The Role of UNSCR 1325 in Peace Negotiations and Reconstruction Processes: How Have Women Benefitted from the Resolution in the Mindanao Peace Process?

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Note: This text was submitted as an Independent Geographical Study as a part of a B.A. in Geography at King’s College London. This is an independent publication and does not necessarily represent the views of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders.

Figure 1: Muslim women praying in Manila for peace in Mindanao (Tongo, 2015)

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I. ABSTRACT

Peace negotiations have historically suffered from a lack of gender awareness, with peacekeeping structures overlooking not only the inclusion of women but also their post-conflict needs. This study uses The Philippines to assess the effects of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and female participation in peace negotiations. Through qualitative methods of research, I postulate that the Mindanao Peace Process in the Philippines breaks the trend of lacking gender awareness and conclude that this is due to national attitudes rather than international policies.
II. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders for all their help in this Independent Geographical Study. I also thank all the participants for their insight and willingness to have incredibly long conversations to give me all the information I need. Thank you to Cathy McIlwaine for replying to my multiple panicked emails with invaluable advice, and to my parents for their patience whilst proof-reading.
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<td>BOL</td>
<td>Bangsamoro Organic Law</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>GPH</td>
<td>Government of the Philippines</td>
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<tr>
<td>MILF</td>
<td>Moro Islamic Liberation Front</td>
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<td>MNLF</td>
<td>Moro National Liberation Front</td>
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<td>MPP</td>
<td>Mindanao Peace Process</td>
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<td>NAP</td>
<td>National Action Plan</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>United National Security Council Resolution</td>
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<td>WPS</td>
<td>Women, Peace and Security</td>
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1. INTRODUCTION

In the past, peace negotiations have suffered from a lack of gender awareness, with peacekeeping structures overlooking not only the inclusion of women but also their post-conflict needs (Barrow, 2010). The adoption of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) resulted in gender mainstreaming being officially acknowledged in the UN security council, which is often seen as “the very heart of masculine power” (Willet, 2010, p149). However, UN legislative action often lacks meaningful implementation, and gendered peacekeeping continues to fall victim to larger power struggles that prioritise normative practices that privilege patriarchies. In 2010, ten years after UNSCR 1325’s adoption, only 1.2 percent of signatories of peace agreements were women (Willet, 2010). Although the rates of participation of women in peace processes continue to be low, the Philippines has proven to be a major outlier, evident when considering the role of women in the Mindanao Peace Process (MPP), and this is used as the case study in this thesis (O’Reilly et al, 2015).

On the 31st of October 2000, the UN Security Council unanimously passed UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), securing the call for women’s increased participation in conflict prevention and resolution initiatives, as well as protection during conflict (Pratt and Richter-Devroe, 2011). The incorporation of gender mainstreaming in conflict is likely to promote gender-equitable behaviour. Due to the Philippines launching two UNSCR 1325 National Action Plans (NAP) first in 2008 and again in 2017, it stands to reason that there was already an emphasis placed on women in armed conflict and their contributions to peacebuilding, in line with the pillar of UNSCR 1325 calling for the participation of women in resolution initiatives (Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, 2017). A significant body of research has analysed the importance of women in peacebuilding, as well as on the peace negotiations in the Philippines (Porter, 2003; De La Rey and McKay, 2006; Schiavo-Campo and Judd, 2005; Baquiano, 2018). However, the extent to which legislation such as UNSCR 1325 has led to increased women’s contribution has not been assessed in detail. Although some correlations seem apparent, more research into why the MPP had abnormally high female participation needs to be conducted, as current research is not detailed enough. Furthermore, insufficient research has been done on the role of the resolution in the Mindanao
conflict, from the peace negotiations to the impact of UNSCR 1325 on those inhabiting the conflict-affected zone. Larger ramifications of this study would be in understanding whether UNSCR 1325’s aim of increased female participation is successful in adopting a gender perspective in major conflicts or peace negotiations.

The intention of this research is to understand whether UNSCR 1325 has contributed to the participation of women in the peace negotiations in the Philippines, or whether their participation was based on other factors. This dissertation employs a similar qualitative methodological approach as the aforementioned research studies. This is conducted whilst focussing on a specific context, namely the Philippines, which requires more academic research using the perspective of UNSCR 1325. In Section Two, the background and case study will be underline, and will expand on the conflict in Mindanao, Philippines. Section Three will provide an overview of existing bodies of work on WPS, peacebuilding and UNSCR 1325. Subsequently, the methodologies used in this dissertation will be outlined in Section Three. This will lead to the analysis section Four, which will present the findings whilst identifying limitations and shortfalls within the research. This will allow for understandings of further research possibilities on this topic. Section Five presents the conclusions of this study with Section Six providing recommendations for further research.

The study attempts to answer the thesis question by researching the following questions:

1. What is the role of UNSCR 1325 in the MPP and the Philippines in general?
2. Why is there such a high level of female participation in the MPP, and what has this meant for the discussion of gender in the peace negotiations?
3. How have NGOs aided in the UNSCR 1325 localisation agenda on the ground, with what effects?
1.1 The Philippines Case Study

Located in Southeast Asia, the Philippines is an archipelagic country comprising of over 7000 islands, as shown in Figure 2, with the second largest island of Mindanao being the focus of this dissertation. The Philippines is one of the only countries in Asia with a majority Christian population, due to Spanish colonisation spanning over three centuries. However, Islam predated this, with estimates of its presence in the Philippines before the sixteenth century (Brown, 2011). Herbolzheimer (2015) notes a historical occurrence with long-lasting consequences: Spain was never fully in control of Muslim-majority Mindanao, allowing for the population there to remain Muslim. After a relatively peaceful independence process in 1946 and a peaceful overthrowing of Ferdinand Marcos’ dictatorship in 1986, it appears that non-violent means for change is ingrained within the population of the Philippines.

Although the Philippines has an 80 percent Christian majority, Muslims form the largest minority group at seven percent of the population and are mainly based in Mindanao. As noted by Hilsdon (2009), “Islam in the Philippines is diverse in its social and cultural expression” and customary laws that guide the behaviours of both men and women are interpreted differently (p350). He also discusses how Christianity should not be categorised as solely undermining female empowerment, despite the unification of church and state influencing issues such as reproductive rights (Ruiz Austria, 2004). During the Spanish rule, patriarchal structures were put in place that hindered women. The pre-colonial period brought better social standing for women who could rule as chiefs and hold property rights. Feliciano (1994) therefore argues that despite laws in place that suggest otherwise, the Philippines continues to maintain a legacy of female empowerment which has not been fully lost.
1.2 The Moro Islamic Liberation Front, the Government of the Philippines and the Mindanao Peace Process.

