Conflict in One Upland and Two Coastal Communities in Northern Mindanao: Its Implications to Peace-building

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Abstract

This paper describes the nature and typology of conflict in three research settings: Sebucal, an upland protected area in Mt. Malindang Range Natural Park, Oroquieta, Misamis Occidental; Lapayan, a rural coastal community in Kauswagan, Lanao del Norte; and Canaway, an urban coastal community in Iligan City. The research makes use of triangulation approach utilizing survey, focus group discussion, key informant interviews, and secondary data analysis. Findings showed that the nature of conflict in Sebucal involves stealing of animals and crops, petty quarrels, and boundary disputes in a protected area that are interpersonal or intra-group in nature from within the local community. Lapayan captures the micro aspect of the "Mindanao problem" with the August 2008 MILF attack. It is an intergroup conflict with national and global bearing. Domestic violence that is basically interpersonal/intra-group in nature is also present. In the case of Canaway, domestic violence, conflict among neighbours, drunkenness, petty crimes, and land disputes depict the urban blight. In regard to conflict resolution, amicable/informal settlement is the modal strategy. The role of the barangay council and the lupong tagapamayapa is crucial. Lapayan's case indicates military

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intervention. This study exemplifies that the nature of conflict is defined by the geophysical and socioeconomic characteristics of the setting, as well as, the socio-demographic and economic profile of the local population. In a generated typology of conflict, it may manifest a combination of any of the following: simple/moderate and/or complex/intense, local and/or national/global, intergroup and/or intra-group, personal/domestic and/or structural/institutional, individual and/or societal.

Keywords: typology of conflict, rural upland, urban lowland, peace-building, Northern Mindanao

Introduction

As an endemic feature of any society threatening human relationships and community stability, conflict is usually defined as a condition where at least two actors or groups mutually compete for incompatible goals that manifest the desired future values or outcomes. Social conflict is a process where two or more parties become engaged in a disagreement about differently perceived positions, interest, values or needs. The distinguishing features of conflict may be related to these and resources, boundary dispute, social conflict, or identity conflict (Sprenger et al., 2005). This means presence of diverging interests where the aspirations of one cannot be achieved simultaneously. Integral to the workings of every society, conflict may escalate, whatever its nature is, resulting to disequilibrium.

Intense armed conflicts lead to internal displacement of population (IDP). These IDPs are forced to flee because of ethnic or religious strife, civil disorder, and other threats in their communities and have sought safety and shelter elsewhere within their own country. Their circumstances differ from place to place, reflecting possible diversities in conditions, needs, problems, coping strategies which necessitate alternative delivery of development programs (http://www.db.idpproject.org).

Development projects for affected communities should strongly consider the values of culture sensitivity and participation. There should be healing and rebuilding, not dependence and competition on limited resources. There should also be effective and efficient coordination among donor agencies, local

government units, government agencies, and community members (Daguino et al., 2002).

While internal conflict stems from deeply rooted problems, elusive peace can be ideally countervailed by a culture of peace as a way of life mindful of structural and individual factors. This means harmony with one's self, with one another, and with the environment. More importantly, peace also means holistic development of people who are able to enjoy their economic, political and socio-cultural rights.

Over the years, innumerable collaborative efforts have been launched by individuals, groups, and institutions to understand the deep-seated problems in Mindanao and implement peace building projects. They come in varied forms: peace keeping/making, and peace building in peace education, peace research and peace studies. Options for conflict transformation include fact-finding, conciliation, negotiation, facilitation, mediation, and arbitration.

Peace building involves the creation or re-creation of social relations which are conducive to the peaceful resolution of conflicts. This entails a continuing process beyond peace keeping and peace making. Peace does not only mean the absence of war or negative peace, but also the absence of direct violence. Positive peace requires the presence of desirable conditions in society that are supportive of all life forms, human growth, and cooperative relations among peoples (Sprenger et al.,2005). In the words of Johann Galtung, peace is a state and process of well-being and security in which human rights are respected and human needs are met. This also means the absence of indirect or structural violence such as poverty.

Lederach, a sociologist who heads the International Conciliation Service of the Mennonite Central Committee, advocated that in developing appropriate models of handling conflict, it is vital to respect and draw from the culture and knowledge of a people. He formulated a framework for peace using the model of Curle in "Making Peace" where the three key peacemaking functions are, namely: education, advocacy, and mediation. These three functions share the goal of change and restructuring un-peaceful relationships incorporating the vision of justice and substantive and procedural change. The value orientation emphasized is favoring the less powerful to attain a voice of peaceful relations. On the whole, it advocates a dynamic understanding that conflict can move in destructive or constructive directions, but should maximize the achievement of constructive, mutually beneficial processes and outcomes (Lederach, 1996).

