

The Construction of Peace and Development Narrative: A Narrative Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

The study traced and assembled narrative fragments that have made up the Peace and Development narrative. It then examined the dominant construct behind the narrative. The study hinged on narrative theories that view narrative as a discourse. As a colonizing device, narrative sets conditions in how messages should be distributed to deploy a certain ideology and get public assent. From the established relations of narrative and discourse, the paper conceptualized Peace and Development as a narrative discourse. The researcher gathered 87 published materials online that narrate about Peace and Development in Mindanao. Using NVivo coding software, 39 of these materials, each containing at least 20 "Peace and Development" phrases, were subjected to coding. The tracked links of Peace and Development shows that development had emerged first as the main preoccupation of the Commonwealth government in 1935. Its disastrous impacts led to peace insecurity and a series of talks to avert it. It's not so much that we had a problem with peace that we need to address it with development; rather, there was something wrong with past development so much that we now have a problem with peace. Using NVivo, 14 dominant codes about Peace and Development surfaced and of the 14, Peace and Development as "participatory" is the most alluded to, followed by the view that it is possible "with international assistance" and that it is "economic" in nature. Such narrative, told and retold in various references, has reached its 'narrative accrual' so much that attempts to deconstruct it may be difficult. In examining the discursive relation between Peace and Development, the paper was able to emerge the ideological contradiction between the social and historical dimensions of conflict and the economic nature of development.

Keywords: Peace and development; Narrative discourse analysis; Intertextual analysis

1. Introduction

For years, episodes of violence and talks about peace have made up Mindanao's narrative. Peace and Development has then become a buzzword in prints following violent events and peace talks. This paper tracks the origin of the term "Peace and Development" by examining the events that link them together. Further, the study traces the parts that make up the Peace and Development narrative in order to examine the dominant construct or ideology behind it.

The study hinges on narrative theories that view narrative as a discourse. Narrative can be a colonizing device that passes the uncritical eye (Souto-Manning, 2012). When presented through narratives, political events would appear like there is nothing political about them (Chafe, 1980). Discourse is constitutive of power (Foucault 1972, Fairclough, 1989) and shapes social relations and structures (Fairclough, 1992). From the established relations of narrative and discourse, the paper conceptualizes Peace and Development as a narrative discourse.

To examine the discourse fully, the paper first traces and assembles the fragments from multiple settings that coheres the Peace and Development narrative. Hence, the paper applies Bakhtin's (1981/1975) concept of intertextuality which holds that, "in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another" (Kristeva, 1980). The paper then employs a discourse analysis to assess the extent and exercise of power in the construction and maintenance of the Peace and Development narrative.

Using NVivo coding software, thirty-nine (39) of the gathered eighty-seven (87) articles, with at least 20 "Peace and

Development” words, are coded. The tracked links of Peace and Development shows that that Development emerged first as the main preoccupation of the Commonwealth government whose disastrous impacts led to peace insecurity and series of talks to avert it. The use of the term “Development” was traced in the creation of the Southern Philippines Development Authority (SPDA) in 1975 to mitigate the brewing rebellion during the Marcos regime. The coining of two terms “Peace” and “Development” was first spotted in the creation of a Special Zone of Peace and Development (SZOPAD) and the establishment of the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD) during the administration of President Fidel Ramos as an offshoot of the 1996 Government of the Republic of the Philippines - Moro Islamic Liberation Front (GRP-MILF) Peace Agreement.

Using NVivo, fourteen (14) dominant codes about Peace and Development surfaced among the thirty-nine (39) articles. They represent the parts that form the coherent whole of the Peace and Development narrative. Of the fourteen (14), Peace and Development as “participatory” is the most alluded to, followed by the view that Peace and Development is possible “with international assistance”. This view is supported by the third code that Peace and Development is “economic” in nature. Together, they cohere the narrative that a multi-stakeholder participation is necessary in realizing the Peace and Development aspiration in the Mindanao conflict areas. The role of international organizations and donor and lending countries is crucial in moving forward the Peace and Development efforts. Investment in peace through economic opportunities and infrastructures in conflict-prone areas also gives promising results.

