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THE JOURNEY OF POLITICAL REBEL RETURNEES: THEIR DIARIES

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Rationale

Political offense is a criminal phenomenon that has existed since time immemorial. Any overt act or omission that prejudices the fundamental interest of the state and its government or political system is considered a political crime or offense. The Supreme Court of the Philippines defined political crimes as “those directly aimed against the political order as well as those common crimes as may be committed to achieving a political purpose”. Expectedly, no government of the land condones any such offense that threatens its system or societal stability. All governments counter insurgency through military operations and peace processes (People vs. Hernandez, 99 Phil. Reports 155, 1956). Political offenders are classified into pure and relative political offenders. Pure political offenders are those whose actions are geared towards violation of the political order of the state. Espionage, rebellion, treason, and sedition are pure political offenses. On the other hand, relative political offenders are those who commit common crimes that have connection with political grounds or have tied with the consummation of political struggles (Cantrell, 1976). Regardless of the kind of political offense committed, they face the full force of the law.

In the Philippines, insurgency movements have been around for so long a time. Organized movements, such as the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and New People's Army (NPA) and National Democratic Front, have been into armed conflict with the Philippine Government in their attempt to overthrow it. Struggling to topple the constituted government and sustain their force, these movements resort to underground recruitment targeting people coming from rural areas with high level of poverty, social inequality, and poor access to the basic government services. The insurgents also target other segments of society to include the youth, labor, and intellectuals. They manipulate them by making them believe that joining their underground movement is the ultimate remedy to societal problems that burden the masses, thereby discrediting the government. Further, the insurgents project themselves as patriots continuing the struggles left by the heroes of the past. Disgruntled masses easily fall to the indoctrination by the insurgents.

Though the insurgent groups in the Philippines have managed to exist and even to expand, the insurgency has been countered by the military force of the country. In its effort to contain insurgencies or put an end to armed conflict and bring the insurgents back to the mainstream of society, the Philippine Government has initiated various counterinsurgency and peace process programs. For one, the past administration passed Executive Order No. 3, which was strengthened by Administrative Order No. 10, creating the program "Task Force Balik Loob (TFBL) as a way of weakening if not eradicating completely the insurgency problem. The program takes a holistic approach consisting of political, economic, psychosocial, and security components to address the root causes and armed threats of insurgency. Consequently, in Mindanao thousands of rebels surrendered voluntarily and went back to the fold of law. In fact, as reported, the number of rebel returnees (NPA) increased in the entire country (AFP Radio, March 2013).

The returnees, who were once political offenders, underwent rehabilitation under the government's E-CLIP program to facilitate their re-integration into the society and incorporation into the government's peace and development program. How successful the government's program is in fully re-integrating the returnees to the society can be known through the returnees

themselves and the people directly involved in the program (Best, 2016). Thus, this study qualitatively explores the political, social, psychological, and economic experiences of the returnees when they were still insurgents and also now that they are under the program of the government. At present, there is a lack of studies that tries to uncover the reasons behind why despite government efforts, their participation could still be manifested in the movements.

The findings of this study may unfold some experiences the returnees may have as they rejoin society, and such findings may help identify areas of concern in the design and implementation of existing government programs for returnees. As a practicing criminologist, it is the researcher's moral responsibility to help alleviate the causes of their actions and correspondingly be able to help address specially to political rebels in the whole Region-10 and be able to lobby such problem to proper authorities concerned.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to unfold the experiences of political offenders/rebel returnees who are graduated under the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (E-CLIP) of the government. This study also envisions to document the experiences of the political offenders/rebel returnees in the hands of our government while they were in active members or leader of the New People's Army armed struggle and also while they were undergoing program under E-CLIP implementation. It is in the intentions of the study to listen and grasp the untold stories of the reformed political rebel/rebel returnees and how they were able to overcome horrible experiences particularly, how they managed and resolved their dilemmas and the insights they can share to political offenders/rebel returnees, national government and general public.

Research Questions

This study qualitatively explored the journey/experiences of the selected returnees in Misamis Oriental as they re-integrate themselves into the society after participating in the national

government's integration programs. Specifically, this study sought answers to the following questions:

1. What are the experiences of political rebel returnees?
2. How do the returnees cope with the challenges of their experiences?
3. What insights do the returnees provide for political offenders, the national government, and

the society?

Theoretical Lens

To obtain a deep understanding of political offense, insurgency per se, this study considered the following principles or concepts: McCormick Magic Diamond, Galula's Counterinsurgency Warfare, and the theory of relative deprivation.

Professor Gordon McCormick (Cortes & Comendador, 2013) developed the Magic Diamond model that provides a symmetrical view of the actions taken by counterinsurgency forces and insurgent groups to achieve success. The model focuses on the interaction of four basic actors, namely the counterinsurgency force (the state), the insurgent force (the counter-state), the international community, and the population. According to this model, the four actors have direct relationship. The counterinsurgent force and insurgent force compete to gain control from the third actor – the population. The international community refers to the participation of outsiders. McCormick postulated that any outcome or behavioral result depends on what is conducted, either a direct approach (use of military force) or indirect approach (peace agreements or reforms that may alleviate problems that stir insurgency). The outcome could be the success or failure of either the counterinsurgent force or the insurgent force.

McCormick's model is relevant in this study because the Philippine Government in the past addressed insurgencies through military force. Even the present government adopts such approach. However, a shift of approach, from direct to indirect, has been evident in the Philippine setting. The actions taken by the government to address insurgency in Bohol attest to such shift of approach. The government established credibility among the population developing short- and

long-term goals through the following programs: Local Peace Reduction Action Plan, Local Peace Forum, Poverty Alleviation Program, Rehabilitation and Reintegration Process, and Propagation of Social Justice. Such programs have gained people's commitment to peace to achieve security and development and invited insurgents to surrender to the government. The government is taking the holistic approach encompassing economic, political, psychosocial, and security components to address the insurgencies' root causes.

In support, Galula's principle complements that of McCormick (Galula, 2006; Cortes & Comendador, 2013). He identified sets of actors, namely population, internal and external actors, and counterinsurgency force. His strategy focused more on the indirect approach to address insurgency, that is, focusing on the population instead of running after and harassing the insurgent groups. He emphasized that government force (military) must act like an active nurse, social worker, propagandist, an engineer, a school teacher, or a boy scout. He believed that by providing the population with more security, insurgent groups are permanently isolated from the population. Hence, Galula advanced the use of indirect approach for the counterinsurgent group to succeed. By employing indirect approach, the state can gain people's trust, therefore, getting more access to collect intelligence on the enemy, turning the situation favorably to the government's side. Again, the Philippine government is conducting the indirect approach to counter insurgency.

In understanding the root causes of insurgency, Ted Gurr (1970) discussed the theory of relative deprivation, which advances the idea of "perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities." The theory has it that the potential for collective violence or insurgency varies with the scope and intensity of deprivation among members of a collectivity. Therefore, the primary source for aggression is frustration. Aggression occurs when people get frustrated because their expectations are not met. Out of frustration and anger, they resort to different forms of rebellion against the government.

The abovementioned theory is applicable to the scenario in the Philippine context. In areas where the population feels hopeless, frustrated, and deprived due to poverty and poor access to government aid, membership in insurgent groups is high because the locals are vulnerable to

communists' recruitment. In Bohol, for instance, the people's frustration was taken advantaged to a great proportion by the Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army (CPP-NPA), creating an aggression that made the province an insurgent hotbed in 2000 (Torres, 2011).

Significance of the Study

The research findings seek to comprehend and unfold the experiences of the political rebel returnees in their journey of struggle before and after being active in the movements. Further, the results may benefit the international community for they may be able to understand the unique experiences as reasons of their struggles. Their journey and experiences could be used as foundations of a wholistic approach in addressing the problems of insurgency. These could also provide valuable insights to the national government into the experiences confronting the returnees as they rejoined society. Such insights may help identify areas of improvement in the instituted integration programs for the returnees. The findings of this study may be used as basis for enacting laws by the Congress of the Philippines that could strengthen existing programs to make them more responsive to the needs of the returnees and to convince more effectively political offenders to return to the fold of law.

Furthermore, findings of this study could provide them insights about the economic, psychological, political, and social concerns of the political rebel returnees to the local government units for them to have a clearer view enabling them to be in a better position to implement the re-integration program to reciprocate to their needs. This could pave way for the re-evaluation of the effectiveness of the government's programs. For the political rebel returnees this could provide with the opportunity to share their struggles or concerns as they go back to their normal life in society. A disclosure of their experiences may invite the government to re-evaluate its programs for the returnees and consider strengthening such programs to attain the set goals and objectives. For future researchers, this could be used as springboard for more related studies that involve

returnees in other parts of the country, cover other dimensions of the returnees' well-being, and explore other factors relevant to the return of the political offenders to the fold of law.

Definition of Terms

For clear understanding, the following key terms are defined as used in this study:

Journey. It is a variable that refers to economic, psychological, social, and political experiences of political offenders during their active participation as political rebels and during their eventual comeback as returnees to the mainstream of the society.

Political Rebel Returnee. It refers to an individual or group of individuals who voluntarily and peacefully submit themselves into the fold of law after having committed and violated laws of the Philippines, classified as political offenders, and who underwent and graduated from the E-CLIP offered by the government.

Diaries. It refers to sets of experiences of Political Rebel Returnees while they were still active in the struggle and while they were undergoing and graduated from the E-CLIP program of the government.

Limitations and Delimitations

This study focused on the economic, psychological, political, and social experiences confronting political/rebel returnees in the Northern Mindanao Region. The returnees were further delimited to those who voluntarily surrendered, qualified and already graduated from the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (E-CLIP) of the government.

The study involved participants who were previously or even presently hostile to our government, hence they were expected to be hesitant and reluctant to disclose their experiences and journey while they were active members and even in times that they already graduated under the E-CLIP program, out of fear and anxieties that could somehow force them to withhold honest and true disclosures. However, as required and part of ethical consideration in the conduct of research, I employed various measures to safeguard and win the confidence and trust of the

participants for them to have full disclosures of their experiences and journey. The following were strictly observed: respect for persons, beneficence, justice, consent and confidentiality.

Organization of the Study

The following chapters contain the following:

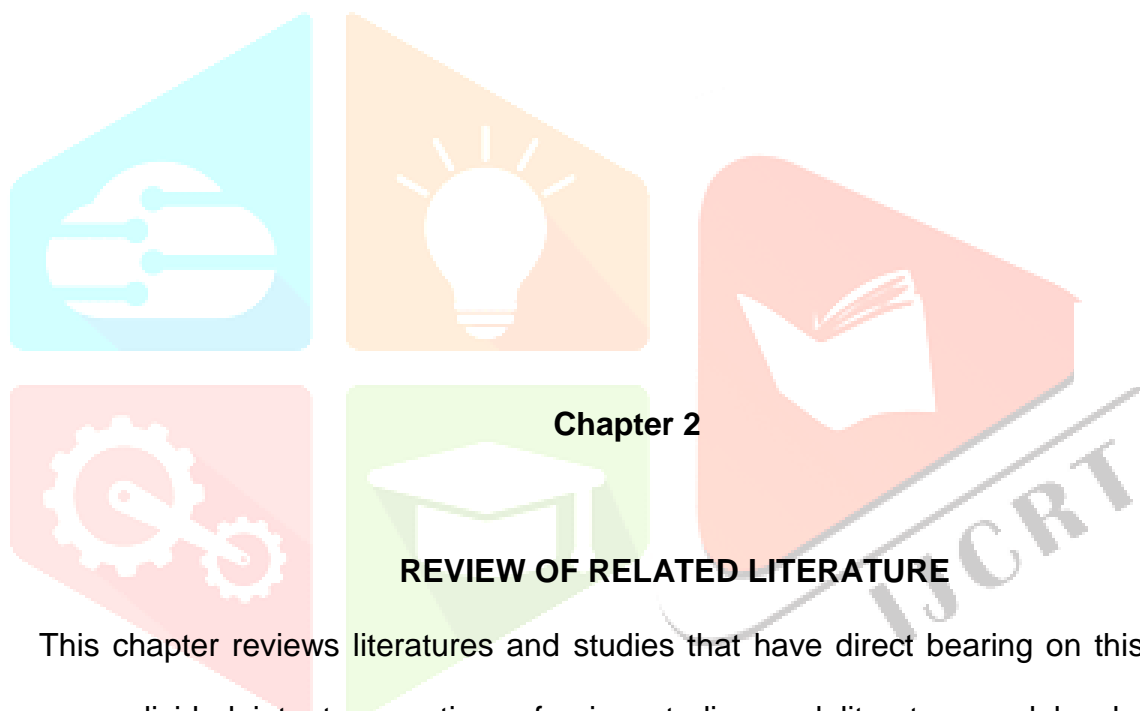
Chapter 1 presents the problems and its scope and the phenomenon being studied. This chapter emphasized the importance and background as well as the urgency and its contributions to the community in general and to rebel returnees to be specific. It solidified the framework of the study as bases of the researcher's assumptions and expected outcomes. Moreover, it presents questions as it qualitatively explores respondents' dilemmas as well as the limitations of the participating group. Furthermore, it articulated the importance of the results as an output and defines vague and confusing terms for a clearer understanding to readers and research enthusiasts.

Chapter 2 presents literature and studies of political offenders in the worldwide and local perspectives. It tries to unfold the basic theories and principles underlying the dilemmas and confusions of political rebel returnees' reasons of participating as members or organizers of such political struggles.

Chapter 3 presents the type of research to be employed, the content of the instrument to be used, how to conduct the sampling procedures and the kind of data analysis, trustworthiness and the research ethical consideration to follow.

Chapter 4 presents the result of the study basing upon the data collected through an in-depth interview using the techniques audio recording and the transcription of data which were used in the presentation of an individual case analysis.

Chapter 5 presents the discussion, conclusion, implication for practice and implication for future research based on themes developed during the analyzed data.



This chapter reviews literatures and studies that have direct bearing on this study. The reviews are divided into two sections: foreign studies and literature and local studies and literatures.

Experiences of Political Rebel Returnees

The socio economic status of an individual can illustrate how community, family background, social and financial circumstances influence the personality, beliefs, and general human development of the person. According to Bonger (2015) crime is the result of economic and social conditions. He stressed that the outcome of the capitalist system, in which the bourgeois pursued their individual self-interest, irrespective of the implications, merely to preserve their economic advantage, rejecting altruism, caused the commission of offenses to thrive. A

person who steals or injures or even kills someone may be motivated just to satisfy his hunger and hunger may not always mean a lack of food, but may also imply a lack of equality, fairness, and justice. In addition, the imprisonment of revolutionary rebels has particular impacts on perceptions of social, political, economic and psychological life (Clear, Rose, & Ryder, 2001).

Being an insurgent is a criminal persona that has been afflicted by such protests by many of the nations around the world. These are groups that have engaged their own government in a protracted armed struggle and differ in terms of their capabilities and strength. Small numbers of individuals are small enough to create simple confusion while others have more powers due to their strength and legitimacy to affect the state's internal and external movements. Whether Lebanon's Hezbollah or Syria's anti-Assad regime insurgents, these armed conflicts are genuinely a host political state obstacle.

Insurgents also integrate within the local community and provide responses to people's grievances (Sarbah, 2014). However, the groups are powerful in far-reaching areas where it is hard to reach state government and its services. People in the hinterlands are considered very vulnerable to revolt, and many of them have ties with these resistance movements, and the government may find it difficult to overthrow them by military operations.

Rebellions tend to start at the periphery or far from a state's headquarters (Nakao, 2015). He added that the rebels are starting to gain power as government appears weak, making more groups willing to move and joining their cause. He also uses examples from the Napoleonic War, the Boshin War, the American Civil War, the Yugoslav Wars, the American Revolution, and the Glorious Revolution to illustrate this point.

Therefore, these armed organizations have different motivations and reasons to launch an armed insurrection against their own governments. Whether it is religion, ideology, resources, land, or even the mere desire to obtain political power, all of these have served as worthy motivations to launch an armed resistance against one's own nation. Land reform has been attempted in various municipalities in Colombia (Albertus & Kaplan, 2012); the results of the study

revealed that such reform was an efficient counterinsurgency policy, although it was politically hard to enforce because it threatened the status quo.

The goal was to find a way to overcome this kind of uprising. According to Danneman and Ritter (2014), the pattern of nations is that when unrest takes place in neighboring countries, the state will carry out pre-emptive intervention at home. Such a policy leads to human rights violations committed by states, not by their own freaks, but in the expectation that they will not suffer the same fate as their insurgent neighbors.

