

The Maguindanao Massacre: A Serious Challenge to Human Security in the Philippines

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Abstract

No previous outbreak of election-related violence in the Philippines could compare to the events that took place in the province of Maguindanao on 23 November 2009, resulting in the death of fifty-seven (57) people. This paper assesses the tragic events dubbed as the “Maguindanao Massacre” by the Philippine press in terms of its repercussions on human security in Maguindanao province, using the seven categories of human security as defined under the 1994 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Future developments to this on-going saga need to be closely monitored and analyzed as part of the citizenry's responsibility to be vigilant, to ensure that any further threats to human security in the Philippines could be promptly addressed.

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Introduction

The international community was shocked by the tragedy that took place in the Philippines on 23 November 2009. News of the massacre of fifty-eight (58) people¹ in the town of Shariff Aguak in the province of Maguindanao in the Philippines was the worst recorded instance of election-related violence². Reports on the “Maguindanao Massacre,” as the tragedy is called, disclose that the root cause of the conflict was a political rivalry between two families: the Ampatuans, who held the majority of elective positions in the province; and the Mangudadatus, who sought to challenge the incumbent governor of Maguindanao in the scheduled national and local elections on 10 May 2010.

Few people outside Maguindanao knew of the fierce rivalry between the Ampatuan and Mangudadatu clans, but when the tragedy struck, the story behind the events came to light: incumbent Buluan Vice-Mayor Esmel Mangudadatu wanted to run for Maguindanao governor against the Ampatuan clan, who was grooming Datu Unsay mayor Andal Ampatuan, Jr., the son of incumbent Maguindanao governor Andal Ampatuan Sr., to take over the position of governor. Because of alleged threats to Mangudadatu's life, he sent his wife and two sisters³, two female lawyers and other women supporters, along with thirty (30) journalists, to file his certificate of candidacy in his behalf. In the time-honored tradition of the Muslim people, women were accorded great respect and were not harmed even at the height of the fiercest *rido*⁴. However, the convoy of vehicles of Mangudadatu's supporters were ambushed at a police checkpoint en route to the office of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) located at the provincial

capital, Shariff Aguak, brought to a isolated and hilly area in Barangay Salman (about thirty minutes' drive from the checkpoint), and murdered in cold blood. Afterward, a mechanical construction machine (“backhoe”) owned by the local government was used to dig a mass grave for the victims, and to crush and bury the vehicles used by the convoy, but said activities were interrupted by military troops responding to a distress call, presumed to be from one of the members of the ill-fated convoy.

In the aftermath of the events of 23 November 2009, seven (7) members of the Ampatuan clan were arrested, including Maguindanao governor Andal Ampatuan, Sr., who was confined at the military hospital in Camp Panacan in Davao City⁵, and Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) governor Zaldy Ampatuan, who was detained at the headquarters of the Central Mindanao police's Criminal Investigation and Detection Group (CIDG) in General Santos City⁶. The province of Maguindanao has been placed under martial law by President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo by virtue of Proclamation No. 1959 on 05 December 2009, which was subsequently lifted on 13 December 2009⁷. Twenty-five counts of murder were brought against Andal Ampatuan, Jr., and rebellion charges were filed against the other members of the Ampatuan clan. Subsequently, the Supreme Court granted a motion filed by the Department of Justice to transfer the venue of the trial for both the murder and rebellion cases from Cotabato City to Quezon City⁸.

The massacre, together with the foregoing attendant events, constitute a serious challenge to human security in the country, not only because of the manner in which the loss of lives occurred, but also because of the motivations of those who carried out the

massacre, as well as the repercussions and consequences of their actions.

The Evolution of the Concept of Human Security

Security is a contested concept, with controversies surrounding its meaning being especially pronounced during times of historical change (Tow and Trood, in Tow, et al., 2000: 13). The concept of security has been “interpreted narrowly” as “security of territory from external aggression”, or as “protection of national interests in foreign policy” or as “global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust”, all of which have been related more to nation-states than to people (UNDP, 1994: 22). The emphasis on “national” security focuses on the need of nation-states to survive (and to thrive) through the use of military and political power through the exercise of diplomacy, and if necessary, through waging war. However, in recent years, attempts have been made to “widen the security agenda” through the inclusion of economic, environmental and societal issues (Buzan, et al., 1998: 1). Concerns on a wide range of matters, from failed governance and international criminal networks to pandemic disease, increasing environmental hazards and natural resource management are being seen as new threats to internal security (Colleta, in Chen, et al., 2003: 215).