Such a narrative, told and retold in various references, seems to be closed and durable. It has gained narrative accrual (Bruner, 1991) that makes it difficult to recontextualize and reshape its meaning. Although there are a few references that say otherwise, their numbers are not significant to challenge and reshape the existing narrative. The discussion also shows that mistakes in the past are missing in the current narrative; the dominant narrative obliterates the part that confronts the root cause of the conflict. It would seem that we have not learned from the history of conflict since the current peace building efforts are still linked with market-oriented development goals.

2. Review of Related Literature and Theoretical Grounding

Narrative

Our everyday life is organized in narrative. Understanding narrative as a mental, cognitive construct, Bruner (1991) said “we organize our experience and our memory of human happenings mainly in the form of narrative—stories, excuses, myths, reasons for doing and not doing, and so on”. More than a representational form, Somers viewed narrative as the ontology of our being, constituting our identity. He added that it “is through narrativity that we come to know, understand, and make sense of the social world” (Somers, 1994).

A precipitating event is the starting point of a narrative (Hodges, 2008). When it is followed and sustained by a series of events and experience, a coherent whole is formed and a central plot established (Bruner, 1991). A narrative becomes understandable when we construct and connect its parts — fragments, symbols, stories — into a unified network of relationships (Somers, 1994).

A narrator whose authoritative voice controls the narrative (Boje, 2008) follows a generic frame and appropriates these parts in forming the main plot (Bruner, 1991). This generic frame may be a convention or a formula that is commonly known and relatable, thus, it is easily accepted. Because of its ability to organize human events and experience, a narrative can construct our social reality (Bruner, 1991, Riessman, 1993, Sommers, 1994).

Narrative as Discourse

Narrative is no longer an exclusive domain of literature as other disciplines in social sciences have applied it as either a method to produce, a theory to investigate, or a strategy to analyze social practice. Interests in the various aspects of narrative began to surge in the 90s as more and more scholars paid attention to the presence of narrative in public discourse and used it as an analytical device in examining how narrative structures human's perception of reality (Tomascikova, 2009). Differences in views and exercise of power manifest in language; thus, narrative has been used in examining institutional and power discourses in a given society (Souto-Manning, 2012).

As vast and expansive is its scope, narrative is classified into three strands: one understands it as a sequence of events, another considers it as a discourse, and the other sees it as a "complex artefact" whose meaning resided on the receiver (Tomascikova, 2009). Narrative as a discourse was first explored in the works of known narratologists such as Genette (1980/1972), Chatman (1995/1978) and Barthes (1977). Genette classified narrative into three: discourse (narrative), story, and narrating. A discourse refers to the text of a novel or narrative itself. A story refers to the content information recounted in the discourse, thus, containing chronologically organized events. Narrating refers to the action of

producing a narrative by a narrator. From Genette's viewpoint, discourse is a narrative in itself minus the presence of a narrator that is common in fictional narrative. Narrative as a discourse is a way of speaking about real or fictional events with some restraints (conventions, formula) that open discourse does not impose on speakers (Genette, 1980/1972). This view of narrative discourse coincides with that of Chatman (1995/1978) who viewed discourse as a form of narrative, the manner the events are told or presented. On the other hand, a study of narrative within a discourse that explored the participation of narrator and readers in text construction emerged in the works of Barthes (1977). This way of seeing examines the structuration of meaning, as well as the reception and consumption of readers or audience of such meaning.