In the insurgency study, structural and dynamic explanation were used. Structural theories have been used to address the presence of insurgents and dynamic theory has been used for the frequency of insurgent actions (Jenkins, Maher & Fahrer, 2014). In the structural application they find that these areas experienced cultural conservatism in the use of contraceptives, had a high rate of poverty and had dense urban populations and child mortality were common. While in dynamics, Egyptians who have a history of social and political marginality and opposition form the bedrock of insurgency.

A way of organizing a society in which a dictator-ruled government regulates people's life and is not permitted to disagree with government or "state fascism" has been long experienced by Filipinos (Sison, 2013). The leader of the Philippine insurgents in the republication of his various writings has always emphasized that the current insurgents will always be manifested as long as economic, social and political issues continue in the framework of Philippine governance.

The economic experiences of political rebel returnees refer to their experiences related to economic resources, tangible provisions on daily basis, and work security. While psychological experiences refer mental and emotional experiences and confusions such as anxieties and fears and doubts, attributed to their past political offense and their present state of life as returnees. Furthermore, social experiences on the other hand, refers to their relational experiences and confusions with their family, the community, work peers, and other members in the society. and political experiences refer to their experiences and confusions related to the exercise of their

political rights e.g., freedom from threats and coercions, freedom of expression, own political aspirations or ideology, and right of suffrage (Administrative Order No. 10).

Economically, living below poverty line has an effect on people's economic stability and well-being and it is one of the grievances of political rebels in worldwide phenomenon (Collier, 2000). These people are the vulnerable group who could be lured easily by the leftist group who pretended to be patriots and saviors of their grievances and outcries against their own government.

Very severe grievances can generate civil wars that could become grave and intense political issues. Hence, a kind of rebellion here it is understood as the paramount protest actions by group participants, their leaders struggled, sacrificed and died against oppression by the protagonist government. However, when objectively measured the main grievances like political, inequality, repression, ethnic and religious factions have a little explanatory reason in the emergence of rebellions (Collier, 2000). In communities that have low income, usually these do not give reasons to rebel. Hatred and grievances could not simply be the reasons of unique eventualities that give rise to violent reactions.

Members of the insurgent movement are usually peasants in many countries and they have their own lifestyle and features (Cortez & Commendador, 2013). Many of them lack education but are clever in their economic decisions, but incapable of understanding their own true interests. Although they appear sensitive to social and economic change, they also seem bound by symbols and ideologies that link them to the past. They are never at home, no matter where they move. However, committed to their own interests, they are readily tricked and cheated by town slickers, seigneurs and nobles and extremely susceptible to insurgent recruiters.

These poor peasants are vulnerable caused by inequality of income and opportunities give rise to the possibility to pose grievances against the government (Valente, 2017). They are those who live in the hinterland areas where the basic services of the government could hardly be given, most of them have low levels of education and live in large households headed by individuals who are self-employed or work in agriculture as laborers.

In countering insurgency generally sparked by poverty and involving peasants, political scientists Savun and Hays (Romaniuk, 2012) argued in the context of foreign assistance that foreign aid can promote economic growth and development, which reduces the level of grievances and weakens membership in insurgent groups. It is a fact that the high level of unemployment can fuel political instability and even regime change. When applied to the case of insurgencies, it suggests that policy makers need to invest in development programs that make intensive use of unemployed workers, particularly unemployed youth. Iyengar, Monten and Hanson (2011) posited that increased spending on labor-intensive development programs is associated with the decrease in violence.

On the other hand, "a guerrilla war is an intimate affair, not only fought with arms, but fought in the minds of men living in the villages and hills, waged by the mentality and politics of those who run the local government" (Oppenheim, 2012). For any government, fighting a guerrilla war is a costly idea. The resistance fight does not have front lines. We work in the midst of people's communities, usually hidden or covered. The guerrilla war's goal is not to engage an enemy army in direct conflict, but rather to threaten and punish it with the intention of slowly limiting its activity and ultimately freeing the land from its controversy.

Efforts to combat such a guerrilla army – counterinsurgency – often include efforts to "win the hearts and minds" of rural communities to discourage insurgents from sheltering (Guevara, 2002). In the guerrilla war there are a lot of territories that are not held at the same time by either side; therefore, both sides are exerting military influence over the same area. This makes guerrilla wars extremely difficult for the civilian population because the armed forces of the government fighting against guerrillas often do not distinguish them from civilians, and thus both strike together.

In Nepal, they have struggled to find a way to stop creating guerrilla sanctuaries for individuals (Marks, 2003). This could have been done through a huge financial growth plan for individuals in the early era of insurgency. After so many killings, the relief program issued by the state has become meaningless. Counter-insurgency measures involve civilian-military cooperation in which clean civil administrators are supposed to disburse the economic

development package. Their issue is not the Maoist war, but a reinforced coalition of corrupt politicians and bureaucrats that benefits from the Maoist war. It was very probable that the financial aid package announced to combat insurgency could be yet another chance for embezzlement to corrupt civilian as well as military officials. If implemented and performed by clean hands, counter-insurgency measures will help minimize the crisis, which in turn will assist to neutralize guerrilla popular assistance. Otherwise, it continues a prolonged issue and there is no way to hinder the Maoist revolution. Under the current policies, the state armies could win some battles here and there, but they will never win the war.

Aid professionals have reversed their community development initiatives instead of getting them introduced by the government (Oppenheim, 2012). Any assistance is now provided directly to the farmers or to the grassroots where conflict starts. It is believed that if it is directly channeled to the poor, community support can be fully used as designed. Community development programs financed by the World Bank are anchored in two sets of visions, the following are to empower the poor to regulate the growth of their own community and to call for excellent governance and to bring in place a more reactive governance system.

The success of the government to deal with the insurgents depends on how effective and accurate they are with the group, specially in military operations (Bennett, 2008). If the government in its military operations has created more collateral damage which are the civilians, it will cause people to be angry with their government causing them to join insurgent groups. This was mostly of the experiences of individuals who had been and were members of the Philippine insurgents. They claimed before they became active members, they were victims and being displaced and members of their families were killed by the government troops believing that they actively took part in fighting. For these reasons, they were easily enticed and persuaded to take arms and be part of the insurgent struggles.

In order for the political rebel insurgents to be brought to the fold of law, the government should have these principles to be implemented in order for their group to be eradicated. The government plan must have these important elements in all important areas like social, political,

administrative, police and economic to lure and isolate for them to be apprehended or surrender (Egnell, 2010). Giving more considerations to ensure that after the conclusion of military operations civil programs should be conducted in order to win back the trust of the affected civilians in the area, it should be conducted otherwise the efforts is expected to be of less value towards total eradication of insurgency problems.

In countering insurgency, the Columbian Republic though, primarily used military approach by implementing their four year National Development Plan for the previous decade through their domestic policies. The plan carries its major theme "prosperity for all" was made in order to address the challenges of extinguishing poverty, minimizing unemployment and solidifying security. The plans further have vision for the next four years strategies to create sustainable domestic development and competitiveness, equality of possibilities for the population, strengthening of peace, and environmental sustainability and risk prevention. The Colombian government also emphasized that consolidating peace implies "to ensure the prevalence of the rule of law, internal security, and complete observance of human rights, as well as the effective functioning of justice throughout the domestic territory" (Comendador & Cortes, 2013).

The Philippines was not spared with the problems of the insurgency. Since time began when the HUKBALAHAP band declared its complete independence, the existence of insurgents after World War 2 had already troubled it. The Philippines-New People's Army-National Democratic Front (CPP-NPA-NDF or CNN) Maoist-inspired Communist Party remains the number one insurgent group that has devastated and threatened peace and security stability (Banlaoi, 2013). The New People's Army (NPA), the armed group of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front (CPP-NDFP or CNN), an organization dedicated to achieving power in the Philippines through revolutionary insurrection, are prominent among the insurgent groups (Felter, 2006). The presence of such militant guerrilla groups, whether through peace talks or military tactics, has put a strain on the government to take steps to protect the state.

President Marcos declared martial law during the beginning of an insurrection in the Philippines and did not consider military forces as an option to suppress rebellions (de Castro,

2011). It was clearly shown that the manner with which the government saw the insurgency was that it could only be extinguished mainly through the use of military operations, but they did not come up with the performance of their system because the NPA as the CNN's armed wing still survives and spreads in the various parts of the Philippine archipelago, continually shaking the country's peace and security (Banlaoi, 2013).

During the Aquino administration the President's Office released the National Security Policy 2011-2016 within that context has recognized aside from the focus of human security, the government acknowledge the other reasons that seem to be the bedrock of insurgency existence, which are the following but not limited to socioeconomic inequities and the incompetence of the country's political management. Moreover, the context of the latest National Security Policy 2017-2022 implemented by the Office of the President (2017) under the Duterte administration also shows recognition of the other aspects of the CNN's uprising.

Three theories related to the Philippines' uprising and revolutionary movements, namely the moral economy, rational choice, and class structure (Hawes, 1990). The three theories are found to be incomplete in different ways and unable to provide compelling reasons for the rise and continued intensity of the revolutionary movement of today. However, the government is challenged by a movement that has a mass base of approximately ten million and fields twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand men and women fighting force. It is involved in almost every nation's province and region. There are suggestions that a change in strategy will occur in order to come up with a more appropriate way of fighting the present revolutions.

The Population-Centered Warfare concept espoused by Gavrilis (2009) emphasized that government should forged unitarily bond with populations, and winning its trust and confidence that must be done within local level at issues of different places is a way of increasing possibility of government success of eradicating insurgency.

To combat insurgency sets of actors were identified, in shifting approach namely population, internal and external actors and counterinsurgency force based on Galula's principle that complement that of McCormick counterinsurgency concepts (Cortes & Comendador, 2013).

It has been noted that the efforts were focused on the populations as form of indirect approach instead of apprehending, killing and running after the insurgents. In these strategies the government forces specially the military personnel should have act and have the heart of being a teacher that has the capacity of teaching, a nurse that could help heal illness, an engineer that could help build houses and a boy scout that is ready at all times to respond to the need of the mass populations. In these scenarios, insurgents are isolated and thereby regaining people's trust. The access of intelligence against the insurgents is possible, turning the control favorably to the government side and making insurgents feel that the government has done something to address the reasons of the movements would be the greatest lure.

The abovementioned study of Cortes and Comendador on Philippine insurgency further emphasized the different considerations that are believed to be the bedrock of insurgency namely: social and cultural, economic, and religious. Social and cultural considerations said that the strategic locations of the Philippines made Filipinos isolated from the rest of the people of the southwestern part of Asia, hence, they have feelings of being isolated with their own heritage. The isolation as experienced by many gives them freedom to select or even change from other culture to fit what they wanted and to their nature (Rodell, 2001). Geographical distance and diversity also resulted to the existence of a varied population.

The insurgence created an alternate government in areas which the basic services of the government could hardly reach coupled with a kind of criminal justice to be implemented to those whom they believed harmful to their immediate community. This is an issue why eradicating them is hard and they posed threat to government forces. Most of the communities have followers in an underground movement. Hence extinguishing them needs to have a thorough and systematic way by a lawful government to address masses needs and grievances (Cortes & Comendador, 2013)

The economic considerations as appeared to be relevant in the counterinsurgency efforts manifested the very wide gap between the rich and the poor as well as unemployment. Though the economic expansion was noted that at the rate of 4.5 percent for the past years, the country rank 17 among the 41 in the Asia pacific region and its figure was still below world average (Index

of Economic Freedom, 2013). Hence, the, issue of unemployment high rate could still be manifested within. And the government failed to produce actions addressing a comprehensive agrarian reform program and corruptions among those who are in positions were still of the major reasons why masses in the hinterland areas of the country sympathized with the rebel insurgents.

On the other hand, in religious considerations, it has been noted the majority of the Filipinos are Roman Catholics, comprising 81 percent with the other 19 percent derived from other religious denominations. The separation between the state and the church was explicitly provided in the 1987 constitution, however, it could not be denied that churches in the exercise of the civil and political rights greatly intervene in the major decision of the state and often times persuaded the masses to believe their stand and positions (Santos, 2017).

The CPP-NDF-NPA or CNN's way is a protracted organization that gradually and systematically evolved under the shadow government thereby making peasants able to emerge their political awareness and free them from their constraint visions, thereby encouraging them to ask what is due to them from the government. Aside from having supporters from the religious sectors, they also gained the reinforcement of the masses. The insurgent group (CPP-NDF-NPA or CNN) despite of having inadequate ideological ground but because of the greediness of the rich and influential and as well as the lack of genuine government reforms, the insurgents could still find fertile grounds for their struggles (Casuncad, 2017). He describes, that the rich people never want to include the poor into their culture, nor want to have their influence, power and wealth being shared with the poor. Further, the poor people lack the means to effect change specially on the part of the local government.

Moreover, the past government's counterinsurgency endeavor was claimed to be lacking in political will to maintain the laws and lost more gentleness in applying the guidelines, creating a more fertile ground for the movement to grow and prosper. Casuncad (2017) stated further that, "in terms of history, the growth of the movement reflects a qualitative and quantitative enhancement over past rebellions," establishing a vicious cycle in which this group outlives other

insurgents in the nation and has exploited this problem and capitalized on the emotional awakening of the peasants' community.

Despite of the efforts addressed by the government on the issue of insurgency, the movement remains as a primordial threat to national security. Their main purpose which is to replace the country's present government system with a communist state by waging war against it and conducting atrocities to involved innocent civilians has curtailed the nation's capabilities to develop to its greatest extent.

The movement has well planned the directions set out for their cause; it functions as a political force backed up with the National Democratic Front (NDF) influence government's policies using propaganda that enables them to ask for further assistance. They create links with local and global networks / organizations. As of the present the NPA was projected to have fewer than 5,000 militants and guns, with differing degrees of impact accounting for about 2.4 percent of the total barangay nationwide. They gain access to secure havens, data on intelligence, and a pool of recruits and resources with mass assistance. Each unit has the capacity to arouse, organize and mobilize groups, perform ideological, political and organizational work, launch tactical operations and acquire resources through an illegal way (Comendador & Cortez, 2013).

On the other hand, the study of Tierman (2002), cited the very strong statement for Amado Guerero (Jose Maria Sison):

Integrating Marxist-Leninist theory with Philippine practice is a two-way process. We do not merely take advantage of the victories achieved abroad so that we may succeed in our own revolution. But we also hope to add our own victory to those of others and make some worthwhile contribution to the advancement of Marxism-Leninism and the world proletarian revolution so that in the end mankind will be freed from the scourge of imperialism and enter the era of communism.

The leader of the Communist Party of the Philippines reiterated that the revolution began because they thought that money induce injustices and the procurement of unjust properties. The common people do not have the same rights and privileges as experienced by the rich and influential people. Furthermore, he stated that in socio-economics "the production system is

dominated by a combination of the “comprador” big bourgeoisie and the landlord class which, together with U.S. monopoly capitalism, prevents Philippine industrialization and allows feudal and semi-feudal forms of exploitation to persist.” The aforementioned assertion by the prominent revolutionary leader only suggests that philosophy is the primary reason for the existence of insurgency and that economics was secondary.

The CPP / NPA / NDFP (CNN) has failed to fulfill its vision of overthrowing the existing Philippine government for nearly 50 years of struggle (Cruz, 2010). This is due to the people's decreasing interest, and their military capacity has continued to decline. Consequently, as the root cause of their life deteriorated and transformed into coercion and propaganda, their character of struggle becomes obscure and kind of ideology.

Further, the movement has experienced the what they called “period of insanity” where mistrust among members of the group existed; thereby, some members deserted their movements. According to Garcia (2010) in his book entitled “To Suffer Thy Comrades: How the Revolution Decimated Its Own” revealed the kind of cruelties and atrocities his comrades suffered in the hands of their own co-rebels. Moreover, the greed of corruption as observed by their comrades. For example, insurgent group has collected almost US \$45 million dollars as domestic revolutionary taxes and US\$15 million dollars foreign donations. Only 10 percent of these millions was allocated for fighters, however 80-90 percent went to the pockets CPP Central Committee members. Many of their comrades deserted the group while one of them revealed that the organizations are never grounded with political cause and ideology but more on financial motivations.

The political prisoners incarcerated in Misami's Oriental Provincial Jail are suffering a great deal on socio-economic status, leading them to be part of the revolutionary movements and mostly engaged in agriculture (Bucio & Edrolin, 2014). Furthermore, the study found that most of the political rebels have low educational achievements that could compromise their ability to face the realities of life but they believe that when there is true and legitimate justice and equality, their comrades would love to step down and be in the fold of law. To them, the word social equality

may not always be translated in toto as it is, but for them, it also means seeking a real, measurable and genuinely felt fairness and justice arising out from an individual's monetary needs. When they noticed and saw equal and fair treatment by the government, somebody or a group of people could really go against the movement's indoctrination.

