



**Parahyangan Catholic
University Faculty of Social and
Political Sciences Department of
International Relations**

Accredited A

SK BAN – PT NO: 3095/SK/BAN PT/Akred/S/VIII/2019

**Japan's Role in The Philippine-Moro Conflict Resolution
through *Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)*
Politic and International Security**

Thesis

By

Grace Natali E

2017330124

Bandung

2021



Parahyangan Catholic University
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Department of International Relations

Accredited A

SK BAN – PT NO: 3095/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/VIII/2019

**Japan's Role in The Philippine-Moro Conflict Resolution
through Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)**

Thesis

By

Grace Natali Estomini

2017330124

Supervisor

Yulius Purwadi Hermawan, Drs, M.A., Ph.D.

Bandung

2021

Faculty of Social and Political Science
Department of International Relations



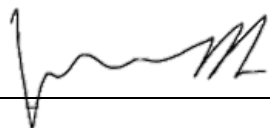
Thesis Validation

Name : Grace Natali Estomini
Student Number : 2017330124
Title : Japan's Role in The Philippine-Moro Conflict Resolution
through Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

Has been examined in the Final
Examination On July, 27th 2021
And thereby declared **GRADUATED**

The Board of Examiners


Chairperson and member of examiners

Adrianus Harsawaskita, S.IP., M.A. : 

Secretary

Yulius Purwadi Hermawan, Ph.D. : 

Member

I'dil Syawfi, S.IP., M.Si. : 

With the acknowledgement of,
Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences



Dr. Pius Sugeng Prasetyo, M.

STATEMENT

The undersigned below,

Name : Grace Natali Estomini
Student ID : 2017330124
Department : International Relations
Title : Japan's Role in The Philippine- Moro Conflict
Resolution through Japan International Cooperation
Agency (JICA)

Hereby declares that this thesis is a product of my own, and it has not been previously proposed by any other parties to obtain an academic degree. Any information, idea and quoted opinion gained from others are officially cited in accordance to the research standard requirements.

This statement is made with full responsibility and I am willing to bear any consequences if this statement is proven to be invalid.

Tangerang, July 14th 2021,



Grace Natali Estomini
2017330124

ABSTRACT

Name : Grace Natali .E.
NPM : 2017330124
Thesis Title : Japan's Role in The Philippine- Moro Conflict Resolution through
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

This study aims to describe the role of JICA in the Philippine- Moro conflict resolution in the timeframe of 2003 when the Reference of the International Monitoring Team (IMT) were made and Japan became one of its prominent member, until 2016 when the government of Philippine releases the Mindanao peace roadmap. This paper analyzes the role of JICA in the lenses of conflict resolution, as it argues that people are more than capable to cooperate and address difficulties among themselves. The concept of conflict resolution also looks at the challenges that hinder the peace between two conflicting parties, and in this case, between the Philippine Government and Bangsamoro. The role of JICA, in the Philippine- Moro conflict resolution lies in their contribution in community building and developmental aid. JICA created programs and activities as a developmental assistance for the people of Moro to be able to develop themselves and raise their living standards with focuses in various areas. The first focus is to strengthen a foundation for sustainable economic growth so that it would be possible to promote businesses growth and investment. Next, JICA focuses in ensuring human security for inclusive growth to help on reducing the number of poverty and increase the quality of life for Mindanao communities. Lastly, JICA strive to establish peace and stability in Mindanao. With its framework, JICA has contributed to addressing the challenges that the Philippines Government and the People of Mindanao face to attain peace.

Keywords; JICA, Philippine, Bangsamoro, Conflict

ABSTRAK

Name : Grace Natali .E.
NPM : 2017330124
Thesis Title : *Peran Jepang dalam Resolusi Konflik Filipina- Moro Melalui Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).*

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan peran JICA dalam penyelesaian konflik Filipina-Moro dalam kurun waktu 2003 saat dibuatnya Referensi Tim Pemantau Internasional (IMT) dimana Jepang menjadi salah satu anggotanya yang menonjol, hingga tahun 2016 ketika pemerintah Filipina merilis peta jalan perdamaian Mindanao. Makalah ini menjelaskan peran JICA dalam lensa resolusi konflik yang menyatakan bahwa orang-orang lebih dari mampu untuk bekerja sama dan mengatasi kesulitan di antara mereka. Konsep resolusi konflik juga melihat tantangan yang menghambat perdamaian antara dua pihak yang berkonflik, dalam hal ini antara Pemerintah Filipina dan Bangsamoro. Peran JICA dalam penyelesaian konflik Filipina-Moro terletak pada kontribusi mereka dalam pengembangan komunitas dan developmental aid. JICA membuat program dan kegiatan sebagai wujud bantuan perkembangan masyarakat Moro untuk dapat mengembangkan diri dan meningkatkan taraf hidup dengan fokus pada berbagai bidang. Bidang pertama adalah untuk memperkuat fondasi untuk ekonomi berkelanjutan agar pertumbuhan bisnis dan investasi dapat terjadi. Berikutnya, JICA juga fokus untuk memastikan keamanan manusia untuk pertumbuhan inklusif demi menurunkan angka kemiskinan dan meningkatkan kualitas kehidupan untuk komunitas- komunitas Mindanao. Terakhir, JICA juga fokus dalam bidang mempertahankan kedamaian dan stabilitas di Mindanao. Dengan menyediakan bantuan di bidang- bidang yang telah disebutkan, JICA telah berkontribusi dalam mengatasi tantangan- tantangan yang dihadapi oleh pemerintah Filipina dan Bangsa Mindanao untuk mencapai perdamaian.

Kata Kunci; JICA, Filipina, Bangsamoro, Konflik

PREFACE

In the name of God, the almighty. After more than six months working on this thesis titled “**Japan’s Role in The Philippine-Moro Conflict Resolution through Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)**”, it has finally come into fruition. This thesis is formulated in order to obtain the Bachelor’s Degree in Political Science in the department of International Relations, Parahyangan Catholic University, Bandung.

