09/28/2013 11:29 AM | Updated as of 09/29/2013 1:10 AM". To the right of the headline is a promotional banner for "60 Years of Kwentong Kasaysayan" for October 5 & 6. Below the headline, there is a sidebar with "financial consultant" links and a "LINKS" section. The main text area contains a "MANILA (2ND UPDATE)" section stating that the crisis in Zamboanga City is now over, citing a statement from Deputy presidential spokesperson Abigail Valte. A quote from the Defense Secretary is also included. On the right side, there is a "REMEMBER MARTIAL LAW" banner and a "LATEST VIDEO" section with links to "PDAF scholars worry over tuition", "Comelec warns against early campaigning", and "Candidates in barangay polls".

ITEM NO. 22

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		“According to Sub-section B2 paragraph a & b. The JPSC shall be under the JNC. it shall have the following functions: a. Coordinate with the two Parties' command structures on security arrangements relevant to its functions; b. Develop policies and operational guidelines for the effective partnership of the JPSTS;and”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>Inquirer.net, January 28, 2014</i>

INQUIRER.NET
Today's Paper

Fighting erupts in South

3 Moro breakaway rebels killed, says military

Inquirer Mindanao / 02:40 AM January 28, 2014



BIF REBELS. In this Oct. 2, 2013, file photo, fighters of the breakaway Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters are seen inside their camp in the town of Datu Saudi in Maguindanao. On Monday, Jan. 27, 2014, fighting erupted between Army soldiers and BIF rebels in Maguindanao, two days after the government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front successfully ended negotiations to end a decades-long insurgency that has killed tens of thousands of people. *JEFFREY MAITIM/INQUIRER MINDANAO*

COTABATO CITY—Fighting erupted between Army soldiers and Moro breakaway rebels in Maguindanao province on Monday, two days after the government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) successfully ended negotiations to end a decades-long insurgency that has killed tens of thousands of people.

In times of implementation, warring troops are still doing their best to destroy the agreement. In September 2022, the Philippine government asked the 114th Base Command of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF), under the command of Commander Hiram Malangka, to leave their area in Barangay Ulitán, Ungkaya Pukan, Basilan while they searched for what they refer to as "lawless elements" who had taken refuge. The Philippine Army has been looking for these individuals and has been conducting clearance operations in the barangays Ulitán, Baguindan, and Tipo-Tipo. The bombings of the Lamitan City Hall on June 20 and the Isabela bombing on May 30 were also related to the "lawless elements," who were also suspected of producing improvised explosive devices. Both bombings injured two civilians. The "lawless elements" pursued in an operation in Baguindan proceeded to Ulitán, and the MILF was accused of luring them.

ITEM NO. 23

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		Comprehensive Agreement On The Bangsamoro
Specific Text		<i>“According to the CAB, which stated Supplementary to the CAB are the various agreements, guidelines, terms of reference, and joint statements duly signed and acknowledged by the Parties in the course of the negotiations between the two Parties beginning in 1997. The Parties commit to honor, respect, and implement all these past agreements and supplementary documents signed by them and as further elaborated in the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro and its Annexes.”</i>
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	Phil. Daily Inquirer, March 28, 2014

More features and flesh were added to the structure, greatly improving the FAB. The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB), the final document's name at the time, was signed on March 27, 2014.

INQUIRER.NET

Today's Paper

Apr 1, 2023

EDITORS' PICKS

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Philippines, MILF sign peace agreement

Aquino: I will not let peace be snatched from my people again

By: Christian V. Esguerra, TJ Burgonio - @inquirerdotnet Philippine Daily Inquirer / 02:22 AM March 28, 2014

A photograph showing President Benigno Aquino III and Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak at the center, both smiling and clapping. They are surrounded by other officials, including Miriam Coronel-Ferrer and Mohagher Iqbal, who are also clapping. The background features a large banner with the words "PEACE" and "AGREEMENT" visible.

THE PEACEMAKERS President Aquino and Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak (center) applaud as peace panel chairs Miriam Coronel-Ferrer of the Philippine government and Mohagher Iqbal of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front exchange copies of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro that they signed on Thursday in Malacañang. Also witnessing the event are Malaysian facilitator Ab Ghafar Mohamed, Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process Teresita Quintos-Deles (right), and MILF chair Murad Ebrahim (left). LYN RILLON

EDITORS' PICK

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The CAB, which serves as the peace negotiations' final document, serves as the GPH and MILF's binding contract. It specifies out precise information on the Bangsamoro's position after the new autonomous political entity is established, as well as the degree of budgetary and political autonomy.

ITEM NO. 24

Agreement		1996 FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT
Theme/Domain		ON CEASEFIRE
Specific Text		“according to the 1976 PEACE AGREEMENT is state in its 8 th WHEREAS, the parties affirm their solemn commitment in the aforementioned Statements of understanding as well as the Memorandum of Agreement signed in the First Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta, Indonesia on October 25 - November 7, 1993; the Interim Agreement signed in the 2nd Round of Formal Peace Talk held in Jakarta on September 1-5, 1994; the Interim Agreement signed in the 3rd Round of formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on November 27 - December 1, 1995; the Intern Agreement signed in the 4th Round of Formal Peace Talks held in Jakarta on August 29, 1996; and in the nine (9) meetings of the Mixed Committee held in various places and dates in the Philippines and Indonesia;”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented, MNLF resumed
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>PhilStar Global, February 13, 2017</i>

On February 2017, talks between the government and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) over the full implementation of the 1996 Peace Accord are about to start again. For the complete implementation of the 1996 peace treaty, which was mediated by the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the restart of negotiations with the government would be limited to three still unresolved problems, such as governance, wealth distribution, and territory. The decision to combine a law that would synchronize the 1996 peace deal with the MNLF and the peace agreement to be established with the MILF was left to the legislation of the Congress.

The screenshot shows the PhilStar Global website interface. At the top is a blue navigation bar with the PhilStar Global logo and a menu of categories: HOME, HEADLINES, OPINION, NATION, WORLD, BUSINESS, SPORTS, ENTERTAINMENT, LIFESTYLE, OTHER SECTIONS, and SUPPORT PHILSTAR. Below the navigation bar, the word 'HEADLINES' is displayed in blue. The main headline is 'Government, MNLF to resume talks' in large, bold black font. Below the headline, the author 'Perseus Echeminada - The Philippine Star' and the date 'February 13, 2017 | 12:00am' are listed. To the right of the text are social media sharing icons for Facebook, Messenger, and Twitter. The article text begins with 'MANILA, Philippines – The government and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) are set to resume their talks on the final implementation of the 1996 peace agreement.' and continues with a quote from Emmanuel Fontanilla, MNLF spokesman, stating they were waiting for the government panel's composition.

ITEM NO. 25

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT OF THE BANGSAMORO
Specific Text		II. BASIC LAW 1. The Bangsamoro shall be governed by a Basic Law 2. The provisions of the Bangsamoro Basic Law shall be consistent with all agreements of the Parties. 3. The Basic Law shall reflect the Bangsamoro system of life and meet internationally accepted standards of governance. 4. It shall be formulated by the Bangsamoro people and ratified by the qualified voters within its territory.
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	PhilStar Global, July 26, 2018

REPUBLIC ACT No. 11054 *"Organic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao."* "The purpose of this Organic Law is to establish a political entity, provide for its basic structure of government in recognition of the justness and legitimacy of the cause of the Bangsamoro people and the aspirations of Muslim Filipinos and all indigenous cultural communities in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao to secure their identity and posterity, allowing for meaningful self-governance within the framework of the Constitution and the national sovereignty as well as territorial integrity of the Republic of the Philippines."