Moreover, for communities undergoing conflict, Cernea (as cited by Daguino et al., 2002) advanced that intervention strategies should be designed to allow their post-conflict rehabilitation, purposely done to redeem the victims from

economic insecurity, health concerns and social disarticulation. In the light of the above contention, this study attempts to examine three communities located in an urban, rural/coastal and an upland rural area dominated by an indigenous community in order to capture the nature, types, and effects of conflict in both upland and lowland settings. These are purposely undertaken to unveil the forms of conflict and identify the peace efforts to better understand conflict transformation towards peace building.

Literature Review

Ethnic Conflict

Amboladto (2004) noted in his study that tribal/ethnic conflict has been the predominant cause of social disturbance being identified by half of his respondents. Conflicts related to cultural differences comprise about twenty percent of the 79 conflict situations he had documented. He further disclosed that the most problematic nature of conflict situations which have effects on the number of groups he asked (according to its rank or gravity of occurrence) include the following: tribal/ethnic conflict, armed conflict, land conflict, political conflict, religious intolerance conflict and prejudice, among others.

When the author examined the effects of these conflicts to Muslim-Christian social relations, it was learned that mistrust topped the list followed by prejudice, discrimination, internal displacement of people, unilateralism/exclusivism/division, intolerance, animosity, underdevelopment/poverty and hatred. This means that the consequences of conflict permeate both the micro (strained intergroup relationship) and macro level (economic stagnation and political crisis).

Citing worldwide conflict affecting Christian-Muslim relations, Intengan, S.J. (2004) concluded that some social conflicts in the world involved religion either as a major motivating factor, or as a factor deliberately used by contending groups to rally adherent to their cause. In Europe, for instance, there is conflict among Muslims, Catholic Christians and Orthodox Christians in Bosnia; between Muslims and Orthodox Christians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Chechnya; and between Protestant Christians and Catholic Christians in Northern Ireland.

Intengan proceeded by saying that there are types of social motives involving religion, one of which is resistance from the hegemonic group to grant the intention of the other group from independence and pursuit of socio-political equality and self-determination. A group might also forcibly impose their religion

which is resisted by those who profess other religions or other system of laws or ways of life. Feeling of injustice, exploitation and pursuit for control of their own territory/natural resources of their homeland occupied by other people are few of the political motives, among others.

A more encompassing material pertaining to the causes of the occurrence of ethnic problem is cited by Balacuit et al. (1996). They looked at the cross-cultural or the combined psychosocial and socio-cultural factors of ethnic conflict in the Ogoni in Nigeria, Moro in Mindanao and the Tamil in Sri-Lanka. They found out that the common factors in their conflict situations are unequal access to political and economic resources, demographic stress, cultural nationalism and the rise of ethnic revivalists.

Conflict and Resource Management

Environmental care has been always part of the cluster for viewing peace and conflict phenomena while communities build and nurture a climate conducive to peace. Relating the role of natural resources to armed conflict, Le Billion (2001) examines the connection of geography (distance and concentration) and related socio-economic processes using a political ecology approach. He found out that resource location and concentration is directly connected to its monopoly and that its desirability usually makes it vulnerable to contestation, mobilization of investors, and the likelihood of coup d'etat or secession. When resources are easily accessible and marketable and sufficiently valuable, insurgents will have the motivation for resource control. Rebellion or rioting is more likely to occur in proximate diffuse resources involving large number of producers.

The connection of environmental resources and armed conflict was explored by Sterzel et al.(2014) using data from violent conflict database from 1946 to 2005 of the Uppsala Conflict Data Program and International Research Institute, Oslo, Norway. They found that conflict incidence are not homogeneous across global drylands according to typical profiles of socio-ecological vulnerability. This typology is composed of eight typical value combinations of variables indicating environmental scarcities, resource overuse, and poverty-related factors in a widely subnational spatial resolution.

The authors also noted that there is an inverse relationship between poverty incidence or improved human well-being and lower endowment/or more overuse and conflict proneness. Conflict was absent when less overuse converged with less human well-being, i.e., less poverty and higher income.

Typology of Conflict

Viewing conflict as synonymous with violence, Johan Galtung (1996) proposes a typology of the cause of violence broad enough to involve the following six spaces: nature, person, social, world, culture, time. He also added that a distinction should be made between nature, actor, structure, culture, and time, violence or peace. He argues that violence coming from nature is unintended: direct violence from the actor emanates from the person and intended: structural or indirect violence is built into the person, social and world spaces and unintended: cultural violence serve to legitimize direct and structural violence which could be both intended and unintended; and time violence means negative impacts on future life generations (Galtung 1996).

Conceptual Framework

Secondary literature articulates the pervasive role of conflict in generating, shaping, and influencing the directions of societies/communities. Dissecting the nature and causes of conflict involves varied levels and dimensions. Disagreements, incompatibilities, and differences may emanate from internal and external sources that can be characterized by political, economic, sociocultural aspects, or even environmental dimensions. They can be discerned at the micro or individual/personal and/or macro or structural levels. The source of conflict may also involve material or non-material aspects.

