

IDEOLOGICALLY MOTIVATED CONFLICTS IN THE PHILIPPINES: Exploring the Possibility of an Early Warning System

By

MARIA CYNTHIA ROSE BANZON BAUTISTA¹

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¹Professor, Department of Sociology, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City

I. Introduction

Human security is the ability of people and institutions to protect human lives from chronic or sudden threats that weaken their capacity to control personal and collective destinies². Material deprivation and a state of unpeace mark its absence. Under such conditions, people are unable to freely and safely pursue their choices “to be or to do”. They are also constrained from participating meaningfully in social life and in crafting the future of their communities.

The Philippines is particularly vulnerable to various sources of human insecurity. Geographically located in the ring of fire and the typhoon belt, it is one of the world’s natural hazard ‘hot spots’. With an average of eight major disasters a year, it also experiences much more such events than any other country in the world³. Throughout Philippine history, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes and typhoons, exacerbated by institutional weaknesses, have resulted in permanent or temporary population displacements and heavy economic losses.

Apart from natural disasters, armed conflicts have also disrupted the country’s productive and social activities, causing profound psychological trauma and insecurity⁴. Ranging from localized gang or clan wars to armed confrontations associated with movements espousing visions of an alternative state, multiple forms of conflicts affect Filipinos in many parts of the country. A recent SWS media release shows for instance that 28% of survey respondents in Muslim Mindanao experienced conflicts between families and clans, followed by conflicts between Moro rebels and the military (experienced by 20% of respondents); neighborhood violence due to crimes (experienced by 9% of respondents) and conflicts between Christians and Muslims (experienced by 5% of respondents)⁵.

This paper focuses on armed conflict between the government of the Philippines and ideologically motivated political movements that pose visions of alternative states. It zeroes in on conflict between the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) on the one hand, and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)-National Democratic Front’s (NDF) New People’s Army (NPA), the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), on the other. These conflicts are significant for various reasons: their persistence for more than thirty years despite periods of sudden decline; they are linked to demands articulated on behalf of the imagined constituencies of the movements they are linked to—the Filipino nation for the NDF and the Bangsamoro for the MNLF and the MILF; the international linkages and sources of logistical support of these movements; and their social, economic and political impact beyond the areas within their respective spheres of ideological influence.

Framed either within the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology of the NDF or the Bangsamoro aspirations for an independent or, at the very least, autonomous Islamic society of

² UNDP, (1994); Owen (2003); Bratislava Economic Governance (2004).

³ Bankoff, G (2003) p.31.

⁴ See for instance, the publications of the Psycho-social Trauma Program, University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies.

⁵ The 24 February 2005 SWS Media release integrates the results of three surveys—the 4th Quarter SWS Survey, November 23-December 2, 2004 [N=1200; margin of error +-3%]; the Special ARMM Survey November 29-December 6 funded by the USAID and the Asia Foundation [N=300; margin of error=+-6%]; and the October 19 to November 2, 2004 Survey for the Mindanao Commission on Women funded by the Australian Agency for International Development through the Philippine-Australia Governance Facility [N=1440; margin of error +-3%].

the MILF and the MNLF, the conflicts of the last 35 years have had adverse consequences for economic growth, human development and the country's democratic consolidation⁶. Against this backdrop, an organized constituency for peace has emerged within civil society and from among individuals working with the contending parties⁷. It aims to enhance the capacities of actors in high-level peace negotiations and on the ground to proactively put peace on the national and local agenda and mitigate the actual and potential threats of armed conflict.

In the context of a growing advocacy for peace that is now enlightened by the discourses on human development and security, the study on which this paper is based, originally intended to develop an early warning system for areas at risk of impending conflict. It was conceptualized to develop and demonstrate the use of an indicator system that would enable mediating groups of peace advocates from various sectors to monitor potential conflict areas, and, if possible, help prevent tense situations from developing into full-blown conflicts. A preliminary step towards the development of an early warning system for the Philippines is to map out the contours of armed confrontations over the last 35 years and explore the factors that have contributed to them. The exploration would involve specifying quantitative and qualitative indicators operating at different levels that would enable peace advocates to identify potential crisis areas.

This paper reports the results of an initial exploration at the provincial level of the effects of quantifiable variables on conflicts associated with the Communist and Moro movements, and draws their implications for subsequent steps towards the development of an early warning system at much lower levels of analysis and practical interventions. It begins by mapping out the armed confrontations between the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the NPA, MILF, and MNLF from 1986 to 2004. Supplementing the qualitative discussion in the background papers of the 2005 Human Development Report (PHDR), it proceeds to discuss the factors that have contributed statistically to the variation in the indicators of conflict at the provincial level. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the feasibility of developing an early warning system and the requirements for it.

The initial exploration tested the hypothesis that armed conflicts (AC) linked to the three movements are affected by

- poverty
- social inequality
- social exclusion
- relative isolation and lower levels of economic development;
- previous history of armed conflict;
- injustice, delays in administration of justice and human rights violations
- structural inequalities in access to power due to the presence of political dynasties, patronage politics, and private armies;
- ecological factors conducive to underground operations (e.g. mountainous terrain and forest cover); and
- ideology or the political presence/strength of ideological movements/organizations espousing visions of alternative states in an area;

Table 1 presents the indicators and the data sources for the variables used in the study. Three dimensions of conflict are operationalized: the incidence and intensity of armed

⁶ See the macro-level and case study reports on the costs of ideologically-motivated conflicts under this project; See also Monsod, Monsod and Ducanes (2004) for the effects of conflict on human development..

⁷ See Ferrer, Miriam's paper on civil society groups committed to peace for the 2005 PHDR.

confrontations and whether the conflicts were instigated by rebel groups. The last dimension reflects the relative strength of the NPA, MNLF or MILF in particular areas as demonstrated by attacks on military establishments and government offices. The indicators used to measure the three dimensions are: number of reported armed incidents or encounters between the AFP and the NPA, MNLF or the MILF from 1986 to 2004, the number of reported casualties on both sides including noncombatant sympathizers, and the number of reported rebel-initiated encounters, respectively. The term ‘encounter’ is used broadly to cover actual armed confrontations as well as raids on various installations. It is used interchangeably with ‘armed incident’, the term adopted by the AFP.

The data on encounters were obtained from Patricio Abinales and Edmund Ramos, who culled major dailies, the Ibon Databank and the CPP’s *Ang Bayan* for information on armed conflicts from 1972 to 2004. They are developing the conflict database in line with an ongoing Ford Foundation-funded project on peace-building in multi-ethnic and multi-religious Southeast Asia. While the Project focuses on Mindanao, the Abinales-Ramos (AR) database extends to NPA-AFP encounters in other parts of the country. Only data from national newspapers and the Ibon Databank were used for the study. However, the *Ang Bayan* entries in the AR Database and national figures from the Armed Forces of the Philippines were examined to qualify the study’s observations regarding encounters at the provincial level.

Given the Ford project’s focus, the AR data on conflicts in Mindanao are understandably more developed than those on other parts of the country. The Mindanao-based participants in the mid-term workshop of the Abinales-Ramos Project in October 2004 facilitated access to other sources of information. (e.g. local newspapers and websites). Aware of the unevenness of the information from the major dailies and the Ibon Databank for encounters in Luzon and Visayas, this study, nevertheless, relies on the Abinales-Ramos national newspaper/Ibon database because it provides a starting

Table 1: Variables Used in the Analysis*

Factors affecting Conflict in the Hypothesis	OPERATIONAL VARIABLES	DATA SOURCE
Poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1985, 1987, 1991, 1994, 1997, 2000 poverty incidence using consistent method (Balisacan) • Human Poverty Index using functional Literacy-Index based on probability at birth of not surviving to age 40 (% of cohort); adult functional illiteracy rate (% age 15 and above 1994); population not using improved water sources (%2000) and underweight children under age five; • Human Poverty Index using % of high school students who did not graduate instead of functional illiteracy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family Income and Expenditure Survey (FIES) • FIES, 2003; FLEMMS 1994; Flieger and Cabigon (1999); NNC 2002;
Social Inequality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gini coefficients 1985,1987,1991,1994,1997,2000 • Land gini coefficient 1990 • DAR Accomplishment in terms of land distribution 1972-2004 (in % of targeted hectares for distribution) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FIES • Balisacan 2002 • DAR
Social exclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnic fractionalization: sum of proportion of indigenous population 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NSO, 1990

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of Muslims in the Population 1990; 2000 • % of ancestral land 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NSO, 1990 • NCIP,
Relative isolation and lower levels of development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of population within 2 municipalities of commercial capital 1990 • Total roads quality adjusted, 1988, 1997, 2000 • Diversification in rural areas: ratio of agricultural households to non-agricultural households, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1997, 2000 • Subjective perception of development opportunities in province: net migration 1990; 2000 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NSO, NAMRIA map • DPWH • FIES c/o APPC • C/o APPC
Previous history of armed conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether encounters occurred during Marcos administration; • Whether encounters occurred during the Aquino administration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abinales and Ramos dataset
Justice, delays in administration of justice and human rights violations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights violations: sum of incidence of arrests, disappearance, salvaging/frustrated salvaging; massacre/frustrated massacre, evacuation, food blockade, divestment of property, destruction of property, harassment, violent dispersals, physical assaults, demolition, faked/forced surrender, Aquino, Ramos and Estrada administrations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Task Force Detainees
Ecological Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forest cover 1980 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kummer, D (1992).
Ideology/Presence/influence of ideological groups espousing visions of alternative states	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of barangays influenced by NPA, 1985, 1990, 1995 • AFP estimate of strength of NPAs/MNLF/MILF 1987; 1995 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Department of National Defense

point for measuring conflict. It is an independent source of information and specifies details at the municipality or province level that are not readily available from other data sources (e.g. whether an encounter was instigated by the AFP or the NPA, MNLF or MILF or was a chance encounter; the number of deaths and injuries resulting from it and other qualitative information such as the installations attacked).

The data used for this paper are limited by the nature of their sources. Whether an encounter appears in a national newspaper or is entered into the Ibon Databank depends on its salience to news reporters and the existence of reliable informants who understand the value of monitoring encounters and incorporating them into a database. It is quite likely that armed confrontations at the local level would not easily find their way to national dailies or Manila-based databases. Recently, key informants have complained that national newspapers have not picked up the killing of former Communist rebels in Western Samar, which have contributed to an atmosphere of tension and fear in its provincial capital.

In the event skirmishes between the AFP and the NPA/MILF and the MNLF are reported in newspapers or NGO databanks, the figures may not be accurate. The Bicol case study for the PHDR illustrates this point well. It notes that media failed to properly report the spate of killings, abductions, and harassment in Bicol in the aftermath of the abduction of two Philippine army

soldiers in March 2004. On the whole, there are big discrepancies in the levels of encounters and casualties between newspaper estimates and those of the AFP. The AFP estimate in the 2000 war against the MILF, for instance, is slightly higher than the highest estimate of casualties in the AR Database from 1986 to 2004. Part of the reason for the discrepancy is the newspapers' use of imprecise terms such as 'scores of people injured' to refer to casualties. Where the exact number of casualties is not given, they do not figure in this study.

Despite substantial data limitations, however, this paper utilizes the information in the Ibon Databank and the newspapers entries in the Abinales-Ramos (AR) database even if the files on encounters outside Mindanao have not been validated with key informants and other data sources. For one, while the entries in the *Ang Bayan* folder of the AR database were not used, it is notable that many of the encounters reported in the CPP's official organ appeared in newspapers and Ibon Databank as well. They also corroborate the extremely low levels of encounters during the Ramos presidency. Moreover, the patterns drawn from the AR database regarding the ebb and flow of encounters are consistent with the PHDR papers that utilize either the AFP or CPP estimates.