Last July 26, 2018, President Rodrigo Duterte signed Republic Act No. 11054, also known as the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL). The Organic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao is its current name (OLBARM). It is the outcome of lengthy peace talks between the Philippine government and the rebel organizations in Mindanao, particularly the MILF. The Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), which was founded in 1989 by Republic Act No. 6734 and strengthened in 2001 by Republic Act No. 9054, is abolished by the new law.



The screenshot shows a news article from PhilStar Global. The header includes the PhilStar Global logo and navigation links: HOME, HEADLINES, OPINION, NATION, WORLD, BUSINESS, SPORTS, ENTERTAINMENT, LIFESTYLE, OTHER SECTIONS, SUPPORT PHILSTAR, and EXPLAINERS. The article title is "Duterte signs Bangsamoro Organic Law". Below the title, it says "The Philippine Star" with a location pin icon, followed by the date and time "July 26, 2018 | 8:04pm". The text of the article begins with "MANILA, Philippines — President Rodrigo Duterte has signed the Bangsamoro Organic Law, Malacañang confirmed Thursday, after he and his officials issued conflicting statements about the matter." A quote from presidential spokesman Harry Roque is also visible: "This is to announce that the President has just signed the BOL into law," presidential spokesman Harry Roque said in a text message.

ITEM NO. 26

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND MODALITIES
Specific Text		“According annex on transitional arrangements and modalities, Section B state that once the TC is created, it states that Once the TC is created, it shall exercise its functions in accordance with the FAB and its Annexes, and such other functions that are necessary in the performance of its mandate as provided in the Executive Order. To facilitate its tasks, it may create technical committees and a secretariat. The TC may also solicit assistance and advice from experts. The TC shall adopt necessary administrative guidelines for the speedy efficient and effective performance of its functions.”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	OPAPP, February 24, 2019

Until the BTA was constituted, Section 5 of Article XVI of the Bangsamoro Organic Code established a caretaker body consisting of the same 25 ARMM officials and the initial 20 members of the Bangsamoro Transition Commission until the BTA was established. On February 22, 2019, the 80 newly appointed BTA members took their oaths, and on February 24, 2019, the ARMM was officially changed as to the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao.



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From ARMM to BARMM: Transition government to be the voice of Bangsamoro aspirations



Malacañan Palace, February 24, 2019 – Presidential Peace Adviser Carlito G. Galvez Jr. emphasized that the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) will provide the Bangsamoro people an opportunity to achieve their long-held aspirations.

“Through the BTA, the Bangsamoro people shall have stronger voice and have the power to chart their own course of development,” he said in his message during the ceremonial confirmation of Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL) plebiscite canvass results and oath-taking of the members of the BTA held in Malacañan Palace.

Galvez noted that the successful conduct of plebiscite last January 21 and February 6, which resulted in the ratification of BOL and the expansion of its territory to include Cotabato City and 63 barangays in North Cotabato, confirmed that the people have been yearning for peace and progress.

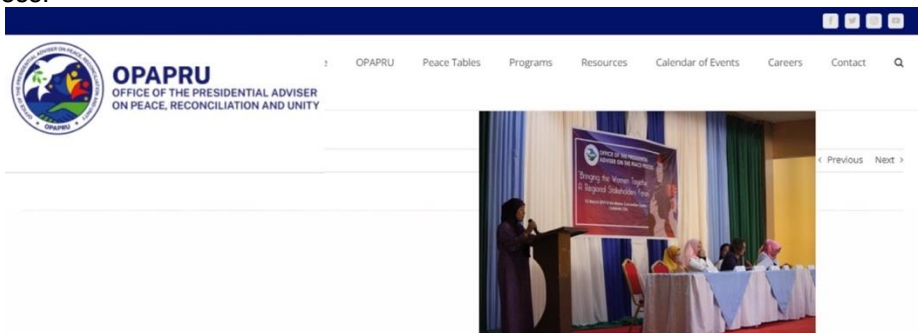
“The passage and eventual ratification of the Bangsamoro Organic Law by a majority of residents in the region was a concrete manifestation of the people’s overwhelming support for the future BARMM government,” he said.

The peace adviser reminded the BTA members that the government will stand behind them as they work towards their mission of “bringing enduring peace and sustainable development in the region.”

ITEM NO. 27

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION AND ANNEX ON REVENUE AND WEALTH SHARING
Specific Text	Socio-Economic Development Program “According to Section G Paragraph 5 states that, The Parties recognize the need to attract multi-donor country support, assistance and pledges to the normalization process. For this purpose, a Trust Fund shall be established through which urgent support, recurrent and investment budget cost will be released with efficiency, transparency and accountability. The Parties agree to adopt criteria for eligible financing schemes, such as, priority areas of capacity building, institutional strengthening, impact programs to address imbalances in development and infrastructures, and economic facilitation for return to normal life affecting combatant and non-combatant elements of the MILF, indigenous peoples, women, children, and internally displaced persons.” On Revenue and Wealth-Sharing In the utilization of public funds, the Bangsamoro shall ensure that the needs of women and men are adequately addressed. For this purpose, the Bangsamoro shall set aside at least 5% of the official development funds that it received for support programs and activities for women in accordance with a gender and development plan.
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	OPAPRU, March 16, 2019

As inspired from that provision, 400 women leaders and sectoral representative did not hesitate to participate in the in the first Women Stakeholders' Regional Forum in Cotabato City and take part in the crafting of a comprehensive Women's Development Agenda for the Bangsamoro Peace Process.



BARMM women converge, craft Bangsamoro Women's Agenda

COTABATO CITY, March 16, 2019 — Close to 400 women leaders and sectoral representatives gathered in Cotabato City on Wednesday to participate in the first Women Stakeholders' Regional Forum and take part in the crafting of a comprehensive Women's Development Agenda. The event was in celebration of the National Women's Month with the theme, "We Make Change Work for Women."

Executive Director Gloria Jumamil Mercado represented Presidential Adviser on Peace Reconciliation and Unity Carillo G. Galvez Jr in the forum which was attended by delegates coming from the different civil society organizations, academe, municipal and barangay local government units and religious sectors in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM). In her message, Executive Director Mercado underscored that the involvement of women in peace and development is one of the priority thrusts of Secretary Galvez in the OPAPRU. She also emphasized the invaluable contribution of women leaders in the peace process, particularly in the implementation of the Normalization phase and in the work to be carried out by the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA).

With the theme, "Bringing the Women Together: A Regional Stakeholders Forum," the one-day forum was spearheaded by the newly-installed BARMM interim government with the hope to create safe spaces where they can speak and listen to each other in addressing key gender issues. The forum also showcased local products and cultural performances alongside workshop sessions.

Discussions during the forum centered on the best practices and lessons learned in the ARMM government, as well as recommendations on how to move forward in the new Bangsamoro government. Delegates actively participated in plenary sessions, multi-stakeholder dialogues, and planning workshops. The deliberations focused on good governance practices, peace and development concerns, provision of basic social

ITEM NO. 28

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND MODALITIES
Specific Text		“According to Section F of the annex on transitional arrangements and modalities. The BTA shall have as its core function the preparation for the transition to the ministerial government in the Bangsamoro It shall exercise governance functions devolved to the Bangsamoro in accordance with the Basic Law, and shall set up the institutions and mechanisms necessary to establish the Bangsamoro ministerial government.”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	Bangsamoro, March 29, 2019

President Duterte also challenged the BTA to “always embody the dreams and aspirations of the great men and women who came before and fought for the recognition of right to determine the future... To lead this new region towards a brighter tomorrow, never to waver in your commitment to build an institution that is founded on the rule of law, the promotion of good governance, and the defense of our most cherished democratic values.” On March 29, 2019, the Bangsamoro Transition Authority convened for the first time as the Interim Bangsamoro Parliament. BTA has a legislative power during the entire transition period.