Conflict is an inevitable social process that threatens livelihood and community stability. It is a struggle between at least two interdependent parties who struggle over scarce resources and experience interference from others in achieving their goals. According to Wallensteen (1988), conflict is a social situation where two parties strive at the same moment in time to acquire the same set of resources.

Causes of conflict worldwide had been pointed out by some studies. For instance, Intengan (2004) argued that some social conflicts in the world involved religion either as a major motivating factor, or as a rallying point to advance a cause. He revealed that religion can be used to pursue both political and social motives like independence, sociopolitical equality, and self-determination.

Balacuit et al. (1996), on the other hand, identified the common factors leading to conflict situations in which unequal access to political and economic

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resources, demographic stress, cultural nationalism, and the rise of ethnic revivalists are crucial.

Conflict can also emanate from competition of scarce resources. The significance of the biophysical resources can be gleaned in the following quote:

> *Natural resource conflicts including those involving indigenous peoples*
> *have received significant attention in recent years. ... Conflict over*
> *natural resources is ubiquitous, though much disagreement might*
> *arise over explanations for this situation. Resource conflicts can*
> *sometimes become severe and debilitating, resulting in violence,*
> *resource degradation, the undermining of livelihoods, and the*
> *uprooting of communities* (Castro &Neilsen, 2001).

On the utilization of natural resources and the creation of conflict, Svensson (1976) used the concept of ecological niche where two or more groups utilize different resources in the area. When there is no provision agreed upon regarding the utilization of these resources, most likely, conflict will arise. Hence, internal conflict may emanate from incompatibilities over scarce resources and create cleavages in the community.

Conflict may also emanate from gender disparity where women are the usual victims due to patriarchy. Violence against women may take the form of domestic abuse such as child abuse or intimate partner violence. This can be defined as a pattern of abusive behaviors by one or both partners in marriage, dating, family, friends or cohabitation. Domestic violence has many forms including physical aggression or threats thereof; sexual abuse, emotional abuse, controlling or domineering; intimidation; stalking; passive/covert abuse; and economic deprivation (http://durianpost.wordpress.com). Violence against women is the most pervasive yet least recognized human rights violation in the world (Heise, Ellsberg, & Gottmoeller, 2002).

Peace building entails a deep understanding of peace. This also means the absence of direct violence and indirect violence or structural violence. Positive peace requires the presence of desirable conditions in society that are supportive of all life forms, human growth, and cooperative relations among peoples. Peace building also involves the creation or re-creation of social relations (Galtung, 1996). Lederach (2012), on the other hand, looks at peace as core ingredient to the comprehensive approach to peace-building.

Notwithstanding the above, the framework of the study also takes into consideration the landscape approach, from the upland to the lowland/coastal

area in both rural and urban settings, to better understand the contextual
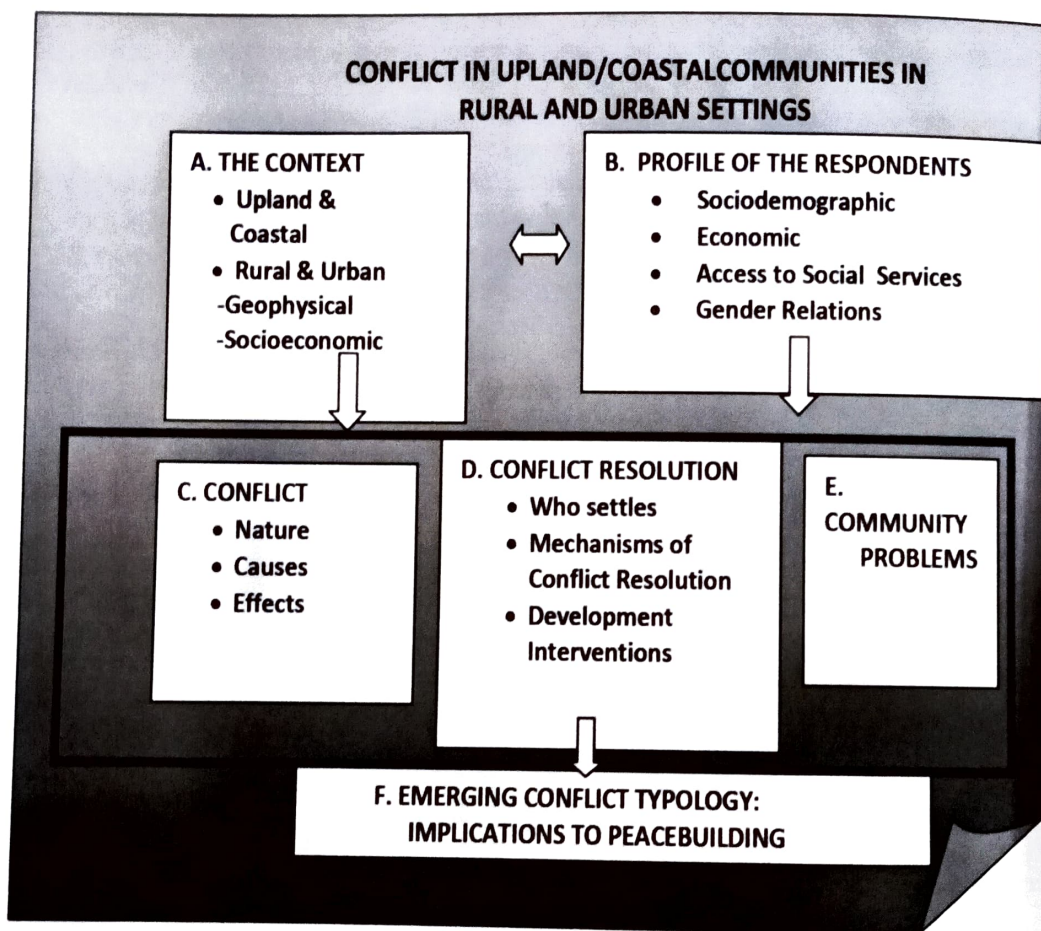considerations in the emergence of conflict.