Additional methodological points are worth noting:

First, the study covers the period from 1986 to 2004. The focus on these years assumes that the restoration of elite democracy in 1986 changed the structure of opportunities for both the Communist and Moro armed movements. In the case of the Communist movement, 1986 opened up spaces for parliamentary forms of struggle, albeit waged instrumentally within a broader national democratic frame. Subsequent years saw intense ideological debates within the movement as it divided over issues such as the primacy of armed struggle and the prospect of substantiating and deepening democracy in the Philippines⁸. It is also important to note the peace negotiations that occurred after the demise of authoritarian rule starting with the August 1986 to February 1987 peace talks and 60-day ceasefire.

As for the Bangsamoro struggle, 1986 was a watershed year for the war and peace situation in Mindanao, commencing with the meeting between President Aquino and MNLF Chairman Nur Misuari in September of that year to resume peace negotiations (which, in turn, led to the Jeddah Accord in 1987). In light of the ideological divisions among Filipino Muslims, the Philippine government also entered into negotiations with the MILF. Regrettably, the peace negotiations did not result in lasting peace for Mindanao. While on the one hand, the Philippine government has expressed its intent to implement the terms of its separate peace agreements with the MNLF and the MILF, on the other hand it has waged all out wars with the Moros and continues to pursue militaristic strategies in the name of post-9/11 counter terrorism.

Apart from these substantive reasons, the study used 1986 as the base year for methodological reasons. The end of authoritarian rule in February 1986 restored freedom of the press in the country, allowing reporters to write about encounters between the military and the NPA, MILF or MNLF. Since this paper relies heavily on newspaper reports, including conflicts during the Marcos presidency would have yielded extremely unreliable data. The Manila Bulletin was the only source of information on encounters from 1972 to 1985. While AFP-NPA skirmishes were occasionally reported, there was hardly any information on armed conflicts with the MNLF or the MILF. So tight was Marcos's hold on the media at the time that newspapers did

⁸ Santos, S [Paper on the evolution of the Armed Conflict on the Communist and Moro fronts for the 2005 Philippine Human Development Report]

not pick up the Jabidah massacre, which historians consider the incident that triggered the establishment of the MNLF. Neither did the press document the burning of Jolo.

Second, the regression models with conflict indicators by year as dependent variables and the proxies for the factors in Table 1 as independent variables used encounters reported in newspapers and the Ibon database without incorporating the Abinales and Ramos revisions on the Mindanao estimates because these are available by political administration and not by year. As a consequence, the data used for the regressions underestimate the figures for Davao del Sur, Lanao del Sur, Maguindanao, North Cotabato, Sulu and Surigao del Norte.

Third, the study is limited by the unavailability of time series data to measure the independent variables. Measures of some variables are available only for one point in time (e.g. political dynasty), for political administrations (e.g. human rights violations) or for the entire period (e.g. land reform accomplishments).

Fourth, important factors that may contribute substantially to the variation in the conflict variables are excluded from the analysis. These include governance issues, environmental stresses that have bearing on economic activities, and international linkages and logistical sources. Counterinsurgency efforts of the AFP and the underground operations of the NPA, the MILF and the MNLF requiring tremendous resources with implications for the duration of armed conflicts as well as the forms they take, are out of the equation. Moreover, the study was unable to include in the quantitative analysis people's subjective definitions of a conflict situation, which social psychologists assert to be real in their consequences. In particular, it does not have a proxy variable for humiliation—a highly subjective and personal experience that is assumed in the literature to trigger personal involvement in movements linked with armed conflicts.

Fifth, the available proxies for the independent variables do not adequately capture the substance of the factors. As suggested in a previous workshop, data on private armies should have been combined with information on political dynasty (as proxy for patronage politics) to represent a structural factor that might not only result in conflict but also trigger it. The Bicol and Lanao case studies for the PHDR argue that the presence of CAFGUs instills a sense of fear and heightens the level of hostilities in areas where they are found⁹. Unfortunately, estimates of paramilitary units such as the Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Units (CAFGUs) are considered 'classified information'.

Finally, the paper relies on an analysis of data at the provincial level. This level of aggregation could mask the effects of critical variables such as poverty and social inequality. Because many provinces in the country reflect uneven development, the effect of variables that are linked intuitively to conflict such as poverty or inequality might not surface in the analysis even if poor and isolated barangays, as the case studies for the 2005 Philippine Human Development Report (PHDR) show, serve as geographic bases for the two movements.

Cognizant of the above limitations, the following sections of the paper provide in broad strokes a sense of the intensity and spread of the conflict from 1986 to 2004. They identify some of the quantifiable factors that might have contributed to its overall development and point out possible differences in the correlates of the Communist and Muslim conflicts that have

⁹ Lobrigo, J, S. Imperial, N. Rafer and Busran-Lao, Y. [Case Study on Economic Costs/Spillovers of Armed Conflict in Bicol and in Lanao del Sur, respectively, for the 2005 Philippine Human development Report (PHDR)]

implications for the substance and character of the peace processes involving these distinct bearers of alternative future states.

II. Overview of the Conflicts, 1986-2004

A. AFP-NPA/MILF/MNLF Conflicts

Reported armed incidents or encounters between the AFP on the one hand, and the NPA, MNLF or MILF, on the other, occurred in 9 out of 10 provinces in the country from 1986 to July 2004. The only ones that seem to have been spared from ideologically motivated armed confrontations, as reported in the AR and Ibon databases, are the small, island or relatively isolated provinces of Batanes, Camiguin, Catanduanes, Romblon, Siquijor, and Tawi-tawi. In fact, the number of unaffected provinces might even be lower than 6. The Bicol case study for the 2005 PHDR notes, for instance, that in 2002, a representative of Bicol’s Regional Peace and Order Council cited rebels in Catanduanes, the only genuinely peaceful province without any trace of insurgency in the 1995 Commission on Human Rights Report¹⁰.

Map 1 shows the number and level of reported AFP-NPA, MILF, MNLF encounters while Table 2 lists the provinces with high levels of encounters from 1986-2004¹¹. Nine of the provinces are in Mindanao. Note that the military estimates of the number of violent incidents involving the MILF and the AFP in that year alone is 1303¹², a figure 5 times higher than the highest number of reported AFP-MILF encounters for the 18-year duration in the AR Dataset.

The rest of the provinces with relatively high levels of encounters—Quezon, Albay, Cagayan, Camarines Sur, and Isabela have, at one time or the other, been NPA strongholds. Interestingly, the National Capital Region (Metro Manila) is in the list. Morada asserts in his paper for the PHDR that the military continues to define NCR as a low-intensity conflict area averaging 1.8 encounters a year in the last five years¹³.

Table 2. Provinces with High* Levels of Reported AFP-NPA/MILF/MNLF Armed Incidents, 1986-2004 (Ranking)

Maguindanao	(1)	Metro Manila	(9)
North Cotabato	(2)	Cagayan	(10)
Quezon	(3)	Camarines Sur	(11)
Lanao del Norte	(4)	Davao Oriental	(12)
Davao del Sur	(5)	Isabela	(13.5)
Zamboanga del Sur	(6)	Bukidnon	(13.5)
Albay	(7.5)	Lanao del Sur	(15)
Davao del Norte	(7.5)		
* 20+ encounters			

Source: Abinales and Ramos Database [2005]

¹⁰ Ibid, Bicol Case Study.

¹¹ i.e., 20 or more encounters or about one a year on the average

¹² Hernandez, C.[Paper on institutional responses to Armed Conflict: the AFP for the 2005 PHDR

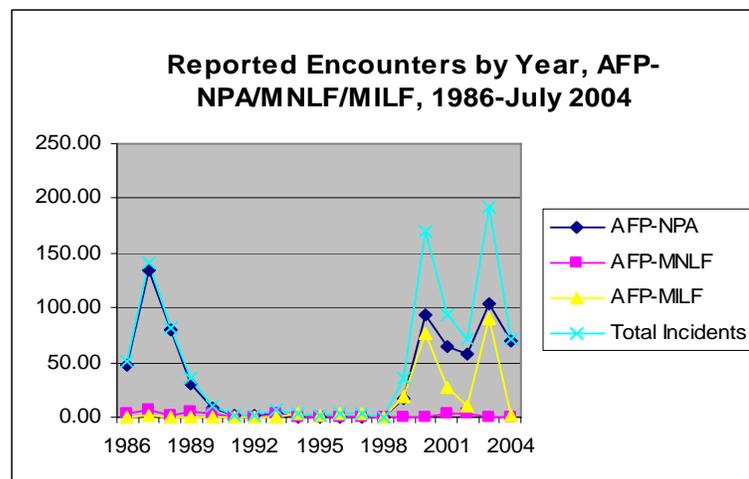
¹³ Morada, N [Metro Manila Case Study for the 2005 Philippine Human Development Report.

A review of the encounters throughout the period 1986-2004 reveals a pattern of recurring conflict. Figure 1 shows a dramatic decline in the reported AFP-NPA/MILF/MNLF armed incidents after 1988. Unfortunately, violent confrontations between government and combatants from both movements began to pick up once again in 1999, with higher figures registering for the years 2000 to 2004. The increase in the total number of reported armed incidents is due mainly to an increase, albeit with marked fluctuations, in the levels of reported AFP-NPA and AFP-MILF encounters from 2000 to 2004.

It is important to note that compared to encounters reported in newspapers and the Ibon dataset and even the Communist Party organ *Ang Bayan*, the AFP data in Figure 2 reveals much higher armed incidents involving the NPA in the late 1980s and early 1990s and a drastic decline in their number four years later than 1988. The AFP estimates of MILF encounters, on the other hand, began to pick up in 1994 with armed incidents averaging around 300 from 1994 to 1998, rising significantly to 610 in 1999, doubling further to 1303 in 2000 and fluctuating between 372 and 846 from 2001 to 2003.

Despite the discrepancies between the AFP estimates and those obtained from newspaper reports and the Ibon Databank, both data sources show that the Ramos presidency registered the lowest number of AFP-NPA encounters¹⁴. While the dramatic decline in AFP-NPA encounters after peaking in the late 1980s began either at the tail end of the Aquino presidency (AR Dataset; Santos report for the PHDR) or the beginning of the administration of President Ramos (AFP Data), the figures dropped considerably during his watch. This could have resulted from the military offensives under Oplan Lambat Bitag; the internal dynamics within the CPP movement, in particular the big split within the CPP over issues of theory and strategy; the flow of resources to civil society groups, the opening of opportunities for above ground advocacies and legal struggles that undermined the privileging of armed struggle as the only possible path to meaningful reform, the end of the Cold War, and the collapse of the socialist world.

Figure 1

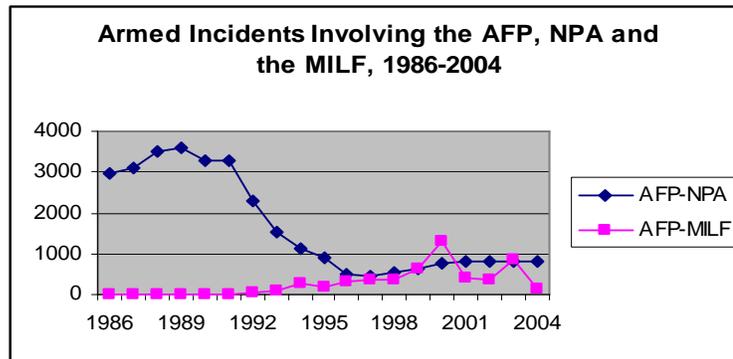


Source: Abinales and Ramos Database [2005]

¹⁴ The *Ang Bayan*, the CPP's official organ, hardly reported any encounter from 1992 to 1998.