The screenshot shows the official website of the Republic of the Philippines, Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. The header features the Bangsamoro logo and navigation links: BANGSAMORO, Officials, About Us, News, Issuances, Transparency, Resources, Contact Us, and a search bar. The main content area is titled "BTA holds first session; elects parliament officers" with a date of "Mar - 29 - 2019". Below the title is a photograph of two men in traditional Bangsamoro attire sitting at a table during a session. The text below the photo states: "Cotabato City (March 29, 2019)- The Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) elected its officers during its first session as a parliament in Cotabato City on Friday, 29 March. Former Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, Atty. Pangalim Balindong was elected as the speaker of the parliament. While Hatimil Hasan is named as his deputy speaker, Atty. Lanang Ali, Jr. as majority floor leader, and Atty. Laiza Masuhud-Alamia as minority floor leader. The elected officers are expected to serve the parliament until the end of the transition period on 2022. Meanwhile, Sheikh Kaifia Usman Nando was appointed as the Wali (ceremonial head) of the Bangsamoro Government. BTA Chief Minister Murad Ebrahim emphasized that the parliament's priority should be the approval of the transition plan that "will define the organizational structure of the BARMM and the gradual phasing out of offices." Their programs, according to him, will be anchored on the five pillars of education, health, economic development, strategic infrastructure, and moral leadership. "These thrusts in education, health, and economic development must be complemented with responsive strategic infrastructure in the region such as ports, road network, flood control, and logistics and communication facilities," he said.

ITEM NO. 29

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		“According to Section B, Paragraph 2 of the annex on normalization. It states that, to ensure effective security collaboration, several joint mechanisms shall be established. The Joint Normalization Committee (JNC) shall coordinate the different processes in normalization. The Joint Peace and Security Committee (JPSC) shall coordinate the security component of the normalization process. The Joint Peace and Security Teams (JPSTs) shall be the operating units composed of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), the PNP, and the MILF's Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF). These mechanisms shall work for the maintenance of peace and order and the stability of the areas mutually identified by the GPH and the MILF”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	OPAPP, June 25, 2019

In terms of Normalization, the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) implementation process was progressing better. This came about as participants in a multi-stakeholder forum on normalization from the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) - Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF), the Philippine National Police (PNP), the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), and Basilan-based civil society organizations gathered in a forum. The forum is the aims to inform participants about the various facets of the Normalization Track, identify points of convergence, and suggest conflict-sensitive interventions to improve the Normalization phase. It is spearheaded by the GPH Joint Normalization Committee and the Government of the Philippines Implementing Panel.



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[Programs](#)
[Resources](#)
[Calendar of Events](#)
[Careers](#)
[Contact](#)



[< Previous](#)
[Next >](#)

Bangsamoro Normalization gains momentum

ISABELA CITY, BASILAN (June 25, 2019) – The preparation for the implementation of the Normalization process under the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) is now moving at an accelerated pace and gaining momentum.

This developed as representatives from the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and Philippine National Police (PNP), Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) – Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF), and members of Basilan-based civil society organizations gathered here to participate in a multi-stakeholder forum on Normalization.

Spearheaded by the GPH Joint Normalization Committee and the Government of the Philippines Implementing Panel, the forum is the third in a series which aims to update participants on the Normalization Track's various aspects, identify points of convergence, and recommend conflict-sensitive interventions to enhance the Normalization phase.

Signed by the Philippine Government and the MILF in 2014, the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) has two tracks: Political and Normalization. The Political Track includes the ratification of the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL) and the establishment of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM).

The Normalization Track, on the other hand, mainly involves the decommissioning of the combatants and putting their weapons beyond use, and the transformation of six MILF camps into peaceful and resilient communities.

ITEM NO. 30

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		“According to Section C. Paragraph 4. Of ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION There shall be an Independent Decommissioning Body (IDB) that will oversee the process of decommissioning of the MILF forces and weapons.”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	OPAPP, August 14, 2019

Learning from the fault of the past, the Government of the Philippines learnt its lessons on pushing for peace pact without considering decommissioning the weapons of the warring political group. With that, in dealing with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front Peace Deal, one salient feature of the 2014 CAB is its decommissioning programs under the Normalization plans.

The roadmap of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, notably in the Annex on Normalization, which has been approved by the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and MILF, serves as a guide for the decommissioning process of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) forces.



The screenshot shows the official website of the Office of the Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity (OPAPRU). The header includes the OPAPRU logo and navigation links: OPAPRU, Peace Tables, Programs, Resources, Calendar of Events, Careers, and Contact. The main content area features a photograph of President Rodrigo Duterte speaking at a podium. Below the photo is the headline: **Decommissioning of 40,000 MILF combatants encourage other armed groups to follow**. The article text begins with: **MANILA, August 14, 2019** – The successful decommissioning of 40,000 Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) combatants could encourage other armed groups in Mindanao to turn in their weapons and return to the folds of the law, according to Presidential Peace Adviser Carito G. Galvez. It continues with a quote from Galvez: "We will ensure that the MILF combatants who will undergo the decommissioning process will receive a decent comprehensive and sustainable socio-economic package," Galvez declared during Inter-Cabinet Cluster Mechanism on Normalization (ICCMN) meeting at the Malacañang Palace on Tuesday. Another quote follows: "Now, if the other armed groups will see the fruits of this process, I believe they will be encouraged to join in the decommissioning process," he said. The article concludes with: Aside from the various Moro fronts whose members still bear weapons, there are still other armed groups operating in Mindanao such as private armies, communist insurgents, and extremist organizations. According to the Presidential Peace Adviser, the main goal of the government is for non-state armed groups to become irrelevant in the country.

As a strategy, the MILF will be decommissioned in four (4) percentage-based phases: ceremonial in Phase 1, 30% in Phase 2, 35% in Phase 3, and residual MILF troops in Phase 4. The GPH and MILF parties decided to name the Independent Decommissioning Body as the third-party entity that would expressly be in charge of overseeing the deactivation of MILF forces in order to safeguard the integrity and uphold a high level of trust and confidence. It consists of international experts from Turkey, Norway, Brunei Darussalam, Japan, as well as the designation of qualified local experts from the GPH, including retired LtGen Rey C. Ardo, commander of the AFP Western Mindanao Command, former congressman Prof. Mario Aguja of MSU, and other local representatives.

ITEM NO. 31

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		“According to Section C. Paragraph 4. Of ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION There shall be an Independent Decommissioning Body (IDB) that will oversee the process of decommissioning of the MILF forces and weapons.”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	OPAPP, August 23, 2019



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[Peace Tables](#)
[Programs](#)
[Resources](#)
[Calendar of Events](#)
[Careers](#)
[Contact](#)



[< Previous](#)
[Next >](#)

AFP to assist in healing, decommissioning process for MILF combatants

CAMP AGUINALDO, August 23, 2019 — The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) forged an agreement Thursday to formalize their partnership in implementing the decommissioning process for 40,000 Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) combatants and their weapons in the next three years.

At the signing ceremony of the Memorandum of Agreement, AFP Chief of Staff General Benjamin Madrigal Jr. underscored the importance of the collaboration between OPAPP and the AFP in pushing forward the Bangsamoro peace process.

Unwavering commitment to peace

"The MOA that we signed today is not only about the transfer of funds from OPAPP to the Armed Forces but more importantly, it signifies our commitment to continue with the process of healing, and the process of normalization in the Bangsamoro."