The research aims to describe Japan’s role on their involvement on the Moro-Philippine conflict through JICA that acts as Japan’s development agency and how JICA’s contribution greatly affects the Moro-Philippine peacebuilding process. The author acknowledges that this thesis is not without flaws and inaccuracies, and therefore would apologize should there be any mistakes and hopes for constructive criticism for the betterment of not only the thesis, but for the evaluation of the author.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Mas Yulius Purwadi Hermawan, Drs, M.A., Ph.D. as the supervisor in completing this thesis, who has directed and guided me so that this thesis can be completed.

Thank you to my beloved parents, Mama and Papa, who have sacrificed so much time, thought and energy. And has selflessly accompany me throughout all my shortcomings. To my sister, Erina, one of the strongest person I have known. As well as my cousins Zafnat and Dani, for always having my back.

To my newfound family throughout university; Violeta, Fabiola, Rivan, Dipo, Kevin, Iki, Irvin, Mario, Zirras, Calvin, Yogaz, Michelle T, Yuda, Dana, Fauzan. Thank you for never leaving each other behind, thank you for the warm nights and cold drinks. Thank you to Michelle S, who has been my emergency call during the completion of this thesis. And to my unexpected blessing, you know who you are, may happiness follow you wherever you choose to sail.

As well as all the member of the 2020 Student Senate and all the other organizations I've been a part of. And to many other friends that have been providing support, adventures, and excitement. Thank you for coloring this chapter of my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

STATEMENT	i
ABSTRACT	ii
<i>ABSTRAK</i>	iii
PREFACE	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Research Background.....	1
1.2 Problem Identification.....	6
1.2.1 Problem Statement	6
1.2.2 Scope of Research	8
1.2.3 Research Question.....	9
1.3 The Aim and Purpose of Research	9
1.3.1 The Aim of the Research	9
1.3.2 The Contribution of the Research	9
1.4 Literature Review	10
1.5 Theoretical Framework.....	12
1.6 Research Methodology.....	25
1.6.1 Research Method.....	25
1.6.2 Data Gathering Technique.....	25
1.7 Thesis Organizations.....	25
CHAPTER II. THE PHILIPPINE- MORO CONFLICT AND PEACE PROCESS ..	27
2.1. Conflict between Moro and The Government of Philippines	27
2.1.1 The History of the Philippine- Moro Conflict.....	28
2.1.2. The Causes of Philippine- Moro Conflict.....	33

2.1.2.1 Violence, Genocide, and Insurgency Attacks.....	34
2.1.2.2 Poverty, Lack of Opportunities and Land Dispossession	36
2.1.2.3 Identity, Discrimination, and Injustice.....	38
2.2. The Peace Process of Moro- Philippines’ Conflict	40
2.2.1 The Road to The 2012 Framework Agreement.....	40
2.2.2 The Road of Transition to Peace	46
2.3. Challenges for Conflict Resolution.....	48
2.3.1 Factionalism in the Bangsamoro	48
2.3.2 Implementation and Cease-fire Violations	51
2.3.3 Mindanao’s Financial Crisis	53
CHAPTER III. JICA’S ROLES IN THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE CONFLICT .	55
3.1. JICA as Japan’s International Development Agency	55
3.1.1 Background of the Establishment of JICA	56
3.1.2 Vision, Mission and Programs.	60
3.1.3 JICA as an Instrument of Japan’s Foreign Policy in Development and Peace Process.....	62
3.1.4 JICA’s Presence in Philippine	68
3.2 JICA’s Programs and Activities in Bangsamoro: Community Development for Peace Process	71
3.2.1. Strengthening a Foundation for Sustainable Economic Growth.....	71
3.2.2. Ensuring Human Security for Inclusive Growth.....	81
3.2.3. Establishing Peace and Stability in Mindanao	87
3.4 Analysis of JICA’s Contribution in Addressing the Peace Process Challenges.....	91
CHAPTER IV. CONCLUSION.....	96
BIBLIOGRAPHY	99

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Timeline of the Mindanao Peace Process.....	40
Table 3.1 Socio-Economic Development Plan for Conflict Affected Areas in Mindanao components.....	82
Table 3.2 JICA Programs and Activities Contribution to Handling the Conflict Resolution Challenges.....	86

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Galtung’s Conflict Triangle.....	13
Figure 1.2 The Interrelationship of the conflict and Village Communities.....	20
Figure 2.1 Timeline of the History of the Philippine- Moro Conflict.....	28
Figure 2.2 IMT Organizational Structure.....	43
Figure 3.1 Economic Cooperation and ODA.....	58
Figure 3.2 State Building for Resilience.....	67
Figure 3.3 Mobilization of Middle- Range Leadership to Connect Top And Grasroot.....	70

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASG	Abu Sayyaf Group
ARMM	Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
BJE	Bangsamoro Juridical Entity
BIAF	Bangsa Moro Islamic Armed Forces
CAAM	Conflict- Affected Areas in Mindanao
MILF	Mindanao Islamic Liberation Front
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
CPC	Civilian Protection Component
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DICCEP	Davao Industry Cluster Capacity Enhancement Project
DPWH	Department of Public Works and Highways
FPA	Final Peace Agreement
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HRIS	Human Resource Information System
IMT	International Monitoring Team
IOM	International Organization for Migration
JDR	Japan Disaster Relief
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MBG	Misuari Breakaway Group
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
NICC	National Islamic Command Council

ODA	Official Developmental Aid
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OECF	The Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund
OTCA	Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency
J-BIRD	Japan-Bangsamoro Initiatives for Reconstruction and Development
JEMIS	Japan Emigration Service
JOCV	Dispatch of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers
SEDP-CAAM	Socio-Economic Development Plan for Conflict Affected Areas in Mindanao
TWG	Technical Working Group

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

Mindanao is the second-largest island located in the south of Philippines, where the majority of the population are Muslims and preferred to be called 'Moro' rather than Filipinos¹. This conflict is expressed in the violent insurgency movements against the Philippine state².