Embedded into our social and political system, narrative has become the main discourse of everyday life (Aksu-koc & Erciyes, 2018). Discourse is constitutive of power (Foucault 1972, Fairclough, 1989). However, Fairclough (1989, 1992) said that discourse is not limited to power relations alone as language can also shape social practice and in turn be shaped by social relations and structures. When examining a narrative discourse of a real event, all of its components — setting, symbols, and characters — are verifiable. In such a case, meaning making should be contextualized within the social and cultural contexts wherein situations, objects of knowledge, social identities and relations are looked into (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

Repeated telling accumulated through time form a narrative (Hodges, 2008). Once shared and passed around, a narrative gain "narrative accrual" whose acceptability is determined by convention and "narrative necessity" (Bruner, 1991). A shared

“cultural scripts” (Bruner, 1991) cohere and solidify a narrative that unsuspectingly sets acceptable behavior and ways of thinking. This confirms what Ricour (1984) said that a narrative is concerned with “cultural legitimacy” to be elevated into secure spaces as norms and conventions. For Laclau and Moufee (1985), these attempts at fixing meaning is “ideology branding”.

As they appear contentious when directly presented to the public, political discourses are packaged as everyday stories and appear closed to be broken into parts (Souto-Manning, 2012). The seemingly neutral stance of narrative may escape the critical eye (Chafe, 1980). Thus, political views delivered through narratives make it look like there is nothing political about it (Chafe, 1980) and imply that the “issues are already settled” (Duranti 1994, p. 120). For Souto-Manning, this makes narrative a colonizing device that passes the uncritical eye.

Peace and Development as narrative discourse

The established relationship between narrative and discourse has provided a basis for conceptualizing Peace and Development narrative as a discourse. For long, episodes of war and violence and talks about peace have made up Mindanao’s narrative. Since the history of Spanish colonization in the Philippines, the whole of Mindanao had been historically mapped as a conflict area. Originally called Mindanao-Sulu with its own organized armies, the region would be often attacked by Spanish forces which repeatedly failed (Rodil, 2009). Moro wars from 1565 to 1898 figured Muslim combatants fighting against Spanish-guided Christian fighters which could partly explain the animosity between Muslim and Christians through the years. This would then be exacerbated by the coming of the Americans in 1898 when they continued the war

against the Moros and made the entire Mindanao-Sulu part of the Philippine Republic (Lingga, 2009).

According to Lingga (2009) the Philippine government had long been dealing with the Bangsamoro people since 1946, but it seemed like it took them too long to come up with a win-win solution for both parties as “the conflict lingers on taking different forms at various stages of history” (p. 36). As if the enmeshment of the issue in ideological standpoints between and among Moros and state forces was not enough, poverty surfaced as a force to be reckoned with which further heightened the risk of conflict. Citing government data, Lingga (2009) stressed that the government failed to deliver basic services and needed development to Bangsamoro communities.

Ironically, Tolentino (n.d.), who was commissioned to assess development projects in Mindanao, recorded that Mindanao had not only been the largest recipient of government programs from 1993-1997, but it had also received the most rural development projects from the World Bank, USAID, AusAID and Asian Development Bank. Tolentino observed that despite several development programs and Mindanao’s agro-industrial potential (main source of agricultural produce, such as coconuts, coffee, bananas, pineapples and rubber), most of its provinces have remained poor, especially those in the Autonomous Region for Muslim Mindanao or the ARMM (CSO-SEED, 2017).

Thinking of how age-old conflict has been affecting everyday life in conflict areas for decades, Peace and Development has since been the aspiration of the Mindanaons, which for White (1980), in the realm of narrative, has “its origin in wishes, daydreams, reveries”. Taking into account narrative promises in fiction, this collective aspiration for Peace and Development could be an “imagined” one

and is given material manifestation in narrative. From the many stories building up the Peace and Development narrative, we wonder how much of them are real and how many are imagined. Real events published in press releases, news, features and opinion pieces have always been presented in straight-forward manner, but they can be examined, compiled and rearranged in the order of narrative to surface a certain set of beliefs, assumptions and expectations that the discourse is trying to work out and maintain. If approached from a critical perspective, a narrative analysis of political discourse can help detect forces working subtly to achieve the desired response and conformity from the engaged public and readers.