Moreover, as emphasized in the study of Bucio and Edrolin (2014) the major cause of political offense which is social inequality as found out in their study has two implications to wit: first, is the incarcerated political rebels of Misamis Oriental or the majority of the group were longing for socio-economic equality, that is if only peasants have equal opportunity with the rich people and if these rich people are not greedy to share their opportunity with the unprivileged group, political rebels could be evaded, second, most of the incarcerated political rebels were waving their rights to be primordial respected.

The above implications were manifested because poverty and social inequality, revenge, as well as injustices and government abuses were co-equal causes of their being members of the movement. The abovementioned reasons were the generic ingredients that are the bases of one or group of individuals who could say that their rights are primordially respected.

The abovementioned researchers proposed that in order to eradicate or to prevent the immergence of political rebels in Misamis Oriental, sustainable programs of poverty alleviations and genuine promotion and protections of individual basic rights should religiously be undertaken. Moreover, the following were explicitly recommended: first, there should be an establishment of ordinances and laws that will result to a lasting equality and social justice to be implemented specially to those who are unprivileged in the remote areas of Misamis Oriental and these should be genuinely enforced in order for them to have new life's perspective and their confidence towards the government and its system is regained; second, the issue on poverty and poverty alleviation programs of the government specially by their respective local government units should be given religiously to those unprivileged in the hinterland areas. Third, in order to regain the respect of insurgents to the military and police, the law enforcement agencies should be

accountable without cover-up of any violations specially in their standard operating procedures that swiftly affect and violate basic rights among people in the hinterland.

The human rights group Karapatan, on the other hand, is shouting to the government for the release of political prisoners; they said that these are people detained for their political beliefs and work. According to the group, they are often victims of trumped up charges. They were accused of committing ordinary crimes, instead of purely political acts, to prevent them from posting bail and were deprived of due process, civil and political rights. Many political prisoners are ordinary citizens accused of supporting insurgents, especially if they live in areas held by the likes of the New People's Army. As of December 2018, there are more than 400 political prisoners in Philippine jails and 130 of them are ailing or elderly. Some of those released earlier were also identified consultants of the National Democratic Front (NDF) granted temporary freedom by the court to participate in the formal peace talks (KARAPATAN, 2016).

For the past existence of the Philippines, insurgent groups it has garnered a number of case studies initiated by the government and even by non-government organizations. The cases in Marinduque and Bohol were just some of the typical studies which said to be effective in countering insurgency. In Marinduque for example the issue has agitated when the alleged military abuses and the 1996 mining disasters were used by the movement as propaganda to recruit members (Maling,2006). The recruitment was said to be successful considering the number of recruits based on the Philippine Army 2nd Infantry Division Report (2010).

In order to counter the immergence of insurgency, the military decided to stop their combat operations in order to empower the municipalities within the province to render programs and conduct Ugnayang Barangay. This was backed-up by the civil society organization and NGO's to reach-out to barangays nested by insurgents. The programs were initiated to address particularly to alleviate the economic struggles of the community and as well as the government counterpropaganda. The said joint actions by the government (military/local government units)

claimed to weaken and induced insurgents to be in the fold of law and making the province insurgents free (Manrique, 2014).

The same case is found in Bohol, which was previously a hotbed of insurgents but now has become an insurgent-free province. The success of Bohol's counter-insurgency efforts was on the populations rather than military operations and spearheaded by the local government units (Torres, 2011). Their efforts were on the institution liaison offices where individuals could go whenever they have grievances or problems specially areas that were infested with insurgents. Moreover, they conducted seminars and forums in order to identify problems of social, economic, political dimensions just to win the cooperation of the masses and be the first one to lure instead.

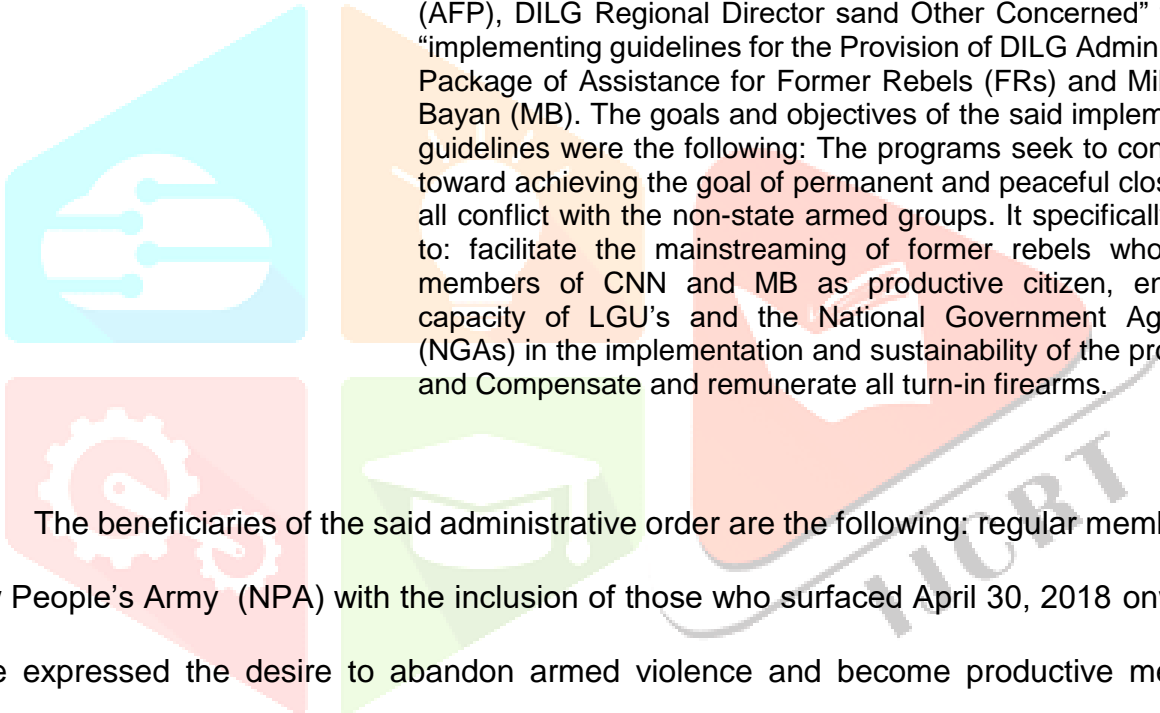
The case of Marinduque and Bohol only signifies that the cause of the immergence of insurgents and the lure for them to surrender boils down to economic, political and social dimensions. This further signifies that insurgents experienced struggles on such dimensions before they were lured or being indoctrinated using economic, political and social issues by the leftist to which we could not denied as our main societal problems. According to Manrique (2018), the government already accepts the fact that the main fuel to insurgency were on the aspects of economic, political and social issues however there is still a need to address all aspects and all suited actions just to resolve the problems of insurgency other than military options.

The President of the Republic of the Philippines has issued an Administrative Order No. 10 dated April 3, 2018, ordering the Centralization of all Government Efforts for the Reintegration of Former Rebels and Creating for the Purpose an Inter-Agency Task Force. One of the premises of such administrative order is:

The Administration is committed to attaining a just comprehensive and lasting peace under the rule of law, which is the basic foundation of for economic development and national prosperity". Section 1. explicitly provides that "in order to attain the aforementioned objectives, the CLIP is hereby enhanced by providing a complete package of assistance to former rebels (FR) who were members of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), New People's Army (NPA), National Democratic Front (NDF) as well as their immediate family members who have surfaced beginning on the date of the

effectivity of this order and express their desire to abandon armed struggles and become productive members of society. All FR's who surfaced starting July 1, 2016 shall likewise be provided benefits from the E-CLIP in addition to the CLIP package that they received.

In view of the abovementioned Administrative Order No.10, the Joint Memorandum Circular No. 2018-01, dated July 5, 2018 was subsequently issued, requiring all



Provincial Governors, City/ Municipal Mayors, Punong Barangays, Presiding Officers and Members of the Sangunians at all levels, Peace and Order Councils (POCs), the Philippine National Police (PNP), the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), DILG Regional Director sand Other Concerned” for the “implementing guidelines for the Provision of DILG Administered Package of Assistance for Former Rebels (FRs) and Militia ng Bayan (MB). The goals and objectives of the said implementing guidelines were the following: The programs seek to contribute toward achieving the goal of permanent and peaceful closure of all conflict with the non-state armed groups. It specifically aims to: facilitate the mainstreaming of former rebels who were members of CNN and MB as productive citizen, enhance capacity of LGU's and the National Government Agencies (NGAs) in the implementation and sustainability of the program; and Compensate and remunerate all turn-in firearms.

The beneficiaries of the said administrative order are the following: regular members of the New People's Army (NPA) with the inclusion of those who surfaced April 30, 2018 onwards and have expressed the desire to abandon armed violence and become productive members of society, including their immediate family members if applicable and members of the Militia ng Bayan (MB) who surfaced starting April 3, 2018 shall only be illegible to the following assistance: immediate assistance, reintegration assistance, firearms renumerations. Both members of the NPA and Militia ng Bayan shall be certified by the joint AFP-PNP Intelligence Committee (JPIC) to be entitled to E-CLIP benefits and assistance package.

The agency that were tasked to implement the same were the following: Department of National Defense (DND), Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), Local Government Units (LGU), Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), Philippine National Police (PNP), the E-CLIP Committee, the Joint AFP-PNP Intelligence Committee and the Provincial /HUC Peace and Order

Councils. This particular administrative order coupled with implementing guidelines was acted upon by the administration purposely to add and lure political rebels to come down and be in the fold of law.

The study of Justine Jose J. Manrique on the local government counter-insurgency operations against the political rebels posted a very concrete conclusion that has significantly influenced the existence of political rebels. He strongly stated that there should be a genuine reform on political, economic and social measures to be undertaken by the government because it could be eliminated totally if such will not be addressed accordingly (Manrique, 2014).

Further, he recommends that due to very limited literatures on counter-insurgency, the government officials, military officers, students and researchers should also undertake identical study to be able to add more literatures that could be used as bases for future studies. The same experienced encounter by the proponent of this study, particularly regarding the experiences of political rebels, hence, in his quest to present a balance literature citing both sides of the coin, he opted to have these recorded testimonies of the former rebels depicting their experiences while they were active political rebels and until they left and become part of the E-CLIP and eventually graduated from the said program initiated by the government side. Testimonies below were extracted from Task Force Balik Loob- Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (Testimonials, 2018). Further, in order for these testimonies to be more comprehensive it was translated from Tagalog to English version.

The life story “Ka Manoy” was about a dedicated leader who was most active in the movements. He was from Agusan del Sur and was indoctrinated with the principles of the CPP-NPA-NDF which were injected to his mind that an insurgent like him was the true soldier and defender of the people. He became platoon commanding officer (CO). In his testimony he said

That people don't think the kind of sacrifice that movement leaders have undergone in the mountains. I noticed a lot of deceit and mistake in my tenure as one of the leaders of the fight in which the revolution indoctrinated us. For example, they believed that equality, respect and dignity will be the primary considerations in the movement for each individual, but there

were many instances where I learned that our female comrades get pregnant and the father is also our comrade. What kind of respect was that and equality? If you're going to see and note their values seemed to be fine, but in reality, it's not. There was really big corruption happening in the campaign because if there's no, they're going to pay our salary as promised.

Since "Ka Manoy" was holding position in the movement, he was able to persuade lot of his comrade, he said that

It should be the leader first because if the leader is defeated, he will fail and the rest will surrender. I found we were fighting for wrong values in the mountains, they were only playing on us, when our leader Jose Maria Sison was just commanding us and enjoying the fruits of our sacrifices. The New People's Army was really the one that brought anarchy to our nation and disrupted peace and order".

"Ka Manoy" discovered the wrong ideology who for decades was fighting for and decided to surrender under the fold of law. He further stressed and reiterated to his fellow comrade that

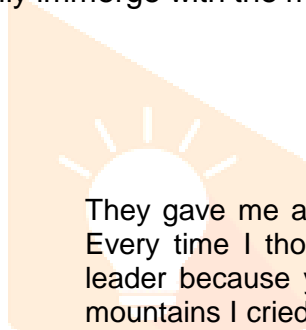
It's not good to stay in the mountains, there were commanders who have lived for more than 35 years but have nothing to do with their hardships, you have no future as insurgents, you have a future in our government. Our mountain's life is filled with suffering and sacrifices. Being a political activist battling our government is not the best way to solve our problems, but rather it's a matter of uniting with the government and making a corroborative effort to address our point as the product of our struggles. "Ka Manoy" furthermore said that I am very grateful to President Duterte for welcoming us and offering us the opportunity to change our wrong mindset and provide us with livelihood programs as stipulated in our government's newly implemented E-CLIP programs".

The life's story of "Ka Rosa" was from the Compostela Valley. She reminisced her past of being member of the CPP-NPA-NDF which according to her

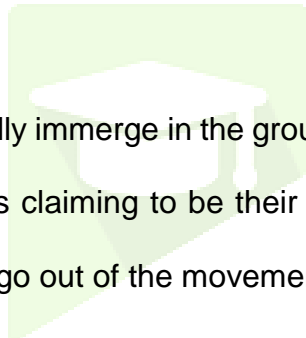
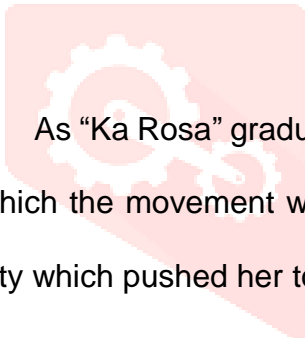
I was able to join the movement because my younger brother was already a Pronto-7 participant. It was December 26 when I was invited to the CPP-NPA-NDF office for the anniversary of the movement with my mother. That time, I was so down

because I'd just separated from my live-in partner that caused me to decide to go with them. When we reached their encampment the following day, my brother noticed bruise and contusion in my body inflicted by my live-in partner when we reached their camp the next day. One of their colleagues politicized me and told me it would be much easier if I wanted to be part of the movement as their group gave women a strong morality and respect. That's one of their indoctrination, they claim. I was named as a member of team-4 during my first week of the revolution, where my duties were to plan and pack my new comrade's necessary equipment and food. I was recruited and presented to the medical mission the next week where I was trained to extract teeth, and as part of our propaganda I was successfully extracting three of our patients that the government has nothing to do with the masses.

“Ka Rosa” now totally immerse with the movements, was issued armaments after a week she further reiterated



They gave me an armalite rifle from the M16, with a big bag. Every time I thought it wasn't really easy to be a movement leader because you're going to carry heavy loads scaling the mountains I cried every time and surprise. I assured myself that their life was real and that the poor soldier was true.



As “Ka Rosa” gradually immerse in the group and was able to experience the kind of reality to which the movement was claiming to be their indoctrination, she gradually then discover the reality which pushed her to go out of the movement. She further reminisces that

The revolutionary tax, the extortion money from various businesses that they illegally collect goes only to the hands of my leaders and I don't have equal treatment among my group members. The financial support never materialized as they sweetly promised. We've seen huge amounts of money. The family of our leader was well supported and they sent their kids to good school. But for us, who were just an ordinary member of the movement, they always told us that the group is weak and has nothing to offer if we ask for financial help. Even our sack was already tattered, we have almost nothing to eat our pack, but rarely or never give us that basic survival needs.

Because of her family “Ka Rosa” was brought to the point of enlightenment she further disclosed and said

I was awakened from my wrong perspective of life after years of being deaf-mute, and then decided to jump out as a part of the revolution.

She also remembered that before she left home, her mother was big and fat now that she came back skinny and was in ill-health and she said

I was even cursed by my older brother that when my mother died, he would let us eat the body, that would push me back home a lot. She also said, I realized that if I'm going to pursue the movement even though I've already understood what the intention is, why do I need to be deaf-mute? If I knew their real interest already. I'm not going to exchange my family with a mistaken and misleading promise and win the fight just for gained equality. We haven't experienced equality even within the movement tell you".

In January 2019 "Ka Rosa" finally settle down and she said

I have pity of my family. She also claimed she benefited from the ECLIP program of the government I have benefited from the scheme, I have even been able to have a small house, money as their support for FR, a sari-sari shop for my mother, I even attend massage training, which helps me a lot to sustain my life.