In conjunction with the less cynical public mood at the time, the discursive context of the Ramos administration might have also contributed to the openness of some elements of the national democratic movement to critical collaboration rather than armed confrontation with the state. Drawn from international discourses that put premium on sustainable development, good governance, democracy and peace—ideas converging with modern-day Marxist discourses, Ramos’s policies on burning issues such as poverty are expressed in relatively more coherent ideological terms than the other presidents.

Figure 2



Source: Armed Forces of the Philippines as cited in Hernandez paper for the PHDR

Whether one relies on newspaper reports and the Ibon Databank or on the AFP data, the increase in armed incidents between the AFP and the NPA in 1999 broke the momentum of the drastic drop in AFP-NPA encounters during the Ramos years. The reported encounters in the AR Dataset rose from 1999 to 2000 (the Estrada presidency), declined in the first two years of the Arroyo administration, increased to a level higher than 2000 in 2003, dropping in the first half of 2004 (Figure 1). Similarly, the AFP data reveals the rise in AFP-NPA encounters from 1998 to 1999. However, it presents a more steady increase in armed conflicts and less significant fluctuations from 2000 to 2004 (Figure 2).

The resurgence of violent confrontations between the AFP and the NPA after a dramatic drop in the late 1980s or early 1990s, depending on the data source, is quite disturbing. Of the eight provinces/region with high levels of reported armed incidents from 1986-2004, only Metro Manila hardly experienced any reported AFP-NPA encounters after 1998 (Table 3). On the other hand, about 43% to 48% of all violent confrontations in Quezon, Albay and Isabela occurred in the 1999-2004 period while Cagayan and Davao del Sur experienced 28% and 37% of all their armed conflicts after the Ramos presidency. In Davao Oriental and Davao del Norte, more than half of the encounters reported in newspapers or the Ibon Databank took place after 1998. Similarly, among the provinces with medium level reported encounters, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Eastern Samar, Northern Samar, South Cotabato, Surigao del Sur, Bohol, Western Samar, Misamis Oriental, Tarlac and Zamboanga del Sur had more reported AFP-NPA armed conflicts in the 1999 to 2004 period than in the previous years.

Whether the resurgence connotes higher levels of encounters at the provincial level in the last five years compared to any other time within the 1986 to 2004 period or merely a disturbing rise in the number of armed incidents at levels lower than in the 1980s would depend on the data source. It is important to note that AFP estimates of the violent conflicts involving the national democratic movement during President Aquino’s

watch was about five times higher than the reported incidents in newspapers and the Ibon Databank for those years.

The differences in the pattern of AFP-MNLF and MILF armed conflicts drawn from newspapers and the Ibon Databank, on the one hand, and AFP data, on the other, are also worth noting. Figure 1 shows relatively low levels of reported AFP-MNLF encounters after the term of President Aquino. The recent conflict with the Misuari faction, which could portend a further escalation of hostilities, is not reflected in the reported figures. But while the MNLF conflict ebbed in the last 35 years, the number of reported AFP-MILF encounters increased significantly in 1999 after an all-time low during the Ramos years. They further increased in 2000 when President Estrada waged an all out war against the MILF, dropping at the beginning of the Arroyo administration (2001 and 2002), increasing once again in 2003 at a level slightly higher than 2000 before finally dropping in the first six months of 2004.

The pattern of AFP-MILF encounters in the AFP Dataset, on the other hand, suggests an increase from 1994 to 1998. Although they were much lower than the figures for 1999 and 2000, the armed incidents involving the MILF are at levels significantly higher than during the early years of the Ramos presidency (Figure 2). Interestingly though, this was hardly picked up by newspapers. As far as the media was concerned, the mainstreaming of the MNLF and the establishment of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao seemed more salient, masking the AFP-MILF encounters under President Ramos's watch.

Table 4 ranks the provinces which registered an increase in the number of AFP-NPA conflicts after 1998, the tail-end of the Ramos administration and the start of the Estrada presidency. Table 5, on the other hand, shows those which experienced an increase in AFP-MILF/MNLF encounters for the same period. The provinces in Table 4 include the bastions of NPA resistance in the 1970s such as Albay, Nueva Ecija, and the Samar provinces. As to Table 5, it is noteworthy that all the ARMM provinces except Tawi-Tawi had higher levels of encounters after the escalation of government and MILF hostilities in 1999 and 2000.

An examination of the number of encounters reported in national dailies and the Ibon Databank in the last five years or the last two presidencies (1999-July 2004) reveals the unsettling observation that 73% of all provinces experienced an increase in the number of ideology-based armed conflicts from the Estrada (1999-2000) to the Arroyo years (2001-2004), with Maguindanao, North Cotabato, Quezon, Lanao del Norte, Albay, Cagayan, Davao del Norte, Camarines Sur, Davao Oriental, Isabela and Lanao del Sur leading the group. Table 6 lists the top eleven provinces in terms of increase in AFP-NPA encounters as well as those registering an increase in AFP-MILF/MNLF confrontations from the Estrada to the Arroyo administration.

Table 3. Provinces with high* and medium levels of AFP-NPA Encounters, 1986-2004 (Ranking)**

Quezon*	(1)	Zamboanga del Sur**	(10)
Albay*	(2)	Bukidnon**	(11.5)
Davao del Norte*	(3)	Negros Occidental**	(11.5)
Metro Manila*	(4)	Nueva Ecija**	(13.5)
Cagayan*	(5)	Pampanga**	(13.5)
Camarines Sur*	(6)	Eastern Samar**	(17.5)
Davao Oriental*	(7)	Kalinga Apayao**	(17.5)
Isabela*	(8)	Northern Samar**	(17.5)
Davao del Sur*	(9)	South Cotabato**	(17.5)
		Surigao del Sur**	(17.5)
		Agusan del Sur**	(21.5)
		Bohol**	(21.5)
		Western Samar**	(21.5)
		Mindoro Oriental**	(23.5)
		Sorsogon**	(23.5)
		Leyte**	(27.5)
		Masbate**	(27.5)
		Misamis Oriental**	(27.5)
		North Cotabato**	(27.5)
		Tarlac**	(27.5)
		Zambales**	(27.5)

* 20+ encounters
** 10-19 encounters

Source: Abinales and Ramos Database [2005]

Table 4. Top 11 of 40 Provinces with an Increase in Reported AFP-NPA Encounters from 1986-1998 to 1999-July 2004 (Ranking)

Albay	(1)
Davao del Norte	(2)
Davao Oriental	(3)
Nueva Ecija	(4.5)
Pampanga	(4.5)
Eastern Samar	(7.5)
Northern Samar	(7.5)
South Cotabato	(7.5)
Surigao del Sur	(7.5)
Bohol	(10.5)
Western Samar	(10.5)

Source: Abinales and Ramos Database [2005]

Table 5. Provinces with an Increase in Reported MILF/MNLF Encounters 1986-1998 and 1999-July 2004 (Ranking)

Maguindanao (1)	Davao del Sur (8.5)
North Cotabato (2)	Sulu (8.5)
Lanao del Norte (3)	South Cotabato (10)
Sultan Kudarat (4)	Zamboanga del Norte (11)
Basilan (5)	Davao Oriental (12)
Zamboanga del Sur (6)	
Lanao del Sur (7)	

Source: Abinales and Ramos Database [2005]

Table 6. Top Eleven of 46 Provinces with an Increase in Reported AFP-NPA Encounters and Provinces with an Increase in Reported AFP-MNLF/MILF Encounters, Estrada Administration (July 1998-2000) and Arroyo Administration (2001-July 2004) (Ranking)

AFP-NPA		AFP-MILF/MNLF\	
Quezon	(1)	Maguindanao	(1)
Albay	(2)	North Cotabato	(2)
Davao del Norte	(3)	Lanao del Norte	(3)
Cagayan	(4)	Sultan Kudarat	(4)
Camarines Sur	(5)	Zamboanga del Sur	(5)
Davao Oriental	(6.5)	Sulu	(6)
Isabela	(6.5)	Davao del Norte	(7)
Davao del Sur	(8.5)		
Zamboanga del Sur	(8.5)		
Nueva Ecija	(10.5)		
Pampanga	(10.5)		

Source: Abinales and Ramos Database [2005]

The listing in Table 6 suggests, among others, the continuing resurgence (beyond the 1998-2000 period) of AFP-NPA confrontations in Nueva Ecija and Pampanga, two of the five provinces in Central Luzon, the region with a long tradition of peasant uprising. Interestingly, the only province in Central Luzon that did not register any increase in reported AFP-NPA encounters from the Estrada to the Arroyo administration is Bataan. The other provinces in the Region—Bulacan, Tarlac and Zambales experienced higher violent conflicts between the AFP and the national democratic movement after 2000 at levels lower than Nueva Ecija and Pampanga.

Similarly, Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, Mindoro Occidental and Mindoro Oriental are among the Southern Luzon provinces, apart from Quezon (the top-ranking province in terms of rising encounters in the last five years), that are projected in newspaper reports to have experienced increasing AFP-NPA encounters from the 1999-2000 to 2001-July 2004 period. They are not among the top ten provinces, however. It would seem that the NPA is regaining ground in the Central and Southern Luzon provinces that once formed the core of the 1896 Philippine Revolution, the socialist movement of the 1930s, the Huk rebellion of the 1950s, and the national democratic movement of the 1970s and the 1980s.

It is notable that Quezon, Cagayan, Camarines Sur, Isabela, Davao del Sur and Zamboanga del Sur are not among the provinces that registered an increase in AFP-NPA armed incidents from the 1986-1998 (Aquino to the end of the Ramos administration) to

the 1999-July 2004 period (start of the Estrada to the Arroyo administration), implying high levels of violent encounters between the Philippine government and NDF forces in these provinces even during the Aquino presidency. Nevertheless, the higher number of reported encounters under President Arroyo's watch compared to the Estrada administration in these six provinces, which are among the traditional strongholds of the NPA, suggests the NDF regaining its influence in these areas (Table 6).

An equally disturbing observation in Table 6 is the increase in the number of encounters on both the Communist and Moro fronts in Zamboanga del Sur and Davao del Norte from the Estrada to the Arroyo administration. It would seem then, that these two Mindanao provinces are hotspots for conflicts involving the two movements. Judging from newspaper reports and entries in the Ibon databank, other provinces in Mindanao are also vulnerable to increasing conflicts associated with the Moro and the NDF struggles at levels lower than the increase in encounters in Zamboanga del Sur or Davao del Norte.

The Communist and Moro movements converge geographically in Mindanao. Ten of its provinces experienced armed confrontations associated with both movements from 1986 to 2004 (Map 2; Table 7). The data from newspaper reports and the Ibon Databank note instances when both groups transcended their respective ideologies and joined forces in attacks against the military. As a case in point, joint NPA and Moro encounters were reported in Bukidnon and Lanao del Norte in November 1999 and in 2000, respectively. Apart from conducting joint operations, Hernandez also cited reports on the forging of tactical alliances between the CPP-NPA in several places in Mindanao between 2002 and 2003. She attributed this political move to the military offensive launched by the AFP against the MILF in the 200-hectare Buliok complex in Pikit, Maguindanao. The NPA is said to have attempted to relieve the intense military pressure on the MILF by launching attacks on government troops and installations.