The MPP is one peace negotiation resulting from over forty years of internal conflict with Muslim separatists, clan militias, criminal groups and communists, all of whom strived for the independence of the island of Mindanao from the Government of the Philippines (GPH) (Peace Direct, ND). This desire for Mindanao independence dates to colonial times when the Muslim population (Moros) of Mindanao faced persistent discrimination and harassment. Subsequently, during the U.S. colonial administration in 1898, land entitlements that favoured Christian settlers in Mindanao were established (BBC Contributors, 2012; Santos, 2005; Santiago, 2015). Ongoing discrimination continued, with 1968 bringing an alleged massacre in Manila of Moro army recruits. This led to the establishment of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF); the beginning of the armed struggle for independence of Mindanao.
Although the MNLF reached a peace agreement with GPH in 1996, Salamat Hashim split from the MNLF to create a breakaway faction called the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) due to his discontent with the reached resolution. Currently, MILF is the largest Muslim rebel group in the Philippines and will be the focus of this dissertation.

Peace negotiations for Mindanao have been occurring between the government and MILF since 1996, with a peace deal being signed in 2014 under Chief Negotiator Miriam Coronel-Ferrer. The MILF wanted a larger, more functional region for independent rule than the currently appointed Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao, while GPH wanted to avoid Mindanao gaining full independence. This historic accord led to MILF settling for the right to self-rule. However, a Bangsamoro Organic Law (BOL), which allows further autonomy of the Moro people was only signed and ratified in July 2018, due to the earlier autonomous zone benefitting only a small number of Muslim families (Villamor, 2018). On January 21st, 2019, a Bangsamoro Plebiscite in which those who would live in the autonomous region voted in favour of the BOL, with the hope of more powers, broader autonomy and resources, as well as a larger territory (Tomacruz, 2019). What with this signing being so recent, there is currently no method of measuring the success of the law, but UN Women anticipate increased parliamentary and cabinet participation for women, as is required in the BOL.

1.3 The Role of Women in the Mindanao Peace Process

It is evident that peacebuilding in the Philippines is essential: besides the Mindanao conflict, there have been four other major conflicts since independence (Judd and Schiavo-Campo, 2005). A key factor of the negotiation process for the MPP was the role of women; in fact, the MPP was the first time a woman was a signatory to a major peace agreement. Besides Coronel-Ferrer (Santiago, 2015), there were two other female negotiators on the GPH side. Women also worked in the legal team, and during the drafting of the BOL, the MILF had one female representative, leading to women making up 50 percent of the GPH’s negotiating team and 25 percent of signatories (Santiago, 2015). Research suggests that women in the Philippines specifically are often engaged with peacebuilding in their everyday lives, though they remain nameless and faceless (Cabrera-Balleza and Dionisio, 2008; Peacewomen contributors, 2009). This suggests that women have been involved in the “reconstruction [of] societal infrastructures
and action-based approaches to peacemaking and peacebuilding; actively promoting “equality and social justice, improved relationships, and meeting of basic needs” (De La Ray and McKay, 2006, p143). Initially, women were mainly involved in what is referred to as ‘Track 2’ peacebuilding, a mainly informal and backdoor processes around the central negotiation. Initiatives including advocacy and awareness raising are categorised as ‘Track 3’, which focuses on peacebuilding at the grassroots level. However, in recent years, as exemplified by Coronel-Ferrer’s inclusion as Chief Negotiator, women have had more representation in formal national peace processes. Although their level of representation is incredibly unequal to their male counterparts (only three of the twelve signatories are women), it is still a positive change in gender inclusion as most past negotiations were exclusively completed by men (Santiago, 2015).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Gender and Peace Negotiations

Why is the participation of women in the Philippines’ peace negotiations so important? Barrow (2010) discusses how armed conflict must be understood from a gendered perspective, with current international laws and policies often reflecting stereotyped gender roles. Armed conflict is usually conducted by male combatants while women and children tend to be more affected (Klot, 2007; Sider and Sissons, 2016). Rape is used as a weapon of war in many conflicts, an example of how experiences of war can be gender-specific. Yet ironically, peacebuilding has traditionally been undertaken by men. Barrow (2010) posits that armed conflict must be understood from a gendered perspective and women must be part of peacemaking. Observations such as this have led to the recognition of gender in peace and security building initiatives being demanded by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society actors (CSOs) (Cockburn, 2013). Encompassed in the call for women to be recognised in peace and security includes the necessity of women’s participation in peacebuilding.

Evidently, with peacebuilding usually being undertaken solely by men, the majority of the affected victims’ voices were not represented. Gizelis (2011) notes that conflict most impacts
civilians at a local level, indicating peacebuilding having the biggest impact at this scale. Women and children are often kept in their locality and are mainly responsible for localised household work. This gives women great potential should peacebuilding be encouraged at the local level, potentially generating female participation in local politics and advocacy against not only conflict inflicted violence but also to focus on issues which are arguably the most prominent for women that have the potential to be overlooked or underappreciated. (Leonardsson and Rudd, 2015; Colombini, 2002).

Alaga (2010) furthers the discussion of women in peacebuilding by analysing how “women bring an alternative, gendered view to peacebuilding that leads to transformation at both structural and practical levels”, supporting other studies that find the participation of women has led to a more comprehensive peacebuilding process (McKay and Mazurana, 2007; De La Rey and McKay, 2006) (p2). For example, in Somalia, when women were involved in peacekeeping talks, the issues focused on differed greatly and had a more long-term impact at a localised level. Kumalo (2015) states that “while the men focused on political power and settlement, women focused on sustainable livelihoods, education, truth and reconciliation” (p1). Similarly, in Liberia, issues that disproportionately affect women in conflict such as sexual violence were mainly addressed and discussed by female-led grassroots organisations, since these problems usually occur on the local level and will not be solved solely by policy implementation (Gizelis, 2011). Because peacebuilding is not only conducted through formal dialogues but is also dependent on NGOs, CSOs and informal talks, the involvement of women at all levels is key for a more holistic and long-lasting approach.

It is important for there to be a balanced and unbiased dialogue regarding the incorporation of women peacebuilding roles, which avoids filling stereotypical assumptions that have the potential to have negative consequences for gender advancement. The rhetoric of many international organisations alludes to women being more peaceful than men or having better peacebuilding skills. Charlesworth (2008) goes as far as to say the idea of women as more peaceable is becoming “orthodoxy in international institutions” (p349). This provides a deterministic account of human nature which cites all women as being inherently peace-loving and men as war-mongering (Coppini, 2002). Organisations need to prioritise improvements in
emphasising the need for women in peacebuilding and for the purpose of gender equality and female representation.