"Ka Rosa" has these advise to her fellow comrades who are still in the mountains

We need to distinguish and re-deploy to my comrade the kind of philosophy we adopt. The success of the overthrow is very remote in the fight against the regime. The reality is democracy, and the solution to our problems can only be achieved by unity, which is why you must submit yourself to the fold of law, you must surrender. Only with the corroboration of the government may peace be maintained; whose only purpose of existence is for the benefit and good of the people.

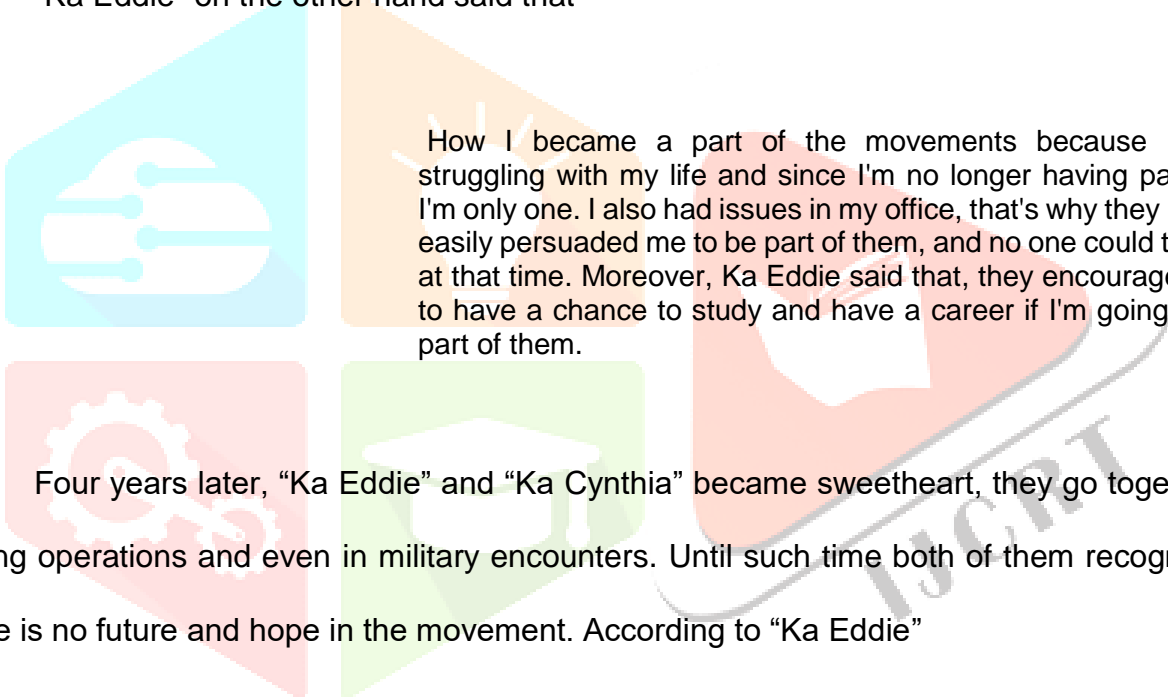
The life story of "Ka Eddie" and "Ka Cynthia" who developed their love and relationship within the deceitful ideology and promises of the CPP-NPA-NDF. They are both now in the Happy

Homes a halfway house designed for former rebels who opted to surrender in the fold of law located at Mati, Davao Oriental. “Ka Cynthia” was an education student before, her older brother was already active in the movement that’s why that was during a semester break, she decided to visit his brother to convinced him to surrender.

“Ka Eddie” was a companion of his brother whom she communicated with until she visited their encampment. Her purpose only was to visit however, she was not allowed to get out of encampment. She said

“Our intention was to visit my brother only. That was 2006, but they are no longer allowing me to leave the camp”.

“Ka Eddie” on the other hand said that



How I became a part of the movements because I was struggling with my life and since I'm no longer having parents, I'm only one. I also had issues in my office, that's why they (NPA) easily persuaded me to be part of them, and no one could tell me at that time. Moreover, Ka Eddie said that, they encouraged me to have a chance to study and have a career if I'm going to be part of them.

Four years later, “Ka Eddie” and “Ka Cynthia” became sweetheart, they go together even during operations and even in military encounters. Until such time both of them recognized that there is no future and hope in the movement. According to “Ka Eddie”

I saw no hope in the movement because before the masses who are going to help us and even send us supplies, now they're not going to support even if we purchased it, when we were in their community they're going to leave because they're afraid and they don't want us anymore because, according to them, we've been the one who brought anarchy to their society. “Ka Cynthia” got pregnant that’s why both of them decided to surrender.

According to Ka Cynthia

I've been really exhausted in the campaign, we don't have food to eat, my mom and dad got sick, I'm telling my brother to go home, but because of his hard-headedness he stayed.

Another life story is that of “Ka Omeng”. For almost a decade he served as spy of the movement downtown, the eyes and ears to which whatever movements of the military troupes he will be the one to informed. “Ka Omeng” said

Before I'm a member of MB or Militia ng Bayan, that's the style of the movement they're going to use to get the government troops upset with you and the least you can do is go uphill joining with them.

In the decade that “Ka Omeng” was member of the movement he saw a lot wrongs, lies and deceit of the organization that is why he decided to surrender and aside from that his family urged him to go down also. “Ka Omeng” further said that,

It's also my family who really want me to give up, my son is a BS Criminology graduate, he's also telling me to give up. It would be sad, according to my friend, that he will eventually become a police officer and I will still be in the movement. Thus, I left the movement.

While “Ka Omeng” was in the Happy Home he claimed that

There's a big change in our life, I couldn't imagine all our learning. Before I don't know how to budget money for my kids, it's all about me when I entered the house. They have taught us how to use our money from the system.

“Ka Eddie” on the other hand also claimed that

There's a big change in our lives, we've been able to discipline ourselves and have more inside awareness. We cooked our food every morning and take care of some domesticated animals right after 8:00 a.m. we had ALS and TESDA in the late afternoon. He also said, "I'm very thankful to our government for giving us a chance.

Both of them now gradually enjoyed the fruit of their right decision. “Ka Eddie” and “Ka Cynthia” now have banana, rice and falcata plants and livestock while “Ka Omeng” is now a businessman in their area.

Another life story is that of “Ka Tonyo” in Davao City. He claimed that

In my young age I was already being influenced of the doctrine of NPA while I was still studying. While I still a civilian and student I already experienced the presence of the movements because during that time I was one of those were invited to be part of the gatherings called by the NPA. During the movement always convinced me that that there’s no good of studying. I graduated in high school and I partially took part of the movements not as combatant but as member of Militia.

After he graduated from TESDA program, “Tonyo” underwent security guard’s training where he was subsequently employed as a security guard in one of known resort of Samal Island. However, he and his co-security guards on duty were charged of conniving the kidnapping of their foreign guests.

I was so bothered that time because I could not take anymore the massive investigation of the CIDG and other law enforcement agency, until such time that I was able to talk with my former comrade in the movements “Ka Abet”, there he convinced me that I should not last there because Policeman will only imprisoned me or even kill me right after the investigation, it puzzled me a lot. Hence, I decided to joined with the group because it seems that in the investigation, I subsequently become a suspect of that kidnapping and I was also partially indoctrinated with the group.

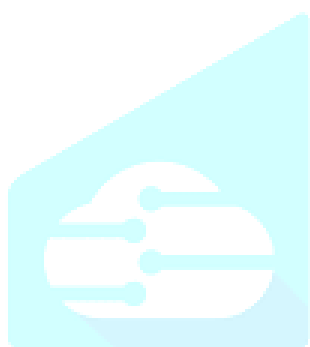
The other day, “Ka Tonyo” claimed

One of the sparrow unit pick me up at Obrero Street, Agdao and they brought me to hinterland area Paquibato. There in the encampment they taught me a lot of the ideology which the are claiming, the propaganda because these were also the things that I will spread and taught to other our prospect recruits and in the community. Until such time that I reach already more than a year as an active member of the movement. I become political Officer in my area PBC1. My main function there were to recruit, organized and teach the communist doctrine to your comrade so that they will last and never attempt to betray the movement.

One of the incidences awakened the mind of “Ka Tonyo” he said that

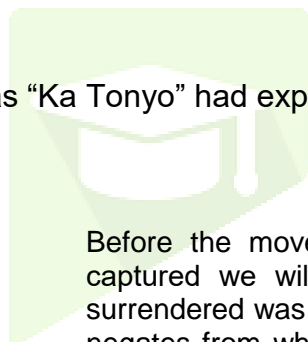
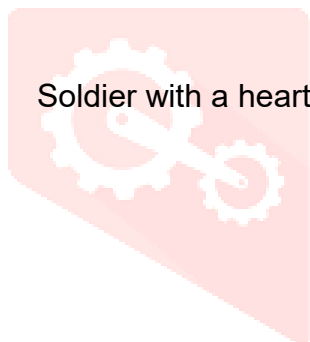
In the mountains we do not have foods, ammunitions and we were so tired of walking and rooming around because of the massive combat against the 16IB of the AFP. We only depend on our revolutionary tax collected to buy for our daily needs and consumptions. We were sick and mostly of us were killed in the encounter of the army.

Because of the crooked policies and deceitful ideology of the movement, “Ka Tonyo” and his comrades faith in the movement gradually faded. He further stated that



In my second visit in the region I was surprise because I heard and witness the kind of corruption in regional level of the movements which they required me not to tell the lower force. Before I think that NPA leaders were not corrupt however its not true. There in their level they lived with abundance while we in the lower level our lives were so misery. When we can extort money as revolutionary tax only 40% with go to the movement while the other 60% to Joma Sison, with that prompted me to depart from the movement.

Soldier with a heart as “Ka Tonyo” had explained



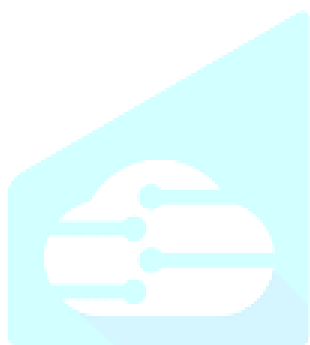
Before the movement told us that if we will surrender, be captured we will be killed and tortured that's why when I surrendered was so worried but the one experienced with them negates from what the movement has indoctrinated us. They threated me so well, they give assistance to my family, the E-CLIP program of our government has help a lot. I am even very thankful to Mayor Sara and to our President for that very sincere implementation of that program for us to improved our livelihood.

On the other hand “Ka Tonyo” as he said

I have plan to pursue my study because I graduated of a vocational course. I have no apprehension because I heartily volunteered to surrender. Even though as their policy that those who will betray the movements will be killed. These were the reasons why I surrendered. First, was I don't understand anymore their policies. Second their terroristic acts of burning machineries of big corporations/plantation, of course the community will be anger because being employee of that company they will losing their jobs. I feel consciences for those

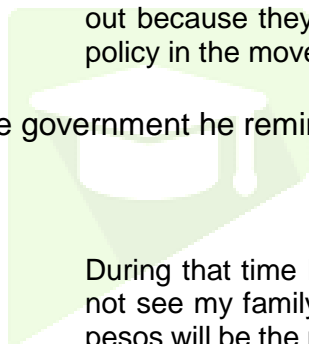
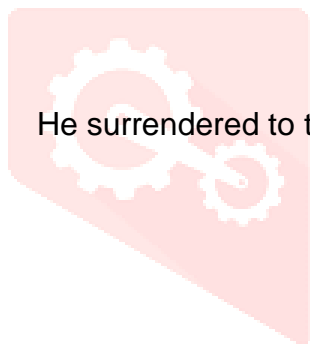
whom I persuaded to be part of the movement and now I found out and proved their deceitful and deceiving doctrine, their wrong teaching and indoctrination. For those who are still in the mountains I encouraged you to step down and surrender in the fold of law. There is no truth in the movements and that you can only find in our legitimate government”.

Youngest of the four sons of poor family “Ka Alfred” who was a previous farmer in the province of Rizal has also shared his experiences while still an active member of the new peoples army. “Ka Alfred” told that before



I am a civilian and tilling land planting yellow corn. For me, life is not that so hard because If you will only strived to survived, you will really survived, the only problem is if you are lazy. But like other young men he was not able to evade from the deceitful and deceiving strategies of the NPA. He testified that one time there was an activity of the NPA, they called all youth in our area, they reprimand and coerced us if we will not attend. According to them, they will give money and will support their family. Until I was totally part of the movement. We always keep on walking and hiding in the mountains. Most of the times we do not have foods to eat, we only eat root-crops. Until I decided to surrender. When I left the mountain, my comrade run after me and shot me out because they do not want me to surrender and part of the policy in the movement those who betrayed should be killed.

He surrendered to the government he reminisced that



During that time I was crying sir because I thought that I could not see my family anymore. If you will surrender 100 thousand pesos will be the reward money and you will be killed and torture that's they had indoctrinate us in the movements.

He succeeded to surrender and there “Ka Alfred” gradually saw the truth and experienced good life as a free individual in the hands of the government. He was one of the beneficiaries of the E-CLIP program who received immediate cash assistance of P15,000, livelihood assistance of P50,000, firearm remuneration.

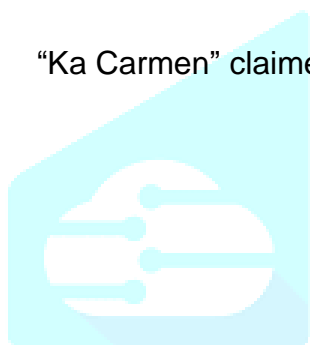
At present “Ka Alfred” was so thankful to the government and happy while waiting for his new house being awarded to him by the government thru the lead agencies like Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), Department of National Defense (DND), National Housing

Authority (NHA), Office of the President and Office on the Presidential Adviser of the Peace Process (OPAPP).

On the other hand “Ka Wendy, “Ka Kenneth”, “Ka Carmen” and “Ka Kelly” have these messages to President Rodrigo Duterte. “Ka Wendy” said that

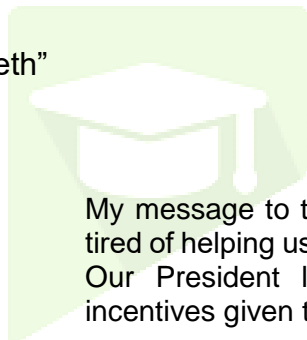
The things that I could say in Duterte’s administration specially in the treatment of political rebels is that the government is really sincere on its implementation specially the ECLIP program. We did not expect that we will be given livelihood, and a house. We saw the heart of our President in helping us and the different working agencies that were united in helping former rebels.

“Ka Carmen” claimed that



I am very thankful to the government specially to President Digong for his heartfelt support to us, I hope there will still be more former rebels like us who could still enjoy for his assistance. To my fellow comrade who are still in the mountains try to reconsider the government offers. Lets be united under the fold of law.

Further for “Ka Kenneth”



My message to the President is that I hope that he will not be tired of helping us rebels. To my comrade let’s surrender all now. Our President loves. Lets experience the assistance and incentives given to us by the president.

Furthermore, for “Ka Kelly” he said that

I am very thankful to our President, he really take care of us. He gave us our needs and support us as well. We thought that we will be killed after surrendering. For my comrade in the mountains, there is hope for a vague ideology, we do not have future there and only Maria Sison and the other big people will be benefited to our struggles, remember that. So be part of us. We will only always pray that the programs of our government even if President Duterte will no longer be the President will continue.

To have a balanced presentation of literatures in order to appreciate both side of the coin as stressed in the previous paragraph the proponent opted to present another literature whose version sided with the rebel sources. (Note: These were extracted from different websites cited in the references) While in the wilderness of Sierra Madre in Southern Luzon in the midst of the night, the NPA spokesman Jaime Padilla (AKA Ka Diego), with his young female comrade Ka Katryn, meet the journalist group. Comrade Katryn is her pseudo name for her home is a rebel camp hidden in the rain-soaked wilderness of Sierra Madre the longest mountain range in Luzon in the country.

“Ka Kathryn” in her young age broke away from her family just to join the one of the longest movements of Marxist rebellion. Most of them were at the age of 20’s and 30’s who were seen to be already lugging an M16 armalite rifle with a grenade launcher at the peak of the mountains of Seira Madre where their flags were adorned with a makeshift hall just 3 kilometers away from an army base. They claimed that they were driven the same as their predecessor including despondency towards government misrule, unending poverty, and the profound inequality that ruin the lives of people in Philippine society.