The decommissioning process is the initial stage that enables MILF warriors to seamlessly shift from armed warfare to peaceful, fruitful, and civilian life, thereby enabling them to shed their guerilla character. As part of the decommissioning procedure, weapons must also be turned in and rendered useless.

ITEM NO. 32

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		“According to Section C. Paragraph 7. Of ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION 7. The work and reports of the IDB shall be covered by rules on confidentiality, and shall be in accordance with the Terms of Reference to be signed by the Panels.”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	OPAPP, September 7, 2019



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[Programs](#)
[Resources](#)
[Calendar of Events](#)
[Careers](#)
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Decommissioning of combatants, a symbol of MILF's commitment to peace process

COTABATO CITY (September 7, 2019) — The decommissioning of Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) combatants and their weapons is not a sign of capitulation but rather a symbol of their organization's sincerity and determination to push forward the Bangsamoro peace process.

This was stressed by Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM) Interim Chief Minister Al Haj Murad Ebrahim a day before the decommissioning of 1,060 MILF-Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF) members and 920 of their weapons.

Steadfast commitment to peace process

"I would like to emphasize that we have not given up what we used to fight for. It is simply to demonstrate our full commitment to fulfilling our obligations and responsibilities in the peace agreement we signed with the government," Murad said in a media forum here.

The decommissioning of the MILF-BIAF members will be handled by the Independent Decommissioning Body (IDB).

This is to set the record straight that it is inaccurate to claim or allege that there is a missing list of MILF forces. The list of decommissioned combatants is safely secured and maintained by the IDB and the DSWD. The list is covered by the non-disclosure agreement and the Data Privacy Act of 2012 which provides for the protection of individual personal information as part of their constitutional rights.

ITEM NO. 33

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text	REDEPLOYMENT OF THE AFP: According to annex on normalization Section D paragraph 2 it states that, 2. There shall be a joint security assessment and an inventory of AFP units and troops in the Bangsamoro to ensure an orderly redeployment of AFP units and troops, and avoid a security vacuum in the Bangsamoro. The AFP shall only retain installations necessary for national defense and security."
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	OPAPP, June 23, 2021

"To ensure responsible and inclusive realization of peace and order, the Joint Peace and Security Team is established as it is composed of representatives from the Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF) of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), and the Philippine National Police (PNP) whose mandate is to ensure peace and security in areas mutually identified by the Government of the Philippines and the MILF. The JPST is part of the security aspect of the Normalization track under the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro.



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[Programs](#)
[Resources](#)
[Calendar of Events](#)
[Careers](#)
[Contact](#)

Normalization in the Bangsamoro: Bringing enduring peace and sustainable development to former war-torn communities



[< Previous](#)
[Next >](#)

LANAO DEL SUR — In his more than three decades as a Bangsamoro Mujahid (Islamic soldier), Abdul Jalil Maminta, a native of Balindong in Lanao del Sur, never imagined that he would be working side-by-side with the very same people he vowed to destroy.

"Noong [panahon ng armed struggle] na hindi pa kami kasama sa JPST (Joint Peace and Security Team) marami akong kapatid na namatay. Noong all-out-war may kapatid akong namatay doon at sa Lanao del Norte sa Munai meron akong mga first cousins na namatay doon," recalled Maminta after the JPST unit, of which he is a member, was deployed in Balindong, Lanao del Sur on April 11.

Each JPST is composed of representatives from the Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF) of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), and the Philippine National Police (PNP) whose mandate is to ensure peace and security in areas mutually identified by the Government of the Philippines and the MILF.

Maminta has been with the composite peacekeeping team since he joined the training program to qualify as a member. Despite what happened in the past, he now considers his AFP and PNP team members as his brothers.

"Parang magkakapatid na kami ngayon. Noong una, talagang magkakalaban kami. Nagpuputukan pero ngayon, parang magkakapatid na kami. May mga picture na kami. Kumakain na kami na sabay-sabay kami. Nag-istorya kami na sabay-sabay kami. Basta parang magkakapatid lang," shared Maminta.

The security aspect of the Normalization track under the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB), the landmark peace agreement between the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and the MILF, has paved the way for GPH and the MILF forces to jointly secure critical areas where the normalization process is being carried out.

ITEM NO. 34

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text	“According to Section G Paragraph 5 states that, The Parties recognize the need to attract multi-donor country support, assistance and pledges to the normalization process. For this purpose, a Trust Fund shall be established through which urgent support, recurrent and investment budget cost will be released with efficiency, transparency and accountability. The Parties agree to adopt criteria for eligible financing schemes, such as, priority areas of capacity building, institutional strengthening, impact programs to address imbalances in development and infrastructures, and economic facilitation for return to normal life affecting combatant and non-combatant elements of the MILF, indigenous peoples, women, children, and internally displaced persons.”
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	OPAPRU, February 3, 2022

Even Presidential Peace Adviser Secretary Carlito G. Galvez Jr., stressed that the implementation of the socioeconomic development aspect of the normalization track is crucial to the Bangsamoro peace process, as they are meant to uplift the lives of the former combatants and their families. The Inter-Cabinet Cluster Mechanism on Normalization's (ICCMN) socioeconomic sub-cluster are gearing up towards the inclusion of normalization in its regular programs and credited the successful run of the normalization to the 'shared commitment and effort of the Government and the MILF counterparts who continue working to fast track the implementation of the programs so that we can successfully transform the lives of our MILF brothers and sisters and bring sustainable peace and development to their communities.' (OPAPRU, 2022).



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[Peace Tables](#)
[Programs](#)
[Resources](#)
[Calendar of Events](#)
[Careers](#)
[Contact](#)

Decommissioned MILF combatants: Weaving peace one thread at a time



BANGSAMORO AUTONOMOUS REGION IN MUSLIM MINDANAO — Middle Indal proudly shows off the graduation uniform which he had sewn by himself — a gray polo shirt matched with gray slacks.

Indal was among 155 decommissioned Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) members who graduated from various Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) courses conducted by the Technical Education and Skills Development (TESD) earlier this year.

Now 60 years-old and with six children, Indal did not expect that he would complete an NC II dressmaking course, and more so, an opportunity to learn a new skill and practice it given his background as a former fighter.

He was one of the 12,000 MILF combatants who were decommissioned under phase 2 of the decommissioning process held from 2019 to 2020.

"Dahil sa pagkakaibang ng Gobyerno ng Pilipinas at ng Gobyerno ng MILF, kami ay nagpapasaalamat sa Allah (SWT) na nasubuan namin ang ngayong mas magandang panahon at maganda ang pamumuhay ng aming mga anak sa ngayong panahon dahil sa nagkasundo na ang dalawang gobyerno," Indal shared, as he noted the growing economic opportunities in the Bangsamoro now that the implementation of the peace agreements are in full swing.

(Due to the unity of the Philippine Government and the MILF Government, we are thankful to Allah (SWT) that we have reached a better period and our children are living well now because the two governments

ITEM NO. 35

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		“According to Section C. Paragraph 7. Of ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION 7. The work and reports of the IDB shall be covered by rules on confidentiality, and shall be in accordance with the Terms of Reference to be signed by the Panels.”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	OPAPRU, June 17, 2022



The screenshot shows the official website of the Office of the Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity (OPAPRU). The header includes the OPAPRU logo and navigation links: OPAPRU, Peace Tables, Programs, Resources, Calendar of Events, Careers, and Contact. The main content area features a large photograph of a group of people, including former combatants and officials, standing in front of a banner. Below the photo is the headline: **MILF combatants ditch nom de guerre, register legal identities to benefit from social services part of meaningful transformation**. The article text states that thousands of decommissioned Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) combatants are giving up their *nom de guerre* and making their full transition to mainstream society through a civil registration support initiative launched in Camp Darapanan, Sultan Kudarat, Maguindanao on Wednesday, 15 June 2022. The initiative is called Access to Legal Identity and Social Services for Decommissioned Combatants or ALIAS DC. The article also mentions that the project is co-funded by the European Union (EU), Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), MISEREOR, and The Asia Foundation (TAF), implemented by Initiatives for Dialogue and Empowerment through Alternative Legal Services, Inc. (IDEALS, Inc.) and supported by the Office of the Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity (OPAPRU), MILF, the Joint Normalization Committee (JNC), and Task Force for Decommissioned Combatants and their Communities (TFDCC).