2.2 UNSCR 1325 and Local Implementation

Women’s involvement in peacebuilding was not acknowledged as necessary before the 1990s. However, by this time, it was becoming clearer that whilst the nature of war was changing, civilian casualties were simultaneously increasing rapidly, and longer-term recovery was slow. Traditional approaches of protection using armed security with weapons and armed forces were becoming redundant, with these aspects not helping to protect civilian insecurities (Cockburn, 2013). As the need for gender-specific security and peace in conflict zones grew, the problems with excluding women in security talks in international institutions became more apparent. This has resulted in several human rights NGOs working to bring women into the security conversation (Enloe, 2017).

As a result of the effort of these NGOs, women were officially acknowledged in the Security Council through the implementation of UNSCR 1325. This resolution broke new ground by being the first resolution recognising women not only as being inordinately affected by conflict, but also as essential in peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction (Oudraat, 2013). The aim of the resolution was to ensure “democratic inclusiveness” through representation and because children and women suffer disproportionately, there was a need to ensure the inclusion of women in peace processes (Klot, 2007). This led to the adoption of the four pillars of UNSCR 1325; prevention, participation, protection and recovery, whose aim is the inclusion of all actors in society (Oudraat, 2013). The adoption of UNSCR 1325 was the beginning of advancing the WPS agenda, in which women were not only seen as victims of conflict but also as key players in prevention.

Although in spirit UNSCR 1325 aimed at women’s representation, there are points of concern not only with the resolution itself but with its implementation:

i. UNSCR 1325 is considered a ‘soft’ law instrument; there is little recourse should a country choose not to implement it (Barrow, 2009).
ii. UNSCR 1325 tends to have a limited impact due to this lack of political pressure; there is no method of holding people accountable and a lack of monitoring and report mechanisms.

When comparing UNSCR 1325 to other ‘hard’ laws, the language itself makes it less upholdable. For instance, UNSCR 1372 on counter-terrorism uses more direct terminology with words such as ‘decides’, ‘directs’ and ‘declares.’ In contrast, UNSCR 1325’s language uses terms such as ‘expresses’, ‘requests’ and ‘emphasises’. This indicates why it is regarded by most nations as an optional resolution, resulting in implementation issues globally (Swaine, 2009).

When UNSCR 1325 is implemented within a country, the most prevalent way of doing so is by the national government incorporating a National Action Plan (NAP), as enactment is not the responsibility of the UN. The general consensus is that NAPs tailored to individual contexts allow for successful country integration. The purpose of the NAP is to support currently existing national guidelines and policies whilst highlighting the necessity of gender mainstreaming by incorporating UNSCR 1325 (Swaine, 2009).

However, NAPs have drawn criticism as they tend to remain high-level and often do not result in local ownership. The first NAP developed in a conflict-affected area was by Cote d’Ivoire in 2007. By assessing the effectiveness of this NAP as well as Uganda’s (2008) and Liberia’s (2009) Swaine (2009) argues that NAPs are often seen as the final step of UNSCR 1325 in conflict zones and not as a way to begin gender mainstreaming. Basini and Ryan (2016) also assess how NAPs can be problematic, as it encourages knowledge predominantly on the national level. By analysing Sierra Leone and Liberia, the authors realised that NAPs can be ineffective at creating meaningful local ownership, and instead forces peacebuilding to be approached in a bureaucratic manner. Work remains on understanding how to make UNSCR 1325 easier to access at the grassroots level.

The implementation of UNSCR 1325 is also analysed by Hill et al. (2003) focusing on the efforts of NGOs. Through public meetings and outreach work, awareness regarding the resolution was raised, putting pressure on governments to acknowledge and implement UNSCR 1325. For example, the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) printed 20,000
copies of the resolution to distribute, and International Alert collected 100,000 signatures in support of the protection and participation of women in decision making. This highlights that not only were NGOs originally responsible for WPS entering the security council, but their continued efforts have ensured the involvement of UNSCR 1325, yet again highlighting the need for this to be a grassroots on-the-ground effort.

Although UNSCR 1325 is mainly responsible for a positive shift in language used in the Security Council regarding WPS, it could be argued that this particular resolution may portray women as the victims. Shepherd (2011) analyses how UNSCR 1325 assumes gender to be associated with biological sex, which in turn reproduces identity as women being “fragile, passive and in need of protection” (p506). Therefore, it is important to address the ‘sister’ resolutions; including but not limited to UNSCR 1820 (2008), UNSCR 1888 (2009) and UNSCR 1889 (2009) (Swaine, 2009). As an example, UNSCR 1888 notes “with concern the underrepresentation of women in formal peace processes […] and the lack of women as Chief or Lead peace mediators” (Shepherd, 2011, p506). In addition, the sister resolutions aim to address gaps that were found in the original resolution 1325. For instance, UNSCR 1820 focuses mainly on the violation of the human body, covering any potential gaps in UNSCR 1325 surrounding the positionality of the UN on rape and sexual violence as a tool of war. Because of UNSCR 1820, it is understood that these crimes are considered war crimes (Shepherd, 2011). As of today, there are nine UNSCRs on WPS, covering the four pillars outlined in UNSCR 1325 and adding to combating sexual exploitation and abuse in UN peacekeeping operations. Although criticisms within all the resolutions have been identified by academics and women’s rights activists, it is felt that these additional resolutions will help to increased attention and coverage of the women, peace and security agenda (Swaine, 2009). In fact, these more recent resolutions transform the language towards women from that of a victim to agents of change and positive actors. This development would not have been possible without the establishment of UNSCR 1325 (Pratt and Richter-Devroe, 2011).

References to women in peace agreements have quantitatively increased post-UNSCR 1325, and Bell and O’Rourke 2010 indicate that this inclusion of women could be accredited to this resolution. Therefore, integrating a gendered approach to peace-building in conflict areas by
international organisations, especially the Security Council, can result in effective change worldwide (Basu, 2017).

However, is this recognition on the international level enough? Most of the WPS resolutions outline the necessity for financial, technical, human and logistical resources to be allocated for successful implementation. However, the lack of inclusion of specialists such as gender advisors as well as resource scarcity when it comes to enforcing the resolution has meant that these necessities have not always been realised (Olsson and Gizelis, 2013). This implies somewhat of a disconnect between the international organisations and the beneficiaries of the resolutions; are bodies such as the UN attempting to implement resource-heavy resolutions in resource-lacking countries? More importantly, there is a major lack of monitoring and evaluating the impacts of UNSCR 1325; it covers so many pillars, but there has been little feedback on how to assess the extent of its success. As evaluated by Black (2009), there is the absence of systematic implementation and monitoring mechanisms. Of course, there are individual reports being generated, but this is not a universal system under the UN. Comparisons would be unreliable, as different monitoring and evaluation processes are used with each country-specific report. NAPs’ effectiveness varies depending on the differing environments in each context. For instance, Pratt and Richter-Devroe (2011) assess how UNSCR 1325 is not effective in Palestine, due to a general mistrust of the United Nations. This is not comparable to Iraq, where it has helped promote women to frame demands for the successful implementation of a 25% quota in parliament. This shows that despite there being studies surrounding whether UNSCR 1325 is successful, there is a significant gap in how data and analyses are categorised post-implementation.