3. Methodology

Research subject and data

In the first quarter of 2021, the researcher compiled eighty-seven (87) references that write about peace and development in Mindanao. Seventy-three (73) of these references were searched via Google with the keyword "Peace and Development in Mindanao". The rest or fourteen (14) references were sourced from the office of Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) parliament member, Atty. Maisara Latiph. To qualify as data, articles that appeared in Google pages were screened if they wrote about "peace", "development" or "peace and development" in Mindanao. The screened and saved articles were then subjected to NVivo Software for systematic coding. From these materials, the word "Mindanao" generated the highest word count with 4,590 followed by "Peace" 2,560, and "Development" 2,346.

Thirty-nine (39) of the 87 articles, with at least twenty (20) “Peace and Development” words, were selected for coding. Of these materials, 20 are Press Releases from Official Gazette, government agencies, and official websites of embassies and international donor organizations. Four (4) are reports which monitor, evaluate, and assess development projects in Mindanao conflict areas. There are also four academic articles, two forums, two personal commentary, two speeches, and one for each: feature, news, discussion paper, book, and roadmap.

Research method and analytical strategies

In order to comprehend a discourse fully, a tracing of what made it up — the parts, fragments, pieces of narrative — can provide a deeper insight into the examination of a dominant belief, value system, or ideology that is behind it. Hence, this paper applied the concept of intertextuality to link and assemble parts and fragments of Peace and Development narrative gathered from multiple settings. Coined by Kristeva (1980), an intertextuality is “a permutation of texts”. Drawn from Bakhtin (1975), Kristeva said that any “text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another”. Thus, a study of a text, an event, or an experience should be viewed as cutting across time and space, not confined within a single frame.

Peace and Development as a narrative discourse is intertextual for accounts about it have been published in various platforms across time and space. We took note of the context (time) during which a narrative fragment or specific event was situated. Hodges (2008) said that meaning can be modified in another interactional context. We adopted Hodges’s recontextualization strategy to be on the lookout for any reshaping of meaning in the text, as well as any resistance or confirmation of the old narrative to

appropriate it to the present context. This is to establish, if there is any, an intertextual relation between and among various accounts (Bauman and Briggs, 1990) or formation of an intertextual series (Hanks, 1986). We also employed Derrida's (1977) iterability and citationality cues to observe any repetition and quotations of terms or descriptive phrases for peace and development from one context to another.

After establishing an intertextual relations and series of narrative fragments that are responsible for building Peace and Development narrative, a discourse analysis was then employed to examine the dominant constructs of the text. Adopting Fairclough's (1992) framework, the discourse analysis underwent the following steps:

1. Coding – labeling of responses or comments;
2. Categorizing – placing of common and repetitive responses into themes;
3. Seeking patterns - establishing of patterns among the comments and responses;
4. Analyzing – identifying the acceptable and dominant way of thinking as well as what it discriminates; and
5. Relating discourse to larger context–situating the dominant way of thinking within the larger socio-political structure.

4. Results and Discussion

The coining of Peace and Development term

How did the term Peace and Development come into being? What were the events that linked them together? Although the materials reviewed are generally new to recount an age-old issue that started as early as the American colonial period in 1898, authors would mention previous texts and quote some sources from the distant past to drive a point, strengthen a claim, or challenge an existing narrative. It was through Fernandez' (2017) article that traced the earliest record of development concept during the Commonwealth government in 1935. Referring to the earliest reference, Fernandez mentioned that Mindanao was named a "land of promise" because of its rich natural resources. Cited by Fernandez, Rodriguez, one of the influential officers of the new government purveyed a view of development in 1938 that was strongly economic in nature. As quoted by Fernandez (2017), the words of Rodriguez captured the earliest view of American-inspired development:

"My idea of the economic development in Mindanao is to populate it as rapidly as we can and to produce wealth out of its rich virgin soil, not only for the purpose of meeting the immediate needs of the settlers there, but also for the purpose of making the boon of that development available to all of us in general in the near future and when we are completely independent. The immediate results of this type of Mindanao development would be: (1) self-sufficiency for the entire Philippines; (2) exploitation of the other natural resources of Mindanao; and (3) an entirely new group of Filipino population made up of aggrupation from

different sections of the country - law-abiding, industrious, and contented."