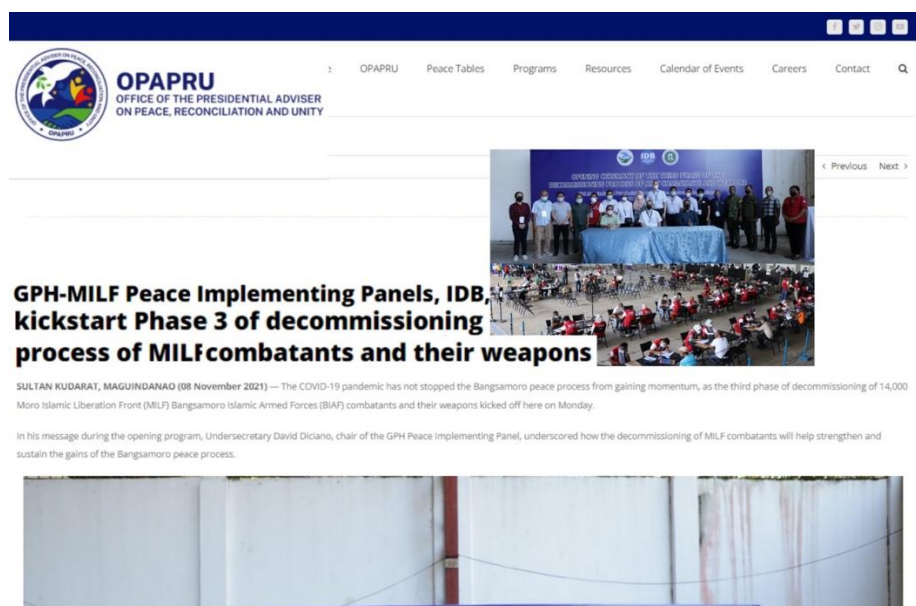
To the IDB, the MILF sends a list of approved combatants and weaponry. With the Verification and Monitoring Assistance Teams' help, the IDB shall verify, register, validate, and inventory the MILF's weapons and forces (VMATs). The VMAT, which is made up of a delegate from each country (Turkey, Brunei, Norway, AFP/PNP, and MILF), undertakes a thorough validation procedure at the decommissioning site through interviews and thorough vetting.

The IDB collects each combatant's pictures and fingerprints for printing on the IDB-issued ID or the decommissioned combatants ID in order to confirm and register them using biometrics. The same interview and registration-related data are handled using an IDB database system with the utmost care for security and confidentiality.

ITEM NO. 36

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		“According to Section C. Paragraph 6. Of ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION 6. The IDB shall perform the following functions: a. Conduct inventory, verification and validation of BIAF members, arms and weapons; b. Develop and implement a schedule of decommissioning of BIAF forces; c. Plan, design, and implement techniques and technologies for weapons collection or retrieval, transport, and storage and putting weapons beyond use in accordance with the agreement of the parties; and d. Report on the progress of its work and submit its terminal report to the GPH and MILF Panels.”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	OPAPRU, June 17, 2022

The GPH and MILF developed a pre-Assembly and Processing Area (Pre-APA) to jointly undertake a pre-screening and pre-registration of MILF combatants scheduled for decommissioning in order to better improve the validation process. With the assistance of the international community, the identities of MILF soldiers are further validated through civil registration and the provision and processing of certificates of live birth to verify their legal identities.

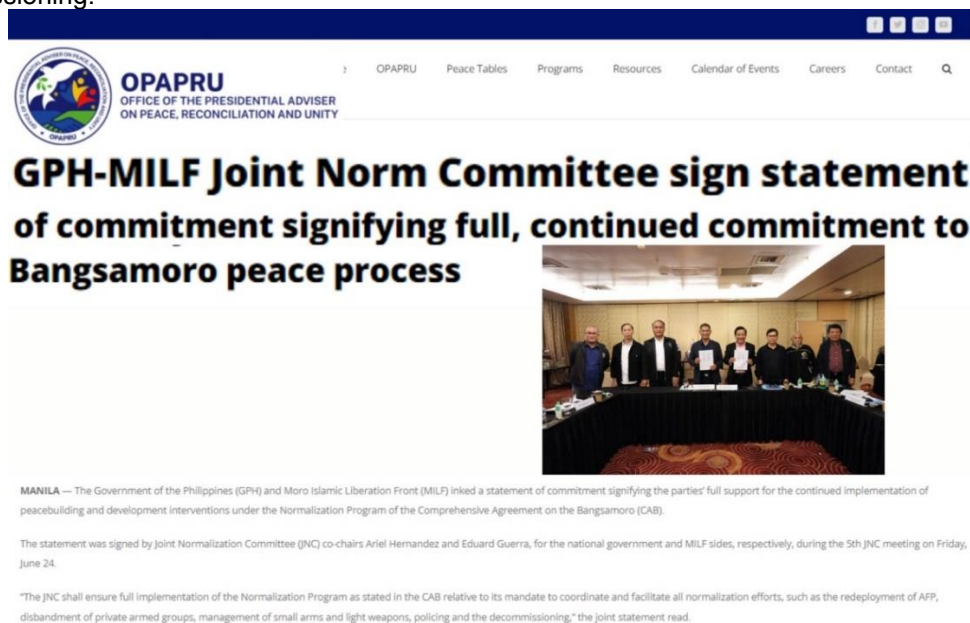


After the decommissioning process, the validated and registered combatants will be turned over for social-intake interview under the Task Force for Decommissioned Combatants and their Communities (TFDCC) and Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). Each decommissioned combatant receives Php 100,000.00 as transitional cash assistance with a DSWD-issued ID (biometric system) as part of their transformation to civilian, productive lives.

ITEM NO. 37

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		“According to Section B, Paragraph 2 of the annex on normalization. It states that, to ensure effective security collaboration, several joint mechanisms shall be established. The Joint Normalization Committee (JNC) shall coordinate the different processes in normalization. The Joint Peace and Security Committee (JPSC) shall coordinate the security component of the normalization process. The Joint Peace and Security Teams (JPSTs) shall be the operating units composed of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), the PNP, and the MILF's Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF). These mechanisms shall work for the maintenance of peace and order and the stability of the areas mutually identified by the GPH and the MILF”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	OPAPP, June 24, 2022

As written in the Annex part of the agreement, the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) inked a statement of commitment signifying the parties' full support for the continued implementation of peacebuilding and development interventions under the Normalization Program titled GPH-MILF Joint Norm Committee (JNC), as constituted. The JNC shall ensure full implementation of the Normalization Program as stated in the CAB relative to its mandate to coordinate and facilitate all normalization efforts, such as the redeployment of AFP, disbandment of private armed groups, management of small arms and light weapons, policing and the decommissioning.