The debate between the “wide” versus “narrow” approach to security studies

grew from the rise of economic and environmental agendas in international relations in the 1970s and 1980s (Buzan, et al., 1998: 2). The end of the Cold War has prompted a particularly lively debate over the meaning of security – on the one hand, the “traditional” view of security, with its emphasis on confronting anarchy and achieving national security through the use of military power, and on the other hand the “radical” view, which often incorporates economic, societal and environmental dimensions into their agenda (Tow and Trood, in Tow, et al., 2000: 1).

In the 1990s, the two dominant strands of foreign policy – economic development and military security – became intertwined (King and Murray, 2001: 585), and gradually evolved into a “globalist” school of thought, which argued that an “international society” that integrates communication, cultural and societal concerns is emerging to transcend state-centric relations, from which the concept of human security evolved (Tow and Trood, in Tow, et al., 2000: 19). Human security is about the security of individuals rather than the security of states, and it combines both human rights and human development (Kaldor, 2007: 182). The difference between the traditional concept of security and human security may be summarized as follows:

Table 1. Traditional Security and Human Security

Type of security	Referent object	Responsibility to protect	Possible threats
Traditional security	The state	The integrity of the state	Interstate war Nuclear proliferation Revolution
Human security	The individual	The integrity of the individual	Disease Poverty Natural disaster Violence Landmines Human rights abuses

Source: Owen, Taylor (2004). “Challenges and opportunities for defining human security”. Disarmament Forum, III, 15-24.

Human security involves a plethora of issues centered around people, and not merely focusing on the defense of nation-states, as the traditional concept of security emphasized in the past. A people-centered concept of security is concerned with two great freedoms: freedom from fear, and freedom from want⁹. The primary concerns of human security are life and dignity, specifically the legitimate concerns of ordinary people in their daily lives, such as protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards (UNDP, 1994: 22).

The 1994 Human Development Report introduced many of the associations that have become central to our understanding of human security: the opposition to state security, the argument that human security is indivisible (and therefore the global rich have not just a moral but also a practical interest in the security of the poor), and the return to Roosevelt’s classic ‘freedom from fear/freedom from want’ formula to capture the two primary elements of human security

(Glasius, 2008: 32). The Report states that “(h)uman security can be said to have two main aspects”, which are as follows:

“...first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities” (1994: 23).

Likewise, the Report offers a very simple measure of human security: “In the final analysis, human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced” (UNDP, 1994: 22).

The Commission of Human Security (CHS), in view of the objective “to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human

fulfillment” (2003: 4), defined human security as follows:

“Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity”¹⁰.

Subsequently, the concept of human security developed in two directions: one is the so-called “narrow approach”¹¹, which emphasizes the security of the individual in the face of political violence; while the second is the UNDP approach, which emphasizes the interrelation of different types of security and the importance of development as a security strategy (Kaldor, 2007: 183). The UNDP approach identifies the threats to human security under seven main categories: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security (UNDP, 1994: 24-25).

Economic security involves access to basic income through employment (whether wage employment in the public or private sector, or through self-employment), including the existence of government-financed social safety nets as may be necessary (UN Human Security Unit, 2009: 16). Food security means that all people at all times have both

physical and economic access to basic food, which means that people have “entitlement” to food, either by growing it for themselves, by buying it or by taking advantage of a public food distribution system (UNDP, 1994: 27). Health security involves access to basic health care and health services, as well as interconnected surveillance systems to identify disease outbreaks at all levels, while environmental security means undertaking sustainable practices that take into account natural resource and environmental degradation (such as deforestation, desertification), as well as early warning and response mechanisms for natural hazards and/or man-made disasters at all levels (UN Human Security Unit, 2009: 16).