Although UNSCR 1325 has been encouraged mainly by NGOs and CSOs, there still seems to be a gap in understanding between international and grassroots level organisations. There are common misinterpretations between what the resolution intends and what women groups use it for. Data has suggested that people view UNSCR 1325 as a tool mainly for women in conflict areas, and not as a broader framework that should be used to integrate women into politics in general. There is also a lack of understanding surrounding the idea of UNSCR 1325 being used in peaceful settings; conflict prevention is often neglected, suggesting little awareness regarding what the resolution is actually outlining (Barrow, 2009). Maina (2011) assesses how very few
women, especially at the grassroots level, have knowledge of the resolution’s existence or how it is beneficial for them. In the instance of Uganda’s post-conflict struggle, there is not enough ground-level education; UNSCR 1325 has only reached governmental organisations. Therefore, the resolution has become somewhat elitist in its implementations, seemingly having little effect at the grassroots level where the resolution is meant to have the most impact.

An interesting point to note is that although UNSCR 1325 may not always be used correctly at the grassroots level, most of the reports of grassroots effectiveness are done by NGOs and CSOs. There is a significant gap in academic literature surrounding the actual national outcomes of UNSCR 1325. Most literature is based on analysing the content of the resolution, the most effective measure of implementation or assessing the NAP. Actual case studies of successes and failures are lacking in academic research (Bjorkdahl and Selimovic, 2015; George and Shephers, 2016; Puechguirbal, 2010; Samnes and Osland, 2016). Perhaps this is because NGOs are the primary implementers of the resolution and are actually on the ground to see the impact. This is somewhat problematic, as NGOs have the incentive of funding to try and create a positive view of UNSCR 1325’s implementation progress in specific countries, as well as a lack of peer reviews (Zaidi, 1999). Consequently, it is important to monitor the motivations of NGOs and that more research is conducted which shifts from analysing the actual content of UNSCR 1325 to researching the continued effectiveness in different country contexts. Because conflict zones are ever-shifting, the situations in each country and the way in which UNSCR 1325 is used is similarly changing, but there is currently no analysis of this and no way of knowing when and how UNSCR 1325 is most effective from country to country. It is obvious yet again that while there is a macro level recognition of UNCSR 1325, more work is needed on the micro level for this resolution to be truly successful (Barrow, 2016).

3. METHODOLOGY

Three methods were used in order to collect results:

i. Semi-structured interviews
ii. Participant observation
iii. Primary and secondary data analysis.
3.1 Semi-Structured interviews

The majority of academia surrounding women in peacebuilding tends to be qualitative due to the sensitivities involved, as peacebuilding overlaps with conflict and violence (See De La Ray and McKay, 2006; Rienke, 2016; Moosa et al, 2013). Furthermore, contexts are incredibly specific to the conflict and peace processes within the country. Semi-structured interviews allow for these contexts to be explored. Barriball and While (1994) assess that not only do semi-structured interviews allow for sensitivities to be considered and clarifications to occur, but they also avoid the formality of a standardised interview which can be problematic due to varied professional histories of the sample group. This method can also accommodate a smaller sample size. More importantly, semi-structured interviews could lead to interviewees raising points that the interviewer may be unaware of (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). This is particularly relevant in this context, due to the interviewer not having direct experience of women peacebuilders in the Philippines. By choosing semi-structured interviews as the primary method of data collection, many answers were unexpected and became the forefront of this dissertation.

Seven in-depth interviews were conducted with participants with video conferencing app Skype, using the interview guide found in Appendix 3. Skype was the method of interview partly so that they could be in the comfort of their own home, encouraging them to share as much information as they felt comfortable with. An obvious limitation was that due to participants varying locations including some in remote areas, face-to-face interviews were not possible. On the other hand, when participants are interviewed in the presence of others, they may feel pressure to respond in a way that was not contrary to other participants’ opinions (Longhurst, 2003). The use of Skype allowed for participants to be in their own environments answer as genuinely as they could.

In my position as an intern (unpaid work experience-based position) at the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) based in New York City, I was permitted to contact the mailing list regarding participation in this dissertation project. Of all emailed, seven individuals were willing to be interviewed for approximately an hour. All participants gave consent to being recorded.
None of the seven individuals work for GNWP but all of them are involved in WPS and peacebuilding within the Philippines, either through the NAP or other implementation methods of UNCSR 1325, or the peace negotiations on the MILF or GPH side, or on-ground peace advocates. As such, albeit a small sample, this represented a very informed cohort. In order to ensure anonymity, interview participants are being referred to numerically in this study.
Table 1: Outline of participants’ involvement with peacebuilding in the Philippines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT NUMBER</th>
<th>ROLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Peace educator and advocate; co-convener of a civil society network responsible for UNSCR 1325 implementation; teaches peace education and was a key member in NAP formulation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Runs NGO with multiple international members; implements UNSCR 1325 in multiple countries (including the Philippines); a key member in NAP formulation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Peace process consultant; approaches the peace process from the side of the Bangsamoro.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Youth peace activist. Promotes peace at the grassroots level; provided a local perspective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Responsible for NAP implementation; senior member of GPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Peace negotiator for the MILF-GPH peace talks from GPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Indigenous community leader for the Bangsamoro; runs a grassroots women’s organisation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Participant Observation

By attending meetings regarding UNSCR 1325 execution in the Philippines, I was able to gain insight into what the most relevant parts of the resolution in the Philippine context were. Through observation techniques that I learned and used during my internship at GNWP, I was able to assess nonverbal expressions of feelings, and this was especially useful when trying to understand cultural nuances and which questions would be most relevant not only to the dissertation but to participants’ knowledge and expertise (Kawulich, 2005). These observations were used to help further develop some of the questions in the semi-structured interviews.
3.3 Data Analysis – Coding and Secondary Data

By transcribing the recorded interviews, data was coded. This was done in order to help find patterns within transcripts to help answer the dissertation questions. The presumption is that without coding or organising collected data by grouping words or phrases, it is difficult to immediately see similarities or differences (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). Data was coded around keywords or key phrases such as ‘increased participation’, ‘no impact’, and ‘attitudes’. This avoided assumptions or misinterpretations of participants’ answers.