The composition of the provinces with reported NPA/MILF/MNLF encounters between the AFP and groups associated with either the Communist or Moro movements reflects the significant presence of the national democratic movement in Mindanao (Table 7). Zamboanga del Sur, for instance, registered medium levels of violent conflicts between the AFP and the MILF/MNLF and between the AFP and the NPA from 1986 to 2004. Davao Oriental, Davao del Norte and Davao del Sur, on the other hand, had low levels of reported AFP-MILF/MNLF encounters but high levels of AFP-NPA armed incidents while Maguindanao registered the opposite observation, with a high level of AFP-MILF/MNLF encounters and low levels of confrontation with the NPA. Interestingly, Palawan is the only province outside Mindanao that experienced AFP-MNLF and AFP-NPA encounters, albeit at very low levels. This is understandable in light of the Filipino Muslims' view of Palawan as historically a part of the Sulu Sultanate.

Table 7: Levels of Conflict in Provinces with Reported NPA and MILF/MNLF Encounters*

PROVINCE	LEVEL OF AFP-NPA ENCOUNTERS	LEVEL OF AFP-MILF/MNLF ENCOUNTERS
Bukidnon	Medium	Low
North Cotabato	Medium	High
Davao del Norte	High	Low
Davao del Sur	High	Low
Davao Oriental	High	Low

Lanao del Norte	Low	Medium
Maguindanao	Low	High
Palawan	Low	Low
South Cotabato	Medium	Low
Sultan Kudarat	Low	Medium
Zamboanga del Norte	Low	Low
Zamboanga del Sur	Medium	Medium

*High 20+ encounters

*Medium 10-19

B. Intensity of Conflict: Number of Casualties

Figure 3 shows the number of casualties of AFP-NPA and AFP-MILF/MNLF encounters, respectively, by year. Although newspaper reports and the Ibon Databank grossly underestimate the number of wounded and killed combatants on the AFP and NPA sides, it is interesting to note that the highest casualties from AFP-NPA conflicts occurred during the administration of President Aquino. The military offensives documented in Soliman's paper for the PHDR account for the higher deaths and injuries in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

On the Moro front, however, the death toll from the reported AFP-MNLF/MILF encounters was highest in the years coinciding with President Estrada's all out war against the MILF and the Abu Sayaf. About 90% of the casualties of AFP-MILF violent encounters reported in newspapers and the Ibon Databank for the 1986 to 2004 period was killed or wounded after 1997.

Figures 4 and 5 present the number of persons reportedly killed and wounded in AFP-NPA and AFP-MILF/MNLF encounters by the affiliation of combatants and year. The newspaper and Ibon data on casualties give an almost equal number of soldiers killed or injured in AFP-NPA encounters. On the Moro front, newspapers register a higher proportion of dead or wounded MILF or MNLF vis-à-vis AFP soldiers.

Figure 3

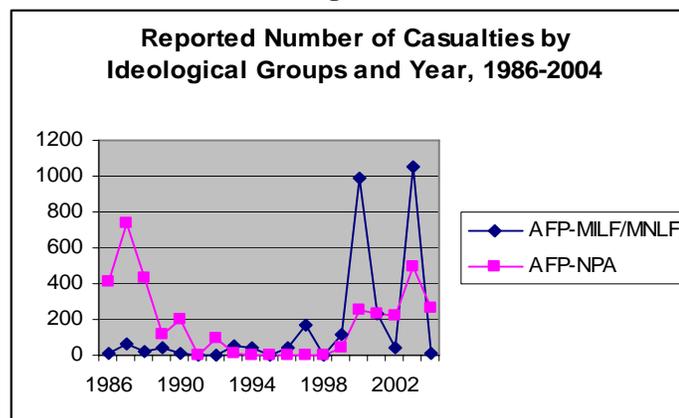
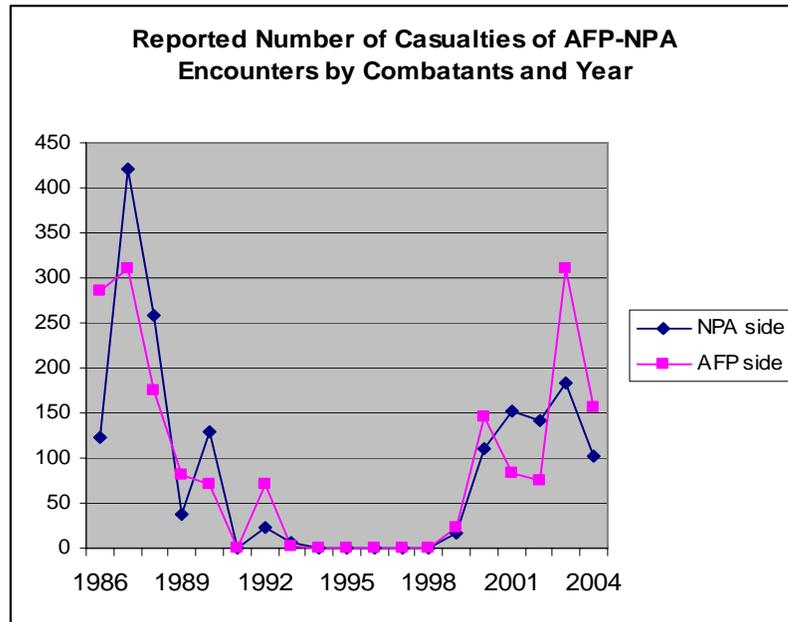
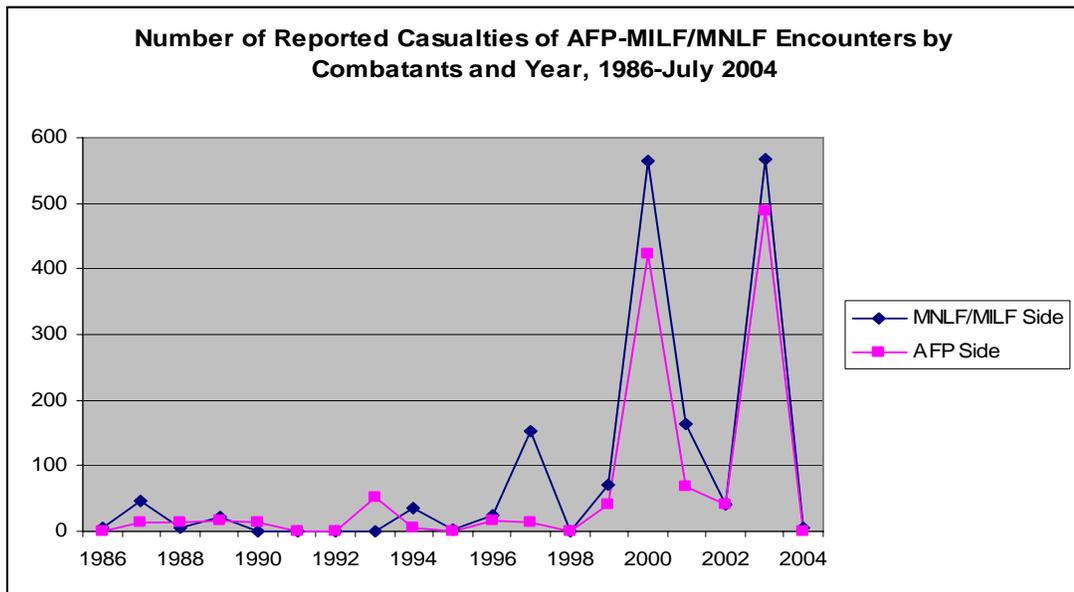


Figure 4



Source: Abinales and Ramos Database [2005]

Figure 5



Source: Abinales and Ramos Database [2005]

The provinces with the highest number of casualties on different sides of the conflict are located in Mindanao, with the exception of eight provinces heavily influenced by the national democratic movement—Quezon, Cagayan, Kalinga Apayao, Isabela, Eastern Samar and Albay (Table 8). This is understandable given the geographic concentration of the AFP offensive against the MILF and the conventional form of warfare it used in Mindanao in the late 1990s. In contrast, the presence of small guerilla units all over the country has resulted in a relatively less intense AFP strategy against the NPA, yielding lower casualty levels. Apart from the all out war against the MILF, two of

the top five Mindanao provinces with high casualty levels are areas where both the MILF and the NDF operate.

Table 8. Provinces with High* Levels of Reported Casualties from AFP-NPA/MILF/MNLF Encounters, 1986-2004 (Ranking)

Maguindanao	(1)	Isabela	(11)
North Cotabato	(2)	Lanao del Sur	(12)
Lanao del Norte	(3)	Davao del Sur	(13)
Quezon	(4)	Zamboanga del Norte	(14)
Davao del Norte	(5)	Kalinga-Apayao	(15.5)
Zamboanga del Sur	(6)	Surigao del Norte	(15.5)
Cagayan	(7)	Davao Oriental	(17.5)
Basilan	(8)	Eastern Samar	(17.5)
Sultan Kudarat	(9)	Albay	(19)
Agusan del Sur	(10)		

* >100 fatalities or injured persons

Source: Abinales and Ramos Dataset (2005)

Tables 9 and 10 enumerate the provinces with high casualties from AFP-NPA and AFP-MILF/MNLF encounters, respectively. The provinces that experienced an increase in the number of casualties from AFP-NPA encounters from the Estrada to the Arroyo administration are listed in Table 11 while Table 12 shows those with higher casualties from AFP-MNLF/MILF encounters in the 2001-2004 period (Estrada presidency) vis-à-vis 1999 and 2000 (Arroyo years).

The provinces showing an increase in casualties from the Estrada to the Arroyo administration include Zambales and Bulacan (Table 11), corroborating the observed resurgence of the Communist rebellion in Central Luzon based on number of armed incidents. The inclusion of Bulacan in the list is ironic since it is predicted to be one of three provinces least vulnerable to conflict, given its score in a vulnerability index that incorporates human development indicators¹⁵. On the Moro front, the provinces registering even higher levels of reported casualties from AFP-MILF encounters after 2000 or during the Arroyo administration cover all the ARMM provinces [Maguindanao, Lanao del Sur, Sulu and Basilan].

Table 9. Provinces with High* Levels of Casualties from AFP-NPA Encounters from 1986-2004

Quezon	(1)
Davao del Norte	(2)
Cagayan	(3)
Agusan del Sur	(4)
Zamboanga del Sur	(5)
Isabela	(6)
Kalinga-Apayao	(7.5)
Surigao del Norte	(7.5)
Eastern Samar	(9)
Albay	(10)

* >100 fatalities or injured persons

Source: Abinales and Ramos Dataset (2005)

¹⁵ Cusi (1996).