The comradery Bangsamoro, or the people of Moro, shared due to their common religious identity brought worry upon the government of Philippines. The Philippines claims that the Bangsamoro must recognize the Philippines as a sovereign state. The islands of Mindanao and the islands surrounding Mindanao, regarded as Moroland, are included in this territorial jurisdiction, has been defined and accepted by the world community in accordance with international law. As a result, the state regards the Moros' continued armed struggle as an act of secession against a legitimate state, while the Moros claim that their actions are a form and expression of "self-determination" against a state that "illegitimately annexed" the people of Moro³.

Since the formation of the Muslim Independence Movement in the 1960s, the

¹ Ruben G. Domingo, *The Muslim Secessionist Movement in the Philippines*, (Master of Science in Resource Planning and Management for International Defense, Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, 1995), 19- 22.

² Ibid

Muslim Separatist Movement in the Southern Philippines has posed a threat to the country. In the 1970s, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) emerged as the lead secessionist organization in Mindanao. Through its military arm, the Bangsa Moro Army, MNLF waged a war against Philippine government. Their goal was to create a separate state made up of Mindanao, Sulu, Basilan, Palawan, and Tawi-tawi islands.⁴

The root cause of the Moro conflict dates back into after World War Two, when the Philippine government, in the reign of President Ferdinand Marcos, developed a policy of moving activists and farmers into the southern part of Philippine for two reasons; to overcome the overpopulation of the country's rural areas through organized resettlement, and to lessen the Japanese people's army during Japan Invasion⁵.

The aforementioned policy mandates a large-scale migration of Christian Filipinos to the Philippines' south. This policy has a positive impact on the north, reducing the population and redistribute human resources. Yet, this policy increase socioeconomic anxieties and insecurities amongst the Muslim Mindanao, the Moros became more determined to fight for their freedom and self-determination.⁶

Aside from the religious divide, Christian settlers routinely acquired legal ownership of the best lands, properties, as well as crop loans and other government support. The Christian communities also achieved benefits such as granted easier links to trade centers and to one another by networks of roads, while Muslim communities

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Naoyuki Ochihai, "*The Mindanao Conflict: Efforts for Building Peace Through Development*", Asia-Pacific Review Vol. 23, No. 2 (37-59), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13439006.2016.1254364>.

⁶ Naoyuki Ochihai, Op.cit.

throughout Mindanao were put aside and did not receive the same benefits⁷.

The Jabidah Massacre in 1968 was the start of how the conflict turned violent, when the Philippine army enlisted the help of troops from the island provinces of Basilan, Tawi-Tawi, and Sulu to reclaim the eastern part of the Malaysian state of Sabah, which remained relatively isolated. Because of this by 1970, the unjust in treatment between the two groups in terms of land and government resources has resulted in a significant wealth gap between Muslims and Christians. The massacre caused the execution of 60 Filipino Muslim commandos on the planned operation and ignited the Muslim insurgency against the Philippine government.⁸

At the start of 1972 the conflict escalated due to the forming of MNFL, a war between Muslim rebels and the Philippine military ensued in the South of Philippine. The battle claimed the lives of an estimated 120,000 people. This created a large number of Philippine immigration that flee out of the country, more than 100,000 Philippine Muslims flee to Malaysia as a refugee.⁹

The tension and the armed conflict does not stop until more than four decades, this attract international attention. Besides Malaysia that receives refugees, the Moros also reached out to other international actors. The MNLF targeted the influential Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) for its campaign for recognition. Although the OIC turned it down, the involvement of the OIC has prevented the Philippine

⁷ Thomas M. McKenna, "The Origins of the Muslim Separatist Movement in the Philippines", Asia Society, accessed in <https://asiasociety.org/origins-muslim-separatist-movement-philippines>, 19 February 2020.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Thomas M. McKenna, Op.cit.

Government from using an all-out military solution to solve the problem in the south. The MNLF gained observer status in the OIC and started discussions and peace talks with the Philippine government.¹⁰

The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) was founded by Hashim Salamat due to their disagreement with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) concerning their attempts to reach a deal with the Philippine government on peace negotiations and ceasefires. The government and the MNLF signed a peace agreement that established the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), which the MILF regarded as not sufficient enough because it continued to delegate all issues and matters to the national Philippine government.¹¹.

Japan's Involvement in Philippines' peace process started after Fidel Ramos was elected president in 1992. Japan attended the donors meeting for Peace in Mindanao, after Ramos administration and MNLF sign the final peace agreement.¹² The diplomatic relationship between Japan and Philippine has been built since Japan established their office in Manila in the year 1888 and was declared an embassy in the year 1943. Ever since then, the two countries have engaged in numerous mutual cooperation in various areas. Their interaction is dynamic and Japan has become one of the top investors in the Philippines, proven by the thousands of companies that operate in the Philippines¹³.

¹⁰ Ruben G. Domingo, Op.Cit, 19-22.

¹¹Moro Islamic Liberation Front, Projct on Violent Conflict, accessed in <https://www.start.umd.edu/baad/narratives/moro-islamic-liberation-front-milf>, 1 March 2020

¹² Naoyuki Ochihai, Op.cit.

¹³ Joyce Ann L. Rocamora, "PH-Japan ties 'closer than brothers'", Philippine News Agency, accessed

Japan's security and prosperity cannot be attained solely by improving its security, it also depends on the international community's peace and stability. In conflict-affected regions, effective peacebuilding initiatives are critical for preventing the recurrence of violence and achieving long-term peace. As part of its diplomatic agenda, Japan engages in peacebuilding activities and pursue their foreign policy to create a more peaceful Southeast Asia.¹⁴ This need of security was due to their status as a pacifist country, due to the constitution's Article 9 and its vow to "renounce war as the sovereign right of the nation". This impacted Japan's regional security and made them more vulnerable, thus their presence in the sector of diplomacy and economy is important to build codependency relations amongst neighboring countries.