The passage above implies that economic development cannot proceed without vast areas of land for agribusiness (Concepcion et al., 2003). Item number 2 stresses that economic development requires extraction of the region's natural resources with private sector or multinational companies. Economic pursuits include extractive activities like mining, which unfortunately created a new problem concerning territorial dispute not only with the Moros, but also with the Indigenous Peoples (Concepcion et al., 2003). Item number 3 on the other hand, saw its fruition in the American-sponsored Torrens land system, which institutionalized the land distribution to settlers, a large-scale land grabbing facilitated by the new government (Rodil, 2009). The land system "declared as null and void all land grants made by traditional leaders if done without government consent, thus getting native landholding and land use institutions neatly out of the way" (Rodil, 2009). It was during the Commonwealth period that Mindanao land was offered to Christians from Luzon and Visayas to attract them to settle in the area. By 1970, new settlers outnumbered the Moros and the Lumads (Rodil, 2009). Rodil opined that "the story of resettlement of migrants from Luzon and the Visayas to Mindanao is also the story of the marginalization of the indigenous inhabitants." The marginalization of Moro Filipinos and the indigenous Filipino peoples went beyond control over land and resources; it extended to politics, economic life, and culture. Exploitative in nature, the so-called development activities recounted above triggered resentment among the original inhabitants of the area, which "reached its explosive point in the MIM1-MNLF-MILF uprising in 1968, and the Lumad assertion of their own right to self-determination in 1986" (Rodil, 2009).

Among the thirty-nine (39) articles, that of Russell et al. (2004) recalled the first time the word "Development" was used and institutionalized to address the peace insecurity that it had created in the first place. Russell et al. said that the Marcos regime attempted to mitigate the conflict in Mindanao which included the creation of the Southern Philippines Development Authority (SPDA) in 1975 to provide livelihood opportunities and facilitate economic opportunities in conflict areas. In the recounting of Russell et al. (2004), the linking together of "Peace" and "Development" was spotted when they mentioned about the creation of a Special Zone of Peace and Development (SZOPAD) and the establishment of the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD) as an offshoot of the 1996 GRP-MILF Peace Agreement during the administration of President Fidel Ramos. SZOPAD identified Mindanao provinces that would be the "focus of intensive peace and development efforts in the next three years. Investments shall be channeled to this area to spur economic activities and uplift the conditions of the people" (Ramos, 2013, para. 5). SPCPD, on the other hand, served as the "special and transitory body to coordinate and promote the economic and social growth and development of the SZOPAD" (Executive Order No. 371, 5, 1996). While SZOPAD programs were being implemented, and the United Nations Multi-Donor Assistance Programme (UNMDAP) was helping many Peace and Development communities, the conflict continued and worsened when the Estrada Administration declared an all-out-war in 2000 (Russell et al, 2004). As traced in the thirty-nine (39) articles, the coined term "Peace and Development" in 1996 has since been used in succeeding programs and plans such as Mindanao Action for Peace and Development (MAPAD) in 2010 and Mindanao 2020 Peace and Development Framework Plan 2011-2030. Japan used only Development in its Japan-Bangsamoro Initiatives for

Reconstruction and Development (J-BIRD) in December 1996 as immediate support of the 1996 Peace Agreement.

The tracing of the Peace and Development connection tells us that even before Peace became a national concern of the Marcos regime (1965-1976), Development had emerged first as the main preoccupation of the Commonwealth government. Its disastrous impacts on the original inhabitants' ancestral domains, right to self-determination, security, and cultural and religious identities ignited a sporadic and intermittent rebellion in the region. These findings about Development as one of the major factors that ruins peace provide a new way of looking at the long-standing Peace and Development narrative. It is not so much that we have a problem with peace that we need to address it with development. Rather, there was something wrong with past development so much that it caused new problems with peace in our time.

The intertextual building of the Peace and Development narrative

Using NVivo in coding, fourteen (14) dominant codes about Peace and Development emerged as shown in the table below. They represent the parts that form the coherent whole of the Peace and Development narrative. The discussion focuses on the first three dominant codes with a significant number of references.