Table 10. Provinces with High Levels of Reported Casualties from AFP-MILF/MNLF Encounter, 1986-2004

Maguindanao	(1)
North Cotabato	(2)
Zamboanga del Sur	(3)
Lanao del Norte	(4)
Sultan Kudarat	(5)
Davao del Sur	(6)
* >100 fatalities or injured persons	

Source: Abinales and Ramos Dataset (2005)

Table 11. Provinces Registering an Increase in the Reported Number of Casualties from AFP-NPA Encounters, 1999-2000 to 2001-July 2004 (Rankings)

Eastern Samar	(1)
Albay	(2)
Davao Oriental	(3)
Zambales	(4)
Bohol	(5)
Surigao del Sur	(6)
Bulacan	(7)
Batangas	(8)
Rizal	(9)
Camarines Norte	(10)

Source: Abinales and Ramos Dataset (2005)

Table 12. Provinces Registering an Increase in Reported Casualties from AFP-MILF/MNLF Encounters, 1999-2000 to 2001-2004

Maguindanao	(1)
North Cotabato	(2)
Lanao del Norte	(3)
Basilan	(4)
Sultan Kudarat	(5)
Lanao del Sur	(6)
Zamboanga del Norte	(7)
Sulu	(8)
Davao del Sur	(9)
Zamboanga del Sur	(10)
Davao Oriental	(11)
South Cotabato	(12)

Source: Abinales and Ramos Dataset (2005)

C. NPA/MILF/MNLF-Initiated Conflicts

Rebel forces initiated four out of ten reported encounters during the 1986-2004 period (Figure 6). Reflecting the CPP-NDF's guerrilla strategy, three out of four armed confrontations were instigated by the NPA while the MILF and the MNLF initiated only one of four encounters.

Intuitively, the number of reported rebel-initiated encounters should reflect the relative strength of rebel forces in the areas where attacks are launched. It is, after all, difficult for rebels to be aggressive in places where they do not have relatively organized networks of sympathizer. The data show that indeed, many of the rebel attacks on AFP soldiers, military installations and local government symbols like municipal halls occurred in provinces with high levels of AFP-MNLF/MILF encounters [e.g. Maguindanao, North Cotabato, Lanao del Norte, Sultan Kudarat] or those known to be NPA-infiltrated (Table 12). The MILF-initiated encounters were highest in 2000 and 2003. On the other hand, a number of the NPA attacks took place in 1987 at the height of the strength of CPP-NPA forces although equally high levels of NPA-initiated armed conflicts were reported in 2000 and 2003 (Figure 7). Although the number of rebel attacks was much lower in 2004 than in 2003, the NPA's January 2004 attack on the coal-fired power plant in Calaca Batangas, which it justified with the alleged harassment villagers suffered in the hands of the military personnel in the plant, is of strategic value, the plant being a supplier of a fifth of Luzon's power grid requirements¹⁶.

Figure 6

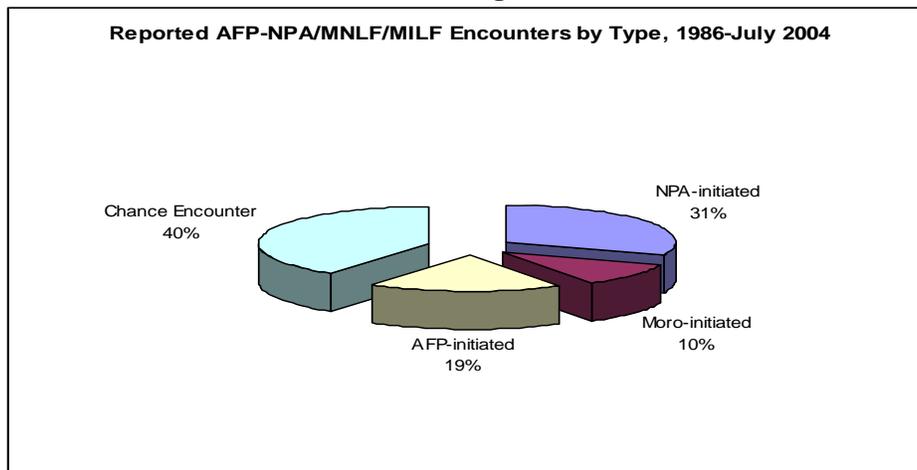


Table 12. Provinces with High* and Medium Levels of Reported Rebel-initiated Encounters, 1986-2004**

Maguindanao	(1)
North Cotabato	(2)
Quezon	(3)
Davao del Norte	(4)
Albay	(5)
Isabela	(6.5)
Lanao del Norte	(6.5)
Cagayan	(8.5)
Surigao del Sur	(8.5)
Davao Oriental	(11)
Sorsogon	(11)
Sultan Kudarat	(11)

* >20 encounters
 ** 10-19 encounters

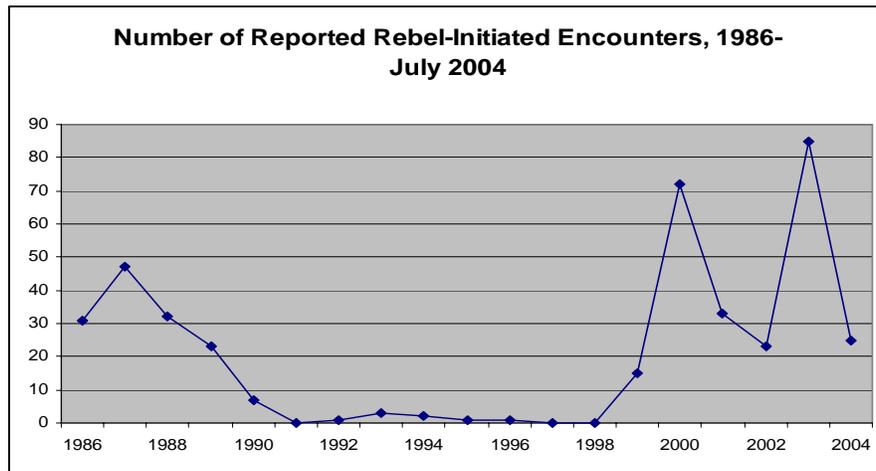
Source: Abinales and Ramos Dataset (2005)

¹⁶ Morada, Noel [Background Papers 2005 PHDR]

It is notable however, that some of the reported NPA, MNLF or MILF attacks against government personnel occurred in establishments outside the usual areas of confrontation. NPA raids were launched occasionally in Metro Manila in unexpected places such as gasoline stations where rebels killed or wounded military personnel. The Moro conflict has also reached Metro Manila, with the bombings of the last three years although the suspects are not officially labeled ‘MILF’ or ‘MNLF’.

The composition of the top thirteen (of 33) provinces with the highest increase in the number of NPA-initiated conflicts (Table 13) from the Estrada to the Arroyo administration corroborates earlier observations regarding the resurgence of the CPP-NDF in the traditional NPA bases of the 1970s and 1980s—Quezon, Isabela, Cagayan, Kalinga-Apayao, and the Samar provinces, among others. What Table 13 does not show is that about 20% of the provinces that registered an increase in aggressive attacks by the NPA are in Mindanao. This indicates once more the NDF’s efforts to regain the former strength of the movement in the region prior to the controversial killing of suspected deep penetration agents in the 1990s which aggravated the division within its ranks at the time.

Figure 7



Source: Abinales and Ramos Dataset (2005)

Table 13: Top 13 of 33 Provinces Registering an Increase in the Number of Reported NPA-initiated Encounters, from the Estrada Administration (July 1998-2000) to the Aquino Presidency (2001-July 2004) (Ranking)

Quezon	(1)
Isabela	(2)
Cagayan	(3)
Davao Oriental	(4)
Bukidnon	(7)
Kalinga-Apayao	(7)
Mindoro Oriental	(7)
Northern Samar	(7)
Western Samar	(7)
Camarines Sur	(11)
Eastern Samar	(11)
Pampanga	(11)
Zamboanga del Norte	(11)

Source: Abinales and Ramos Dataset (2005)

In fine, the above overview of the armed confrontations in the country from 1986 to 2004 reveals the resurgence of conflicts on the Communist front and the escalation of hostilities on the Moro front. The explanation for the increase in the levels of encounters experienced by about three fourths of all provinces from the Estrada to the Arroyo administration are found in the other background papers¹⁷. They include the 1) contradictory government military policy vis-à-vis rebels associated with both movements that has swung back and forth from all out peace to all out war; 2) the post-9/11 global politics and the Philippines' role in it; 3) the escalation of hostilities on the Moro front that started during the Estrada administration, which gave the NDF the space to regain its position in former bases; and 4) the clarification of the CPP leadership's political line which allowed it to move beyond the ideological divide that paralyzed the movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The next section supplements the qualitative and more grounded explanation of conflict with a quantitative exploration of the factors that determine the armed confrontations between the AFP, on the one hand, and the CPP-NPA, MILF, or MNLF, on the other.

III. Exploring Why Conflicts Have Persisted

The pattern of conflicts in the last 35 years highlights the protracted character of the struggles associated with the Communist and Moro movements and their resurgence after 1998 despite divisions within their ranks.

The two movements share much in common. Although the MNLF/MILF have longer historical roots, they emerged in the same conjuncture. Both the CPP-NDF and the MNLF/MILF justify their rebellion in the context of persistent poverty and the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a few. They consider the land issue critical to their respective causes and they are both ideologically based, espousing visions of an alternative society.

Despite these commonalities, however, the two movements differ from each other in fundamental ways. Cultural and religious identity figures significantly in the Moro discourse on political subordination, economic marginalization and the struggle for land. Although there are internal differences between the MILF and the MNLF in their aspiration for political independence or genuine autonomy, on the one hand, and a secular or Islamic Bangsamoro state, on the other, religion looms largely in their collective consciousness and vision of the future. In contrast, the class analysis at the heart of classical Communist revolutionary in the Third World is unencumbered by issues of ethnicity and religion. While academic Marxism has incorporated the perspectives of cultural studies and feminism into its frame, the future socialist society envisioned by political movements in many developing societies is relatively silent on cultural identity and religion.

The Communist and Moro movements also differ in their strategies for realizing the alternative futures they envision. Since Islam is crucial to the Moro's ideological frame, its international linkages with other Islamic states are far more established. Hence, the MNLF and the MILF have negotiated their demands with the Philippine government using a combination of armed struggle and international diplomacy¹⁸. The external resources at their disposal have also enabled them to engage in more conventional forms of warfare although recently, they have operated in guerilla fashion, much like the NPA.

¹⁷ See for instance Santos, S and Hernandez, C (PHDR Background papers)

¹⁸ See in particular S. Santos' excellent account of the Communist and Moro movements among the background papers for this 2005 PHDR.

The CPP-NDF, on the other hand, has followed the Maoist dictum of surrounding the cities from the countryside through guerilla warfare and mass base building and mobilization. The movement privileges armed struggle but supplements it with other forms of parliamentary struggle. However, unlike the Moro movement, the CPP-NPA is not internationalized although it engages in international solidarity work,

This section explores the determinants of ideologically-based conflicts statistically. Considering major differences in the historical roots, ideological premises and political strategies of the Communist and Moro movements, it focuses on differences in the factors that are salient to each movement and draws their implications for peace advocacy.