Since Japan revised their philosophy on basic policies and priorities for Japan's overseas development cooperation called Official Development Aid (ODA) Charter¹⁵, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), a dependent organization that executes technical and economic cooperation programs determined by the Japanese Government¹⁶, assembles a Mindanao expert panel, sends a policy advisor to the government of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), and introduced the ARMM Social Fund for Peace and Development Project and the Central

on <https://www.pna.gov.ph/articles/1043732>, in 29 July 2021

¹⁴ "Japan's Foreign Policy to Promote National and Worldwide Interest", p.176, accessed on <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000106463.pdf>, in 29 July 2021.

¹⁵ Ken Okinawa, "Changes to ODA Charter reflect new realities", The Japan Times, accessed in <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2015/05/29/commentary/japan-commentary/changes-oda-charter-reflect-new-realities/#.XltraagzBIU>, 1 March 2020

¹⁶ "What is JICA?", ProCordoba, accessed in <https://www.procordoba.org/en/what-is-jica-272.html>, 1 March 2020

Mindanao Road Project¹⁷.

Their effort on building peace in Philippine was done in many ways, and covers multiple aspects. Not only facilitating Philippine and Bangsamoro peace talks, they also helped on Philippine's economic development and infrastructure, giving those affected by the civil war and those who faced injustice a better life. Based on the brief explanation above, this research highlights various actions or projects Japan took regarding the Moro conflict and the role Japanese government has in mediating the internal conflict Philippine faced. Therefore, this research is titled: **“Japan’s Role in The Philippine- Moro Conflict Resolution through *Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)*”**

1.2 Problem Identification

1.2.1 Problem Statement

The Moro conflict has claimed many Philippines lives, it produces not only one, but two massacres, and has been an important factor to the state's lack of development. The state suffers from political instability, and they still are unable to reach their potential regarding its economic development and infrastructure. The number of individuals murdered in the conflict varies, but conservative estimates from the Uppsala Combat Data Program suggest that the armed conflict claimed at least 6,015 lives between the Philippines and the Bangsamoro between 1989 and 2012.¹⁸

¹⁷ Naoyuki Ochiyai, Op.cit.

¹⁸ Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), Uppsala Conflict Data Program.

As one of the major third party, Japan has been facilitating Moro- Philippine Conflict even after the cease-fire in October 2008, when the peace talks came to a halt. Japan's endeavors towards peace has been a process that was new, a process that included development aid for both the government of Philippines and organizations that represents Bangsamoro such as the MILF¹⁹.

Japan's assistance for Bangsamoro is a form of commitment on their ODA Charter. Aside from JICA, there are many other international organizations that lend a helping hand for Bangsamoro peacebuilding process to reach success. International Organization for Migration (IOM), for example, that has been working in Mindanao for over 20 years. In 2009, JICA joined IOM, with the focus of livelihoods and economic infrastructure, reliable water supply, and Access to health and education²⁰.

There are a few countries that sent humanitarian aids especially in conditions such as earthquake such as the World Bank and United Nations, and Japan has been one of the biggest contributor that provides help for Bangsamoro ever since 1992 through JICA²¹.

Their projects on countries that are in needs helped build peace in their transition from conflict, especially with Bangsamoro. This shows that economic development is an important factor to a state peace process, as well as JICA's role as

¹⁹ A New Perspective on Conflict Resolution in Asia: Integration and Peace and Development for the Philippines, accessed in https://www.jica.go.jp/jica-ri/publication/workingpaper/wp_155.html, 1 March 2020.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

a third party in the Mindanao's conflict resolution²².

It is obvious that the conflict has cost the government of Philippine economically, but it also created a threat of security towards the people of the Philippine. The people of Moro requested that their religious and cultural values be protected, that employment and land not be monopolized by the Christian community, that they be given a larger portion of public funding, and that they be given more economic and political opportunities. All of that needs to be fulfilled in order for the conflict to cease²³. It is within the government of Philippines' responsibility to ensure the security of their people, whether it's the people of Moro or the Christian majority of the country. Yet, many states and international organizations have to show support in order for both the People of Moro and the Government of Philippines reached an understanding, with JICA as one of the most significant country that provides aid. Not only by facilitating the negotiation process but JICA went out of their way to also provide developmental aid for the people of Moro. This marks the first time JICA approaches a conflict by not only supporting the government of a conflicting country, but also directly listen and give assistance to a community that was considered an insurgency group.

1.2.2 Scope of Research

This research focuses solely on Japan' involvement in the Moro- Philippine

²² Ibid

²³ University of Maryland, "Minorities at Risk Project: Assessment for Moros in the Philippines," Minorities at Risk Project, accessed in <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/assessment.asp?groupId=84003>, 29 May 2012.

conflict through the organization JICA, therefore this thesis does not discuss other states or actors that also contributes to the issue or issue- solving such as United States, Malaysia, and others. The research also focuses on the Bangsamoro -Philippine conflict and does not discuss any other conflict and issue that the Philippines might face. The research timeframe is from 2003 until 2016. On 2003, The Terms of Reference of the International Monitoring Team (IMT) were made where Japan has been assigned a clear role to help the peace process between Moro and the government of Philippines and on 2016, where The 2012 Framework Agreement plan ended and the presidential elections started.

1.2.3 Research Question

Based on the narrative provided above, the major question this thesis expects to answer is as follows, *“How did JICA contribute to the Philippine- Moro conflict resolution?”*

1.3 The Aim and Purpose of Research

1.3.1 The Aim of the Research

The research aims to describe programs and activities of the JICA that acts as Japan’s development agency in promoting the Moro- Philippine conflict resolution.

1.3.2 The Contribution of the Research

This research is made to add a literature as a reference for those interested in the conflict between the government of Philippine and the people of Moro as well as

conflict research study.

1.4 Literature Review

In order to understand Japan's role on the conflict resolution, and how their steps tremendously help deescalating the conflict, this research uses three literatures that provide information needed for the formulation of this research as a primary source.