The screenshot shows a news article from the Office of the Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity (OPAPRU). The headline reads: "GPH-MILF Joint Norm Committee sign statement of commitment signifying full, continued commitment to Bangsamoro peace process". Below the headline is a photograph of a group of men in formal attire standing behind a long table. The article text states: "MANILA — The Government of the Philippines (GPH) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) inked a statement of commitment signifying the parties' full support for the continued implementation of peacebuilding and development interventions under the Normalization Program of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB). The statement was signed by Joint Normalization Committee (JNC) co-chairs Ariel Hernandez and Eduard Guerra, for the national government and MILF sides, respectively, during the 5th JNC meeting on Friday, June 24. 'The JNC shall ensure full implementation of the Normalization Program as stated in the CAB relative to its mandate to coordinate and facilitate all normalization efforts, such as the redeployment of AFP, disbandment of private armed groups, management of small arms and light weapons, policing and the decommissioning,' the joint statement read."

ITEM NO. 38

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		“According to Section B, Paragraph 2 of the annex on normalization. It states that, to ensure effective security collaboration, several joint mechanisms shall be established. The Joint Normalization Committee (JNC) shall coordinate the different processes in normalization. The Joint Peace and Security Committee (JPSC) shall coordinate the security component of the normalization process. The Joint Peace and Security Teams (JPSTs) shall be the operating units composed of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), the PNP, and the MILF's Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF). These mechanisms shall work for the maintenance of peace and order and the stability of the areas mutually identified by the GPH and the MILF”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	OPAPP, June 2022

EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6 “According to EO No. 6 1st WHEREAS States that the, Executive Order (EO) No. 79 (s. 2019) established the Inter-Cabinet Cluster Mechanism on Normalization (ICCMN), and mandated the same to ensure timely, appropriate and efficient delivery of the Normalization Program, which is parallel and complementary to the provisions of Republic Act No. 11054 or the "Organic Law for the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao;"

Under the new agreement, the provisions on the Normalization Program guides the implementation of the transition which the process is safeguarded by a new structure created – the Inter-Cabinet Cluster Mechanism on Normalization (ICCMN). This cluster 'has enabled the Duterte Administration to push forward the implementation of the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB) amidst the challenges caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and to ensure that the next administration will be able to properly accomplish the remaining necessary tasks. ICCMN is composed of four clusters based on the major components of the normalization track: the security aspect, socio-economic development program, confidence-building measures, and transitional justice and reconciliation.' (OPAPRU, 2019).



ITEM NO. 39

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	ANNEX ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND MODALITIES
Specific Text	F. The Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) “According to Section F of the annex on transitional arrangements and modalities. The BTA shall have as its core function the preparation for the transition to the ministerial government in the Bangsamoro It shall exercise governance functions devolved to the Bangsamoro in accordance with the Basic Law, and shall set up the institutions and mechanisms necessary to establish the Bangsamoro ministerial government.”
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	Philippine News Agency, August 14, 2022

The participation of the MNLF particularly under the leadership of Chair Nur Misuari is a product of the convergence effort of the OPAPRU to harmonize the Bangsamoro peace agreements that include the 1976 Tripoli, the 1996 Final Peace Agreements and the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (Philippine News Agency, 2022).



New BTA unites former warring MILF, MNLF rebels

August 14, 2022, 4:36 pm

MANILA – President Ferdinand R. Marcos Jr. on Friday led the oath-taking of the new members of the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA), the interim government of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM).

What was not given prominence by the media was that with the new BTA, former members of the Moro National

ITEM NO. 40

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	ANNEX ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND MODALITIES
Specific Text	F. The Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) “According to Section F of the annex on transitional arrangements and modalities. The BTA shall have as its core function the preparation for the transition to the ministerial government in the Bangsamoro It shall exercise governance functions devolved to the Bangsamoro in accordance with the Basic Law, and shall set up the institutions and mechanisms necessary to establish the Bangsamoro ministerial government.”
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	ABS-CBN News, August 14 2022



A united Bangsamoro will usher in a true and inclusive peace not just in the BARMM but also throughout Mindanao and the entire nation. For the benefit of everyone in Mindanao, it is a historic time for the leaders of the MNLF and MILF to unite the peace agreements under the BTA. The written peace agreement set the parameters for the implementation of the peace process, the agency is present in the BTA to ensure that the transition period will succeed and deliver the avowed promises to the Moro people (ABS-CBN News, 2022).

ITEM NO. 41

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	ANNEX ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND MODALITIES
Specific Text	F. The Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) “According to Section F of the annex on transitional arrangements and modalities. The BTA shall have as its core function the preparation for the transition to the ministerial government in the Bangsamoro It shall exercise governance functions devolved to the Bangsamoro in accordance with the Basic Law, and shall set up the institutions and mechanisms necessary to establish the Bangsamoro ministerial government.”
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	PhilStar Global, August 15, 2022

Moving forward, the Bangsamoro Peace Process takes one step higher as it seemed that the 1996 Final Peace Agreement (with MNLF) and the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (with MNLF) convened into one. Former warring members of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) have been united under the new Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA). As discussed, the BTA is the interim government of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM), which replaced the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. The 80-member governing body is tasked to pass crucial laws to operationalize the Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL) and exercise legislative and executive powers during BARMM's transition period.



ITEM NO. 42

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text	POLICING: According to Section A paragraph 4, Pending the establishment of the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA), the Panels shall create a mechanism to facilitate a consultative process between the Parties in the appointment, employment and deployment of the existing police force. Employment refers to the utilization of units or elements of the Philippine National Police (PNP) for purposes of protection of lives and properties, enforcement of laws, maintenance of peace and order, prevention of crimes, arrest of criminal offenders and bringing of offenders to justice, and ensuring public safety, particularly in the suppression of disorders, riots, lawlessness, violence, rebellious and seditious conspiracy, insurgency, subversion or other related activities. Deployment shall mean the orderly and organized physical movement of elements or units of the PNP within the province, city or municipality for purposes of employment as herein defined.
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	OPAPRU, August 16, 2022

Moreover, PUSAKA, INC. headed by Executive Director Farserina Mohammad noted that with the inclusion into the BTA of the children of Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) Chairman Nur Misuari, they are “more than healing and very much hopeful... When we see leaders (mostly the second generation) come together and start talking, it gives a different feeling of relief. It is essential for the BTA to succeed in crafting appropriate legislation and effective governance. It must be clear to communities what success means to their leaders or their representatives,” Mohammad said.



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Mindanao CSOs rally support behind the newly-appointed BTA



PASIG CITY — Following the oath-taking of the 80-member Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) last week, several civil society organizations (CSOs) in Mindanao threw their full support behind the interim Bangsamoro government.

According to Hashim Manticayan of the League of Bangsamoro Organizations (LBO), the event was “a [realization of the] quest for genuine peace in the Bangsamoro with the appointment of new BTA members” and a “wake-up call to all to choose the path of peace and unity.”

“By sustaining the MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front) at the helm of BTA leadership, putting a significant number of Misuari and Sema-jkiri factions in the BTA, reappointing previous non-MILF BTA members, and appointing new members from different sectors who are supportive of the peace process and Bangsamoro government, President [Ferdinand] Marcos Jr. is strongly sending the message to all to support the call for unity, peace, and development in the Bangsamoro and the entire country,” said Manticayan.