“ Ka Katryn,” is derived from a middle class family; she can afford to live a normal life however, she was so disgusted with the kind of government that we had who could not protect the working class because of this her father lost his job after joining trade union. She said she went underground as an activist and bid goodbye to her father, her mother, who was a former teacher, and a life of modest comforts. It was difficult she cried and said. However, now she was already able to adjust living life as a rebel.

“ Ka May” as her nom de guerre was another member of their group claimed that “the NPA has no other recruiter but the state itself, as she told the Journalist. She joined the movements after her boyfriend died of kidney failure because of being poor and they could not afford expensive medication for his kidney problem. She was an ordinary factory worker and she could not do anything to help her boyfriend. When they went to hospitals, it was full of indigent patients that constrained her boyfriend to get immediate care, hence the family of her boyfriend gave up and reserved the remaining money for his coffin. “This is why the government was the only one who

recruited for people who will go against the government, since they are and are not far reached by basic services and are commonly being deprived of the basic privileges and rights which the government owes to the people” said May,

The life of “Ka Roger” Rosal was one of the typical stories that was experienced by many of the insurgents who were in the unending struggle. The one considered as the “Voice of the Philippine Revolutions” and as a “Legacy of the People’s Struggle for a just and Lasting Peace. He came from a simple family and doing odd jobs at his parents’ landlord. He even became collector of “jueting” at his very young age and the same experienced injustice and discrimination. At age 24, he became activist and became member of the CPP even before the declaration of martial law by Marcos. (Thousands of pay tribute to ka Roger Rosal: a revolutionary, 2016)

Being a member of the CPP was never easy for “Ka Roger”. He was imprisoned subsequently without a cause for 5 months and thereafter released without any reasons. This kind of experience for “Ka Roger” manifest a more vague political system that does not need replacement for all who run the government but a true revolution that will enlighten the ways of a true and genuine political change. “Ka Roger” even in his very young age lately finds himself in the countryside with hundreds of activists wearing their back-packs with an armalite rifle and thereafter form a “revolutionary base” and guerrilla zones. According to him, his strength to cope with his challenges in life as insurgent lies on the unquestionable and wavering support of his comrades and masses. And that their existence as revolutionaries is a legacy brought by their fate to lead the movement and intensified with their faith above and sooner or later come-up with the true and lasting revolutionary government.

Leoncio “Ka Parago”, a commander of the New Peoples’ Army in the Southern Mindanao Regional Committee of the Communist party of the Philippines. Lencio Pitao his real name was a native of barangay Balite, Loreta, Agusan del Sur. He came from a poor family whose father was a tuba gatherer and tilled a small piece of land. The kind of life he lived and poverty he experienced pushed him to raise questions that lead him to be part of the revolution (LEONCIO KA PARAGO PITAO: Radiant Red star of the revolution, 2015)

During the time of martial law, where the socio-economic conditions were very harsh, “Ka Parago” decided to join the revolution at the age of 22 back in 1979. With his stint as one of the members of leftist group, he was able to organize and persuade the lumads to defend and protect their tilted land from illegal settlers that envision to invade their ancestral land. His struggle was centered to the interest and welfare of the poor lumads. He always quoted that “it’s for them, the farmers, workers and lumads, that we are here. We should never rest until we see that their problems are solved.” Because of what he did, he was being labeled as one of the best and exceptional neophytes of the new democratic revolutions. His comrade has said that he is more than an intellectual general who could lead a company and even battalion of fighters because of his hands-on run over in the warfare strategy.

With that later, Ka Parago became the Commander of the New People’s Army. He was able to train many neophyte fighters in the art of war. From 1980’s to 1990’s they were able to successfully have numbers of operations which include the captivity of Gen. Obillio and Capt. Montealto into their hands.

In spite of these achievements, he remained humble. His efforts influenced more NPA commanders of having effective strategy and comprehend more the party’s call of having agrarian revolution and armed struggles. He is considered a dedicated and outstanding people’s army Commander and deeply founded on Marxism Leninism Maoism ideology. With that he has deeply grasp the mass line and fight for the masses for freedom and genuine democracy.

The bravery of “Ka Parago” was even more tested when his daughter Rebelyn was raped and killed by military intelligence. He remained strong and faced countless enemies and operations. But unfortunately, his illnesses brought him to captivity and killed with his medic Ka Kyle while treating him. His death brought thousands of young revolutionaries to follow his footsteps.

The stories as well as the concepts and theories espoused of the herein above revolutionaries has explicitly pointed out the reasons why political rebels immersed as it was manifested through their journey/experiences in worldwide and local perspectives. According to Bonger (2015) crime is the consequence of economic and social conditions. Clear, Rose and

Ryder (2001) emphasized that political rebel incarceration has particular impacts on social, political, economic and psychological life experiences. Economically, people living below poverty line has an effect on their economic stability and well-being and it is one of the grievances of political rebels in worldwide phenomenon as stated by Collier (2000) and Cortes and Comendador (2013) state that the insurgent movement are usually peasants in many countries and they have their own lifestyle and features.

Montiel, (1995) argued that these poor peasants are vulnerable and constraints to achieving faster poverty alleviations reduction, inequality of income and opportunities; and the possibility to pose grievances against the government is very possible. According to Kapstein (1999), is a fact that the high level of unemployment can fuel political instability and even regime change. When applied to the case of insurgencies, it suggests that policy makers need to invest in development programs that make intensive use of unemployed workers, particularly unemployed youth. Iyenger, Monten and Hanson (2011) posited that increased spending on labor-intensive development programs is associated with the decrease in violence. Moreover, in countering insurgency generally sparked by poverty and involving peasants, political scientists Savun and Hays (in Romaniuk, 2012) argued in the context of foreign assistance that foreign aid can promote economic growth and development, which reduces the level of grievances and weakens membership in insurgent groups.

The government plan must have these important elements in all important areas like social, political, administrative, police and economic to lure and isolate for them to be apprehended or surrender (Egnell, 2010). According to Manrique (2018), the government already accepts the fact that the main fuel to insurgency were on the aspects of economic, political and social issues however still need to address all aspects and all suited actions just to resolve the problems of insurgency other than military options. The political offenders incarcerated in Misamis Oriental Provincial Jail struggle much on socio-economic status which lead them to be part of the revolutionary movements and most of them engaged in farming (Bucio & Edrolin, 2014). However, the study of Collier (2000) negated the abovementioned studies and concepts, he argued that

when objectively measured the main grievances like political, inequality, repression, ethnic and religious factions have a little explanatory reason in the emergence of rebellions.

They stated that the communist revolution's agenda is to take hold of the hinterland areas and control the barangays where the armed groups recruit peasants and used economic and educational issues and disparities of people just to gain the sympathy and teach the people and the insurgents to commonly merge in the local community and provide answers on the grievances from the people. Rebellions tend to begin in the periphery or far from the headquarters of the central government of a state respectively (Jones, 1989; Sarbahi, 2014; Nakao, 2015) However, in Nepal they have failed to discover a way for individuals to stop providing guerrilla sanctuaries (Marks, 2003). While Gavrilis (2009) in his concept emphasized that government needs to forge bond with populations, and winning its trust and confidence is a way of increasing possibility of government success of eradicating insurgency. Oppenheim (2012) said that "a guerrilla war is an intimate affair, not only fought with weapons, but fought in the minds of the men who live in the villages and hills, fought by the spirit and politics of those who run the local government". Guevara (2002) state that to combat such a guerrilla army- counterinsurgency- often include programs to "win the hearts and minds" of rural communities to prevent sheltering militants.

Structural and dynamic explanation were used in the study of insurgency. In addressing the presence of insurgents structural theories were used and for the frequency of insurgent's actions, dynamic theory was used (Daly, 2012), and Bennett (2008) state that the success of the government to deal with the insurgents depends on how effective and accurate they are with the group specially in military operations. The tendency of nations is that the state will carry out preemptive repression at home when rebellion occurs in neighboring countries (Danneman & Ritter, 2014).

In South Africa, releasing imprisoned political rebels in regards to its former policy of segregation of the non-white population has been a significant problem for the series of negotiations (Keightley, 1993). Land reform on the other hand has been attempted in various

municipalities in Colombia (Albertus & Kaplan, 2012), the results of the study revealed that such reform was an efficient counterinsurgency policy.

As claimed by Agoncillo (1990), the Philippines has not been spared by insurgency. While Banlaoi (2013), Felter (2006) and Cruz (2010) stated that the Maoist-inspired Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army-National Democratic Front (CPP-NPA-NDF or CNN) is still the number one and prominent insurgent group in the Philippines and almost already 50 years of its vision of overthrowing the government respectively. According to de Castro (2011), during the emergence of insurgency in the Philippines Marcos declared martial law and did not hold military forces as approach to defeat rebellions.

Despite of having an inadequate ideological ground but because of the greediness of the rich and influential and as well as the lack of genuine government reforms rebellion could still be manifested (Keesler, 1989). Tierman (2002), cited the very strong statement for Amado Guerero (Jose Maria Sison) "Integrating Marxist-Leninist theory with Philippine practice is a two-way process. We do not merely take advantage of the victories achieved abroad so that we may succeed in our own revolution. But we also hope to add our own victory to those of others and make some worthwhile contribution to the advancement of Marxism-Leninism and the world proletarian revolution so that in the end mankind will be freed from the scourge of imperialism and enter the era of communism." Moreover, Sison (2013) said that the way of organizing a society in which a dictator-ruled government regulates people's life is not permitted to disagree with government or "state fascism" has been long experienced by Filipinos.

The life stories "Ka Manoy", "Ka Rosa", "Ka Eddie", "Ka Cynthia", "Ka Omeng", "Ka Tonyo and "Alfred" manifest their experiences and how the government addressed their grievances in times when they surrendered. All of their experiences show why they became members of the movement which were due to economic struggles and grievances against the government. It could be noticed that they mostly had negative impressions to the movements. Moreover, "Ka Kenneth", "Ka Carmen", "Ka Kelly" and "Ka Wendy" showed their gratefulness to our present government for

the untiring support extended to them; the experiences they had completely negate from the negative expectation indoctrinated to them by the movement.

On other hand, the life story “Ka Kathryn”, “Ka May”, “Ka Roger” Rosal and “Ka Parago”, were anchored on which the same reasons which were due to economic struggles, grievances and abuses by the government. But it could be noticed that their impression was not the same, they sided with their movements and strongly against the government system.



Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

Presented in this chapter are the nature of the study, the research design used with regard to presentation, analysis and interpretation, role of the researcher, research participants, the data

collection process, data analysis, trustworthiness which includes the following: credibility, confirmability, transferability and dependability of the study and all individuals involved and the ethical considerations in the process.

Research Design

This research employed qualitative research design to estimate, compare and assimilate answers towards a general idea and principle. Qualitative research is concerned with practice and process rather than outcomes. It is a method that investigates the why and how of decision making and not just what, where and when. It employs open ended emerging data utilized to formulate themes (Campbell, 2001). Further, qualitative research is an in-depth effort of understanding the complexities of human behaviors and meaning of individual groups in relation to social or human problem (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Specifically, among the five strategies that had been identified as means to obtain reliable data in qualitative research, two of which were fully utilized namely the phenomenological and the narrative strategy design. Phenomenological since the main target of the output of the study were the actual experiences of the political rebel/rebel returnees and since the researcher has to retell in a narrative way the life events of the respondents as the outputs of the study, a narrative method was also utilized (Campbell, 2001).

I used this approach because I believed that it is a very useful strategy to acquire a better and clearer understanding of political offenders/rebel returnees' individual experiences, their actions feelings and thoughts in order to gain insights out of their experiences. In this particular approach, categorization was applied in order to minimize assumption that might have harmful effects of hypothesis to affect the whole research process, hence, it improves the output's accuracy of the study. The researcher must control, have open mind and must be aware that the need to do away with his/her existing learnings, perceptions, and prior knowledge should not be used in order to fully gather the real words that come out from the participants (Taylor, 2001; Tufford & Newman, 2010). Moreover, Merriam (2009) stated that qualitative research is much

interested on what has transpired, how the participants construe their experiences and how they see for themselves their experiences.

In a phenomenological type of qualitative research, it is ordinarily reducing the interest or knowledge on how the participants have perceived conventionally with the presence of all biases and judgement within the sphere of actual happening (Dowling, 2007). Hence, the real happenings were permitted to dig-up. Moreover, what term or words that the participants have been using were used throughout the whole process of its description and data analysis. Again, categorization was applied in order to minimize assumption that might have harmful effects of hypothesis to affect the whole research process. This undertaking thoroughly examined the existing phenomena to participants subjectively focusing on their real experiences and inclined to surface and find out the necessities to understand how the people view themselves and the things that surround them as well as the process itself, the researcher in the conduct of such kind of study, need to set aside previous learnings and actual experiences in order to fully gather the real experiences of the participants (Cresswell and Cresswell, 2017).

In my research, I need to hear the voices of political offenders/rebel returnees and be able to help them disclose their experiences/journey while they were active members in their struggle as NPA's and as previous recipients of the government E-CLIP program; it gave more consideration on the participants common experiences of the real happenings. My main purpose of this study was to look for the commonalities out of the experiences of the political offenders/rebel returnees who are already in the fold of the law and convert these experiences to describe the universal context on what has been experienced by many. In order to comprehend multiple experiences as expected, multiple "realities" as experienced by the participants themselves, the inside perspectives should be considered (Davis, Nicolas, Waters, Cook, Gibbs, Gosch, & Ravens-Sieberer, 2007).

The actual experiences of the participants are the focus of the researcher. One on one interview shall be done which could not be overshadowed by a mere use of a statistical software. Interviews, documents and observations should be included in gathering qualitative data

(Cresswell & Cresswell, 2017, Giorgi, 2009; Suter, 2012). I used an in-depth interview and note taking in gathering data of my study and took note of all exposé and revelations of the participants taking into considerations their in-depth experiences. According to Giorgi (2009), what the researcher is looking in phenomenological research is a complete description as much as possible in which the participants have immersed and live.

In my research, with my proposed 12 participants I classified themes of phenomena using an in-depth interview. For an in-depth interview it is recommended that the researcher should have at least 5 to 25 participants (Creswell, 2006; Giorgi, 2009, Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). However, the researcher should have at least 10-15 participants which already adequate provided that the participants could provide rich experiences (Speziale & Carpenter, 2007).

Role of the Researcher

In my study, I basically acted as an interviewer and facilitator of the process. This I did after having secured all the necessary communications, letters and approval from all concerned authorities. Since the possibility of having the participants grouped and gathered together was remote, I only conducted an individual in-depth interview. Individual in-depth interview is a method that involves direct, one-on-one engagement with individual participants. It is kind of interviews that can take place face-to-face, or in some cases over the phone.

Through the method that I employed, I was able to establish rapport with my participants to make them feel more comfortable and at-ease, thereby generating more insightful responses – especially regarding sensitive topics. It gave me more opportunities to ask follow-up questions, probe for additional information, and circle back to key questions later on in the interview to generate a rich understanding of attitudes, perceptions, motivations, which allowed me to monitor changes in tone and word choice to get a deeper understanding (and if the in-depth interview is face-to-face, researchers can also focus on body language). Moreover, I could have a higher quality of sampling compared to some other data collection methods, need fewer participants to

glean useful and relevant insights, and lessen or eliminate potential distractions or peer pressure dynamics that can sometimes emerge in focus groups.

Research Participants

The participants of the study were the political offenders (members of the NPA) who voluntarily surrendered to the government and graduated/ previously participated the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Program (E-CLIP). I used voluntary surrendered which means that these political offenders or rebels were not forced or being apprehended in the course of military operations or as a result of being pressed into a firefighting situation and subsequently surrendered. Their voluntariness manifests their true and genuine interest of bringing themselves into the fold of the law and to become law abiders. The E-CLIP program of the government on the other hand, has explicitly required that only those who volunteered to surrender as documented and verified by the Armed Forces of the Philippines shall only be granted and those who are apprehended and subsequently jailed for their cause shall not be given the same and shall be prosecuted accordingly except if amnesty is extended to them by the President. For those who withdraw while on the process of personal interview because of some irresistible reasons like fear of being known to participate in the said study or has some personal reasons of doing the same shall always be granted with all ethicality and their stated answers even if not finished as well as their identity shall be kept confidential.