The first literature is a journal article written by Rizal G. Buendia entitled '*The Mindanao Conflict in the Philippines: Ethno-Religious War or Economic Conflict*', the journal argues that the conflict does not only stem from religion differences, but also on how the economic gap between the two communities serves as a major injustice in the state. In his journal article, Buendia explores the relationship between the country's political system and political violence in the Mindanao conflict and what factors that plays into it. This journal also explores the history of the conflict and the consequences of each events that transpired, actions that were taken by the primary actors involved in the conflict, as well as their objectives and strategies in reaching their objectives. Thus, tracing the roots of the political violence that happened in Mindanao.²⁴ Although this journal heavily talks about the resolution of the conflict, it does not add JICA's role on the process. The journal talked about the political turbulences Philippine faces, and focus on how the state handle the conflict. Buendina analyzes that in order to salvage these decades-worth of conflict, the Philippine government ought to from re-

²⁴ Ruben G. Domingo, Op.Cit.

engineering political institutions in Mindanao. More than that, Buendia also emphasized the importance of good governance, economic justice, the rule of law, public officials' accountability for corruption, improved civil-military relations, and the protection of human rights.²⁵

The second literature is entitled *The Mindanao Conflict: Efforts for Building Peace through Development* written by Naoyuki Ochiyai. By describing JICA's mechanism and strategies for assisting the Moro-Philippine conflict, this journal article focuses on how the Japanese government's support and initiatives have significantly helped to the peace process in Mindanao, as well as listing the projects and actions made by JICA and the Japanese government during the peace process. The journal also explains how the conflict of Mindanao needed a multifaceted, multilayered approach due to their complex history and how their approach for this conflict has been unique and different from the cases JICA undertook before the Mindanao conflict.²⁶

The third primary source is *Peace and Development in Mindanao, Republic of the Philippines: The Long Road to Peace through Trust* by Naoyuki Ochiai. This book focuses on how the Japanese Government and JICA was involved in the Mindanao conflict peacebuilding, the history of Japan's and Philippines' relationship and the issues JICA faced while facing the Mindanao region. The Ochiai explores the conflict in two ways; by the personal experience of Ochiai as a Japanese aid worker going in

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Naoyuki Ochiyai, Op.cit.

the conflict- affected area before a peace agreement had been reached, and the challenges faced as JICA provides assistance directly to the conflict- afflicted areas and the anti- government forces²⁷.

The writer believes that the two journals and book complement each other and provides a great insight of the issue and help the writer to answer the question “*How did JICA contribute to the Philippine- Moro conflict resolution?*”. The aforementioned literatures are very well- written and each literature reaches their intended objective, yet they only explain the conflict and JICA’s projects to help the Mindanao conflict. Therefore, this research aims to describe JICA’s role as a development agency in facing the challenges that the government of Philippines and Bangsamoro faces during their peace process.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework help holds and support a research study and introduces as well as describes the theories that explain why the research under the problem study exists. This subchapter consists of definitions of concepts and why the mentioned concepts strengthen the study.

Inside this thesis, the writer uses concepts such as Conflict Resolution, Conflict in Galtung’s perspective including the Conflict Triangle and Conflict Transformation, specifically on how the role of development aid or assistance as a commitment to conflict transformation, and Human Security.

²⁷ Ibid.

Conflict resolution offers a new perspective in politics as the field orients itself in cooperation and consensus. Conflict resolution rejects that human relationships are marked by conflict or competition while acknowledging that it is unavoidable. Rather, it argues that people are more than capable to cooperate and address difficulties among themselves.²⁸ To understand the theory of conflict resolution, we must first understand conflict, and what most often challenges a resolution to occur is differences, whether it exists on a cultural, ethnic, religious, and values. These challenges are significant to know the life cycle of a conflict and measure what and how conflict resolution can be conducted.²⁹

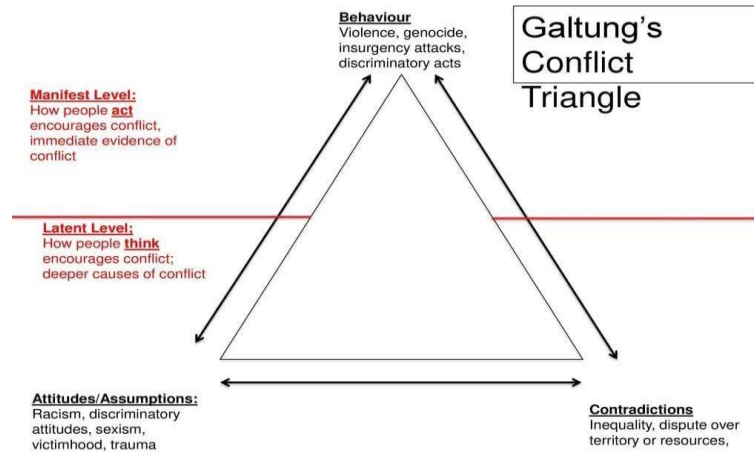
In his book, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, Johan Galtung mentioned that in every conflict lies a contradiction, something that prevent other parties' interest to occur. He classified contradictions into two forms; Dispute and Dilemma, whereas dispute means that there are two actors pursuing the same scarce goals, and dilemma are two actors pursuing two incompatible goals.³⁰ and so it is more than often that dispute would end in a competition, and dilemma in frustration. It is also very possible that both forms of contradictions could escalate into violence.

Johan Galtung also made a point to explain the briefly aforementioned escalation of conflict by using the Conflict Triangle;

²⁸ Morgan Brigg, 'The New Politics of Conflict Resolution: Responding to Difference' (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 1.

²⁹ Ibid, 13.

³⁰ Johan Galtung, 'Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and civilization', (London: SAGE Publications, 1996), 71.