Personal security involves the protection of human life from threats of sudden, unpredictable violence coming from the following sources: the state (physical torture), other states (war), other groups of people (ethnic tension), individuals or gangs against other individuals or gangs (crime, street violence), threats directed against women (rape, domestic violence), threats directed at children based on their vulnerability and dependence (child abuse), and threats to self (suicide, drug use) (UNDP, 1994). Community security involves protection of ethnic groups and community identity from oppressive traditional practices, harsh treatment towards women, or discrimination against ethnic/indigenous/refugee groups; and political security means protection of human rights from military dictatorships and abuse, and from political or state repression, torture, ill treatment, unlawful detention and imprisonment (UN Human Security Unit, 2009: 16).

From an operational perspective, human security aims to address complex situations of insecurity through collaborative, responsive and sustainable

measures that are people-centered, multisectoral, comprehensive, context-specific, and prevention-oriented (UN Human Security Unit, 2009: 12). People-centered measures need to be “inclusive and participatory” so that individuals and communities can define their needs and vulnerabilities as well as their available resources and “indigenous coping mechanisms”, while multisectoral measures “promot(e) dialogue among key actors from different sectors/fields” for purposes of “coherence and coordination” in assessing “positive and negative externalities” of the “overall human security situation of the affected communities” (UN Human Security Unit, 2009: 12).

Comprehensive measures are aimed at addressing a “wide spectrum of threats, vulnerabilities and capacities” by analyzing the role of “actors and sectors not previously considered relevant to the success of a policy/programme/project” to come up with “multi-sectoral/multi-actor responses”; context-specific measures “identif(y) the concrete needs of the affected communities and enables the development of more appropriate solutions that are embedded in local realities, capacities and coping mechanisms”; and prevention-oriented measures “identif(y) risks, threats and hazards, and addresses their root causes” and “focuses on preventive responses through a protection and empowerment framework” (UN Human Security Unit, 2009: 12).

Assessment of Human Security in Maguindanao

Using the seven categories of human security as standards to assess the situation of the province of Maguindanao in light of the massacre, Table 2 shows how human security was seriously compromised because

of deliberate human action, which resulted both in loss of lives, and untold emotional and psychological repercussions, to those who have been directly and indirectly involved.

In terms of economic security, the National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB) figures as of 2009 (the latest available year) show the poverty incidence in Maguindanao at nearly half of all families in the province (44.9 percent in 2006 and 44.6% in 2009), a marked increase from 41.9 percent in 2003 and 41.6% in 1997, making the province “the third poorest in the country, coming after Zamboanga del Norte” (Jimeno, 2008) and Agusan del Sur (NSCB, 2009). In the aftermath of the 23 November 2009 massacre, it is unlikely that the economic situation in the province will improve, unless massive amounts of financial aid are poured into the provincial coffers. However, even if this measure is undertaken, it will take time before the effects of economic aid could be felt, assuming that the funds will be strictly used for the benefit of the people and not subjected to graft and corruption.

In terms of food security, the poverty rate of the province, coupled with the measured increase in ARMM's inflation rate from 2.1 percent in September 2009 to 2.8 percent in October 2009, and the decrease in the purchasing power of the peso in the region from P0.57 for every peso in October 2008 to P0.55 for every peso in October 2009¹², all point to a poor prognosis for the people's access to basic food.

In terms of health security, statistics from the 2000 Family and Income Expenditures Survey (FIES) show the ranking of the province of Maguindanao out of the seventy-nine (79) provinces of the Philippines in terms of certain indicators, as shown in Table 3. As the data shows, 30.1

percent of the population of Maguindanao have access to a health facility, which ranks the province as 62nd out of 79, thus putting it at the bottom one-fourth in the national rankings. Likewise, 60.3 percent of the

population have access to a toilet, ranking Maguindanao as 71st out of 79 provinces with respect to sanitary facilities.