CONFLICT IN UPLAND/COASTALCOMMUNITIES IN RURAL AND URBAN SETTINGS

A. THE CONTEXT
- **Upland & Coastal**
- **Rural & Urban**
-Geophysical
-Socioeconomic

B. PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS
- **Sociodemographic**
- **Economic**
- **Access to Social Services**
- **Gender Relations**

C. CONFLICT
- **Nature**
- **Causes**
- **Effects**

D. CONFLICT RESOLUTION
- **Who settles**
- **Mechanisms of Conflict Resolution**
- **Development Interventions**

E. COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

F. EMERGING CONFLICT TYPOLOGY: IMPLICATIONS TO PEACEBUILDING

Figure 1. Analytical Framework

The analytical framework assumes that the context that involves the
geophysical and socioeconomic characteristics of the setting, as well as the socio-
demographic and economic profile, access to social services, and gender relations
has bearing on the nature and type of conflict. Among others, the features of the
conflict may involve intergroup or intrapersonal relationships, ethnicity, scarce
resources and violence against women. The emerging type of conflict and conflict

resolution mechanisms, as well the presence of community problems may bear implications to peace-building endeavors.

Methodology

This study employed a triangulation research design making use of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches in the gathering, analysis and interpretation of data. The strategies for data collection include the following: obtaining secondary data, conducting two focus group discussions (FGDs) and 19 key informant interviews (KIIs). There were 150 household heads who were surveyed in the three communities being studied. Overall, a total of 2013 research participants were included in this study as indicated in the summary table below. Furthermore, a landscape approach was used to examine the typologies and nature of conflict from the upland to lowland communities.

Table 1. Summary of data gathering tools and number of participants

| | Number of Participants | | | | Total |
	Brgy. Sebucal	Brgy. Lapayan	Brgy. Canaway	N	%
Focus Group Discussion	19	15	-	34	16.75
Key Informants Interview	7	6	6	19	9.36
Survey	50	50	50	150	73.89
Total	76	71	56	203	100.00

The three research locales of the study are as follows: Setting1 is Barangay Sebucal located in an upland community of the protected area of Mt. Malindang Natural Range Park. It is one of the isolated barangay of Oroquieta City and lies at the navel of Mt. Malindang making the ascend and descend to the place extremely difficult. It is one of the two core zones of the reforestation projects currently undertaken by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) known as UDP or Upland Development Program and a Dutch NGO, the Trees for Travel Foundation.

Setting 2 is Lapayan located in a coastal rural community of the municipality of Kauswagan, Lanao del Norte. It is inhabited by both Muslims and Christians and has been rocked by Muslim and Christian conflict since the 70s. The study is confined to two coastal purok (Purok6 and 7) which served as

the evacuation sites of the Lapayan residents in the 2000 and 2008 armed conflicts in Lanao del Norte.

Setting 3 is Canaway/Tibanga, located in the coastal area of Iligan City. It is characterized by congestion due to the presence of commercial establishments, government institutions, and pockets of settlements inhabited by informal settlers. Part of its space can be characterized as urban blight with the presence of criminality like theft, hold up/robbery, murder, gang wars, and many more.