Figure 1.1 *Galtung's Conflict Triangle*

Source: <https://sites.chapman.edu/capstoneprojectsinpeacestudies/2019/02/22/galtung-and-the-conflict-triangle/>

This triangle can be used to trace and identify flows in any of the six directions, and depicts that violence breeds violence. Galtung identifies Attitudes (A) and Contradictions (C) as latent level and Behavior (B) as manifest level, meaning that A and C remained invisible, subconscious, inferred, and theoretical; while manifest level is visible, empirical, observed, and conscious. Conflict is a triadic construct, all three factors (A, B, and C) are equally as important and has to be paid the same amount of attention, for these three factors Galtung was able to draw the life-cycle of conflict³¹.

The triangle also represents the forms of violence, whether that violence is direct and indirect. Indirect violence happened under the surface, this includes structural and cultural violence. Whereas structural violence lies in the structure that the society adopts, it shows up as unequal opportunity and power distribution. This can

³¹ Johan Galtung, Op.cit, 72.

cause non- verbal violence such as oppression, poverty, social exclusion, and others that cause injustice to a marginalized group. Meanwhile, Cultural violence is derived from the likes of ideology, knowledge, arts (theatre, songs, stories), as well as religion and shows in the form of prejudice. Both of these indirect violence, can bubble up into the surface and push for direct violence to occur³².

Aside from the conflict triangle, Galtung's model of conflict includes conflict escalation and de- escalation, where the progress is complex and unpredictable and consists of; Difference, Contradiction, Polarization, violence, war, ceasefire, agreement, normalization, and reconciliation. Each stage has to be handled differently. Thus this model of conflict produces conflict resolution techniques complimentary with Galtung's model of conflict.³³

During and after the Cold War, intrastate violence and conflict between communities have overtaken interstate violence as the primary form of conflict in international relations. A new trend following this change of form of conflict is how parties increasingly shown an interest in negotiated settlement that often involves the assistance of a third party mediators. The process of negotiation has to be interest based and offer a 'win- win' solution where both parties are satisfied with a solution. Liberal theories of international relations point out that a strong relationship between

³² M. Prakoso Aji and Jerry Indrawan, "Understanding Peace Studies as part of International Relations", Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta.

³³ Rambostham and friends, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (3rd Edition) (Cambridge; Polity (2011)), 13-15.

democracy and peace where, according to Immanuel Kant, decades long conflict ended in a negotiated settlement, oftentimes with the help of a third party to help attain a negotiated result. There was a demand for international institutions to play a greater role in conflict management processes, including mediation and negotiations of international issues, since then the United Nations has suddenly gained increased prominence as a great power in settling conflicts and disputes.³⁴

As the demand for third parties in conflict resolution heightened, there are a plethora of intergovernmental, state, and non-state third parties eager to provide their negotiation and mediation services³⁵.

To dissect the topic, we have to see JICA as a third party and its role in deescalating the conflict. One of the most common roles for third parties is to become a mediator. The purpose of mediation is to help conflicting parties in resolving their differences. According to Galtung, the mediator's profile should be low and should be accessible to all parties. It is also important that mediators have a good motivation, general knowledge, specific local knowledge, skills, empathy, nonviolence, creativity, compassion, persistence, and an understanding of the process. There are three main points that mediators should be aware of and consider; the first is communication, which includes the various perceptions that exist in every conflict. The second being the

³⁴ Ibid, 35- 39.

³⁵ Ibid.

conflict process, as conflict has a predictable path, and the mediator should be able to predict variables that may arise during the conflict.³⁶

According to Christine Bigdon and Benedikt Korf that has studied the discussion over the role of development aid or assistance in conflict transformation.³⁷ There are three inter-related strategies for peacebuilding that are usually done by different actors, the first one being the *conflict settlement strategy* that is primarily for the officials or diplomatic and governmental actors, thus not particularly relevant for the research topic.³⁸

The second one, *conflict resolution* discussions concerns itself with addressing the root causes of direct, cultural and structural violence. The activities that this strategy offers are often non-coercive activities by non-governmental parties such as problem-solving workshops. The perfect actor for this strategy would be international and/or local conflict resolution NGOs.³⁹

Lastly, the *conflict transformation* discussion that addresses long-term peacebuilding activities oriented to outcomes, processes and also structural changes. The actors for this strategy would be local grassroots organizations as well as local and international development agencies and NGOs. They perform capacity building and empowerment, grassroots training, human rights, trauma therapy, development work and humanitarian assistance.⁴⁰

³⁶ Ibid, 55-62.

³⁷ Christine Bigdon and Benedikt Korf, 'The Role of Development Aid in Conflict Transformation: Facilitating Empowerment Processes and Community Building' (Berghof, 2002), 2.

³⁸ Ibid, 2-4.

³⁹ Ibid, 4.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

These strategies are inter-related and necessary for peacebuilding, but in the context of developmental aid the conflict transformation strategy is the most relevant, where additional insight into the proper function that development aid should play in the context of proposed interventions aimed at contributing to conflict transformation is provided by the Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD/ DAC 1997).⁴¹

The DAC Guidelines put an emphasis on the necessities of long-term support in the process of peacebuilding and reconciliation at the community level, as well as ongoing initiatives to improve governance at a regional institutional level. Therefore, local empowerment and development agency is a vital part of conflict transformation. Their role in listening and supporting the smaller communities is a key to their ‘bottom-up’ approach.⁴²

According to the DAC Guidelines, the terms peacebuilding and reconciliation are aimed at efforts for sustaining peace and stability. This can be done by establishing or supporting institutions that can address the root causes of a violent conflict, whether this institution focuses on the socio-economic, cultural, or political sector. Doing this can integrate and support the marginalized group within a community by helping their capability on things such as social networking, using their economic resources and

⁴¹ Christine Bigdon and Benedikt Korf, *Op.cit.*, 5.

⁴² *Ibid*, 5.

information gathering as well as sharing, and providing access to political decision making⁴³.

In situations where the tensions are rising, and the violence reached a manifest level, it is important to decrease the arming of both conflicting parties and intensify long-term peacebuilding efforts that target the root causes of the conflict. While in violent conflict, diplomatic efforts and military prevention can be used to moderate the conflict in order for peace negotiations to start. And in this stage of the conflict, it is important for development programs and activities to continuously support the de-escalation of the conflict⁴⁴.