Table 1. Dominant codes about Peace and Development

Codes	Description	Files	Referenc es
1. Addresses Injustice	Recognizes injustice committed in the past; learns mistakes from the past	5	11
2. Autonomy	Self-govern	5	13
3. Community-driven	Initiative from the bottom up	4	15
4. Complementary	One feeds the other; yin yang	11	19
5. Counter insurgency measure	government strategy	4	12
6. Culture sensitive	Recognizes culture of multi ethnic groups	7	13
7. Economic enterprise development	Intervention is economic in nature support for micro, small businesses	12 3	34 7
8. Empowerment	Education; capability-building	6	12
9. Guided	path is paved by responsible agency	9	21
10. Holistic	integrative; all aspects are considered	8	22
11. Integrated into the mainstream	unitary government	1	4
12. Participatory involvement of women	involves all sectors recognizes role and contribution of women	12 5	47 7
13. Sustainable development	Environmentally conscious	4	6
14. with international assistance	mediated by international organizations; international organizations financed the development projects	22	42

Peace and Development Codes

Of the fourteen (14) codes that emerged from thirty-nine (39) articles, Peace and Development as “participatory” is the most alluded to with forty-seven (47) references. This is followed by the view that Peace and Development is possible “with international assistance” yielding forty-two (42) references. This implies that the involvement of a third party, such as an international organization or a foreign country, is necessary to direct the path to Peace and Development. The third dominant view upholds that Peace and Development is “economic” in nature with thirty-four (34) references attributing it. Under this category is the promotion of “enterprise development” that recognizes the contribution of livelihood opportunity as a path to peace.

The many coded clauses highlight the participatory nature of Peace and Development works. The establishing of intertextual relations of these clauses has turned out two features: the involvement of various sectors and the application of a multi-stakeholder approach that constructs the participatory nature of Peace and Development. Upon linking the forty-seven (47) references for “participation” code, the involvement of a variety of local, formal, informal, and hybrid institutions and organizations in Peace and Development works has been repeatedly emphasized which for Derrida (1977) shows the “iterability” of a text. These institutions and organizations refer to the national government agencies, local government units, the private sector, church organizations, civil society, non-government organizations, and the local community.

The repeated recounting of a clause on active participation of said stakeholders in multiple references have accrued into a popular view that for a Peace and Development to happen, all

stakeholders —government and private institutions and organizations — must actively take part in making decisions and implementing policies and programs.

The coded references have also established the multi-stakeholder approach as one feature of participation which highlights consultation and democratic participation of various sectors in the crafting of policy and programs. The word 'stakeholders' is also often mentioned to refer to actors from all levels of society whose participation is deemed crucial in peace building. Governed by democratic ideals, the Philippine government is expected to embrace what Almeida and Costa e Silva (2017) identified as liberal and democratic approach to participation where the common good is held as the guiding principle, and participation of all sectors is encouraged.

The liberal and democratic form of participation (Almeida and Costa e Silva, 2017) which sits well with the multi-stakeholder approach used in Mindanao organizing is an institutionalized form of participation with the state serving as the facilitating agency. The democratic element in this approach aims to strengthen civil society, diffuse the concentration of power and encourage representation from various sectors, like a party system (Almeida and Costa e Silva, 2017). True to this description, various sectors ranging from the national government, the local government units, the private sector, church organizations, civil society, non-government organizations, among others have repeatedly been mentioned in multiple references and are portrayed as crucial actors in Peace and Development organizing.

Attributions to international assistance — both financial and technical — as crucial in realizing Peace and Development initiatives in Mindanao emerged in twenty-two (22) articles, mostly

from press releases of Official Gazette and websites of donor countries' Foreign Affairs Office. There are forty-two (42) references or clauses in the articles alluding to "international assistance" as necessary to move Peace and Development forward.