Salient Findings of the Study

Socio-demographic and Economic Profile

The subjects in setting 1 (Sebucal: upland-rural) are Subanen indigenous peoples while those in setting 2 (Lapayan: coastal-rural) and setting 3 (Canaway: coastal-urban) comprise the Cebuano/Bisaya groups. In terms of education, those from Canaway are better educated than those coming from Lapayan and Sebucal. The modal education is high school graduate. The means of living of the respondents indicated that those from Sebucal are mostly farmers, roughly half of those from Lapayan are fisherfolks/fish vendors and those from Canaway have diverse occupations like vending, and employment in various crafts, and in the government service.

With respect to access to social services, Lapayan and Canaway respondents have accessible roads while Sebucal folks would have to hike from 4 to 8 hours to reach the Poblacion to buy their household economic necessities. Respondents in Sebucal and Canaway have owned toilets while half of those from Lapayan do not have one. Electricity is the major source of power in all areas.

The main source of income of respondents in Sebucal is farming, while those in Lapayan is fishing. Canaway respondents have more diverse jobs. Majority of the respondents (82%) earn an average monthly income of PhP1,000. With respect to land ownership, half of the respondents do not own one. However, those coming from Sebucal own farm lots and home lots since they live in an ancestral domain.

To point out the existing human resource capital available among men in the research areas, it is gathered that Sebucal respondents have the least to note being farmers. On the other hand, Lapayan and Canaway male residents have few skills notably, in carpentry and welding.

Among women, 40% do not have existing skills as pronounced mainly by Sebucal Subanen respondents. Sewing is a skill noted in the 3 areas. But more importantly, Lapayan women have more skills than Canaway or Sebucal women.

Women play significant productive and reproductive roles. Lapayan respondents indicated that women's roles are in the domestic affairs while those from Canaway consider the role of women as essential.

Overall, the Subanen respondents living in the remote upland-rural community in the study are isolated, have limited access to social services and human resource capital compared to the Lapayan and Canaway respondents who live in the lowland coastal areas.

Access and Control

Men and women in Sebucal both perform reproductive activities in the household. But in terms of access and control over resources, the picture seems to vary a little. However, control over these resources is more favorable to men than to women.

In Lapayan, access and control over resources would indicate male's dominance. With respect to educational benefits, both men and women share equal access and control over these resources. But when it comes to health, like administration of children's medicine or the mother's prenatal, women are in charge of the matter.

When it comes to reproductive activities, especially household maintenance, women always do these tasks. On the other hand, women are also involved in productive activities, especially in fish vending and fish drying in Lapayan.

Nature and Sources of Conflict: Emerging Typology

Conflicts in the three areas assume different nature and sources. In setting 1 (upland-rural), conflicts involving the killing/stealing of animals, destroyed or stolen crops, and minor conflicts involving petty quarrels among couples and neighbors, or boundary dispute in a protected area are interpersonal or intra-group in nature from within the local community. As a moderate classified conflict, it is more domestic in nature and the impact is at the local level. A few cases are captured in the following responses of informants:

*"In 2005, a grade six child named Ryan, 12 years old at
that time, was stabbed by a drunk man in the
barangay hall. The culprit was an 18 year-old guy who
fled immediately after the incident.... Another case
was a barangay-owned carabao which was stolen and
butchered by unknown elements". (Willa, 26, IP)*

*"In the case of Sebucal, the residents of the other part of the area
are noted to be industrious and diligent in planting food crops
such as gabi/lotia/yam. The others are observed to be less
productive. These are the residents who don't spend time
planting. But when they do not have food anymore, they go to the
field usually during nighttime and dig root crops. It is not
unusual for residents to observe that somebody else gather root
crops such as kanaka and lotia (camote is more difficult to get)
that were planted by them." (Moymoy, 50, farmer)*

On the other hand, setting 2 (coastal-rural) captures the micro aspect of
the "Mindanao problem" with a historical origin with the MILF attack in 2008
rekindling the perennial issue between Muslims and Christians. This is captured
in the statement of this informant:

*"In 2000, the civilians were not that fearful because
the object of the MILF were the military. But the 2008
attack was different. The civilians were the target of
the rebel troop. Although there were no animals that
were taken from Lapayan by the rebels but some
civilians were held hostages and were released
afterwards". (Val, 45, farmer)*

This is highly political and structural with direct violence involved. It is
an intergroup conflict that prominently captures the national attention and
global concern. Not surprisingly, the conflict is intense, which involves physical,
psychological, and emotional wounds among the Christians that are difficult to
resolve as the friction is age-old and penetrating. Indeed, the conflict did not only
destroy the community physically, but also shattered the fabric of social
relations. To reiterate, hatred and mistrust surfaced again, albeit some still
believed that the well-meaning Maranaos were innocently involved.

Thus, there are intertwining political, economic, and cultural issues in this type of conflict that continue to challenge government until the present. It disrupts social order and the cycle seems to be a vicious. The conflict resolution identified is predominantly military intervention to secure the area from impending threats of another siege. The place poses as potential area for conflict to escalate. Until this time, there seems to be a continuing fear that roving local guards are institutionalized.