The independent variables used in the search for regression models that could explain the variation in the incidence, intensity and number of rebel-initiated conflicts operationalize various hypotheses in the literature about factors determining social and political conflicts. The final regression and logistic regression models on which the discussion in this section is based are as follows:

Model: Total Number of Encounters, Casualties and Rebel-initiated Conflicts

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + \epsilon$$

- where Y_1 =total number of encounters (AFP-NPA/MILF/MNLF)
 Y_2 =total number of casualties (AFP-NPA/MILF/MNLF)
 Y_3 =total number of rebel-initiated encounters (AFP-NPA/MILF/MNLF)
 X_1 =% Change in poverty incidence 1985-July 2004
 X_2 =% Change income gini 1985-2000
 X_3 =land gini 1990
 X_4 =% Change in diversification in rural areas 1985-2000
 X_5 =Accomplishment of the Department of Agrarian Reform in land redistribution, 1972-2004
 X_6 =% share of ancestral domain
 X_7 = ethnic fractionalization
 X_8 =number of agrarian reform communities 2004
 X_9 =number of human rights violations, 1986-2004
 X_{10} =political dynasty
 X_{11} =dummy, with history of armed conflict

Model: Total Number of AFP-NPA Encounters, Casualties and Rebel-initiated Conflicts

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + \epsilon$$

- where Y_1 =total number of encounters (AFP-NPA)
 Y_2 =total number of casualties (AFP-NPA)
 Y_3 =total number of rebel-initiated encounters (AFP-NPA)
 X_1 =% Change in poverty incidence 1985-July 2004
 X_2 =% Change income gini 1985-2000
 X_3 =land gini 1990
 X_4 =% Change in diversification in rural areas 1985-2000
 X_5 =Accomplishment of the Department of Agrarian Reform in land redistribution, 1972-2004
 X_6 =% share of ancestral domain

X_7 = ethnic fractionalization
 X_8 =number of agrarian reform communities 2004
 X_9 =number of human rights violations, 1986-2004
 X_{10} =political dynasty
 X_{11} =dummy, with history of armed conflict
 X_{12} =dummy Bicol
 X_{13} =dummy Davao

Model: Total Number of AFP-MILF/MNLF Encounters, Casualties and Rebel-initiated Conflicts

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + \epsilon$$

where Y_1 =total number of encounters (AFP-MILF/MNLF)
 Y_2 =total number of casualties (AFP-MILF/MNLF)
 Y_3 =total number of rebel-initiated encounters (MILF/MNLF)
 X_1 =% Change in poverty incidence 1985-July 2004
 X_2 =land gini 1990
 X_3 =Accomplishment of the Department of Agrarian Reform in land redistribution, 1972-2004
 X_4 =% share of ancestral domain
 X_5 =political dynasty
 X_6 =dummy, with history of armed conflict
 X_7 =dummy ARMM
 X_8 =proportion Muslim population 1995

Logistic model: $\log [P(y_i=1)/P(y_i=0)] = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7$

where Y_1 =whether province has a high level of AFP-NPA Encounters (1=high; 0 otherwise)
 Y_2 =whether province has high level of AFP-NPA Casualties (1=high; 0 otherwise)
 X_1 =% Change in poverty incidence 1985-July 2004
 X_2 =% Change income gini 1985-2000
 X_3 =land gini 1990
 X_4 =ethnic fractionalization
 X_5 =% share of ancestral domain
 X_6 =dummy, political dynasty
 X_7 =agrarian reform communities 2004
 X_8 =dummy, with history of armed conflict
 X_9 =dummy Bicol for the regression with y_1 and ARMM for the regression with y_2

Tables 14 and 15 present the descriptive statistics for the dependent and independent variables while Tables 16 to 20¹⁹ show the results of regressing with the independent variables specified in the above models, the total number of encounters, casualties and rebel-initiated armed conflicts; those associated with the national democratic movement; and those connected with the MILF/MNLF.

¹⁹ The regression Tables highlight the coefficients for independent variables that have significant effects at the .01 and .05 levels although asterisks are appended to those that are significant at .10.

The explanatory variables in the models with incidence, intensity, and rebel aggression in conflicts involving both the Communist and Moro movements as dependent variables account for 35%, 30% and 32% of the variation in the number of total NPA/MILF/MNLF encounters, casualties and rebel-initiated armed confrontations, respectively (Table 16). The coefficients of determination for the models for AFP-NPA conflicts, on the other hand, are much higher, explaining 67%, 56% and 52%, respectively, of the variation in the number of AFP-NPA encounters, casualties and NPA-initiated conflicts (Table 17). As to the AFP-Moro armed incidents, the R^2 ranges from 37% to 43% (Table 18).

A. Poverty and Social Inequality

Recent empirical studies suggest that poverty and social inequality account to a large extent for the emergence of social and political conflicts. These studies merely reinforce a common observation articulated in all historical accounts of social unrest and peasant rebellions in the Philippines. The National Unification Commission Report on nationwide consultations during the Ramos presidency, for instance, put ‘massive and abject poverty’ and economic inequality at the top of the root causes of the country’s armed conflicts. A statistical exploration of variables that would figure in the construction of an index of vulnerability to conflict in the Philippines underscore the significance of endemic poverty and its correlates, (e.g. educational deprivation, geographic isolation)²⁰ Following the literature, the case studies written for the 2005 PHDR further substantiate the connection of conflict to poverty and social inequality.

Against this backdrop, the finding of the study on the effects of poverty and inequality on the number of armed incidents involving both the Communist and Moro movements are counterintuitive (Table 16). Poverty [measured in terms of % change poverty incidence, the 2000 and 2003 Human Poverty Index (HPI) based on functional illiteracy, or the HPI computed with high school students who did not graduate] is not a significant determinant of the incidence of conflict, its intensity and rebel initiative in encounters.

Similarly, income inequality, measured in % change in income gini coefficients from 1985 to 2000, does not significantly account for the variation in the total number of reported conflicts, the casualties they inflict or whether the encounters are initiated by rebel forces. However, land inequality (land gini) figures significantly in the regression with rebel aggression as dependent variable. However, the direction of its effect is also counterintuitive. The number of rebel-initiated conflicts tended to be higher in provinces with relatively more equal land distribution.

There are at least three possible explanations for the counterintuitive observation. For one, Philippine provinces, which constitute the units of analysis for this paper, are unevenly developed. Thus, it is highly probable for conflicts to occur or be more intense in poorer, highly unequal and isolated barangays within a province. Regarding the unexpected effect of land inequality on rebel-initiated conflict, the relative strength of the national democratic movement in provinces where government has fully accomplished or even surpassed its land redistribution goals might have contributed to the inverse effect of higher land concentration on rebel aggression. This point is discussed in greater detail in the next section.

²⁰ Cusi (1996).

A third possible reason is methodological. The observation that poverty and inequality are not statistical determinants of conflict is not unique to this study. The association between poverty, inequality and civil wars is not unanimously accepted in the literature. Disagreements are largely due to the weak empirical foundations in which the literature is based²¹. The gini coefficient as measure of inequality, for instance, is deemed inadequate for purposes of determining conflict²². The wide discrepancy between objective indicators of poverty and subjective perceptions of the adequacy of food, clothing and shelter²³ also suggest the need to use other poverty indicators for predicting conflict. Subjective poverty is not easy to dismiss because the way social actors define their situation has real consequences for the actions they take.

It is notable that while poverty (as operationalized) is not a significant determinant of the number of armed incidents involving the national democratic movement, casualties of AFP-NPA encounters, and NPA-initiated conflicts (Table 17), it is the only significant variable in the regression models that account for the variations in all the conflict-related dependent variables associated with the Moro struggle (Table 18). In fact, Mindanao provinces with a higher poverty incidence in 2000 relative to 1985 were 182 times more likely to experience MNLF or MILF encounters (Table 19). This observation is not new. It merely reflects common sense and corroborates the conclusion of numerous empirical studies on Mindanao that lament the poverty and backwardness of some of its provinces, particularly those with high concentrations of Muslim and indigenous Filipinos.

B. Previous History of Conflict and Ideology

After more than 35 years, it appears that conflicts associated with the two movements, particularly the CPP-NDF have their own momentum. Compared to the MILF and MNLF's violent confrontations with the military which are quite intense in the underdeveloped provinces of Mindanao, however, the AFP-NPA encounters in the 1986-July 2004 period occurred in relatively more developed provinces that share a history of agrarian conflicts. As discussed in the first part of this paper, some of these provinces, notably those in Central and Southern Luzon, trace their level of organized resistance to the peasant uprising in the first half of the 20th century. Some of them go as far back as the 1896 Philippine Revolution.

It is, therefore, not surprising that previous history of armed conflict²⁴, which implies a certain level of grassroots mobilization and a more systematic articulation of land tenure demands is a significant determinant of the incidence of AFP-NPA conflicts, and in a less significant way, of its intensity and the aggressiveness of the NPAs (Table 17). In fact, 29 of the 33 provinces (88%) with reported AFP-NPA encounters higher than the mean armed incidents involving the NDF for the 1986-July 2004 period, have had some history of armed resistance to government forces.

²¹ PRUS (2002).

²² PRUS (2002).

²³ See for instance Pulse Asia's recent report on the poverty score of the Philippines.

²⁴ Previous history of armed conflict, measured in terms of presence or absence of encounters goes back only to the Aquino period. However, the number of reported encounters during the Aquino years correlate with the number of reported encounters from 1972-1985.

Apart from the organizational and mobilizing capabilities implied in the variable ‘history of armed conflict’, the Bicol case study for the PHDR suggests why it might be easier for a movement to gain its strength in an area in which it has long operated²⁵. The study documents the familial basis of revolutionary ardor. When a member of a family or network circle is killed, the impulse to take revenge and pursue the dead relative’s cause compels ordinary people, who might have initially been averse to joining radical groups, to go underground. Since violence begets violence, the cycle is difficult to break especially in less developed areas where competing norms (e.g. revenge for the sake of family versus love for peace) exist.

Although studies show that the social construction of an ideology and commitment to political movements differ among leaders and the rank and file, the role of ideology is nevertheless important in accounting for the escalation of AFP-NPA conflicts even in provinces that have experienced significant land redistribution. The results of logistic regression for which the dependent variable is having levels of encounters higher than the mean, albeit significant only at the .06 level, suggests that the higher the accomplishment of the Department of Agrarian Reform in distributing lands (measured by the ratio of lands distributed to the original targeted lands), the more likely a province reflects an increase in the number of AFP-NPA encounters from 1999-2000 to 2001-2004 (Table 20). Indeed, an examination of the data reveals that the following provinces, which are among the top provinces registering an increase either in number of total reported encounters or NPA-initiated encounters are listed in the files of the Department of Agrarian Reform as having an accomplishment of 100% or more lands distributed—Bukidnon, Cagayan, Davao Oriental, Davao del Sur, Eastern Samar, Isabela, Kalinga-Apayao, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Zamboanga del Norte, Zamboanga del Sur.

While a tripartite system of consultations prior to the legislation of the country’s comprehensive agrarian reform program involved actors from the broad national democratic movement who were engaged in parliamentary struggle, the resulting law was a product of compromise among different parties and social classes. For members of the Communist movement, it is watered down version of a desired reform, with a very limited or understated scope. Thus, even those benefiting from the program among the politicized peasantry consider land reform inferior to the ‘genuine and comprehensive reform’ that the NDF promises after winning the revolution. It is, therefore, not surprising that the number of agrarian reform communities correlates significantly with all the conflict-related dependent variables, albeit in a counterintuitive way (Table 17). Intended to support land reform beneficiaries, enhance their productivity and facilitate their upward social mobility to middle class positions, provinces with a higher number of agrarian reform communities also tend to experience higher AFP-NPA encounters, casualties and NPA-initiated incidents. The combination of organization and ideology could account for this observation.

Ideological movements are able to gain momentum despite possible improvements in levels of living because the present is measured against a vision of an alternative future. The humanist tradition within Marxism that theoretically underpins Communist practice, enhances the capacity of its adherents to critique the ‘Is’ against the ‘Ought’. It puts premium on the ability to see through the form of a phenomenon, in this case land reform, and measure it against the substance of genuine land reform in a

²⁵ Lobrigo, J., S. Imperial and N. Rafer. Case Study on the Cost and Spillovers of Armed Conflict for the 2005 PHDR.

national democratic state. This explains why members of the movement in areas which have become more diverse and relatively developed, who might have personally reaped the gains of economic development, continue to cite “pervasive” poverty and “increasing” inequality as justifications for their involvement in the armed struggle. Palpable signs of poverty despite some growth, given the slow and incremental nature of change in a country bogged down by governance and economic issues, manifest the wide gap between present conditions and future visions. They reinforce the perception among ideologically-motivated citizens that only a violent revolution could turn the Philippines around.