To have a good quality research, I chose an ample size of participants which is 12. According to Hancock, Ockleford, and Windridge (2009) in focus group discussions it is more likely to work well and it is considerable number and adequate enough to raise with credibility the gathered and significant result with at least 8 participants. Hence, purposive sampling was used in identifying the participants who will come from the 12 municipalities in Northern Mindanao. One respondent for each municipality was involved in the study, hence a total of 12 respondents. Moreover, Creswell, Shope, Plano, & Green (2006) recommend that at least 5-25 participants involved so long as they had experienced on the said phenomena. Furthermore, Frued, Piaget and Skinner the authorities who are the key figures of psychology has developed their principles

and theories with a very minimal number of participants and not relied on the statistical analysis (Giorgi, 2009; Kvale & Brinkman, 2009).

I used a semi-structured questionnaire as an interview guide centered on the participants' experiences. The approval of the provincial governor and municipal mayor, I persuaded the full cooperation of the Local Social Welfare Officer (LSWO) and as well as the barangay officials in locating the grantees of E-CLIP program is essential prior to the administration of the instrument. The participants shall be provided with all ethical considerations, like but not limited to: the giving of freedom of their decision whether or not to participate as participants of the research, giving of an environment that could not vitiate their freedom to express grievances or appreciate the program being undertaken. To take note that the participants were previously hostile to government, hence, the possibility of having reminisced the negative experiences against the government could be emerge is high. In that particular occurrence, I have to always make it clear that prior to the start of the interview the participants understand fully the purpose of the study and whatever negative feelings they had is good to express, however, violent reactions should be evaded. I always need to be in full control of the interview.

Before the actual engagement with the participants, a preliminary meeting with them individually was considered. This is also a way of gaining their trust in me as researcher specially that these people were previously hostile to the government and expected to possess adhered principles. Moreover, it gave me an opportunity to explain to them the objective of my study and how important their sincere and honest answers are to the study. Further, this was also a good chance to introduce my prepared questions for them to be more prepared for the actual interview. With this, the participants have a chance to ponder on their experiences prior to the actual interview. This is a need when qualitative research is to be conducted to establish a closer relationship and positive rapport with the participants in the gathering of in-depth information out of the issue being investigated where the participants had a personal experience (Bloom & Crabtree, 2006)

Data Collection

In the conduct of data collection, I passed through the following processes namely: in-depth interview and note taking wherein I have to use tape recorder to have an accurate recording on the answers of the participants. I made sure that all ethical considerations were observed applying key principles of ethical issues (Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Bricki & Green, 2007; Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey (2005) in any research which were consent and confidentiality.

Since my study was qualitative, it would be a time-consuming effort especially that my participants still needed to be located by the help of our Local Social Welfare and Development (LSWD) and Barangay Officials of the different Local Government Units/barangays of Misamis Oriental. From November 5 to 23, 2018 for the School Year 2018-2019, I forwarded my letter to the Provincial Governor of Misamis Oriental and right after the approval of the said letter, I made another letter to the different municipality mayors attaching the approved letters. On November 19 to December 21, 2018, I started having my follow-ups to the different municipality mayors. Right after their approval, on January 7, 2019 until February 1, 2019, I conducted rigid interviews with my participants.

The Local Social Welfare and Development (LSWD) of the different municipalities of Misamis Oriental are tasked under the provision of E-CLIP program of the government to implement the said program, hence, I closely coordinated with them. I asked them the different addresses with their corresponding names if possible, however, that information if given were treated with outmost confidentiality and I used pseudonym. In another way, if the said Local Social Welfare and Development Officer/s with the barangay officials will not divulge to me the identity of the returnee/s, I will always respect to maintain ethical considerations in research. Since there are more than 12 municipalities of Misamis Oriental, to have my participants distributed, I asked the LSDO concerned to have at least 1 or 2 returnee/s who come-up with 12 participants as required.

It is a very important component of interview to establish positive rapport to the interviewee (Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Hence, I arranged meeting with my prospect participants and in details explain my study to assure them that all information gathered will always be treated confidential

and always with their consent. After gaining the trust and confidence of my participants, I asked them to sign a consent form. Most importantly, rapport involves trust and respect for the interviewees and the information that might be divulged, it is necessary to provide a safe and comfortable environment that the participants could share their experiences. To acquire these needs, I have to make sure that the venue of our interview be in a conducive room that could ensure privacy and out of distraction like an office or in their homes if they permit me.

An in-depth interview is a way of eliciting a clearer picture of the participants experiences on given topics (Mack, et la., 2005). It is more than an approach to know the participants experiences but it is going to be a deeper in their thinking and I listened to their utterances to explore new issues. Through an interview approach the researcher will listen to the participants' utterances and then repeatedly review and study the data as they transcribe (Penner & McClement, 2008). This style needs to have ample time and space so that I will be able to gather more insights and hear more experiences from the participants. The first thing that I will do is to make my participants feel relaxed and comfortable emphasizing them that I am interested to hear their experiences. It is necessary to closely internalize what the participants could share particularly on their experiences and journey. An in-depth interview must be undertaken in a most rigorous ways to ensure the accuracy, validity and reliability of the study (Bashir, Afzal, & Azeem, 2008) which are important concepts of a qualitative study. To have this, I evade of having anticipated conclusions from the interview however, it must always be based on the factual data as uttered by the participants during the interview; to remove bias or misconception of the result I classified themes of the phenomena with the 12 participants for an in-depth interview. In phenomenological type of qualitative research, it is recommended in conducting an in-depth interview to have at least 5-25 participants who have actual experiences on the same issues. If one desires to acquire the goal of representation and generalization as criterion, from a smaller number of research participants.

Part of the means to obtain the data, audio recording was used during interviews this will improve the accuracy of the content of utterances of the participants in an in-depth interview as

well as the speaker's intonations of the participants in a conducive, quiet place or in their homes as they are prepared or any neutral locations. This audio recordings were transcribed in toto and checked by the participants for their confirmations. Confidentiality as one of the ethical standards was observed in all interview sessions (Bricki & Green, 2007) always calling them with their pseudonym in order to hide the participants' real identity. Moreover, in my interview guide I prepared open-ended research questions that were indicated in my interview guide and also informed the participants that there might have be additional questions to be asked just to validate helpful insights of the study.

Data Analysis

Analyzing of data in a research study involves summarizing the mass of data collected and presenting the result in a way that communicates the most important features (Hancock, et al., 2009). Data were analyzed by using a method which included data reduction, conclusion drawing and verification (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2007), adding that qualitative content analyzes "any qualitative data reduction and sense making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings".

Deleting and removing data which are irrelevant and making it into a comprehensive material that could easily be understood by many is a way of having data reduction (Namey, Guest, Thairu, & Johnson, 2007; Paul, 2006). Thematic analysis was used in order to pair and sieve of data, this is a form harmonizing and categorizing. In my research, I employed the participation of an expert, an experienced statistician or a data analyst to help me in the analysis of the data gathered. This professional expert assisted me to manage and handle the voluminous data particularly sorting and organizing, retrieving and locating words and phrases. These data are expected to be consolidated and manageable after being categorized and sorted.

In qualitative analysis the last approach to take is the verification and drawing of conclusions. In involves basically a consideration to look back to the meaning of the data being analyzed and to assess the consequence for the actual questions while verification, integrally give

to making of conclusion, the need to go and check the data several times as needed in order to re-check and verify the conclusion being made (Paul, 2006). With this, there should be no final or conclusive judgements, however, the data will be permitted to articulate for themselves by the emergence of theoretical classification and descriptive themes. These will normally be incorporated in a framework of related ideas that count most.

Trustworthiness

Credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability are determinants of trustworthiness of a qualitative research. Cresswell as cited by Sump (2016) stated that these components could have greatly contributed in the general steps of exploring a certain phenomenon being studied. In my study, these determinants are useful considering that the respondents are rare and need to have their identity be protected at all times.

To establish credibility of my study, I gathered quality and reliable information extracted from the statements and answers of the participants. An in-depth interview was conducted among individual participants observing all legal and ethical parameters. In conducting the same I evaded making anticipated and opinionated conclusions but rather all were based on actual data extracted from the participants. I ensured that there were no important data related to the issue that were ignored and deleted and no irrelevant data be incorporated. Further, I brought an assistant to take down important notes being uttered and disclosed by the participants during the interviews.

The dependability of the study depends on the degree of accuracy and consistency of the study. The tone and fluctuation of voice and consistency of delivering interview questions to all respondents were observed at all times. Sump (2016) emphasized that the keeping of records of interview during data gathering is essential to create the atmosphere of dependability of the study. Hence, in my study aside of having an assistant to help me in recording the utterances of the participants I used recording devices to accurately record in toto the words which the participants uttered.

Transferability entails to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be generalized or transferred to other contexts or settings. According to Ramsay (2010) it refers to how good are the findings to relate and apply in other settings and it will depend upon the similarities between two compared settings. More descriptors make readers' decision regarding transferability. The detailed descriptors will make readers to transfer information to other setting and will be able to determine whether the findings can be transferred (De Wet, 2010). In my study I put it into detail the main context and assumptions and present vividly the data with more descriptors so that any future researcher who wishes to undertake the same in other setting around could be able to transfer it.

To ensure confirmability of my study, I kept myself out of my personal opinion, judgements and assumptions; this is to protect destruction of the data. Moreover, note taking and audio tape device were used for the whole duration of the interview. I saw to it that along with the conduct of my study, there was minimum interference in order to picture out the true journey and experiences of my participants. Furthermore, I used bracketing approach to evade personal bias. As emphasized by Sump (2016) and Rains-Russiel, (2009), the step by step process in conducting research will be documented and stored for span of time in order to establish the confirmability of the study, with this, the research procedures and data can be validated.

Ethical Consideration

My study involved participants who were previously or even presently hostile to our government, hence they were expected to be hesitant and reluctant to disclose their experiences and journey while they were as active members and even in times that they are already graduated under the E-CLIP program, out of fear and anxieties that could somehow withhold honest and true disclosures. However, as required and part of ethical consideration in the conduct of research, I employed various measures to safeguard and win the confidence and trust of the participants for them to have full disclosures of their experiences and journey. Mack et.al., (2005) named that

ethical principles which are respect for persons, beneficence, justice, consent and confidentiality which I adhered to in the conduct of my study.

The respect for individual needs to have genuine commitment to make sure the autonomy of the research participants and where such autonomy may be decreased in order to protect them from riding on and exploitation of their weaknesses. Before conducting my actual in-depth interview, I first forwarded a letter to the Governor of Misamis Oriental respectfully asking for access to the names and addresses of the grantees/returnees who already graduated and under the monitoring of the local government through its E-CLIP, after the approval of the Governor, I further asked permission from the municipal mayors bringing the approved letter of the Governor and further asked them for their assistance down to the barangay level. I passed through the process to manifest respect to all those who were involved in my study.

The way in order to secure that the people to be involved in the study is for them to understand the purpose of their participations thereby be able to decide consciously whether or not to participate, informing them and asking their voluntary consent which must be obtained. Asking their consent and informing them is one of the most needed manifestations that the researcher has showed respect toward the prospect participants before and during the conduct of research (Mack, et al., 2005). In my study, I explained to them in the language they understand seriously and clearly my purpose of why I intend to have them as my participants as well as the main purpose and objective before the actual in-depth interview.

I assured them that no deceit nor any fraudulent purpose and that the whole intention was look for the journey/experiences/ and why up to this time the existence of their comrades could be manifested and that the result will only be used for their advantage and welfare of the whole community. Telling them, that before the start of the in-depth interview, my requests to undertake the said study passed through the approval of all authorities concerned and the result of which were subjected to data analysis, free of being plagiarized, fabricated and falsifications. My legitimacy as student of the professional school of the University of Mindanao which highly

adhered to the ethical standards of conducting research was established by way of showing them my identification card.

I told them that all answers were audio-taped and put into writing by my assistant. Furthermore, after their approval, I asked them to sign a written consent manifesting their voluntariness, giving them the assurance that whatever are the results of the study, they will be informed because I believe that they have the right to know as participants.

Beneficence needs to have full commitment by the researcher in order to mitigate the risk related to research to include psychological and social and giving more benefits which the participants deserved (Mack, at al., 2005). To mitigate the risk, confidentiality specially on the identity of the participants specially on the data they shared should always be maintained (Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). In my study, I ensured that all participants' identity were kept confidential and will not be divulged to anybody. Using always their pseudonym was my first consideration and always keeping my notes protected as well as my computer file from any unauthorized individual so that access of the same will also be assured.

As a researcher my paramount consideration is the safety of my participants and always to avoid the stigmatizing and further trauma that will probably again be experienced as they undergo the interview (Brick & Green, 2007). With this, I was always extra careful and cautious enough that they will not be hurt and will be there to give comfort since they might again experience and reminisce their past as they go through the process of questioning. Moreover, the participants were also reminded that they have the right to refuse to answer the questions which they do not feel comfortable showing them the respect to right to privacy at all times. In my study, an in-depth interview was only required considering the remoteness of my target participants, hence, the tendency of knowing other statements from one participant to others breaking the rule of statements' confidentiality is quite far, however, I still assured them that their statements uttered will always be kept confidential and they also need to keep it confidential within themselves.

Justice needs to have full commitment by the researcher in order to have equal distribution of the risks and benefits as a result of the conduct of research. Bloom and Crabtree (2006) stated

that the importance to have a plan in conducting research is necessary and part of this is the acknowledging of participants' contributions to the success of the study and be able to give them back what is due and they deserve because of their efforts. In my study, I saw to it that all participants spent nothing and their comfortability was my paramount concern. After the interview, I gave them token as a manifestation of my appreciation of their efforts and contributions for without them, the voices of the majority (returnees) as to their experiences and journey will not be given due considerations and be heard and somehow free them from the shadows of their past. More than the benefits and improvements of the researcher, the participants enriched their freedom through research (Bloom & Crabtree, 2006)

Additionally, in my study I did not present any idea or somebody's work without asking permission or consent of the author or without completely acknowledging the authors to any published or unpublished research outputs or manuscript, printed or in electronic form and subsequently be cited in as part of references. This is a way of evading from having plagiarized study and as well as in the authorship issues. Moreover, I did not change or omit result of the different researches cited as part of my references just to back-up my claims and validate my assumptions and lastly, I did not construct any data that are out of nowhere which are not based on the actual research results or results of my study.

Other than the abovementioned ethical consideration, as devoted researcher, I never missed to cite and quote all authors where studies and literatures were used as part of my research foundations. By having these in the whole process, they guaranteed the degree that my research output was of quality and free of being plagiarism. Moreover, as part of research ethics it would be due and demandable to have due recognitions of all authors who painstakingly undertake previous studies whose results and principles were used as the bedrock of my study.

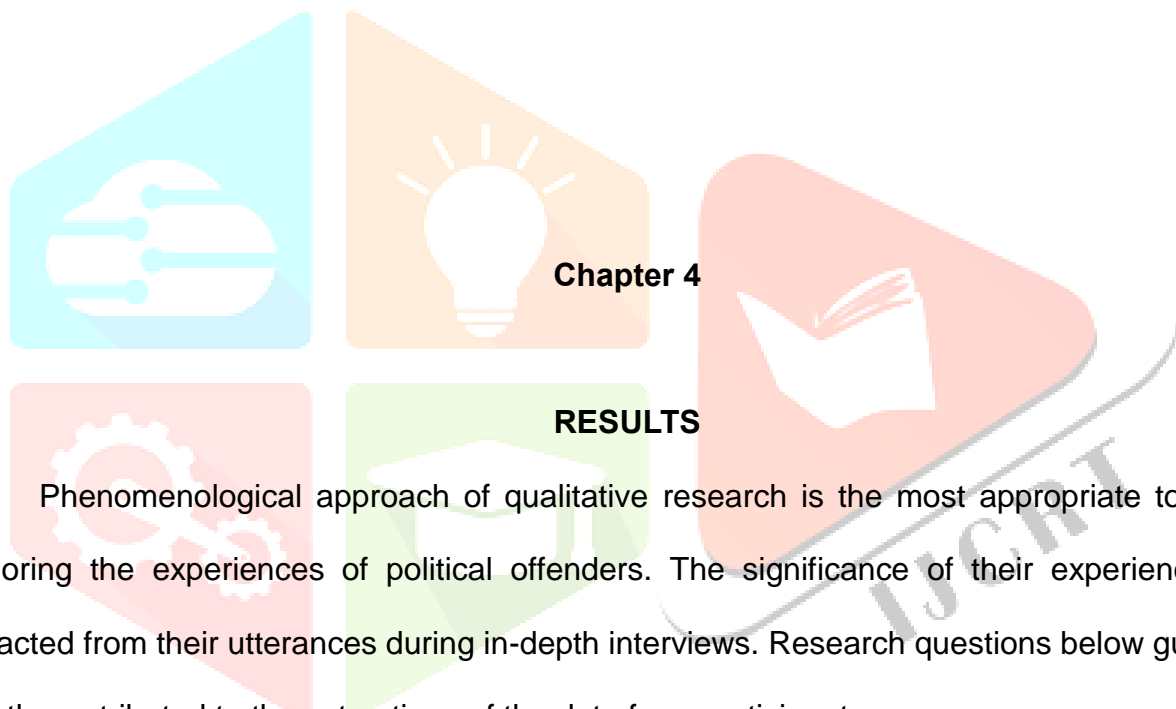
I was always truthful and trustworthy of all information gathered by way of divulging only the extracted testimonies and statements of the participants. I did not make stories that will create inconsistencies and will affect and compromise the veracity of analysis of data. Moreover, to guarantee that my study was not from falsification of information and fabrication of gathered data

only those genuine statements and testimonies were subjected for analysis as herein transcribed.