Leveraging GNWP’s database, along with the help of participants, I was able to obtain relevant information pertinent to this research. Through reports of in-country work, secondary data regarding the success of UNSCR 1325 implementation through local workshops was assessed and compared to participants’ responses. Having a wider context and background information for the questions asked, I could compare the NGO reports to interviewees’ responses and note any inconsistencies or new findings. When assessing NGO reports, names will be anonymised to ensure ethical research and allow for unbiased analysis (Vainion, 2013).

3.4 Ethical Research, Power and Positionality

As with all research subjects that include the study of people, this dissertation took into consideration any ethical issues that may arise as a result of the research. This dissertation has followed the ethical guidelines provided by King’s College London, receiving ethical clearance and guaranteed informed consent. All participants were aware of their right to refuse participation and what their role in this study was going to be.

Hiemstra and Billo (2017) discuss that knowledge is partial with multiple, subjective truths. Therefore, it is important to address my positionality in this dissertation to see how data collection was approached. Because my personal knowledge was constructed through critical thinking about power relations from a gender perspective and only women were interviewed about the role of their gender, this dissertation was approached from a feminist epistemological viewpoint. A key component in this school of thought is understanding the “difference that gender makes to what we know and how we know it”, making it integral to how this dissertation is approached (McDowell, 1992, p 400).
My position as a female student interested in WPS meant that participants felt comfortable speaking openly about gender inequalities, allowing an overall level of trust between the interviewer and the participant.

3.5 Limitations

This dissertation used three methods of collection, each of which allowed for the most complete insight into the Mindanao peace agreement in the Philippines. Despite this, limitations to the actual methods must be highlighted in order to fully interpret data collected.

The participants were all familiar with the MPP and UNSCR 1325 in the Philippines and had worked at different levels with both, hence their willingness to participate. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that their experience with peacebuilding and UNSCR 1325 in the Philippines is not representative of all women in the Philippines as they are likely to have more experience about the two focus areas than other citizens.

Furthermore, although interviews were in depth, only seven were conducted which is not statistically significant and may not be representative of the general Philippine experience. It is also unrepresentative of certain populations such as men or children. However, as expressed by Longhurst (2003), the aim of this dissertation was not to produce a sample representative of the entire population, but to focus on individual experiences of women in order to answer the aims of this study. For more conclusive research, a broader sample of people should be interviewed. Due to financial constraints, I was also unable to interview participants in person. This would have allowed for more participant observation. The next best option of video conferencing was readily available and was convenient for participants, who were able to take part in the interview from the comfort of their own home.

4. ANALYSIS

As previously discussed, the specific impacts of UNSCR 1325 for peace negotiations and everyday contexts in the Philippines have remained unmeasured, with only assessments being
NGO reports claiming the successes of their programs. Using these reports along with the primary data and observation, this chapter contains three sections exploring the key objectives of this dissertation.

4.1 Global-Local Relationships Regarding UNSCR 1325

It is understood that the Philippine government intended for UNSCR 1325 to be integrated due to NAP formulation by governmental and non-governmental actors, with the assumption that state actors and NGOs would be responsible for UNSCR 1325 implementation in individual contexts (Aharoni, 2014). This was the first NAP launched and implemented in Asia (Veneracion-Rallonza, 2018). Interview participants highlighted the importance of amalgamating international resolutions within local contexts, with Participant 4 outlining that:

“Local level integration of peacebuilding resolutions allows people to be self-governing and self-determining, also allowing them to be guided by the principle of their religion.”

All participants shared a similar sentiment of local integration being key for successful peacebuilding. Collaboration between governmental and civil society actors needed to be organised in order to achieve a comprehensive NAP. Through six regional cluster consultations and two national validation workshops, key stakeholders were involved. Suggestions were integrated into the initial draft and a finalised NAP was released in March 2010. This NAP was put into action with the hope of transforming women from victims to agents of change locally and nationally (Peacewomen contributors, 2009). In 2017, the Philippines incorporated its second NAP for the period 2017-2022, which prioritises recommendations made in the 2015 Global study on UNSCR 1325, including but not limited to conflict prevention, participation and leadership of women. This second NAP’s main improvements lie in the fact that unlike the first NAP, women in this instance were very much referred to as leaders and agents in the peace process (Peacewomen contributors, 2017). Interview Participant 2 identified the NAP as the main way that the peace movement was revitalised, as it brought a new dimension to issues that NGOs and CSOs were already lobbying for, such as increased women’s participation on the local level. This differs from the Sierra Leone and Liberia contexts as analysed by Basini and
Ryan, in which the NAPs were too internationally focused and delivered in a way that did not allow for sufficient local ownership (2016).

Therefore, strong internal structures and governmental cooperation in the Philippines should be seen as a key factor in aiding in successful NAP implementation. It should be mentioned that interview Participant 2 is part of an NGO which localises UNSCR 1325 in different contexts, and therefore was able to analyse the importance of NAP existence from an international standpoint.

4.2 UNSCR 1325 on the Participation of Women in Conflict and the Role of Miriam Coronel-Ferrer

Not only did the NAP lead to UNSCR1325 integration in the Philippines, but it also had indirect consequences in the MILF-government peace negotiations. Interview Participant 1 emphasised the fact that Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, the head of the GPH negotiating panel, was one of the NAP drafters. Coronel-Ferrer was the first woman to sign a peace agreement, and despite facing backlash due to her gender, was eventually accepted by advisors on the peace process as well as the MILF (Santiago, 2015). Her appointment meant that “the pillars of Prevention, Protection, Empowerment and Participation have guided her throughout the negotiations” (Participant 1).

Participant 2 also added that Coronel-Ferrer “ensured women’s rights and gender equality were at the core of the negotiation” mainly because of her background in WPS. This meant that one of the key aims of the participation pillar in UNSCR 1325 was achieved; it did influence negotiations and led to women’s issues being a part of the discussion.

Participant 5 approached this from a different perspective. Because all the women who were involved with the peace negotiations were already familiar with notions WPS, Participant 5, who was involved in UNSCR 1325 implementation through the NAP, felt that “the women’s agenda in terms of representation and addressing other needs would have been included whether or not UNSCR 1325 was [implemented in the Philippines]”. Peace processes have been widespread in the Philippines since the 1980s, due to multiple conflicts. UNSCR 1325 was only ratified in 2000, so the need to include women in peace negotiations far precedes any UN resolutions. Filipino women “participated in the Beijing World Conference on Women (1995), and pushed for women in armed conflict as one of the major areas for concern” (participant 5).
This shows that UNSCR 1325 may not be the main reason women were included in peace negotiations. Four out of seven interview participants (participants 3, 5, 6, and 7) cited “tradition” or “the Filipino Way” as the main reason for women’s participation. Three interview participants (participants 2, 3 and 5) cited the fact that the Philippines has had two female presidents as evidence of this, with participant 3 saying voting behaviour is not affected by gender, as the “main determinant is the quality of the leader”. This supports Santiago’s argument of the appointment and participation of women in the Philippines being due to the enabling environment and cultural norms. There is no mention of UNSCR 1325 being a reason for participation (2015). This is supported by the legacy of female empowerment in the Philippines, which may explain the high female participation in the Mindanao Peace agreement.