Lastly, setting 3 (coastal-urban) displays varied conflicts typical in an urban poor community that are commonly associated with social problems accompanying urban blight. These involve petty crimes and misdemeanors such as stealing/snatching/robbery/hold up, vices like drug addiction, and the presence of drunkards and gangs. There are also cases of conflict among neighbors due to children's squabbles, cases of attempted rape, and family separations arising from infidelity and wife battering that bear the gender dimension. Problems of squatters related to relocation also surfaced. A boundary dispute between the two barangays was noted, as well as, land trouble between two private owners. Here are some of the quotes from the informants;

> "Gang wars, drunkards and petty crimes like snatching and burglary: rampant cases of drug addiction are known in the barangay particularly in Purok 3 (in the Pacasum property) and a noted criminal who is also a notorious akyat bahay is also found in Purok 2." (William. 63, college graduate)

> "Crimes, addiction, drunkards, gang wars (Charlie's Angels, Hard Core), hold up, akyat bahay, burglary, and stoning are common". (Van, male, 42, college graduate)

The diverse types of conflicts here speak of the heterogeneity of the constituents and the situation of poverty in an urban setting where resources are scarce, and congestion and pollution are common.

The above apparently illustrates structural violence or poverty that mix with existing interpersonal and domestic troubles in the locale that disrupt family harmony and social order. There seem to be a culture of deviance among constituents who veer away from norms with the presence of thieves, gangsters, hold-uppers, rapists, and drunkards residing in the area. Most often vices lead to the commission of crimes and violence against women.

There appears to be a dual portrayal of the structural and personal levels, of the institutions and individual concerns, of the intra-group and inter-group conflict. In the latter, one group may be conformist (may refer to the government or mainstream society), or those adhering to society's norms, vis-a-vis the other group, that is, the deviant group. They basically reflect dysfunctions of society that are further compounded when families break apart.

Most often the women are the victims who bear more the brunt of poverty and misery. The impact is local and may be classified as moderate with potentials to become intense, depending on the severity of the conflict.

Conflict Resolution

Amicable/informal settlement is the modal strategy used in resolving conflict in the 3 areas. The role of the local government through the barangay council and the *lupong tagapamayapa* is crucial in the administration of justice and the restoration of balance destroyed by the conflict situation. For example in Sebucal, conflict is mostly settled amicably. The same is true in Canaway and, to some extent, in Lapayan.

Side by side with informal settlement of minor cases at the barangay level, Lapayan has another mode of managing the much intense Muslim-Christian conflict. The use of the military/police personnel is needed considering the higher degree of violence that the attackers in Lapayan employed against the unarmed civilians. Note that today another form of conflict looms in the area, it being the site of the 540MW coal plant being constructed since 2014.

Nevertheless, just like the respondents in Lapayan, those from Canaway also used the police and *Barangay Tanod* to minimize or prevent incidence of criminality in the area. Also, unsettled and serious cases are elevated to the court as mentioned mainly by the respondents in Canaway.

Effects of Conflict

Physical Effects

The personal effects of conflict were seen in the physical harm as mentioned by almost half of the respondents. Being harmed and wounded comprised almost a third of the responses. The data from the Key Informants (KIs) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) participants generated a vivid picture of the dangers of conflict during the 2008 siege, particularly in Lapayan. The informants identified seventeen people killed, one of whom was an old man whose ear was taken off by an attacker, and a child who was chopped to death. At

the community level, material damages were also heart rending. There were 22 houses razed to the ground (including a copra drier), 2 police cars burned, animals were stolen and crops were abandoned, stolen and wasted away.

Psychosocial Effects

More than half mentioned fear, anxiety and nervousness as common, mostly by those coming from Lapayan. Anger and fear among the victims also came out in all the research areas. Notably, those from Lapayan mentioned sleeplessness because of their unstable security condition.

The deteriorating Muslim-Christian relations did not only destroy the community physically but it also left scars on the fabric of social relations among the conflicting parties. This is noted in the following responses of Lapayan informants:

> *"Socially, we feel hatred against the Maranaos and*
> *sadness in our lives. However, there are others who*
> *also realized that there are good Maranaos who are*
> *innocent. But I noticed that the businessmen did not*
> *like to be involved in the conflict because of their*
> *interest." (Andrew, 38, Christian))*

> *"The Christians were angry at the Muslims and they said,' don't*
> *befriend them because they are Maranaos', ' ready with /build up*
> *your arms', 'peace and order was gone due to conflict".*

The new generation of Lapayan children have also learned to adopt the hatred, mistrust, and anger; although a few people still believed that the well-meaning Maranaos were innocently involved.