The conduct of my in- depth interview was only confined to the participants' journey and experiences while they were active as members of the rebel group and their experience as beneficiaries of the E-CLIP program of the government after having voluntarily surrendered and graduated in the programs.

I assured all participants that any financial, academic gains and recognition even if this would be a requirement of finishing my degree did not have any effects on the results and validity of the study. I categorically told them, that I have no intentions of influencing and corrupting my participants' experiences and the study is for the welfare of the whole returnee's community and using the result for my advantage is not my purpose of existence on this endeavor.

Further, I gave due recognitions to all of my mentors specially my research adviser and instructor of this endeavor whose ideas greatly shape-up the bedrock and foundation and whom I indebted most of my study. To them, they deserved such for without them the conceptualization of my endeavor is impossible. Their names need to be cited as part of the front pages of my study. Special mention to **Dr. Gloria P. Gempes**, whose valuable ideas of changing my research title from "dilemma" to "journey" of political offenders and to **Dr. Mary Ann E. Tarusan** whose insights and advices brought me nearer to the possibility of the success of my study. And to other **future research enthusiasts** who could in the future offer valuable insights and advices they too should be given due recognitions.



Phenomenological approach of qualitative research is the most appropriate to apply in exploring the experiences of political offenders. The significance of their experiences were extracted from their utterances during in-depth interviews. Research questions below guided and greatly contributed to the extractions of the data from participants.

Participants

There were 12 political offenders who participated in the study who are presently residing in the different Municipalities of the Province of Misamis Oriental. To simplify the qualifications of the participants for my in-depth interview, I have the following criteria: first those who underwent, experienced and graduated the E-CLIP program of the government, second those who manifested intention to voluntarily participated the said study.

Table 1
Participants' Profile

Coded name	Age	Marital Status	#of years in the Movements	Study Group
PRR-1	50	Married	20	in-depth Interview
PRR-2	41	Married	10	in-depth Interview
PRR-3	36	Married	21	In-depth Interview
PRR-4	26	Married	15	in-depth Interview
PRR-5	39	Widow	8	in-depth Interview
PRR-6	38	Married	12	in-depth Interview
PRR-7	47	Single	9	in-depth Interview
PRR-8	35	Married	10	in-depth Interview
PRR-9	54	Widow	11	in-depth Interview
PRR-10	39	Separated	10	in-depth Interview
PRR-11	32	Married	13	in-depth Interview
PRR-12	37	Single	11	in-depth Interview

Experiences of Political Rebel Returnees

In order to come-up with an understandable answer in the research questions, the study's participants were asked two questions. First was on their experiences as political rebel before returning into the fold of the law and their experiences after returning into the fold of the law.

Based on the results there six major themes come-out, two of which were experiences encountered before returning into the fold of law and four after returning into the fold of law.

Table 2

Major Themes and Core Ideas on Experiences of Political Rebel Returnees

Major Themes	Core Ideas
Before returning to the fold of the law	
Hard and Tough Times at the Hinterlands	Difficult life in the mountains; constantly moving; constantly in hiding Unable to have decent and proper meals; perpetually hiking, moving Had to pocket some copra during operations for something to eat When there are military operations, meals are just "memorized". Rebels had to solicit food, money from the masses to be able to eat. Constantly in fear when there are military or police personnel in sight Always filled with dread no matter how strong the conviction In constant anxiety over a possible surprise encounter with military Fear is unnerving, some hide it with marijuana though it is prohibited . Observed that only the rebel leaders benefited; fighting leads nowhere Saw that civilians are affected; unwittingly involved in the crossfire Tired of the struggle; no end in sight
	Frustrated with the way movement is run; one gets killed on mere suspicion Mass grave story is true; leader had killed many of our comrades. If not remitting collected taxes properly, one gets the heat, could be killed Opponents are a-plenty, well-fed, in proper gear, while rebels are not. Told that there will be salary from movement; but there was none Friends from the movement only; old friends avoided; stayed away
After returning to mainstream society	
New Lease in Life	Life is a far cry from before, able to have ample sleep, decent meal Able to sleep soundly, move about with no fear or worry Enjoying peace and freedom without constant worry of encounters Life is a little comfortable; able to buy food and basic needs Life is now less stressful, no more need to hide, no more hunger. Anxiety and fear are gone, enjoying a little peace of mind.

Better, Peaceful and Normal Existence for Family

Have a little livelihood from seed money provided by government
Family now a little pacified though security remain unstable
Children are able to go to school peacefully, normally.
Didn't want children to continue living a life of uncertainty and fear
Didn't want children to grow in the midst of conflict and fear
Desired to give children a better and more secure future
Went back to the fold of the law for the sake of family
Family have peace and security; the reason for the return
Government provided money to start a new life.

Opportunity and Support of the Government

Enticed by government's offer and incentives for surrendering
Government incentives and program like E-CLIP fueled the return.
Avalued of government's offer to returnees
Got interested in the reforms promised by government

Threats and Insecurities

Lingering worry for safety from former comrades or govt forces
Have killed a lot of soldiers; now apprehensive of the reckoning
Not enough income to support family; being unschooled
How to sustain income especially since wife is pregnant
Anxious of what will happen when the E-CLIP program is finished
Former comrades or the military might want to retaliate
Sustainability of livelihood; security when program of govt is completed
Need gainful employment to send kids/grandchildren to school

Hard and Tough Times at the Hinterlands (Before Returning to the Fold of the Law)

These themes were extracted from the participants in the conduct of an in-depth interview.

Most of the participants revealed that their lives were very hard in the movement. They even recalled some of the hardest time they ever experienced while they were still active in the struggle: PRR-2,3,4,6,7 and 12 have revealed the following statements respectively:

*Ang kinabuhi sa bukid dili sayon tungod kay magsege lang ug balhin balhin, magsege ug baktas, musakas sa mga kabalayan ug managayo sa mga pagkaon, motago o manago kung adunay magpatrolya nga mga sundalo. .
(PRR-2, Q-1.1)*

The life in the mountain is not easy, you will keep on transferring one place to another, ask food in the community, will hide if there are soldiers in patrol.

*Kong ako ganahan ko nga naay mga lagotmon nga tinanom. Apan sa akong kasinatian isip usa ka rebelde, grabe gayud nga kalisud akong naagian. Dunay panahon nga mangayo mi ug mga lagotmon sa mga mag-uuma aron naa mi makaon. Sugoan mi sa among dako pag pangayo sa manok ug uban pang angay makaon para makakaon mi ug ang among mga kaubanan.
(PRR-3, Q-1.1)*

If I want to eat root-crops I have planted some. But in my experience as a rebel, it was hard based in my experience. There are times that we will ask rootcrops to the farmers for us to have food. Our leader required us to ask chicken and others in the community for our food.

*Dili dali ang akong kasinatian bahin sa ekonomiya sa bukid. Mag sigeg bagtas ug saka saka sa mga panimalay aron lamang maka pangayo ug bugas ug uban pang kinahanglan.
(PRR-4, Q-1.1)*

In the mountain economic experience is not easy. You have to keep on hiking, and asked rice and other needs in the community.

Ekonomikanhon nga kasinatian, ang rebelde mangayo ug bugas ug kwarta ngadto sa mga masa. Dili na maatiman ang pananom, nawala na ang mga kahayopan, lisod gayud ang pag ugmad tungod sa kalisang nga inig abot sa ting-ani lahi ang magpulos.
(PRR-6,Q-1.1)

The rebels just ask rice and money in the community. Raised crops and animals cannot be cared. Due to fear, the crops produced will be consumed by others.

Ang akong na experience lisud gyud kaayo ko, apil napud akong pamilya. Pag walay harvest sa tubo ang akong pamilya lisud gyud kaayo. Pagsulod nko sa kalihukan ang ila man gud ingon naa koy sweldo human ko nila gi indoctrinize sa ilang prinsipyo, makakaon man galling pero walay tarong kay segi lang mi ug lakaw.
(PRR-9,Q-1.1)

My economic experience was so hard, including my family. When I joined the rebel movement, the movement they told me that I have salary after indoctrinating their principle. We keep on moving and our meals are not stable.

Sa rebelde pako lisod gyud usahay dili ka maka kaon kay pagkadungog namo ug helicopter kulbaan manka, usahay sakto ang kaon, usahay pud memorize labi na ug nay mga sundalo mag operasyon.
(PRR-12,Q-1.1)

When I was in the rebel movement, sometimes it was hard. We could not eat upon hearing the sound of a helicopter. Sometimes, we would have prompt meal, but if there are military having operation then we just memorize or no meal at all.

Kasagaran ang among gahimoon pag naay marijuana mo score para mawala ang kahadlok pero ako nan a gibiya-an kay wala gyud maaayo nga matabang ana.
(PRR-7,Q-1.3)

In most cases, what we did was to use marijuana to be away from fear but for me I stopped doing it for no good thing will be attained.

Disenchantment with the Movement (Before Returning to the Fold of the Law)

Aside of experiencing of being hard and tough in the movements, they also gradually feel that what they believed as their reasons of entering and be part of the struggle was incorrect in real situations. They recalled and reminisced their experiences. PRR 5,8(Q-1.1, 2),9 (Q-1-1,3) and 12 have revealed the following statements respectively:

Para sa ako sir ug maam sa una nga rebelde pako makakaon ko katulo sa isa ka adlaw. Ang akong role man gud sa dihang rebelde pako collector ko sa gitawag nga rebolusyonaryong buwis, kulba gyud hinuon. Ang akong na obserbahan sa una nga ang amo raman nga mga leader ang kasagaran gakabulahan kay kung naa mi makolekta amo man gyud e remit kun dili initan man mi kung mosipyat patyon pa gyud.
(PRR-8, Q-1.1)

Before when I was a rebel member, I used to eat 3 times a day. My role was a collector of revolutionary tax, it was fearsome. In my observation, the leaders were benefitted in our tax collection, because we will have to remit to them the taxes we have collected, if not then we will be killed.

Ang akong kasinatian panahon sa pag pakigbisog dili sayon kay dili ang akong nakita ang mga kabataan ug ang mga katigulangan naapiktuhan ingon man usab ang pagpangayo sa panabang sa mga katawhan nga naka sabot sa among ipinaglaban, ingon man usab kung magka engkwentro ang mga rebelde ug sundalo kay maapil man ang walay labot.
(PRR-5, Q-1.1)

My experience during our struggle is not easy. I have seen children and old ones were affected, also in asking help from the people in the community. And also, if we will experience combat against the soldier and those who are not involved are also affected.

Sa rebelde pako sir ug maam lisud kay naa raman mi permi sa bukid maski makakaon mi katulo sa isa ka adlaw lisud gihapon. Karon nga returnee nako ang kakulba naa gihapon ngano? Pwede man mi ipapatay sa among lider kay in- ana man ang among gabuhaton ubos sa pagmando sa among mga lideris nga kinsa tong mo tiwalag ug mag-budhi sa grupo maski gidudahan ka lang apil ka patyon. Sa una kung nakadomdom ka naay mga mass grave, amo tong mga kauban, kauban ra gihapon namo ang nagpatay.
(PRR-8, Q-2)

When I was a rebel, it was so hard in the mountain, many missed meals were experienced. Our leader said that those who will do things against the movement cause, they will be killed. If you still remember the "mass grave" it's true whom it was only our comrade who were the one who killed our comrades.

Gikapoy nako sa pakigbisog nga walay klaro, puro pagpanghadlok pero ang main agenda panguarta diay gihapon.
(PRR- 9, Q-3)

I am tired of the struggle which is not clear, always experiencing fear, but the main goal of the movement is just to collect money.

Ang akong na experience lisud gyud kaayo ko, apil napud akong pamilya. Pag walay harvest sa tubo ang akong pamilya lisud gyud kaayo. Pagsulod nko sa kalihukan ang ila man gud ingon naa koy sweldo human ko nila gi indoctrinize sa ilang prinsipyo, makakaon man galling pero walay tarong kay segi lang mi ug lakaw.
(PRR-9, Q-1.1)

My economic experience was so hard, including my family. When I joined the rebel movement, the movement told me that I have salary after indoctrinating their principle. We keep on moving and our meals are not stable.

Sa rebelde pa ko ang akong social ug pakighalobilo sa kumunidad gyud, didto lang sa mga tao nga kauban nako nga rebelde ra gihapon. Sa mga militia ug sa among mga supporters ug informers ok raman. Pero sa uban labi na tong taga layo nga dapit nga nakabalo nga rebelde ko magpalayo sila man, mo likay sa ako.
(PRR-12, Q-1.4)

In my involvement with the rebel movement, social experience was in mingling the people in the community. Even though those who knew about my involvement in the rebel movement, they stay away from me.

New Lease on Life (after returning to the mainstream society)

The participants revealed that after they returned to the fold of the law, they saw an opportunity for the continuance of life. It seems that they saw light right after darkness, as one of the famous saying goes “that even in darkness, light dawns for those who believed”. PRR -1, 6, and 9 have revealed the following statements respectively:

Karon isip returnee nako layo ra ang kala-inan. Sa una permi lang mi ug tago sa bukid, kapoy, dili ka makatulog ug mayo. Walay sakto nga kaon, mkakaon lang mi ug sakto if nay supply o maghatag sa amo. Makasuroy nako sa among munisipyo nga gamay ra ang kabalaka. Naa na pod ko gamay nga panginabuhian kay naa man gihatag ang gobeyerno nga kwarta sa akong pag-surrender. Ang akong pamilya karon kampante na gamay. Gamay kay maski ingon nato nga ex-rebel na me, ang among seguridad nagpabilin nga dili stable, kay dili nato ika limod nga ang pikas o bisan ang gobeyerno kong gusto mi ipa-patay permi ug sayon nana nila himo-on. (PRR-1, Q-2)

Now as I am a returnee, there are lot of changes. Before, we'll just keep on hiding, tired and can't sleep thoroughly. Meals are not adequate. I can roam around the town without fear. I have already an income even small amount given by the government through its program. My family status now is somewhat stable. But the security is still not stable due to the rebel movement as well as the government.

Aduna nay kalainan tungod kay dili na ako mabalaka ug mahadlok nga adunay panag-ingkwentro tali sa duha ka grupo, ilabina nga ang namunuan dili sama kaniadto.
(PRR-6, Q-2)

There is a change, for at present I have no fear and anxiety that encounter might happen like before.

Layo ra gyud akong kinabuhi before nga active pako ug karon nga nia nako sa sabakan sa gobyerno. Sa una dili ka katulog ug mayo wala pa gyud koy klaro nga income. Karon, katulog na unya naa pa gyud ko income nga gamay kay apil man ang among livelihood sa programa sa gobyerno. (PRR-9,Q-2)

My life before has a big difference as of the present that I'm back to the fold of the law. Now I can sleep thoroughly and I have a meager income for I have acquired the government livelihood program.

Better, Peaceful and Normal Existence for Family (After Returning to the Mainstream Society)

The participants revealed that after they returned to the fold of law, they experienced and saw an opportunity for the continuance of life. It seems that they feel differently, they feel of having better, peaceful and normal existence with their family. PRR -2, 4 (Q-2,3) ,5 (Q-2,3) 6 and 7 have the following statements respectively:

Dagko kayo ang kalainan sa kaniadto ug karon, tungod karon gawasnon na nga maglakawlakaw o kaha mo suroy sa siyudad o sa bisan asa dili na kinahanglan motago o makig engkuwentro sa mga kasundaluan. (PRR-2,Q-2)

Now there is peace, wherein we have freedom, our children can go to school, before we kept on hiding, and most often we experienced hunger.

Ang kinabuhi sa una dili sayon ug mag sige lamang ug tago tago. Karon aduna nay kalinaw apan aduna gihapon gamay mga kabalaka mahitungod sa mag kasinatian sa unang panahon. (PRR-4,Q-2)

Life before was not easy wherein we kept on hiding. Now peace is within us even though there is still fear based from the involved activities before.