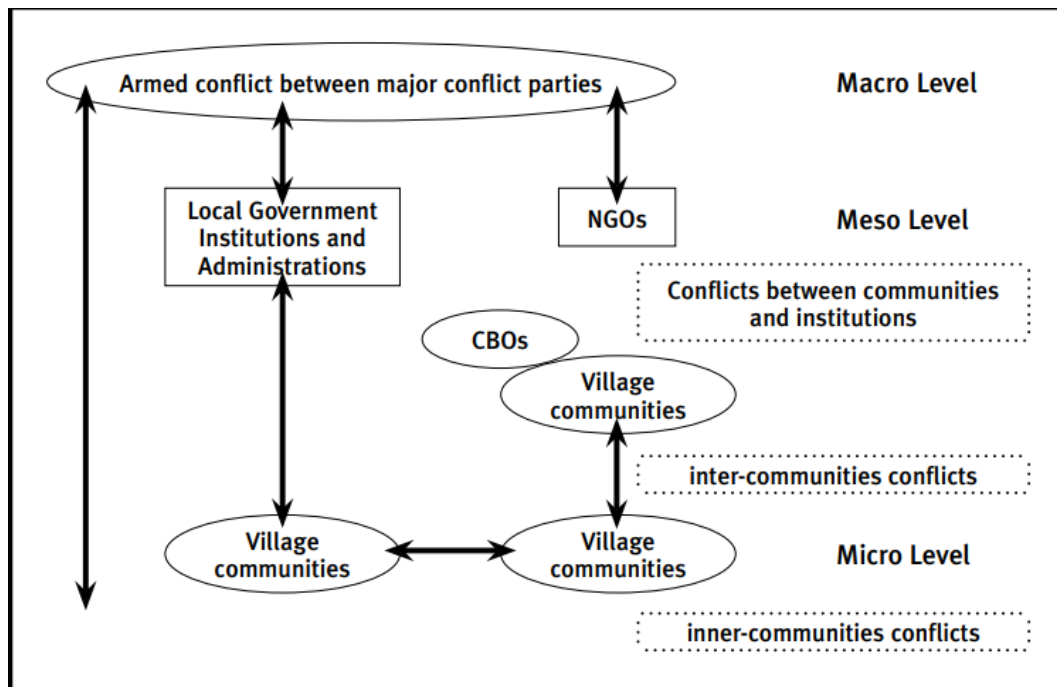
Lastly, during the transition periods and post-conflict phase, peacebuilding, conflict resolution, reconstruction, and rehabilitation activities are significant in order for peace talks to occur smoothly. The initiatives that are needed have to match efforts such as demilitarisation and clearance of armed forces, the reformation of authorities, peaceful conflict resolution mechanism, long term reconstruction in the sector of politics, economy, social, as well as political⁴⁵.

⁴³ “DAC Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation”, OECD, accessed in <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/7C9EF6DDE0533021C1256C2F00392CF3-oecd-guide-1997.pdf>, on 29 July 2021.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 14.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 15.

Figure 1.2: The Interrelationship of the Macro- conflict and village communities.



Sources: *The Role of Development Aid in Conflict Transformation: Facilitating Empowerment Processes and Community Building*, page 5.

Resource conflicts, interest conflicts, and identity conflicts were split into three frames by Rothman and Friedman (2001) in their framework for conflict intervention analysis. These frames follow the aforementioned conflict discourse (conflict settlement, conflict resolution, and conflict transformation). The first two frames of conflict (resource conflict and interest conflict) see conflict as a struggle for scarce status, power, and resources and come from 'needs, desires, and fear'. The Last frame, identity conflict frame, is where Conflict is understood to be a natural result of each party's wants, needs, concerns, and fears. In this frame, Conflicts happen when individual and group identities collide, providing an opportunity for growth and learning, as well as defining personal needs, values, standards, and dissatisfactions,

among other things.⁴⁶

Identity conflict frame is best solved by conflict transformation because this strategy pays attention to the population that is excluded from the discussion and has a high potential to for non-violent struggle. Furthermore, the conflict transformation is convincing because of the approach to its outcome, which has two direct implications; process orientation that changes negative conflict attitudes allowing for cooperation and communication between them; and change orientation that acknowledges the political imperative and underprivileged groups, enabling true social justice.⁴⁷

Transformation strategy also includes development agencies, especially bilateral donors, as they fit better to fulfill conflict management than local empowerment. This is due to allocation and fund disbursement scheduling, causing agencies to put priority on the outcome than process and change. As empowerment is seen as just an instrument, community-level conflict is be considered as delaying factors and obstacles that need to be eliminated as soon as possible.⁴⁸

If a development agency fails to recognize the underlying root of conflict, they often neglect in-depth evaluation and proceed to follow a simple implementation path. If not done right, development agencies can resort into imposing solutions rather than Providing spaces for the development of local capability and decision-making. They may neglect to include local field personnel in key decision-making processes, which

⁴⁶ Christine Bigdon and Benedikt Korf, Op.cit., 6.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 8-10.

would be questionable towards their supposedly democratic process.⁴⁹

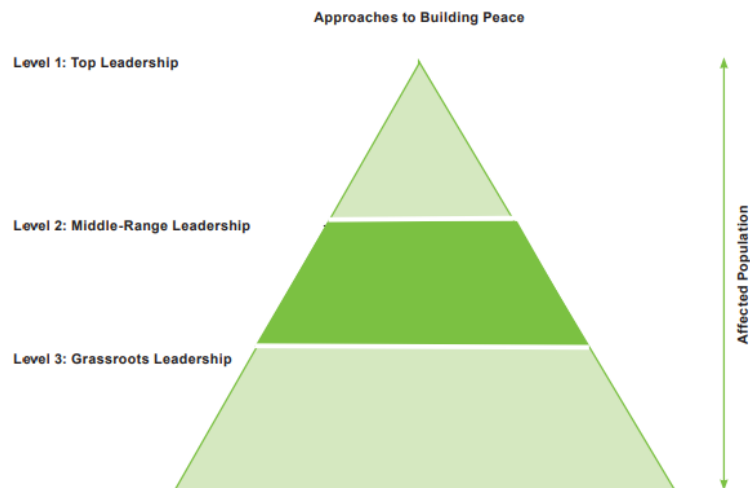
Therefore, in the situation of complex emergency, Intervenors must spend a significant amount of time and effort to evaluate the feasibility of participative and empowerment initiatives, avoid doing harm and focus on promoting empowerment process and help build local democratic institutions.