Emerging Conflict Resolution

When asked how the conflict was resolved, almost a third highlighted the role of the local government unit involving the barangay captain, barangay council, and purok president while 16% mentioned the military as a peacekeeping unit. Some informants were hoping for peace (15%) and praying to God, signifying that the Filipinos seek for the assistance of God when social disasters strike. The other government agency mentioned playing a role in conflict resolution is the Department of Social Welfare and Development. This is actually

one of the leading government agencies during disasters in charge of the distribution of relief/emergency goods. On a positive note, responses like negotiation and dialogue were also identified from the informants' responses, which are indicators that the informants are willing to take lasting mechanism to attain peace and order.

Table 2. Conflict Resolution Strategies

Response	Barangay			Total	
	Brgy. Sebucal	Brgy. Lapayan	Brgy. Canaway	N	%
Role of LGU (Brgy. Captain, Purok President & Council)	12	1	20	33	32.7
Military Unit (Military, Police)	0	16	0	16	15.8
Hope for peace	0	10	5	15	14.9
Negotiation	4	3	2	9	8.9
Activation of Brgy. Tanod	0	0	8	8	7.9
Pray to God	0	6	1	7	6.9
Stop attacks/threats	0	5	2	7	6.9
Dialogue	0	1	0	1	1.0
Role of DSWD	0	1	0	1	1.0
None	3	0	1	4	4.0
Total	19	43	39	101	100.0

Development Interventions in the Area

Nearly three fourths are aware of the development interventions in the area. The Subanen folks in Sebucal mentioned the Seventh Day Adventist Church among the groups which helped them establish their mini-hydro power plant; the Biodiversity Research Program (BRP) and Rotary Club were also mentioned as organizations that provided interventions in their community. The Trees for Travel Foundation is also visible as it is now providing employment in the community through its reforestation project.

In Lapayan, the presence of the NGO (*Pakigdait*) is instrumental in giving livelihood assistance to the victims of the 2008 conflict. On the other hand, the Canaway respondents mentioned community support extended by the DSWD, Women's Organization, Gawad Kalinga, and the former congressman.

This study exemplifies that the context that involves the geophysical and socioeconomic characteristics of the setting, as well as, the socio-demographic and economic profile of the local population have bearing on the nature/type of conflict that emerged in the communities. Although there are similarities and differences in their experiences but the typologies manifested indicate a combination of any of the following: simple/moderate and/or complex/intense, local and/or national/global, intergroup and/or intragroup, personal/domestic and/or structural/institutional, individual and/or societal.

Table 3. The Context and the Emerging Nature of Conflict and Conflict Resolution: A Preliminary Typology[1]

Context: Geophysical Features	Context: Socio-economic Characteristics	Nature of Conflict	Emerging Typology of Conflict	Emerging Conflict Resolution	Implications to Peace Building
Setting 1: SEBUCAL Upland and Remote	-Rural Community -Poor Subanen IP -Farming as major occupation	- Killing/ stealing of animals -Conflict over destroyed/ stolen crops -Boundary dispute	-Domestic Conflict: Personal - Intragroup conflict -Moderate -Impact: local	-Amicable settlement through mediation/ negotiation & court procedure; -Informal settlement (*ayom-ayom*)	-Self-transformation training - Provisions for food and alternative

[1]This matrix can be improved in a follow up study with more focused cases. The analysis is very preliminary limited to the data gathered and may be subjected to further scrutiny and/or enhancement with more appropriate theories on conflict. Note that the investigators of this study boldly came up with a tabular presentation to summarize the emerging nature of conflict and conflict resolution with the hope that the varied types of conflict can be better understood. It is further hoped that this endeavor will not further instill "conflict" to the readers in dissecting and discerning conflict patterns.

Table 3. (continued)

		- Domestic conflict	I	-Barangay resolution on conflict management or role of the LGU	livelihood Implementation of fines for stray animals Indigenous knowledge on settling disputes
Setting 2: LAPAYAN Coastal and Accessible	Rural Community Poor residents Fishing as major occupation	-Armed attack -Physical harm - stabbing/ murder/killing -Hostage taking -Stealing animals/plants	-Muslim-Christian Conflict with a historical origin - Structural & Political -Inter-group conflict -Domestic Conflict: Personal Impact: national/global (escalation of conflict) -intense and may escalate	-Military intervention	- Culture for Peace trainings - Self-Transformation and Conflict Transformation Workshops -Vigilance - Brgy resolution re stealing of animals

Table 3. (continued)

Setting 3: CANAWAY Coastal and Accessible	Urban Community of Poor squatters & residents Varied occupation : vending/ hawking, business, constructi on /labor, etc.	-Petty crimes &misdeme anors - Domestic problems - Conflict related to interperso nal relations - Squatter problems - Boundary dispute/lan d - conflict over properties	-Conflict: Structural & Political - Intra/inter -group -Impact: local -moderate and potential to become intense	-Cases referred to appropriate authorities -Amicable settlement at the barangay level -Police intervention -Court settlement -Barangay & police security forces (role of the LGU)	- Self- Transfor mation - Provision s for food and alternativ e livelihood - Installati on of an active Gender Desk to take care of violence against women - Activatio n of the LGU Justice system

Concluding Statements

Conflict indeed varies in intensity, level, and context. The development interventions for conflict transformation are context-specific. In Sebucal (upland-rural), the programs are more focused on conservation and regeneration of their natural habitat and the harnessing of their natural power potentials. In Lapayan (coastal-rural), the restoration of their stalled economic activities and culture for peace program are given more importance. Canaway (coastal-urban) has more varied development interventions ranging from livelihood, housing, special projects for women, senior citizens, and others.