Table 2. Assessment of the Human Security Situation in Maguindanao Province

TYPE OF SECURITY	STATUS BASED ON SITUATION IMMEDIATELY AFTER MASSACRE	STATUS BASED ON CURRENT CONDITIONS^b
Economic Security	Low (poverty incidence in nearly half [44.9%] of all families, based on 2006 NSCB Official Poverty Statistics)	Low (poverty incidence in almost half of all families [44.6%], based on 2009 NSCB Official Poverty Statistics)
Food Security	Low (nearly one-fifth of all families [18.5%] unable to meet food threshold [income needed to feed a family of 5], nearly double the national average [8.7%] as of the 2006 NSCB Official Poverty Statistics)	Low (although food threshold is unmet by less than one-fifth of all families [14.3%], this figure is still nearly double the national average [7.9%] as of the 2009 NSCB Official Poverty Statistics)
Health Security	Low (only about half of all families have access to safe drinking water, and less than two-thirds have access to sanitary toilet facilities)	Low (no new data since 2008 ^c)
Environmental Security	Low (limited access to land and other natural resources due to the Ampatuan clan's control over most of the province's assets)	Low (continued limited access to land and other natural resources [a complete inventory of the Ampatuan clan's assets in the province is still incomplete ^d])
Personal Security	Low (“war zone” environment due to incidents of violence and proclamation of martial law)	Low (“war zone” environment still prevails due to incidents of violence; the May 2013 national and local elections could be a potential cause of further violent acts)
Community Security	Low (threat of violence from private armies [“civilian volunteer organizations”] under the control of Ampatuan family members holding public office)	Low (threat of violence from private army still exists, as members of the Ampatuan clan still hold public office)
Political Security	Low (gruesome death of massacre victims; reports of warrantless	Low (death of key witness to the massacre due to violent attack

	arrests of citizens following the imposition of martial law ^{a)}	within the province)
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Data source: National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB), 2009 Official Poverty Statistics (published on 07 June 2012).

Notes:

- a. Based on newspaper reports, but were not subjected to an official inquiry, due to the lifting of martial law eight (8) days later.
- b. As of the third year anniversary of the Maguindanao Massacre on 23 November 2012.
- c. Based on data reported by Lee (2008) and shown as Table 3.
- d. Source: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ), 2012, “Ampatuans own 500 hectares but assets inventory incomplete,” accessed online at <http://pcij.org/stories/ampatuans-own-500-hectares-but-assets-inventory-incomplete/>.

Table 3. National Ranking of Maguindanao According to Minimum Basic Needs

Proportion of Families with:	Percent (%)	National Ranking (out of 79 Provinces)
<u>Survival</u>		
Access to Safe Drinking Water	52.8	70
Sanitary Toilet	60.3	71
Electricity	60.8	57
Access to Health Facility	30.1	62
<u>Security</u>		
House made of strong materials	49.6	57
Own/owner-like possession of house/lot	58.5	63
<u>Enabling</u>		
Children aged 6-12 in elementary grade	85.8	72
Children aged 13-16 in high school	62.4	73
Working children aged 5-17	18.0	57

Source: Lee, Romeo B. (2008). “Delivering Maternal Health Care Services in an Internal Conflict Setting in Maguindanao, Philippines”. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 16 (31): 65–74.

In terms of environmental security, the people of Maguindanao have long been deprived of access to land for agriculture and related resources, because it appears that the Ampatuan clan own “close to five million square meters of property scattered throughout Maguindanao, Cotabato, Davao,

and even in... Dasmariñas Village in Makati, according to records in the Manila Regional Trial Court Branch 22, where there is a pending civil forfeiture case against the Ampatuan properties”¹³. In particular, Andal Ampatuan, Sr. has been said to have “a reputation for persuading others to sell him their lands for a price much favorable to