Apart from history of armed resistance, level of community organization, and ideology, the number of reported human rights violations appears to be a significant correlate, if not a determinant, of the incidence and intensity of AFP-NPA conflicts from 1986 to 2004. The higher the number of human rights violations, the higher the number of encounters, casualties and NPA-initiated incidents. It is important to note, however, that reported human rights violations tend to rise with the number of armed incidents particularly when the population in a conflict area is politically aware, a situation that prevails in many of the provinces influenced by the NDF.

Table 17 further shows that the Bicol and Davao provinces have higher mean AFP-NPA encounters than the other provinces. In the case of Davao del Norte, Davao Oriental and Davao del Sur, the mean of their combined casualties of violent conflicts with the government, as well as of NPA-initiated encounters, are also significantly higher than the other provinces in the country.

C. Ethnic Fragmentation, Ancestral Domain and Rural Diversification

Ethnic fractionalization, operationalized as the sum of proportion of indigenous populations, contributed to the variation in total reported casualties of armed conflicts (Table 16). This effect is due largely to the AFP-MILF/MNLF conflicts in Mindanao (Table 18). It is quite likely, however, that apart from ethnic fractionalization, conflicts over ancestral land claims, including those associated with Bangsamoro territorial claims, in areas where indigenous peoples are significant have further exacerbated the violence in Muslim Mindanao. Interestingly, the Mindanao provinces with a high percentage of ancestral lands are about 21 times more likely to experience AFP-MILF/MNLF conflicts (Table 19).

Except for percent change in the ratio of agricultural to non-agricultural households from 1985 to 2000 (diversification in rural areas) which positively affects the number of reported casualties of AFP-NPA encounters, the variables operationalizing the level of development of a province do not seem to have any affect on the incidence and intensity of conflict and the aggressive stance of those fighting the government. This finding runs counter to the literature which posits economic growth and development as factors that would undermine the sources of political conflicts

IV. Concluding Remarks: Is An Early Warning System Possible?

The relative insignificance of the variables generally associated with conflict reflects both the problems with the level of aggregation and data, and the momentum of conflict. In the ideological frames of both movements, conflict is presented as a necessary condition for the realization of a

common good at a future time, whether in the form of the secular socialist society envisioned by the Communists or the Islamic Bangsamoro society of the MILF/MNLF. Unless a dramatic and highly visible improvement in levels of living is achieved at the shortest possible time, addressing the concrete needs and demands of the population in conflict-ridden areas [such as access to land] might not be sufficient to break the momentum of highly ideological and protracted wars

Despite the underestimation of armed incidents and casualties due to data limitations, this exploratory study reveals the pervasiveness of ideologically motivated conflict and its resurgence in the last decade. With the current escalation of hostilities, the high economic and psychological costs of protracted war undermine the nation's development and its poverty alleviation efforts. It is thus necessary to break its momentum.

The salience of poverty as an explanatory variable for AFP-MILF/MNLF armed incidents and of variables indicating organizational and ideological dimensions, such as history of armed conflict and number agrarian reform communities for AFP-NPA confrontations, suggests the need to explore different options for resolving the violence on the Moro and Communist front. While poverty has to be alleviated regardless of the bearers of conflict in a given area, higher levels of poverty and underdevelopment in Muslim Mindanao make it imperative to address the problems simultaneously with the issue of autonomy. The government side cannot simply assume that the granting of autonomy to ARMM would redound to the provision of social services and the implementation of effective anti-poverty strategies. On the other hand, the strong hold of Marxist ideology on NDF adherents even in more economically developed areas implies that the resolution of the conflict would entail high level negotiations with the Party, preferably with third party mediation. Addressing the root causes of conflict with development programs at the local level is not sufficient to turn the conflict situation around.

Whatever the movement, the ideological character of the conflicts would require a paradigm shift for all sides represented in high level negotiations. Bigger concessions on the part of government and a willingness on the Moro and Communist fronts to compromise are necessary ingredients for the successful resolution of the protracted struggles. Without this shift, future negotiations will go the way of past peace talks.

In this regard, the role of civil society as peace advocate is crucial. Given the momentum of war, the power of the gun and the strength of hawkish elements in Philippine society, a paradigm shift will not occur unless there is sufficient pressure from a critical mass of peace activists working within the framework of human security and development.

Against this backdrop, the development of an early warning system is desirable. Such a system would require an understanding of structural factors that underlie crises and conflicts; the agendas and grievances of stakeholders and combatants; and developments in peace-building efforts at the macro and micro levels²⁶.

The development of an early warning system that would keep track of structural factors entails among others, the refinement of qualitative and quantitative indicators for monitoring economic performance, good governance, environmental quality, (objective and subjective) poverty, human development, and public perception of critical issues. It also requires the conduct of regular assessments of political economic developments that could trigger crises. In the context of the country's protracted wars, it is important for a warning system to be able to monitor to monitor developments in peace negotiations and the agendas and the grievances of

²⁶ Ampleford, S (2000).

ideologically-based movements at the highest levels. Mapping peace building efforts in the hope of linking peace advocates to a loose network of stakeholders who would jointly develop the warning system and use it to prevent potential conflict situations from triggering armed confrontations, is also imperative.

On the ground, the development of a set of meaningful quantitative and qualitative indicators would entail an understanding of how structural factors at the macro level play out in local settings, the history of conflicts in particular localities and regions, the key players in the conflict and the critical concerns and issues in the area. It is best developed by local peace advocates from civil society groups, academe, the private sector, and government who have a stake in diffusing conflict situations and enhancing human security in the areas where they live and work. The next step in this project, therefore, is to begin the process of convening stakeholders committed to the peace process at the macro and local levels to develop qualitative, and, if possible, quantitative indicators of factors that trigger conflict. The Mindanao inter-related networks for peace, consisting of multi-ethnic activists, academics and private citizens, offer a good starting point for developing qualitative and quantitative indicators that may be used to spot rising tensions and diffuse them before they turn into full-blown armed confrontations.

Appendix:

Table 14 Descriptive Statistics, Independent Variables

Descriptive Statistics

Independent Variables Used in the Final Models	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Poverty incidence 1985	0.46	0.49	0.19	0.03	0.82
Poverty incidence 1991	0.43	0.42	0.17	0.07	0.93
Poverty incidence 1997	0.31	0.30	0.16	0.03	0.87
Poverty incidence 2000	0.33	0.32	0.18	0.06	0.92
Income gini, 1985	0.39	0.38	0.06	0.29	0.60
Income gini 1991	0.40	0.40	0.05	0.26	0.57
Income gini 1997	0.44	0.44	0.05	0.29	0.56
Income gini 2000	0.43	0.44	0.06	0.27	0.56
Diversification in rural areas 1985	1.93	1.60	1.27	0.27	6.25
Diversification in rural areas 1991	1.58	1.33	1.27	0.19	7.44
Diversification in rural areas 1997	1.54	1.26	1.53	0.18	11.20
Diversification in rural areas 2000	1.07	0.78	1.06	0.12	8.07
Ethnic fragmentation	0.58	0.61	0.19	0.29	0.88
Land Reform Achievement 1972-2004 (% target ha.)	85.61	89.50	37.20	0.00	268.00
% Ancestral domain	0.25	0.09	0.36	0.00	1.81
No. of Reported Human Rights Cases	168.76	132.00	189.40	0.00	1301
Percent change in gini coefficients 1985-2000	0.14	0.11	0.16	-0.15	0.54
Percent change in ratio of agri/non-agri households, 85-00	-0.39	-0.52	0.47	-0.90	2.23
Percent change in poverty incidence, 1985-2000	-0.13	-0.29	0.94	-0.83	7.14

Table 15. Descriptive Statistics, Dependent Variables

Dependent Variables*	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
<i>No. of AFP-NPA/MILF/MNLF encounters</i>	13.90	10.0	17.82	0.00	124
No. of AFP-NPA encounters	9.60	8.50	8.51	0.00	46
No. of AFP-MILF/MNLF encounters	3.57	0.00	13.57	0.00	95
<i>No. of casualties of AFP-NPA/MILF/MNLF encounters</i>	86.12	47.50	152.03	0.00	1103
No. of AFP-NPA encounters	47.21	29.5	53.92	0.00	251
No. of AFP-MILF/MNLF encounters	38.9	0	150.37	0.00	1103
<i>No. of rebel-initiated encounters</i>	5.43	4.00	6.68	0.00	40
No. of AFP-NPA encounters	4.10	3.70	4.29	0.00	23
No. of AFP-MILF/MNLF encounters	1.32	0.00	30.87	0.00	39

Table 16. Regression results: Dependent Variables—Total Number of Reported Encounters, Casualties and Rebel-initiated Conflicts

Independent Variables	1 INCIDENCE OF CONFLICT (NO. OF ENCOUN- TERS)*	2 INTENSITY OF CONFLICT (NO. OF CASUAL- TIES)**	3 REBEL AGGRESSION (NO. OF REBEL- INITIATED CONFLICTS)**
Land Gini 1990	-39.68 (-1.30)	- 419.448* (-1.734)	-28.514** (-2.098)
% Change in Income Gini Coefficients, 1985-2000	1.340 (.164)	54.404 (.839)	1.992 (.546)
% Change in Poverty Incidence, 1985-2000	-.391 (.067)	10.497 (.225)	2.677 (1.022)
% Change in diversification in rural areas, 1985-2000	2.598 (.695)	25.233 (.851)	-1.559 (-.936)
DAR accomplishments in % of lands distributed, 1972-2004	-.022 (-.492)	-.188 (-.533)	-.008 (-.411)
Ethnic fractionalization	12.891 (1.671)	138.316** (2.260)	.934 (.272)
% share of ancestral domain	2.324 (1.671)	21.768 (.623)	3.301* (1.681)
Political dynasty	-4.635 (-.696)	-21.301 (-.403)	-1.347 (-.454)
Number of human rights violations, 1986-2004	.034*** (2.558)	.212** (1.993)	.017 (2.873)
Number of agrarian reform communities	.112 (.822)	.122 (.112)	.030 (.486)
Dummy: with previous history of armed conflict	6.375** (1.996)	44.305* (1.748)	2.558* (1.796)
R ²	.346	.296	.317

Note: t-statistics in parenthesis. ***, **, and * indicate, respectively, statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10% levels

Table 17. Regression results: Dependent Variables—Number of Reported AFP-NPA Encounters, Casualties and NPA-Initiated Conflicts

Independent Variables	1 INCIDENCE OF CONFLICT (NO. OF ENCOUN- TERS)***	2 INTENSITY OF CONFLICT (NO. OF CASUAL- TIES)***	3 REBEL AGGRESSION (NO. OF REBEL- INITIATED CONFLICTS)**
Land Gini 1990	-12.956 (-.829)	-47.519 (-.415)	-13.510 (-1.423)
% Change in Income Gini Coefficients, 1985-2000	-.038 (-.009)	28.418 (.929)	1.885 (.744)
% Change in Poverty Incidence, 1985-2000	-.707 (-.246)	-20.48 (-.945)	1.775 (.988)
% Change in diversification in rural areas, 1985-2000	.582 (.317)	29.483** (2.131)	-1.102 (-.961)
DAR accomplishments in % of lands distributed, 1972-2004	.003 (.134)	.004 (.023)	-.001 (-.085)