In 2011, after the chairman of the MILF peace negotiation panel made clear that “there is no injunction in the Qur’an against women taking leadership positions”, Raissa Jajurie, a human rights lawyer, was appointed as a member of MILF’s ‘board of consultants’ (Santiago, 2015, p10). The main argument of opposition was the passages in the Qur’an that warn against women leading, but the chairman interpreted them as based more on inexperience rather than gender. Evidently, religion or cultural norms did not get in the way of the arguably more conservative side appointing a woman, which led to gender discussions being more openly approached on both sides of the negotiation. This was done without the lens of UNSCR 1325.

Interview participant 6 had a different outlook, claiming that women were elected into powerful positions such as the Presidency to keep the family in power. According to this participant, “structurally, men are dominant, but a woman can be selected to represent these men”. This is particularly interesting when considering that this participant was a peace negotiator for the GPH and is still part of GPH. This raises the notion that higher female representation does not necessarily mean more discussion of women’s issues, an idea confirmed by Participants 5 and 6 who felt that electing women presidents did not necessarily mean a higher profile for women’s rights. This contrasts with previous research done in Argentina and Chile, in which women’s participation in Government allowed for greater prioritisation of women’s issues, with data from other contexts supporting this (Franceschet, 2011; Vega and Firestone, 1995). Therefore, the meaningful participation of women in government must be prioritised.
Similarly, according to participant 2, Coronel-Ferrer was appointed because of her professional relationship with the former president and not because it would improve women's participation in peace negotiations. However as aforementioned, irrespective of why, the main points of UNSCR 1325 were broached, such as the right of women to meaningful political participation and expressing concerns that civilians, especially women and children, are the most adversely affected by armed conflict (Cockburn, 2013; Santiago, 2015). Perhaps this indicates that the decisions behind why women are appointed into official positions should not be the focus, but whether the women have WPS knowledge that will be brought into discussions. From this perspective, it appears that UNSCR 1325 may not the main reason for women's participation in peace negotiations, although it may have been a factor.

Perhaps this is the reason why, despite the NAP, GPH has not yet committed itself to fully implementing UNSCR 1325 locally and nationally (Cabrera-Balleza and Dionisio, 2008). A specific issue identified by participants at the national workshop relates to the need to identify a singular government agency to mandate and be held accountable for UNSCR 1325 implementation. A concern raised by participant 5 surrounded the fear that a lack of accountability from a central body means different implementation strategies. The most common way for UNSCR 1325 to be implemented on the ground is through NGO-led workshops, however, the content of said workshops has the potential to vary, which could confuse locals. This interviewee raised this as something to avoid in the future.

4.3 The Role of NGOs in the Implementation of UNSCR 1325

There is currently limited research assessing the effect of UNSCR 1325 on peace negotiations in the Philippines. Despite CSO and NGO mentions of emphasising UNSCR 1325 during the peace negotiations, there is little knowledge as to whether UNSCR 1325 led to the inclusion of women (formally and informally) in the peace process, or whether any of the outcomes were a direct result of the resolution. In the Philippine context, the majority of literature surrounding UNSCR 1325 is based on the first NAP, with the last civil society monitoring report occurring in 2011 and no more recent context-specific studies. Therefore, despite the Philippine conflict constantly developing and changing, little investigation into the effects of UNSCR 1325 on the process has been done. Participant 5 suggests a point applicable to understanding the changing
nature of this research; the context is evolving every day. This participant continues “to hope that this current administration, as well as all administrations in the future, will work to unpack what [UNSCR] 1325 means to the Philippines”.

Through workshops implemented by NGOs, Local Action Plans (LAPs), which are more specialised action plans, for UNSCR 1325 implementation, have been developed. This local-level recognition is the area of focus for NGO reports in the Philippines. It was asserted that local workshops are essential to raising awareness surrounding UNSCR 1325 for local people, and to better integrate the NAP (Dioniso and Cabrera-Balleza, 2013; Barrow, 2016). In addition, one NGO report lists the deliverables of these workshops being a resolution guaranteeing 50% of women’s representation and participation in one region of the Philippines. Although this region was not in the Bangsamoro area fighting for autonomy, it does show the potential of UNSCR 1325 influencing the presence of women in local governments. Another outcome of the workshops mentions the improvements in women’s participation not only in governance but also in peace and justice mechanisms. Similar to other contexts, this proves the possibility of UNSCR 1325 having a direct impact on women’s participation in local peace processes in the Philippines, improving agency (Yadav, 2017; Dralega, 2011).

These reports do not seem to touch on the correlation between greater women’s participation in governance and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the Philippines. Therefore, the link may not be causal, and there is currently no published research proving it to be. Although the report itself seems to suggest that this is a direct result of UNSCR 1325, there needs to be more research into the effects of whether UNSCR 1325 knowledge has an impact on female representation in the Philippines, with corroborating evidence to support the conclusions. This is especially important to research further due to Participants 1 and 5 mentioning ‘securing funding’ as a main motivation in positive project reporting, similar to Zaidi’s suggestions of NGOs being motivated by money and not focussing on the most important issues in lieu of pleasing donors (1999). With one participant being a high-level governmental official with ties to UNSCR 1325 in GPH and the other running a women’s organisation in the Philippines, this is evidently a well-known issue in NGO reporting. It is interesting to note that a participant who ran an NGO was quick to highlight this as an issue, alluding to the fact that writing reports in a way to please donors is not only well known, but is the norm.
Specific to the Mindanao Peace Agreement, an NGO specialising in UNSCR 1325 in the Philippines issued statements and engaged in dialogue with MILF panels, as well as the Bangsamoro Transition Commission, with the aim of lobbying for a gender-responsive Peace Agreement. Three members of this NGO also observed the peace talks and lobbied for an engendered BOL, evidently successful due to the several provisions which can benefit women; for instance, women, youth and indigenous communities each have reserved seats in parliament (UN Women contributors, 2019). This all suggests that UNSCR 1325’s agendas had a role in the peace negotiation between the Philippine government and MILF. However, there is no literature from the NGOs following up on their role in the peace negotiations and whether any of the points put forward by them were included. Despite this lack of previous analysis, when asked whether NGOs and CSOs had an impact on peacebuilding and peace talks in the Philippines, every interview participant answered in the affirmative. Participant 3 credited CSOs as giving the Philippines “a culture of peace” and said that the peace process began with a ceasefire initiated through CSO and NGO activism.