him, especially since he became governor of Maguindanao”, wherein he “offered (a landowner) a price (one) could not refuse”¹⁴. The lack of both personal and community security in Maguindanao is closely related to the ever-present threat of violence in the area, as some members of the civilian volunteer organizations (CVOs) suspected to be involved in the massacre continue to remain at large, and also due to the strong presence of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (APF). Although Major General Raymundo Ferrer, the martial law administrator in Maguindanao during the period 05-13 December 2009, has repeatedly assured the populace that the military will not abuse its authority during the period of imposition of martial law in the province, hundreds of residents have reportedly left areas with strong military presence to avoid being rounded up by state security forces¹⁵. Likewise, the province exhibits a volatile peace and order situation, highlighting the incidence of violence due to encounters between state troops and rebel forces, as well as blood feuds among clans, or *rido*. A household conflict survey conducted in 2002 (and verified in 2005) shows that citizens are actually more concerned about the prevalence of clan conflict and its negative impact on their communities than the conflict between the state and rebel groups in Mindanao (Torres III, 2007: 9). The causes of *rido* are contextually varied, and while the triggers of the conflicts can range from petty offenses like theft and jesting to more serious crimes like homicide, the Mindanao *Rido* Study show that land disputes and political rivalries are the most common causes of *rido* (Torres III, 2007: 12). Likewise, the presence of military troops in Maguindanao due to the declaration of martial law heightens the atmosphere of fear among the citizenry. News reports¹⁶ indicate that government offices, businesses and

schools are empty due to the strong military presence in the provincial capital of Shariff Aguak. Since the declaration of martial law, government employees at the Office of the Regional Governor in Cotabato City were only allowed to return to work on 09 December 2009¹⁷.

In terms of political security, the Maguindanao massacre can be considered one of the worst cases of human rights abuse in the country, involving the torture and killing of unarmed women and journalists. The 57 victims died in the exercise of their constitutional rights (i.e., the right to run for public office and support the candidate of one's choice, as well as the freedom of speech and expression of political views) at the hands of people who have been entrusted to serve the public by virtue of the office they held.

Ernesto Ordoñez analyzed the Maguindanao Massacre using the saying, “power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely” and Nobel Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi's version of that saying: “it is not power that corrupts, but fear – fear of losing power corrupts those who wield it, and fear of the scourge of power corrupts those who are subject to it” (2009: B6), and concluded,

“...it can be said that the fear of losing power prompted those in power to (crush) the opposition. And what better way to do this than to massacre those who dare oppose them. Under these conditions, corruption flourished. But there was another fear that contributed to the growth and pervasiveness of corruption in Maguindanao. It is said that evil flourishes because

good men do nothing. No one opposed the corruption they saw. These people were seized by the second fear...: the fear of the scourge of power. And when someone dare opposed those in power, they are subjected in an extreme way to this scourge through the cruel and inhuman (acts) we all condemn today”¹⁸.

The Saga Continues

Events related to the ongoing efforts to resolve the Maguindanao Massacre continue to happen from day to day, and unavoidably alter the political landscape of the Philippines. On 09 December 2009, the House of Representatives and the Senate convened a joint session to question the President's representatives (i.e., former officials Executive Secretary Eduardo Ermita, Acting Justice Secretary Agnes Devanadera, APF Chief of Staff General Victor Ibrado, and Philippine National Police [PNP] Chief of Staff General Jesus Verzosa) regarding the rationale of the declaration of martial law in Maguindanao province and to vote on the validity of Proclamation No. 1959. Several petitions have been filed with the Supreme Court questioning the constitutionality of the said proclamation. However, these challenges to President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's proclamation were forestalled when she lifted martial law in the province on 13 December 2009. These actions further damaged her already troubled political career. In addition, her detractors continued to criticize her administration regarding the handling of the investigation of the case.

The Department of Justice (DOJ) filed multiple murder and rebellion charges

against the detained members of the Ampatuan clan. However, on 29 March 2010, the Quezon City Regional Trial Court (RTC)¹⁹, dismissed the rebellion charges for lack of evidence. The PNP had been compiling the witness accounts of the massacre from persons who have been co-accused in the case, and have subsequently agreed to become state witnesses against the Ampatuans; but, a key witness (Suwaib Upham, known by the alias “Jesse”, alleged to be one of the gunmen during the massacre) was “shot dead by a lone attacker in Parang town, Maguindanao”²⁰. To date, police continue to gather evidence relating to the massacre. In their search of the Ampatuans' residences, what they have discovered defies the imagination: enough weapons and ammunition to arm a battalion of soldiers, as well as mansions and vehicles that testify to an extravagant lifestyle. Efforts to camouflage the extent of the Ampatuan clan's acquisitions during their control of Maguindanao became apparent when it was discovered that their own lawyer supposedly purchased eight properties they allegedly owned²¹. These discoveries are all the more reprehensible considering the poverty and privation of the Ampatuans' constituents.