Ethnic fractionalization	-4.928 (-1.193)	2.698 (.095)	-4.201 (-1.626)
% share of ancestral domain	2.726 (1.253)	18.98 (1.156)	2.263 (1.663)
Political dynasty	-4.351 (-1.331)	-.933 (-.038)	-.446 (-.219)
Number of human rights violations, 1986-2004	.024*** (3.607)	.115** (2.333)	.012*** (3.025)
Number of agrarian reform communities	.270*** (4.032)	1.831*** (3.269)	.107*** (2.551)
Dummy: with previous history of armed conflict	3.304** (2.062)	21.846* (1.807)	1.721* (1.718)
Dummy: Bicol	6.045** (2.270)	8.191 (.408)	1.358 (.816)
Dummy: Davao	11.584*** (.002)	62.643** (2.367)	4.802** (2.189)
R²	.667	.559	.518

Note: *t*-statistics in parenthesis. ***, **, and * indicate, respectively, statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10% levels

Table 18. Regression results: Dependent Variables—Number of Reported AFP-MILF/MNLF Encounters, Casualties and MILF/MNLF-initiated Conflicts

Independent Variables	1 INCIDENCE OF CONFLICT (NO. OF ENCOUNTERS)***	2 INTENSITY OF CONFLICT (NO. OF CASUAL- TIES)***	3 REBEL AGGRESSION (NO. OF REBEL- INITIATED CONFLICTS)**
Land Gini 1990	-19.842 (-.738)	-214.224 (-.762)	-9.063 (-.820)
% Change in Poverty Incidence, 1985-2000	14.924*** (3.031)	181.971*** (3.534)	6.059*** (2.994)
DAR accomplishments in % of lands distributed, 1972-2004	-.023 (-.493)	-.243 (-.490)	-.011 (-.557)
% share of ancestral domain	.287 (.067)	-11.679 (-.260)	.059 (.033)
Political dynasty	-2.432 (-.373)	-21.617 (-.317)	-.838 (-.312)
Dummy: with previous history of armed conflict	3.457 (1.132)	36.299 (1.137)	1.156 (.921)
Dummy: ARMM	7.067 (.816)	87.394 (.965)	3.116 (.875)
Proportion Muslim population 1995	9.262 (.874)	106.298 (.959)	3.402 (.781)
R²	.367	.433	.365

Note: *t*-statistics in parenthesis. ***, **, and * indicate, respectively, statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10% levels

Table 19. Results of Logistic Regression Dependent variable—With Reported MILF/MNLF Encounters (y=1)

Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1(a) % Poverty change 1985-2000	5.204	2.126	5.992	1	.014	182.055
% GINI change 1985-2000	-1.486	2.844	.273	1	.601	.226
Land GINI90	-16.501	10.741	2.360	1	.124	.000
ETHNIC FRACTIONALIZATION	8.071	3.373	5.727	1	.017	3201.806
% ANCESTRAL DOMAIN POLITICAL DYNASTY	3.071	1.414	4.717	1	.030	21.561
AGRIAN REFORM COMMUNITY WITH HISTORY OF ARMED CONFLICT	-3.011	3.479	.749	1	.387	.049
ARMM DAR Accomplishments % of land redistributed	.046	.033	1.917	1	.166	1.047
Constant	.633	1.002	.399	1	.528	1.883
	-.484	2.367	.042	1	.838	.616
	.001	.014	.002	1	.969	1.001
	.925	5.149	.032	1	.857	2.523

a Variable(s) entered on step 1: POVCHNGE, GINICHGE, LGINI90, ETHNIC, VAR00032, DYNA, ARC, HISTCON, ARMM, ACHIEVAR.

X² of model =31.15 (df=10; =.α00) Hosner and Lemeshow Test X²=.873(df=8 α=.99);

Cox and Snell R²= .31; Nagelkerke R²=.56

Percentage correct prediction without Moro encounter	94.87%
With Moro encounter	57.5%
Total	87.3

Table 20. Results of Logistic Regression Dependent variable—With Reported NPA Encounters Higher than the Mean (y=1)

Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1(a) % Poverty change 1985-2000	.769	1.175	.428	1	.513	2.157
% GINI change 1985-2000	-5.420	2.316	5.476	1	.019	.004
Land GINI90	-2.699	5.216	.268	1	.605	.067
ETHNIC FRACTIONALIZATION	.205	1.840	.012	1	.911	1.228
% ANCESTRAL DOMAIN POLITICAL DYNASTY	.492	1.174	.175	1	.675	1.635
AGRIAN REFORM COMMUNITY WITH HISTORY OF ARMED CONFLICT	-2.559	1.558	2.698	1	.100	.077
ARMM DAR	.058	.024	5.651	1	.017	1.059
Accomplishments % of land redistributed	2.217	.915	5.873	1	.015	9.176
Constant	4.345	1.967	4.877	1	.027	77.071
	.018	.010	3.355	1	.067	1.018
	-2.337	3.065	.581	1	.446	.097

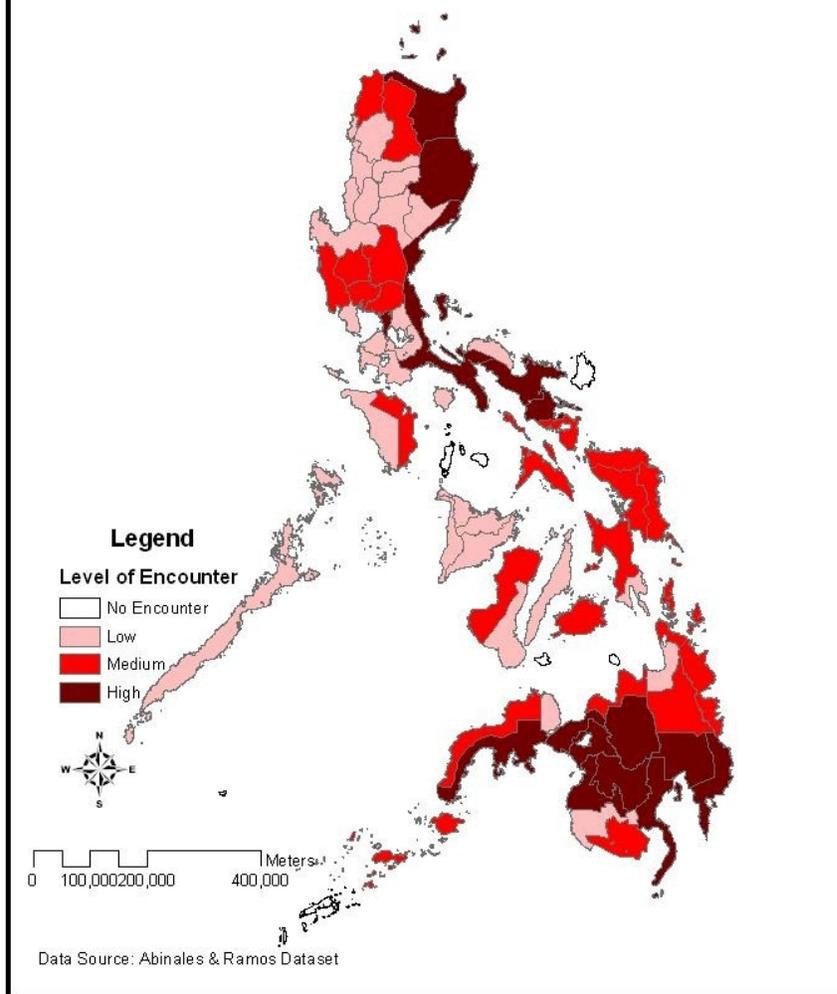
a Variable(s) entered on step 1: *POVCHNGE, GINICHGE, LGINI90, ETHNIC, VAR00032, DYNA, ARC, HISTCON, BICOL, ACHIEVAR.*

X² of model = 27.16 (df=10; α =.00); Hosmer and Lemeshow Test X²=10.031 (df=7; α =.187)

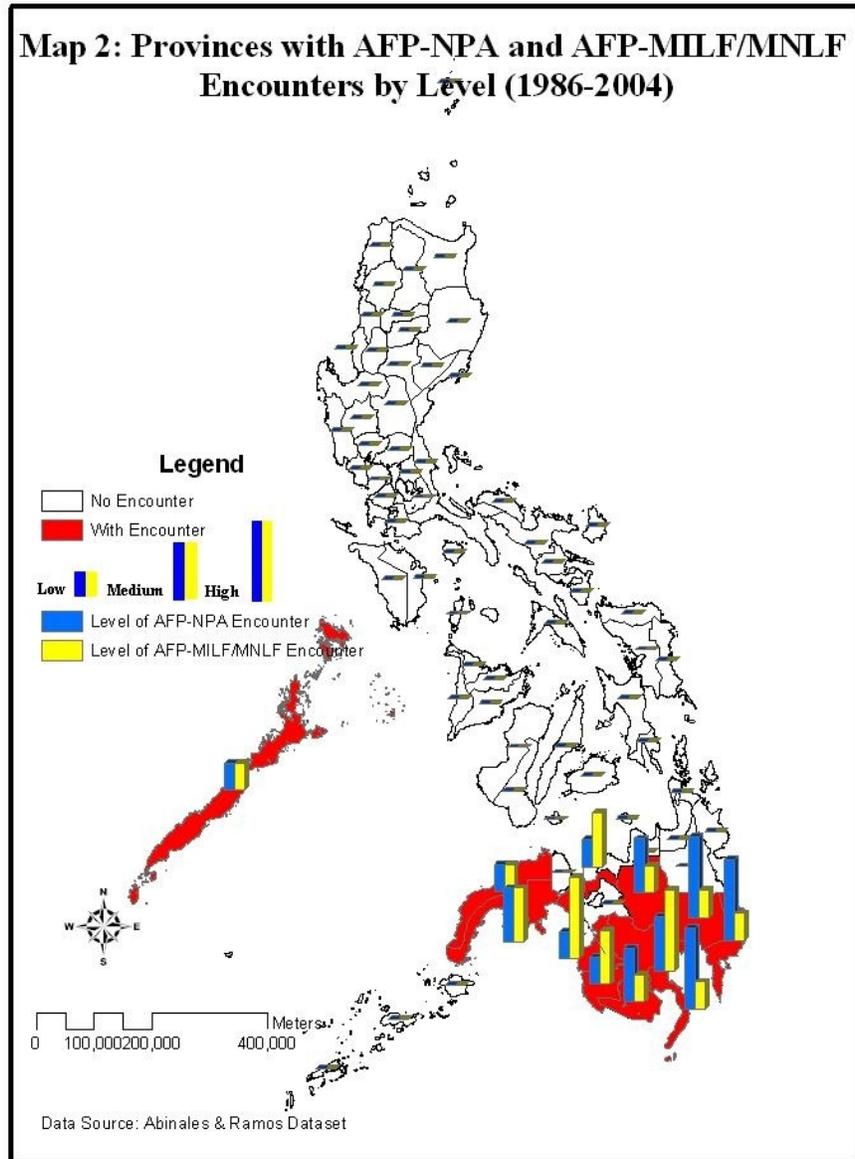
Cox and Snell R²=.34; Nagelkerke R²= .45

Percentage correct prediction without Moro encounter	78.8%
With Moro encounter	78.1%
Total	78.5%

Map 1: Provinces with AFP-NPA/MILF/MNLF Encounters by Level (1986-2004)



Map 2: Provinces with AFP-NPA and AFP-MILF/MNLF Encounters by Level (1986-2004)



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