The clauses have repeatedly alluded to the idea that "support programs help bring lasting peace and development" (World Bank, 2017). Most of them have echoed this tone: "Government officials and many Mindanawon believe that ODA, both loans and technical assistance, is a major precondition to the attainment of peace and development" (Mindanao Development Authority, 2020). The role of third-party organizations, the foreign development partners, has always been emphasized in the coded articles as vital in peacemaking (Ochiai, 2016). The phrase "dividends of peace" coined by an international aid organization implies the monetary nature of international assistance. The term "dividends" in business jargon refers to the gain or share from investment. From the point of view of benefactors, gains can be calculated from investing in peace through livelihood opportunities and infrastructure projects as sampled in the following line, "launched in December 2006, J-BIRD aims to enable conflict communities in the South to enjoy the dividends of peace through Japanese official development assistance on the basis of human security principles" (OPAPP, 2011).

Mindanao has been a long time recipient of international aid from various countries working in the conflict area (Adriano and Parks, 2013). After the signing of the 1996 government-MNLF peace agreement during the administration of President Fidel Ramos, a Multi-Donor Programme (MDP) was created to accelerate Peace and Development initiatives in Mindanao conflict areas (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2008). Organizations such as Mindanao Trust Fund for Reconstruction and Development (MTF),

World Bank, J-BIRD, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and MAPAD financed the development projects in Mindanao (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2008).

The other popular view that Peace and Development is economic in nature has contributed to the narrative with thirty-four (34) references or clauses attributing to it. Under this theme is the promotion of “enterprise development” that recognizes the contribution of livelihood opportunity as a path to peace. Most or seven (7) references come from the Press Releases of government programs such as MAPAD, SZOPAD, and Mindanao 2020 Peace and Development Roadmap.

Allusions to economic solutions to Peace and Development are repeated in multiple references. Coded clauses have emerged a cause-effect pattern of clues denoting that poverty, lack of livelihood opportunities, and lack of infrastructures in the region have caused or worsened the conflict. Similarly, the view that peace can only be attained through development aid and investment in conflict areas dominated the content of pro economic press releases which are mostly about infrastructure projects aimed at reconstructing and rehabilitating conflict areas. This line of thinking also relates to another popular view that livelihood opportunities are a solution to rebellion. In the articles that advocate this part of the narrative, the voice of investors would emerge echoing the creation of an investment climate even for small enterprises, to generate employment. For example, the livelihood component of MAPAD spearheaded capacity building trainings with the locals

to make them employable or knowledgeable in putting up their cooperatives. SZOPAD, on the other hand, was heavily funded to jumpstart massive economic development.

Peace and Development Narrative as a Discourse

The establishing of intertextual relations of multiple references that denote similar meanings has provided us a glimpse of how the Peace and Development narrative has been constructed. This part discusses the established Peace and Development narrative as a discourse. Discourse is laden with power (Foucault 1972, Fairclough, 1989) and can shape social relations and structures (Fairclough, 1989, 1992). Coming from this assumption, we contextualize Peace and Development narrative within its social and cultural contexts (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

Peace and Development as participatory emerged as the central theme of the narrative. If viewed from a functionalist perspective in organizing, participation is a form of social intervention and public policy (Almeida and Costa e Silva, 2017). In the coded articles, the government is portrayed as operating within the democratic ideals of participation working for the common good and encouraging sectoral participation, cooperation and support from the populace. The long-standing Peace and Development campaign in Mindanao, with the government as the main coordinating agency and whose stakeholders are also organized within their respective sectors, is an institutionalized form of participation.

Through the years, this democratic kind of participation might have been told and retold in various platforms as evident in the forty-seven (47) references that speak about it. This view might have stayed dominant and popular for a while, but would always be

challenged and recontextualized (Hodges, 2008). According to Hodges, recontextualization allows reshaping the narrative which involves resistance or affirmation of the old narrative.

If we are to critically examine the organized and institutionalized form of participation that constitutes the Peace and Development efforts in Mindanao as what the many references have surfaced, we could view it as a form of social control and a cosmetic application of development rhetoric (Cornwall, 2006).