ITEM NO. 43

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text	Socio-Economic Development Program “According to Section G Paragraph 5 states that, The Parties recognize the need to attract multi-donor country support, assistance and pledges to the normalization process. For this purpose, a Trust Fund shall be established through which urgent support, recurrent and investment budget cost will be released with efficiency, transparency and accountability. The Parties agree to adopt criteria for eligible financing schemes, such as, priority areas of capacity building, institutional strengthening, impact programs to address imbalances in development and infrastructures, and economic facilitation for return to normal life affecting combatant and non-combatant elements of the MILF, indigenous peoples, women, children, and internally displaced persons.”
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	Bangsamoro, August 26, 2022

The 2014 Peace Agreement also highlighted the role of the youth in making the better, peaceful Bangsamoro. The provisions in the agreement even motivated various organization to conduct peace projects for the youth specially to reshape the minds of the young MILF and MNLF combatants. In Cotabato City, an estimated 200 young combatants from the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) take part in the Positive Peace Project (PPP) of the Bangsamoro Youth Commission (BYC). Launched during the International Youth Day (IYD) culmination activity on Aug. 24, PPP aims to “co-develop a flagship program centered on civic engagement, leadership, management, peace promotion, and entrepreneurship in aid of producing positive reintegration outcomes among identified vulnerable youth combatants of MILF and MNLF and young people widely exposed to violent conflict across the region.”



The screenshot shows the official website of the Republic of the Philippines, Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. The header includes the Bangsamoro logo and navigation links: BANGSAMORO, Officials, About Us, News, Issuances, Transparency, Resources, Contact Us, and a search bar. The main headline reads: "Young MILF, MNLF combatants to benefit from BYC's peace project". Below the headline is a photograph of a group of young people, likely the participants of the project, standing in front of a building. The text below the photo states: "COTABATO CITY-- At least 200 young combatants from the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) will benefit from the Positive Peace Project (PPP) of the Bangsamoro Youth Commission (BYC). Launched during the International Youth Day (IYD) culmination activity on Aug. 24, PPP aims to 'co-develop a flagship program centered on civic engagement, leadership, management, peace promotion, and entrepreneurship in aid of producing positive reintegration outcomes among identified vulnerable youth combatants of MILF and MNLF and young people widely exposed to violent conflict across the region.' During the launching, Rodolfo Matucan Jr., head of BYC Development Management Unit, said that 'many young people with violent pasts are left to their own devices to rebuild a new life', hence PPP is designed to help them build a meaningful transition. 'Positive Peace Project is designed with the ideals of creating an enabling platform that will assist our transitioning youth combatants to

ITEM NO. 44

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	ANNEX ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND MODALITIES
Specific Text	F. The Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) “According to Section F of the annex on transitional arrangements and modalities. The BTA shall have as its core function the preparation for the transition to the ministerial government in the Bangsamoro It shall exercise governance functions devolved to the Bangsamoro in accordance with the Basic Law, and shall set up the institutions and mechanisms necessary to establish the Bangsamoro ministerial government.”
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	MindaNews, September 12, 2022

The 1996 Final Peace Agreement is pending while the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro is paving its way towards normalization. With constant peace negotiations, the MNLF and MILF agreed to be under one Transition Authority wherein the latter is the officiating leader. The MILF Chair Murad serves as the as Chief Minister of the 80-member transition body. Among the 80 members, 41 are from the MILF, seven from the MNLF under Misuari and seven from another faction of MNLF under Muslimin Sema (MindaNews, 2022). The remaining 39 members, meanwhile are endorsed by the Government of the Philippines (GPH) (ABS-CBN News, 2022).



The screenshot shows the MindaNews website interface. At the top is a green header with the MindaNews logo and tagline "This is OUR Mindanao!". Below the header is a navigation bar with links: HOME, PEACE PROCESS, MINDAVIEWS, BUSINESS, GOVERNANCE, SPORTS, PICTURES, MARAWI CRISIS, BOOKS, and a search icon. The main headline reads "Nur – Murad meeting: “A great day for the Bangsamoro homeland”". Below the headline is the byline "By CAROLYN O. ARGUILLAS - SEPTEMBER 12, 2022 12:06 AM". Under the byline is a row of social media sharing icons for Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Reddit, Telegram, WhatsApp, and Email. The article text begins with "DAVAO CITY (MindaNews / 11 September) – “This is a great day, a great day for the Bangsamoro homeland,” the 83-year-old Nur Misuari, chair of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) said of his meeting with Bangsamoro Chief Minister Ahod “Al Haj Murad” Ebrahim, chair of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front whom he".

ITEM NO. 45

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	ANNEX ON TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND MODALITIES
Specific Text	The Transition Commission (TC) 5.The TC shall cease to exist upon the enactment of the Bangsamoro Basic Law.
Status of Implementation	Implemented and extended
Publisher/Date of Article	MindaNews, September 3, 2022

When the transition government leaves office on June 30, 2025, it is anticipated that the Bangsamoro region will have a fully operational government that is distinct from all other regions in the nation due to its autonomy and parliamentary system under a presidential form of government. This regional government was created as a result of the Bangsamoro people's struggles for self-determination on the battlefield and at peace negotiations.



ITEM NO. 46

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text	“According to Section G paragraph 1, States that, As part of the normalization process, the Parties agree to intensify. development efforts for rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the Bangsamoro, and institute programs to address the needs of BIAF members, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and poverty-stricken communities.
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	OPAPRU, October 25, 2022

“Because the peace and order situation is improving in BARMM (Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao), economic activities have already increased... because of the fruits of our labor, both from the national government and the MILF,” OPAPRU Executive Director Wilben Mayor stated. Also, it was noted that the quality of life in the Bangsamoro Region ‘continues to improve, as evidenced by the region’s poverty incidence declining by a significant double-digit rate – from 52.6% in 2018 to 29.8% in 2021, based on data from the Philippine Statistics Authority (2021).



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Milestones under normalization track, ‘fruits of labor’ of GPH and MILF — OPAPRU



DAVAO CITY (25 October 2022) — The Office of the Presidential Adviser on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity (OPAPRU) emphasized that the shared responsibility of the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front has been the key in ensuring the successful implementation of the normalization track under the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (CAB).

In a panel session with journalists and storytellers on Tuesday, OPAPRU Executive Director Atty. Wilben M. Mayor said the interventions being carried out through the Normalization Program, especially those under its socioeconomic component, is the result of the strong collaboration between the government and the MILF.

Boost in BARMM's economic activities

“Because the peace and order situation is improving in BARMM (Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao), economic activities have already increased. Ito’yung mga magagandang nakikita natin because of the fruits of our labor, both from the national government and the MILF,” Mayor said.

He noted that the Bangsamoro people’s quality of life continues to improve, as evidenced by the region’s poverty incidence declining by a significant double-digit rate — from 52.6% in 2018 to 29.8% in 2021, based

ITEM NO. 47

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		On The Bangsamoro Waters And Zones Of Joint Cooperation Addendum To The Annex On Revenue Generation And Wealth Sharing And The Annex On Power Sharing
Specific Text		“According to the Paragraph 9 of the Bangsamoro waters and zones of joint cooperation addendum to the annex on revenue generation and wealth sharing and the annex on power sharing. The Bangsamoro people, other indigenous peoples in the adjoining provinces, and the resident fishers in the Bangsamoro shall have preferential rights over fishery, aquamarine, and other living resources in the Zones of Joint Cooperation.”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	Mongabay, October 28, 2022

In fact, the control of natural resources, particularly land but also mining, forestry, oil, gas, and fishing resources, is at the heart of the conflict in Mindanao. Finding a compromise that upholds both the Regalian Doctrine and the Moro people's right to self-determination is ultimately the biggest issue. From this concern, the 2014 Peace Agreement constituted the last annex which is Addendum on the Bangsamoro Waters and Zones of Joint Cooperation signed on 25 January 2014 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.



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Philippine wetland oil riches untouched by war now up for grabs in peacetime

by Bong S. Sarmiento on 28 October 2021



COTABATO CITY, Philippines — Martin Pineda describes Liguasan Marsh on the southern Philippine island of Mindanao as a no-man's land that “strongly reeks with gas.”