Provisions for alternative livelihood that are cultural and gender sensitive, and appropriate to the locality based on existing skills and available resources are crucial to ensure food security and economic stability. It is simply difficult to start talking about peace when the stomach is churning and hungry. In this case, farming tool dispersals are applicable to setting 1 (upland-rural), but not to settings 2 (coastal-rural) and 3 (coastal-urban). While fishing paraphernalia are useful to setting 2 (coastal-rural), it may not be applicable to setting 3 (coastal-urban), albeit they are both coastal communities. Not all are fisherfolks in the urban area. This underscores the relationship of the geographical location to skills and peace building strategy.

Implementation of laws and policies related to peace and development needs to be genuinely monitored. In the case of setting 1 (upland-rural), the implementation of fines may deter the stray animals to devour crops available within the neighborhood. In setting 2 (coastal-rural), it would be best if there are early warning signals to detect "surprise" attacks of armed groups. Community-based disaster preparedness and continuing vigilance may be more effective rather than heavy reliance on military troops. After all, their very presence in the community also invites provocations and makes it more vulnerable as a target of attack. This would only multiply the danger zone and unsustainable peace scenarios.

In this light, indigenous forms of conflict management can be revitalized whenever practical and harmonizing. This can be spearheaded by the local leaders, indigenous or modern. In the latter, the barangay officials or local government unit plays a crucial part. On the other hand, setting 3 (coastal-urban), may implement policies that would put up lights on all streets to deter thieves and hold-uppers, or install the gender desk on a 24-hour basis to tackle violence against women and offer gender sensitivity seminars and training to couples. Putting a tooth to anti-fencing law is likewise appropriate in this urban community.

In terms of urgency, in the upland setting 1 (upland-rural), where life is relatively peaceful and serene, what is most needed is economic upliftment in terms of food production and marketing, and access to social services like health and education. The effects of conflict in setting 2 (coastal-rural) are more serious, thus, this coastal rural area that has been upset by attacks and encounters must be given priority. Setting 3 (coastal-urban) is typical in a city scenario with its concomitant social problems. Peace building efforts must take cognizance of the presence of subcultures and address the economic and social concerns of the unemployed, out-of-school youth, street children, drug addicts, battered wives, and the like.

On the whole, a culture of peace is much wanting where the economic, political, sociocultural, and environmental concerns are accorded utmost importance. As a way of life, integrating the cognitive, affective, moral/spiritual and action components of human beings is equally important in peace building.

This study exemplifies that the nature/type of conflict has bearing on the context that involves the geophysical and socioeconomic characteristics of the setting, as well as, the socio-demographic and economic profile of the local population. Among others, the features of the conflict may involve intergroup or intra-group relationships, ethnicity, scarce resources and violence against women.

The impact can be contained within the locality when the causes are interpersonal and domestic; but, when the causes are deeply rooted in the past with a mark of historicity and when the impact has a national and global exposure, the conflict is apparently very sensitive and intense. Thus, the situation is potential for conflict to escalate and affect social order.

The last typology also most likely leaves physical, emotional, and psychological scars. Any similar untoward event that may happen can easily rekindle the past and ignite conflict. The emerging type of conflict and conflict resolution mechanisms therefore bear implications to peace building endeavors.

Peace building efforts must consider the relationship between the geophysical setting, socio-demographic and economic profile of the human populace, and the nature of conflict. In particular, such factors as geographical location, the type of community, and source of livelihood or nature of occupation are important considerations.

Considering the interrelatedness of the components of society, Lederach (1996) advocated that in developing appropriate models of handling conflict, it is vital to respect and draw from the culture and knowledge of a people. The three key peacemaking functions must be incorporated, namely: education, advocacy, and mediation.

In conclusion, peace undertakings must be on a long-term basis, comprehensive, restitutive in essence, and consultative and ethical in procedure. In this vein, it is long-term when it is lasting and sustaining, not short-lived to serve only the present generation. It is comprehensive when it is holistic and cognizant of the economic, political, cultural, environmental and gender concerns. Most importantly, it is restitutive when it seeks to restore harmony rather than punish a gesture to achieve justice by peaceful means.

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