“Civil society actors can be credited as being the architecture behind the scenes for the peace process. This is because when you have local players, they are highly invested in keeping the peace, and therefore prioritised reinstating the ceasefire.”

Therefore, it is evident that NGOs and CSOs are the enablers responsible for inciting peace talks, and later engendering them.

This civil society involvement is evidence that the peace agreements are somewhat intertwined with UNSCR 1325, but the extent to which this is the case is unclear. Santiago (2015) discusses all other potential reasons for women’s involvement in the Mindanao peace agreement. As discovered in the literature review, The Philippines has an enabling environment, with a pre-colonial history allowing women to ascend to leadership roles (Hega et al, 2017; Feliciano, 1994). A Magna Carta of women has been in place since 2009, suggesting a culture of the inclusion of women not only in positions of power but in wider society. Furthermore, under President Corazon C. Aquino, there was a ‘decade of peace’ in 1990, in which negotiations with MILF were upheld, despite her inner circle advising her against this (Rasul, 2003) This is yet
another datum suggesting a history of women in peacebuilding, and perhaps indicating that the involvement of women in the peace negotiations was necessarily not due to UNSCR 1325. It is known that NGOs such as GNWP are strengthening women’s knowledge about UNSCR 1325, but the implementation of laws guaranteeing women’s representation in local governments may not be due to UNSCR 1325, but because of the role of pre-existing gender norms. This distinction needs to be further explored.

4.4 The effects of on-the-ground localisation of UNSCR 1325 in conflicted-affected Mindanao

It is important to assess how the NAP and other implementation strategies have affected areas within the Philippines. Although the analysis above has suggested funding to be a possible reason for exaggerated results, the impact on locals has not yet been assessed by anyone other than NGOs responsible for on-the-ground implementation. In some other contexts, UNSCR 1325 implementation through localisation has been analysed as successful, due to the ambiguous nature of the language allowing different contexts and cultures to adapt the international framework to their local needs. Grassroots organisations use UNSCR 1325 as an operational principle locally, and this allows for automatic localisation and the challenging of gender norms (Aharoni, 2014; Doeland and Skjelsback, 2018; Goldberg et al, 2015). Participant 6 agreed with this statement, saying that “UNSCR 1325 manifests itself differently depending on the community and the issues prioritised”. According to this participant, the NAP is still generalised, and the local impacts need to be assessed in more detail. Participant 7 agrees, saying that there have always been challenges in how to localise UNSCR 1325. There is still a need for central NAP priorities to trickle down to the local level, with this participant claiming that awareness of UNSCR 1325 is unclear at the local level. In fact, participant 2 claimed that “UNSCR 1325 could have contributed to women being seen as second-class citizens”, due to the resolution portraying women as victims. However, upon further clarification, this participant concedes this is a general problem of UNSCR 1325 and is not specifically portrayed in the Philippine context.

Specific to the Philippines, participant 5, who was involved with the NAP and later localisation, discusses the challenges of implementing UNSCR 1325. In their opinion, “localisation was very uneven”. This is because from province to province, governors differed in their reception of
implementation agendas. This is especially important due to previous research by Judd and Schiavo-Campo finding that the direct costs of the conflict have been most substantial at the local level, with a comparatively small impact on the rest of the country (2005). An aforementioned NGO report discussed localisation workshops occurring in regions outside Mindanao, in areas that have little conflict, which suggests that the most conflict-affected areas do not gain the benefit of localisation workshops. Participant 5 explains that:

“Yes, it often happens that international NGOs don’t go to the worst-affected areas because donors don’t want to fund NGOs going to dangerous places. But this means that those most in need of gendered conflict help miss out because of funding opportunities.”

Therefore, there needs to be further analysis of how and why NGOs identify certain regions to conduct localisation workshops, and what can be done to encourage NGOs to base these in the areas of most need. In addition, participant 2 adds that with changes in government, the whole process will have to restart; there is not enough cohesion for the WPS agenda to integrate seamlessly from administration to administration. Participant 5 believes that in terms of localisation, the Philippines “overall failed at successfully integrating UNSCR 1325”. Particularly, localisation programs would not even reach those in the worst affected conflict areas, due to safety concerns, and those in the worst affected conflict areas were unable to travel to workshops due to lack of transport infrastructure or funding. Therefore, their belief is that although women in the Philippines have increased empowerment due to these workshops, those in areas with most conflict do not receive the benefits of UNSCR 1325, despite being the ones most in need.

Interestingly, all the interview participants who were critical of the localisation process were more involved with state-level implementation and policy introduction. Participants who were working at the local level, such as those running grassroots organisations, tended to be more positive about UNSCR 1325 benefitting locals than their state-level counterparts. Participant 7 believes that UNSCR 1325 allows locals to further develop knowledge through recognising the role of women and ensuring participation, ensuring a more gendered approach to the Bangsamoro plight. This participant stated that:
Community participation is the key. When more women attend community consultations, their involvement increases, and gender provisions are ensured.”

Participant 4, a youth peace activist, similarly believes that localisation programs provided by NGOs help local women become leaders in their communities, having a knock-on effect of empowering other local level women. This participant correlates UNSCR 1325 localisation with the raising of peacebuilding issues and the women’s agenda at the local level. It is difficult to argue that UNSCR 1325 did not have a role in the Philippines at all, otherwise localisation workshops would not have taken place. Although state-level policy influencers (participants 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6) did raise some similar ideas, they were quick to also point out the negatives. Perhaps the more positive view of UNSCR 1325 is due to grassroots level activists not having the holistic view provided to those at the state level. This supports Basini and Ryan’s findings where more knowledge regarding UNSCR 1325 was found at the national level (2016). This indicates that on the macro level, there is less faith in the resolution improving the livelihoods of all in the Philippines. Benefits are experienced more at the local level for some women. However, these positives are not being provided for other local level women in different provinces, leading to uneven implementation.

Results show that UNSCR 1325 in the Philippines is somewhat of a paradox. Participant 5 states that “the women’s agenda, in terms of representation and addressing other needs, would have been included whether or not there is 1325”. However, the very same participant later discussed how UNSCR 1325 is in fact beneficial, giving women policy corroboration for the WPS agenda they are promoting. It is claimed that, despite UNSCR 1325 not being the foundation of the woman, peace and security agenda in the Philippines, “with 1325, our argument is stronger”. In addition, participant 6 agrees that UNSCR 1325 provided the Philippines with grounding in a gendered peace perspective at the local level and in national peace talks. All in all, although it is not the reason behind why there is gendered recognition of peacebuilding in the Philippines, participant analysis and secondary data show that the lens of UNSCR 1325 sets a baseline to support the women, peace and security agenda at the local and national scale. However, more needs to be done to provide a holistic implementation of the resolution.
5. CONCLUSION

This paper set out to establish the effects of UNSCR 1325 on the MPP and the wider conflict-affected population. In doing so, the reasoning behind the high levels of female participation in the MPP was assessed. The key arguments proven by the research have been that although UNSCR 1325 is beneficial to strengthening peacebuilding and negotiations in the Philippines, the local context of the Philippines being traditionally accepting of female participation has meant that UNSCR 1325 implementation is not essential in peacebuilding.