For Conflict Transformation, peacebuilding also involves the factor of cultural differences and includes individuals from all levels of society. This means that this concept includes actors such as ethnic-religious leaders, community leaders, and any influential figures in the community, and they are considered as middle-range leaders as they connect the top leaders, such as government officials, and bottom level actors and connect both sides of the conflict⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 22-23.

⁵⁰ “Policy Paper: Achieving Conflict Transformation”, OxfamNovib, accessed on <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/293437/achieving-conflict-transformation-011012-en.pdf;jsessionid=B94A4C1218722C60784EEDE0AB78DDA0?sequence=1>, 29 July 2021.

Figure 1.3 Approaches to Building Peace



Source: Rambotham, O., T. Woodhouse, H Miall (eds.).2011.,Contemporary Conflict Resolution. Cambridge : Polity Press. p. 29.

Conflict transformation sees conflict as a part of life and refuse to solve a conflict just by avoiding it, but to remove the root cause on conflict and manage conflict in a constructive way without destroying and repressing a certain group or community⁵¹.

Another concept that is used to analyze and dissect JICA’s role in the Philippine-Moro peace process is the concept of Human Security, as JICA made Human Security one of their priority in enacting their activities.

The term "security" was coined in the 1940s. The definition of security was initially limited to the military protection of a state's territory. This was the case until the 1960s⁵². According to a realist's perspective on security Conflict arises from a fear

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Mohammad Kamrul Ahsan, “Revisiting the Concept of Human Security”, *Philosophy and Progress*: Vols. 59-60, <http://dx.doi.org/10.3329/pp.v59i1-2.36679>.

of countries or other groups, such as terrorists, or attacks by lawless individuals. While sources of security concerns are divided into two groups from the standpoint of human security, namely 'security from want' which involves threats such as hunger, poverty, disease, and natural disasters, and other non-traditional threat. While 'security from fear' refers to circumstances such as violence, human rights violations, civil wars, and ethnic conflicts, and the like ⁵³.

The human security paradigm has a number of ideas that can be found in security studies. First of all, human security focuses on individualism. With the principle of human rights, cooperation is a vital tool between actors. Multilateralism is one of the guiding ideas of the global human security agenda. This means that a collection of states is responsible for taking action as part of international organizations like the UN and NATO to ensure that citizens in each country are granted basic human rights.⁵⁴

The aforementioned concepts are important to keep in mind when studying the conflict in Mindanao because each explains how the stages of conflict and actions that JICA took that is described in this thesis. For example, with the conflict resolution concept the author can see the causes, background, and factors that causes the conflict. community building is also an approach that can be done by a development agency such as JICA to help conflicting parties to reach an agreement. The concept of human

⁵³ Zana Kaka Amin, 'Human Security in Contemporary International Politics: Limitations and Challenges', *International Journal of Social Sciences & Educational Studies* Vol.3, No.1, 46.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

security is also important as JICA have adopted this concept and made it one of the major foundation on conducting their assistance projects.

1.6 Research Methodology

1.6.1 Research Method

This research uses a qualitative research approach, which is considered to be an adequate method for delivering a full and nuanced explanation of a topic. Qualitative research has the quality of being “descriptive”, meaning that the thesis is deeply dependent on the writer's ability to analyze information and data. The data is evaluated using the selected theory, and the meaning of the data represents the author's interpretation of it.⁵⁵.

1.6.2 Data Gathering Technique

This research depends on the primary data listed on the literature review such as Naoyuki Ochiai's writings and Rizal G. Buendia's journal article, as well as secondary sources that includes but not limited to other books, journals, dissertations, articles and official resources such as JICA's official website and Japan's foreign ministry website.

1.7 Thesis Organizations

This research is divided and organized into four chapters:

⁵⁵ Sonia Ospina, “Qualitative Research”, *Encyclopedia of Leadership*, accessed at https://ualr.edu/interdisciplinary/files/2010/03/Qualitative_Research.pdf, on 12 July 2021.

Chapter I introduces the background of the research, the identification on issues of the topic's discussion, scope of research, research question, aim and purpose of research, literature review, conceptual framework and the methodology of the research.

Chapter II elaborates the Moro- Philippine Conflict and explore a deeper understanding regarding the origin of the issues, as well as dividing the factors causing the conflict and analyze it individually. Thus, this chapter titled 'The Causes of Philippine- Moro Conflict and its Continuity' divided into three sub- chapters, in The Conflict between Moro and the Government of Philippine where the writer describes the history of the Philippine- Moro conflict and the causes of Philippine- Moro conflict, The Peace Process of the Moro conflict, and the challenges that has to be faced during the conflict resolution phase.

Chapter III analyzes JICA's Role in The Peace Process in The Conflict, this chapter is divided into two three sub-chapters, JICA as Japan's International Development Agency which discusses the background of the establishment of JICA, JICA's vision, mission and programs, JICA as an instrument of Japan's foreign policy in development and peace process, as well as JICA's Presence in Philippine; JICA's Programs and Activities in Bangsamoro: Community Development for Peace Process that are focused in strengthening a foundation for sustainable economic growth, ensuring human security for inclusive growth, and peace and stability in Mindanao; the last sub-chapter is an analysis of JICA's roles through its program in bringing peace in Bangsamoro.

Lastly, Chapter IV draw conclusions from the overall findings of the thesis.