The resolution of this current threat to human security in the country is far from over. In January 2011, the Court of Appeals denied Zaldy Ampatuan's plea to be excluded from the charge sheet of the multiple murder case, and Andal Ampatuan, Sr. was arraigned in June 2011, both developments occurring more than a year since the massacre²². And on 27 November 2012, shortly after the third year anniversary of the massacre, the backhoe operator who acted on Andal Ampatuan, Jr.'s orders to bury the victims' bodies was arrested²³.

An important takeaway from these events is that the government's actions may either

threaten human security or provide remedies to such threats. There is a need to closely monitor subsequent developments, to continuously assess these developments and relate them to previous events, and most importantly, to remain vigilant so as to ensure that any further threats to human security could be promptly addressed.

Notes

¹ The number of victims was officially reported as fifty-seven, since the body of Reynaldo Momay, a photojournalist from General Santos City, was never found. However, the DOJ formally recognized him as the 58th victim of the Maguindanao Massacre on 26 September 2012.

² Based on media reports from 23 November 2009 to 11 December 2009. Utmost efforts have been made to integrate as many documented events as possible – from the time the massacre was reported, up to the most recent news within January 2013 – into this paper.

³ It was subsequently revealed that Esmael Mangudadatu's wife, Genalyn, and one of his sisters, had been pregnant at the time of their deaths.

⁴ Blood feud or war between clans.

⁵ *Inquirer Mindanao* and Norman Bordadora, "Rebellion raps vs 7 Ampatuans but murder charges still priority", *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 10 December 2009.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Effective as of 9:00 P.M., 13 December 2009, per update report of ABS-CBN News. Accessed online at <http://www.abs-cbnnews.com/nation/12/12/09/arroyo-lifts-martial-law-proclamation-maguindanao> on 15 January 2013.

⁸ According to a chronology of events compiled by the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* newspaper. Accessed online at <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/311355/timeline-maguindanao-massacre> on 15 January 2013.

⁹ Taken from United States President Franklin Roosevelt's Annual Address to Congress – The "Four Freedoms", 06 January 1941.

¹⁰ Commission on Human Security, 2003: 4.

¹¹ The "narrow" concept of human security focuses on violent threats to individuals or, as UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan puts it, "the protection of communities and individuals from internal violence" (Commission on Human Security, 2005: VIII).

¹² Statistics sourced from the National Statistics Office (NSO) website. Accessed online at <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/quickstat/qs150911.html> on 11 December 2009.

¹³ Lingao, Ed, "Ampatuans own 500 hectares but assets inventory incomplete". Accessed online at <http://pcij.org/stories/ampatuans-own-500-hectares-but-assets-inventory-incomplete/> on 15 January 2013.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Ramos, Marlon. "Today marks a new beginning", *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 08 December 2009. Accessed online at http://archive.inquirer.net/view.php?db=1&story_id=240765 on 11 December 2012.

¹⁶ Television, newspaper and radio reports between 06-08 December 2009.

¹⁷ Señase, Charlie. "ARMM employees return to work without gov", *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 09 December 2009. Accessed online at http://archive.inquirer.net/view.php?db=1&story_id=241047 on 11 December 2009.

¹⁸ Ordoñez, Ernesto. "Maguindanao massacre and fear", p. B6, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 11 December 2009.

¹⁹ According to Philippine Daily Inquirer's timeline of the Maguindanao Massacre. Accessed online at <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/311355/timeline-maguindanao-massacre> on 15 January 2013.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Lingao, Ed, "Andal Jr. sells 8 big properties; 72 Ampatuans running in 2013". Accessed online at <http://pcij.org/stories/andal-jr-sells-8-big-properties72-ampatuans-running-in-2013/> on 15 January 2013.

²² According to the chronology of events compiled by the Philippine Daily Inquirer. Accessed online at <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/311355/timeline-maguindanao-massacre> on 15 January 2013.

²³ According to GMA Network's timeline of the Maguindanao Massacre. Accessed online at <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/maguindanaomassacre> on 15 January 2013.

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