In reference to the research aims, key themes are clear from the analysed data. Thematically, the role of UNSCR 1325 in the MPP is dependent on multiple factors including the positionality of the respondent. Those who had a relationship with the state prioritised UNSCR 1325 less than those who came from an NGO background, in which international funding played a role in responses and actions. All respondents understood and advocated for the importance of women in peacebuilding and women in conflict, but most did not credit UNSCR 1325 as being the main reason for this advocacy or improvements in female participation. Therefore, national attitudes and local cultural context had a larger role than international policies in the participation of women in the MPP.

When considering the role of NGOs in the Philippines in the peace process and UNSCR 1325, this study has identified multiple shortfalls and highlighted areas of improvement. Through analysis of participants’ answers and NGO reports, it is obvious that NGO and CSO actions have aided in the promotion of peace, with tangible evidence such as ceasefires and NAPs confirming this. On the ground, those who have access to localisation workshops have benefitted from them through leadership skills, but evidently, those in the most conflict-affected areas appear to have been bypassed or overlooked, meaning that localisation is inaccessible to those who arguably need it the most.

Due to some of the women participating in the peace negotiations having a background with UNSCR 1325, there was an inevitable gendered lens given to discussions. Points of importance for UNSCR 1325 were therefore discussed in the negotiations to an extent which would not
have occurred without Coronel-Ferrer’s appointment. Evidently, although in some instances the appointment of women in senior positions did not necessarily mean the prioritisation of women’s issues, Coronel-Ferrer is an exception to this practice. Indirectly, UNSCR 1325 had an impact on the MPP, bringing in gender in discussions and resulting in incorporating female specific provisions in the BOL. Therefore, returning to the research questions posed at the beginning of the study, this study can conclude that UNSCR 1325 indirectly influenced the MPP. In addition, NGOs have aided in implementing the localisation agenda, and even though this has been inconsistent, overall, their work has benefitted the Philippines.

The rationale for this research is to propose the necessity for further analysis, monitoring and measurement of the application of UNSCR 1325 in different individual contexts. With the resolution often being accredited as improving the levels of gendered peacekeeping, it is important to uncover what actually contributes to this aim and how UNSCR 1325 aids this. Multiple NGOs prioritise UNSCR 1325 and allocate funding for its localisation, and this study considers the extent to which this has an impact. This study asserts that there is no evidence to fully accredit UNSCR 1325 as the main reason for high female participation in peacekeeping. Therefore, it is inapplicable to attempt to improve gender participation in peacekeeping solely using UNSCR 1325 – the Philippines context cannot be transferred. As such application of UNSCR 1325 in other conflict areas without consideration of local contexts may not help in improving women’s roles in peacekeeping processes elsewhere.

This research contributes to debates about UNSCR 1325 in general, helping to identify the scaled responses to the resolution. This should be considered if similar research occurs in different contexts. Enabling environments such as cultural and societal traditions must be considered and assessed in relation to the effects of UNSCR 1325; analysing the resolution without considering individual contexts is ineffective and can be misleading, as proven by this study.

6. **RECOMMENDATIONS**
Placing these findings within the broader academic research of UNSCR 1325 implementation, it is clear that further understanding of the local level effects of NAPs in different contexts is required. Further research needs to be conducted in order to validate NGO reporting and intentions, along with more detailed analysis and measurement methods that will help avoid ‘funding motivated’ reporting to assess the performance of NGOs on the field. For the MPP, understanding the impact and shortcomings of the BOL should be prioritised to gain a clearer understanding of whether the proactive involvement of women has led to a more successful peace process.

With respect to the future of UNSCR 1325, despite areas of improvement in terms of NGO localisation, there is a need for a more comprehensive implementation plan and performance measurement framework to ensure a continued focus on the most conflict-affected areas. Despite the difficulties in establishing a universal framework for measuring UNSCR 1325 implementation success, it is necessary to develop a mechanism that allows analysis of contextual differences, enabling environments and measure their impact. Further research needs to be conducted to establish the best method for doing this. Without further efforts to prioritise this worldwide, conflict-affected women will continue to face marginalisation, risking uneven gender mainstreaming.
7. REFERENCE LIST


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8. APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1. Ethical Clearance

06/07/2018
Shalini Madipalli

Dear Shalini,

The implementation of UNICEF 1126 in the Philippines: exploring the relationships between female representation in local government and peace building.

Thank you for submitting your Research Ethics Minimal Risk Registration Form. This letter acknowledges confirmation of your registration; your registration confirmation reference number is MR-1116-7877.

Please note: For projects involving the use of an Information Sheet and Consent Form for recruitment purposes, please ensure that you use the KCL GDPR compliant Information Sheet & Consent Form Template.

We are to keep a record your registration number and include it in any materials associated with this research. Registration is valid for one year from today's date. Please note it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that any other permissions or approvals (i.e. RED, gatekeepers, etc.) relevant to their research are in place, prior to conducting the research.

Record Keeping:

In addition, you are expected to keep records of your process of informed consent and the codes and relevant details of research covered by this application. For example, depending on the type of research that you are doing, you might keep:

- A record of the relevant details for public tasks that you attend, the websites that visit, the interviews you conduct
- The 'script' that you use to inform possible participants about what your research involves. This may include written information sheets, or the generic information you include in the emails you write to possible participants, or what you say to people when you approach them on the street for a survey, or the introductory material stated at the top of your on-line survey
- Where appropriate, records of consent, e.g. copies of signed consent forms or emails where participants agree to be interviewed.

Audit:

You may be selected for an audit, to see how researchers are implementing this process. If audited, you will be expected to explain your research activities by the general principles of ethical research. In particular, you will be expected to provide a general summary of your review of the possible risks involved in your research, as well as to provide basic research records (as above in Record Keeping) and to describe the process by which participants agreed to participate in your research.

Remember that if you have any questions about the ethical conduct of your research at any point, you should contact your supervisor (where applicable) or the Research Ethics Office.

Feedback:

If you wish to provide any feedback on the process you may do so by emailing reso@kcl.ac.uk.

We wish you every success with this work.

With best wishes,

Research Ethics Office