As this participatory approach was common in all development activities globally in the 1990s (Chambers, 2005), international lenders and donors from rich countries also capitalized on this concept in mobilizing all stakeholders of the Peace and Development campaign. In 2000, participation became a popular methodological approach in any development program supported by international organizations (Chambers, 2005).

Peace and Development needing international assistance has also partly constituted the narrative. None of the references has questioned the country's heavy reliance on the financial and technical assistance from foreign donor organizations. As most of the available and accessible materials are press releases from government websites and those of international organizations, institutional power could be sensed working behind the narrative. Powerful institutions set the conditions for the distribution of information and offer dominant opinions and ideologies to achieve public assent and conformity (Lyotard, 1991).

According to Cornwall (2006), big donors who cling to the rhetoric of community participation are motivated to extend their assistance and impose their pre-designed development projects in conflict affected areas to advance their neoliberal reforms in the

affected country. She cited the World Bank's popular campaign for the promotion of participatory development to "countering grassroots resistance to reforms, providing a palliative that served to neutralize popular resistance to liberalizing reforms" (Cornwall, 2006, p. 26). Thinking that participation has been used as a tool to legitimize development interventions in post-colonial countries, Zocher (2010) thought of participation as merely an instrument in organizing, which evades an issue on power relations.

Building peace through livelihood programs and infrastructure projects bring in the equally popular view that Peace and Development is economic in nature. However, this long-standing aspiration could be just "imagined" for it has remained a "narrative promise in fiction" (White, 1980). Despite the development aid for decades, peace has remained elusive and poverty cases are high in Muslim provinces. Fernandez (2017) cited a report from Mindanao Coordinating Council that acknowledged: "Mindanao has been the subject of development efforts which have so far been unsuccessful." Because of the government's obsession with economic development via livelihood programs and infrastructure projects, the root cause of the problem in conflict-prone areas has not been addressed (Tadem, 2010).

Despite being institutionally organized, some aid programs were duplicated and poorly coordinated (Adriano and Parks, 2013). Based on their interviews with the locals, Adriano and Parks said that the development assistance has not addressed the causes of conflict and that there is "little direct effort to address justice and security, which communities in the conflict area consider a major deficiency."

Critiquing the motivation of development projects in Mindanao, Fernandez (2017) also said that conflict was downplayed

as a development challenge, in spite of the economic potential of the land and its teeming natural resources. Sensing the ideological contradiction between peace and development concepts, Mendoza (2017) suggested examining the links between economics and conflict in Mindanao, as the two seem to come from opposing poles: conflict borders on social justice issues, while the other is motivated by profit.

5. Conclusion

Following the traces of “Peace” and “Development” words through intertextuality, Development, pursued by the Commonwealth government in the past, appeared as one of the major factors why there is a problem with Peace at present. It would seem that we have not learned from the lessons of the past since the current Peace building efforts are still linked with market-oriented development goals. While the Peace and Development narrative idealizes the democratic participation of various stakeholders, it appears short in making the participation truly inclusive as voices of the marginalized —those affected by the conflict—are not heard in the dominant narrative.

Despite its potential in bringing people and various sectors together in effecting change, as in Peace and Development efforts in Mindanao, participation remains a muddling process when varying factors intervene and diverse actors converge. Emphasis on financial investments to spur economic growth in conflict-affected areas privileges the voice of the lending and donor international organizations. The current Peace and Development narrative still clings to holding aloft economic solutions as requisites for peace. This has been tried and proven unsuccessful many times.

Common in the established intertextual relations of references is a lean expression of a lasting Peace and Development in Mindanao, which oversimplifies the intricacies of a culturally diverse, historically-wounded, and politically-divided region. The conflict in Mindanao grew from overlapping sociocultural issues that have been built up for decades. Its historical contexts should have provided the setting of the existing narrative that would truly represent the stories of struggles and aspirations of its original characters. Perhaps there is a need to reconstruct the current narrative, this time built on the stories of the Bangsamoro People and the Lumads on the ground.

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