Pineda is a member of Birders without Borders, and was part of a team of bird experts invited by the Philippine military to join a 2019 tour of the marsh. The team maneuvered their way deep into the marsh on motorboats, closely guarded by some 100 soldiers in full battle gear. At other points along the periphery of the wetland, the security presence was even more pronounced, with police officers deployed to form

ITEM NO. 48

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Specific Text		“According to Paragraph 6 and 7 it states that, Supplementary to the CAB are the various agreements, guidelines, terms of /reference, and joint statements duly signed and acknowledged by the Parties in the course of the negotiations between the two Parties beginning in 1997. The Parties commit to honor, respect, and implement all these past agreements and supplementary documents signed by them and as further elaborated in the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro and its Annexes.”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>Deutsche Welle, November 10, 2022</i>

The problem threatens what the MILF and the Philippine government signed the 2014 CAB, a peace deal in 2014 where the rebel group agreed to undergo disarmament and give up its goal for secession in exchange for the establishment of a new autonomous region. The Bangsamoro Region was established in 2019, with its transition government headed by MILF officials. The clash is seen as detrimental to the 2014 deal and the overall peace process.



The image is a screenshot of a news article from Deutsche Welle (DW). The header shows the DW logo and the tagline 'Made for minds.' followed by navigation links: 'IN FOCUS', 'Russia's war in Ukraine', and 'LGBTQ rights'. On the right, there are links for 'Latest videos', 'Latest audio', and 'Live TV'. The main headline is 'Philippines military clashes with Muslim rebels in south' under the category 'CONFLICTS | PHILIPPINES'. The date is '11/10/2022'. The sub-headline reads: 'New fighting between Muslim rebels and government forces threatens to reignite a decades long conflict. Both sides have said they want to maintain peace.' Below this are social media sharing icons for Facebook, Twitter, and a generic share icon. The article text states: 'Clashes between Philippine troops and Muslim rebels in a southern village killed at least three government soldiers and four fighters with a Muslim separatist group, both parties reported on Thursday. The rebels belonged to the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), one of the largest Muslim separatist groups in the southern Philippines. In a 2014 peace pact, the group said it would disarm and abandon plans for cessation in exchange for concessions. The Philippines military said the skirmish was the result of a "miscommunication" with MILF rebels.'

ITEM NO. 49

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		“According to Sub-section B2 paragraph a & b. The JPSC shall be under the JNC. it shall have the following functions: a. Coordinate with the two Parties' command structures on security arrangements relevant to its functions; b. Develop policies and operational guidelines for the effective partnership of the JPSTS; and”
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>ABS-CBN News, November 10, 2022</i>

By November 9, the military believes that they had 100 combatants on their side, purportedly including from "lawless groups," thanks to MILF reinforcements. Shooting stopped on that day, but it started up again on November 10 in the morning. On November 10, 2022, at 4:00 pm, a cease-fire agreement was signed between the Philippine government and the MILF. The Philippine government was represented by the Office of the Presidential Advisor on Peace, Reconciliation and Unity.



The image is a screenshot of a news article from ABS-CBN News. The header is red with the ABS-CBN NEWS logo and navigation links. The article title is 'MILF, gov't declare ceasefire in Basilan'. Below the title, it says 'ABS-CBN News' and 'Posted at Nov 10 2022 04:07 PM | Updated as of Nov 10 2022 07:39 PM'. The main text starts with '(UPDATED) A ceasefire has been declared between the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and government forces in Ungkaya Pukan, Basilan after the Joint Coordinating Committees on the Cessation of Hostilities (CCCH) visited the Province Thursday.' It then mentions 'B/Gen. Arturo Rojas, commander of the Western Mindanao Command, confirmed that guns were silenced with the intervention of the GPH-MILF CCCH.' and 'Both parties have been at each other's throats since Tuesday.' The article ends with 'Reports from military's Wesmincom place the fatality count to three on the government side and 15 wounded.' and a partially visible line 'The military claims the MILF offered for negotiation although this has not to be confirmed'.

ITEM NO. 50

Agreement		2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain		ANNEX ON NORMALIZATION
Specific Text		Section B paragraph 4, The International Monitoring Team (MT), the GPH and MILF Coordinating Committees on the Cessation of Hostilities (CCCHs) and Ad Hoc Joint Action Groups (AHJAGs), including the ceasefire Local Monitoring Teams and the AHJAG Team Sites, will continue to perform their functions. The Parties agree to undertake periodic review of these mechanisms to determine their transition into other appropriate mechanisms in the normalization process.
Status Implementation	of	Implemented
Publisher/Date Article	of	<i>MindaNews, November 11, 2022</i>

The clashes cost the Philippine military three soldiers' lives and injured at least 15 others. Three soldiers from the 18th Infantry Battalion were all killed in action while seven MILF insurgents died. The incident was described as "unfortunate" by Mohagher Iqbal, the MILF's chair for peace implementation, who also reaffirmed his side's commitment to carrying out the 2014 peace agreement.



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Gov't, MILF forge Basilan truce

By **BONG S. SARMIENTO** - NOVEMBER 11, 2022 10:19 AM



Ungkaya Pukan, Basilan. Map courtesy of Google

(MindaNews / 11 Nov) — The Philippine government (GPH) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) forged a ceasefire Thursday afternoon in a bid to end the hostilities that flared up in Ungkaya Pukan, Basilan on Tuesday that reportedly killed three soldiers and four MILF members.

The ceasefire agreement contains four consensus points:

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At least 12 dead after ship burns off Basilan

ITEM NO. 51

Agreement	2014 COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Theme/Domain	FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT ON THE BANGSAMORO
Specific Text	II. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BANGSAMORO The government of the Bangsamoro shall have a ministerial form. The Parties agree to entrench an electoral system suitable to a ministerial form of government. The electoral system shall allow democratic participation, ensure accountability of public officers primarily to the constituents and encourage formation of genuinely principled political parties. The electoral system shall be contained in the Bangsamoro Basic Law to be implemented through legislation enacted by the Bangsamoro Government and correlated with national laws.
Status of Implementation	Implemented
Publisher/Date of Article	Bangsamoro, March 10, 2023

AN ACT PROVIDING FOR THE BANGSAMORO ELECTORAL CODE OF THE BANGSAMORO AUTONOMOUS REGION IN MUSLIM MINDANAO Be it enacted by the Bangsamoro Transition Authority in Parliament assembled.

“According to the Bangsamoro Electoral Code of 2023, section 2 it states that, Pursuant to the Bangsamoro’s right to self-governance to freely pursue its political, economic, social, and cultural development, the Bangsamoro Government hereby promulgates this Code to prescribe the structural, functional, and procedural principles in the conduct of elections, plebiscites, initiatives, referenda, recall proceedings and encourage the formation of genuinely principled political parties in the Bangsamoro Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (BARMM).”

Looking forward, the BTA has yet to come up with and pass priority measures which include the Electoral Code which has just passed last March 8, 2023, the Bangsamoro Local Government Code, Revenue Code and Indigenous Peoples' Code. The Electoral Code sets the guidelines and procedures for the conduct of Parliamentary elections in the BARMM alongside the national elections and ensures the protection of the people’s right to suffrage and the integrity of the electoral process (Bangsamoro, 2023).

BANGSAMORO
AUTONOMOUS REGION IN MUSLIM MINDANAO

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CM Ebrahim: Enactment of Bangsamoro Electoral Code brings hope for fair, inclusive elections

COTABATO CITY—This week, the nation has witnessed yet another historic event in the Bangsamoro’s pursuit of self-governance, that is the enactment of an electoral code that will pave the way for fair and transparent elections in the