Dako ang kalainan karon ug sa una kay sa karon medyo relax ug makalihoklihok ka nga way kahadlok ug maka eskwela ang among mga kabataan, kay sa una segi ug tago-tagong ilabina kung mag patrolya na ang mga sundalo, ingon man usab segi kami ug ka kalipasan sa kaon ug walay insaktong panginabuhi ug pahulay. . (PRR-5,Q-2)

Now there is peace, wherein we have freedom, our children can go to school, before we kept on hiding, and most often we experienced hunger.

*Ang kalinaw ug ang siguridad sa akong pamilya. Isa akong pamilya nga mi pugos arun ako mo balik sa sabakan sa balaod.
(PRR-4,Q-3)*

Peace and security of my family. My family forced me to be back to the fold of the law.

*Ang kaluwasan sa akong pamilya ug mahatagan ug maayong kaugmaon ang mga anak, ug ang gi pasalig nga maayong mga programa nga makatabang kanamong mga rebelde.
(PRR-5,Q-3)*

The security of my family, children will be given bright future, and that government programs for the returnees will be helpful.

*Akong pamilya tungod kay na huna-huna nako nga magdako akong mga anak sa kagubot, kahadlok ug kabalaka. Akong gilantaw nga mo dako sila nga mahadlok sa ginoo ug makigdait ug makihalobilo sa uban.
(PRR-6,Q-3)*

I was thinking that if I will still be in the movement and my children will grow up, I still have fear and anxiety. I am looking that when my children will grown up they have fear to do bad things, but have trust in God and have good relation with others.

*Isa gyud sa nag-aghat sa ako, ako man gyud nga pamilya, maski balo ka nga ang imong pakigbisog naay rason, pero kung pamilya na gani ang hisgutan, makahuna-huna gyud ka nga mo balik na. isa pod tungod sa gi-offer sa gobyerno, sa mga insentibo kung mo balik ka. Pero mao lagi monitored ka sa gobyerno until mahuman ka sa programa sa ECLIP.
(PRR-7,Q-3)*

My family encouraged me to be back to the fold of the law. Even though the movement has cause to fight against the government, but it can't be because family will be the most important one. Secondly, the government offers incentives from the program (ECLIP) to the supposed returnees.

Opportunities and Support of Government (After Returning to the Mainstream Society)

The participants revealed that after they returned to the fold of the law, they find a great and better chance and manifested the supports of our government. PRR -1, 3, 7, 8 have the following statements respectively:

Una nga hinungdan ang akong pamilya, minyo naman ko, dili ko gusto nga maoy mahangad sa akong anak nga rebelde ang iyang amahan, ikaduha, tungod sa programa sa gobeyerno nga E-CLIP, gi-undergo mi ug

*mga training panginabuhian, ug naa pa gyud mi insentives- hatagan mi ug money pag-surrender, labi na ug makadala ka ug armas.
(PRR-1,Q-3)*

Due to my family, I am a married man, I don't want that my children will know that I was a former rebel, secondly, due to the government program which is E-CLIP, undergone livelihood training, and given incentives, and given money upon surrender.

*Usa nga nag udyok sa ako nga mobalik sa sabakan sa balaod ang reporma nga gisaad sa atong gobeyerno. Hinaot nga kini ilang tumanon alang sa kaayuhan sa tanan. Ug ako usab nasabtan nga kong aduna kitay wala gi-angayan sa balaod ato kining sulbaron sa minaayo nga paagi.
(PRR-3,Q-3)*

The reform that the government promised was the thing that encouraged me to be back to the fold of the law. Hope this promise will be fulfilled for the common good. That those have some comments about the law being passed will be given solution in an ordinary way.

*Isa gyud sa nag-aghat sa ako, ako man gyud nga pamilya, maski balo ka nga ang imong pakigbisog naay rason, pero kung pamilya na gani ang hisgutan, makahuna-huna gyud ka nga mo balik na. isa pod tungod sa gi-offer sa gobyerno, sa mga insentibo kung mo balik ka. Pero mao lagi monitored ka sa gobyerno until mahuman ka sa programa sa ECLIP. .
(PRR-7,Q-3)*

My family encouraged me to be back to the fold of the law. Even though the movement has cause to fight against the government, but it can't be because family will be the most important one. Secondly, the government offers incentives from the program (ECLIP) to the supposed returnees.

*Sa pagkakaran sir ug maam, ang nag-udyok sa akoo ang among grupo lang gihapon, tungod kay sa pagkakaran wala nako kasabot kay ang akong gitindugan nga prensipyo sa unang bag-o pako wala naman karon makita nga gabuhaton sa grupo. Pananglitan sa akong mga kauban ang latest nga instruction gikan sa among mga labaw ay pag man madudahan nga nikaliwa o naka violate sa palisiya patay deritso. Naka dungog mo adtong mga mass grave nga nakalot ang uban amo to mga kauban sa grupo. Ikaduha nga udyok sa ako nga mo balik na sa sabakan sa balaod is ang gobyerno bisan ug number 1 nako nga kontra sa una, karon naa man gud programa nga gitawag nila nga E-CLIP kong mo surrender ka tagaan ka ug kwarta katumbas sa armas nga imong e-surrender ug i-agi dayon ka sa usa ka programa. Manghinaut lang ko nga magpadayon na ni nga proyekto para daghan napod mi mo surrender.
(PRR-8, Q-3)*

Now, I was encouraged by my co-member of the movement to be back to the fold of the law. While I was in the movement, our leaders emphasized to us that those who violated the rules will be killed. In connection, some of my co-members have seen mass grave. With this event, I have decided to be back to the fold of the law. Lastly, I was also

convinced from the government offer of E-CLIP to the rebel returnee and I want to avail such offer.

Threats and Insecurities

The participants revealed that after they returned to the fold of the law, they still find threats and insecurities particularly on their lives considering that right after they graduated in the program there were loose security measures and monitoring provided to them by the government. Moreover, the sustainability of the livelihoods might also be compromise as part of their apprehensions. PRR – 1, 7, 8, 9,10,11 and 12 has the following statements respectively:

Ang akong higpit ug dako nga problema karon isip rebel returnee, ang sustainability sa akong panginabuhì, ang seguridad nako sa dihang mahuman ko sa programa sa gobyerno.
(PRR-1,Q-5)

My big problem now as a rebel returnee is the sustainability of my means of livelihood, and my security when the government program offered ends.

Ang ako problema karon sir isip returnee, ang pag susteni sa akong pangita o trabaho labi na gyud nga buros akong asawa. Maski naay gihatag sa gobyerno nga gamay.
(PRR-7,Q-5)

My problem now as a returnee is how to sustain my family's livelihood, especially my wife is pregnant, even though we are given small financial assistance.

Problema gyud nako karon sir ang akong safety labi na gyud sa akong ginikanan ug pamilya. Dili man gud ika limud nag maski nga ako under sa E-CLIP program pwede ko patyon sa akong dati nga kauban o initan ko sa mga sundalo kay syempre daghan baya sad kong gipangpatay nga sundalo sauna. Paghuman sa akong programa nga gi-atiman sa gobyerno sa dihang gawasnon nako kulbaan ko sir.
(PRR-8,Q-5)

Safety is my problem especially my parents and family. It cannot be denied that I might be killed by my former co-member of the rebel movement in the sense that I am now back to the fold of the law and enjoying the benefits from the government program called E-CLIP. After the end of this said program, then at that time fear comes in based from the experiences I had in the rebel movement.

Ang akong safety ug sa akong pamilya. Kay basin balikan ko sa akong dating mga lider ug kauban.
(PRR-9,Q-5)

My safety and my family and what if my former rebel leader will get me back.

Ang akong safety ug sa akong pamilya, kay bisan nia name dinhi dili baya 24 oras gabantay ang gobyerno sa amo, ang among kontra karon ang among mga dating kauban raman.
(PRR-10, Q-5)

My safety together with my family. It cannot be done by the government to guard us 24 hours a day, wherein our enemy were our previous co-members in the rebel movement.

Akong siguridad isip returnee or surrenderee.
(PRR-11, Q-5)

My security as a returnee or surrenderee

Sabay-sabay rako sa ilang gabuhaton sa kadaghanan.

(PRR-9, Q-1.1.4)

I just go with them in what they are doing.

How Political Rebel Returnees Cope with their Challenges of the Experiences

Political rebel returnees have different and various experiences coupled with their strategies on how they cope. Below are the tabulated answers of the participants according to themes and core ideas.

Table 3

Major Themes and Core Ideas on How Rebel Returnees Cope with the Challenges of their Experiences

Major Themes	Core Ideas
Being Tenacious and Resolute	Being strong and resilient in facing trials, Persevering and enduring
	Becoming tough and determined, strengthening resolve to withstand difficulties
	Patience and perseverance to surpass the challenges, Enduring and accepting the hardship
Being Positive and Practical	Patience and industry to change the course of life
	Looking at the positive side; thinking positive, just going on with the flow
	Being hopeful and trustful that good change is coming, Dealing with the fear and insecurities, facing it squarely
Being Industrious and Resourceful	Getting involved with the masses and socializing with neighbors, Taking part in activities; mingling with people in the community
	Pressing on, not giving up or giving in to desperation
	Working hard; planting crops in the farm to support family
	Finding other means to survive and earn
	Attending skills training
	Finding livelihood to support family; worked hard
	Continued education; learning about the laws of the land
	Strong faith and trust in the Lord
	Praying for strength to endure and achieve desired change

Faith in Divine Providence

Turning to God Almighty for deliverance
 Strengthening of spiritual life
 Praying for guidance and enlightenment to know what to do
 Praying for sustenance from God Almighty
 Praying for government officials and law enforcement agencies

Being Tenacious and Resolute

The participants strongly faced with determination in coping with the challenges of their experiences when they were still active and even after being peacefully returned to fold of law. PRR -1,2 (Q-1.1.2, 4) 3,5 and 9 has the following statements respectively:

Akong gilig-on ang akong kaugalingon, uban sa pag ampo. Kabalo ko nga ang tanan nay sulusyon ug nay katapusan. Ako ra gyud pud giantos ang tanan. Survive baya gihapon ko sir, hahaha, kicking pa gihapon. (PRR-1, Q-4)

I made myself strong with a prayer. I knew that all problems have solutions. I just did sacrifice to survive.

Gilig-on ang kaugalingon, uban sa paglaom ug pagsalig nga adunay moabot nga ka bag-ohan sa mga namonoan sa Gobyerno. (PRR-2, Q-4)

Make myself strong in the hope that something good will come in with regard to the changes in the government.

Ang kanunay lang pag ampo ang akong gisaligan. Bisag rebelde ko pero ako ga ampo gihapon. Tungod kay nagtoo ko nga ang Ginoo ray makaluwas sa akong kalisud nag nasinatian. (PRR-3, Q-4)

My continuous prayer is my defender. Even before when I was still a rebel, I'll keep on praying for I believe that God will save me from the hard situation.

Giantos ug gitas-an ang pasinsiya ug kakugi aron makalahotay. . (PRR-2, Q-1.1.2)

Just suffered and extend patience and hard work to survive.

Kinahanglan ang pagpailob ug dugang kakugi ug pagpaningkamot aron mausab ang dagan sa among kinabuhi. (PRR-5, Q-1.1.5)

Patience is needed and additional hard work to change life's goal.

Nangita ug kapaninguhaan aron, makatabang sa akong anak. Nagtrabaho, nag-apil ug skills training aron magamit pagpanarbaho. (PRR-6, Q-1.1.2)

Look for other means to survive to help the children. Will work, attended skills training for employment purpose.

Sa ekonomikanhong kasinatian ako ra gi antos ang kagutom survive man gihapon sir.
(PRR-9,Q-1.1.2)

I just did sacrifice even experience hunger in order to survive.

Being Positive and Practical

The participants revealed that as part of their coping strategies, they considered the other side of the coin, that is they acted being optimistic and practical. FR- 2, 3 (Q-1.1.3 and 1.1.4) 4,5 (1.1 and 1.1.4) 6,7 and 9 have the following statements:

Naghinay hinay kug pakihalubilo sa mga tao sa among komunidad. Nag akto ko isip usa ka normal nga katilingban ug nakighigala ko.
(PRR-3,Q-1.1.4)

Starts to mingle with the people in the community, as a normal person.

Makighalobilo pero adunay limitasyon sa oras ug lugar. (PRR-4,Q-1.1.4)

Will be with the group in all occasion but has limitation.

Makisama sa tanan nga okasyon apan dunay limitasyon.
(PRR-5,Q-1.1.4)

Mingle with them but has limitation in time.

Nag ampo ako kanunay sa Ginoo nga wala natay mahitabo nga daotan. Ug ilayo kami niya sa mga katalagman. Ug paglantaw sa mga positibo nga aspeto sa among kapunungan.
(PRR-3,Q-1.1.3)

I prayed always to God that nothing bad will happen to me. And let me be away from dangers. And lastly, to look into the positive aspect of our organization.

Sauna nga panahon sir, wala gyud koy nahimo ako ra gyud gi-atubang squarely ang mga problema, balo ko nga ang tanan lumalabay lang.
(PRR-7,Q-4)

Before I had done nothing, I'll just faced the problem and I knew that this will just pass-away.

Sabay-sabay rako sa ilang gabuhaton sa kadaghanan. (PRR-9,Q-1.1.4)

I just go with them in what they are doing.

*Mo join sa mga kalihukan sa kumonidad para ma improve o madevelop ang akong kaugalingon aron makatabang sa mga katawhan.
(PRR-5, Q-1.4)*

We have to join community activities to improve / develop us and to help the community.

*Nagpaduol ako sa kadagkoan sa among baryo ug niapil ako sa mga voluntaryong kalihokan aron ma develop akong pangisip ug kahibalo sa ingon ni ining pamaagi naka partisipar ug makipag halobilo sa kumonidad.
(PRR-6, Q-1.4)*

I want myself to be active in community affairs and join voluntary activities to develop myself and to mingle with the people in the community.

*Gilig-on ang kaugalingon, uban sa paglaom ug pagsalig nga adunay moabot nga ka bag-ohan sa mga namonoan sa Gobeyerno..
(PRR-2, Q-4)*

Make myself strong in the hope that something good will come in with regards to the changes in the government.

Being Industrious and Resourceful

The participants revealed that as part of their coping strategies, they acted diligently and resourceful. PRR-4, and 6 (Q-4 and 1.1.2) have the following statements:

*Naninkamot lamang aron makakaon ug nag-tanom sa bukid arun adunay masustinto sa pamilya.
(PRR-4, Q-4)*

To sustain my family's needs I tried to plant crops in the place where our movement was staying.

*Una, hugot nga pag-ampo ug pagsalig sa Dios kung wala Siya wala usab kita karon. Pinaagi sa pagtuon sapag edukar ug mga siminar pagtulon-an ka bahin sa balaod sa nasud ug lungsud.
(PRR-6, Q-4)*

First, a thorough prayer and hope from God. And through the education from the seminars given about the laws of the land.

*Nangita ug kapaninguhaan aron, makatabang sa akong anak. Nagtrabaho, nag-apil ug skills training aron magamit pagpanarbaho.
(PRR-6, Q-1.1.2)*

Look for other means to survive to help the children. Will work, attended skills training for employment purpose.

Faith in Divine Providence

The participants revealed that as part of their coping strategies, instead of losing faith to their belief they become more prayerful and trustful to God. PRR- 1,3,5,8,9, and 10 has the following statements:

Akong gilig-on ang akong kaugalingon, uban sa pag ampo. Kabalo ko nga ang tanan nay sulusyon ug nay katapusan. Ako ra gyud pud gi-antos ang tanan. Survive baya gihapon ko sir, hahaha, kicking pa gihapon. (PRR-1,Q-4)

I made myself strong with a prayer. I knew that all problems have solutions. I just did sacrifice to survive.

Ang kanunay lang pag ampo ang akong gisaligan. Bisag rebelde ko pero ako ga ampo gihapon. Tungod kay nagtoo ko nga ang Ginoo ray makaluwas sa akong kalisud nag nasinatian. (PRR-3,Q-4)

My continuous prayer is my defender. Even before when I was still a rebel, I kept on praying for I believe that God will save me from the hard situation.

Anaa gayud ang kabalaka ug kahadlok nga dili matuman ang among gipangandoy nga kabag-ohan apan gilig-on ko nalang ang akong kaugalingon nga mahatag ug makab-ot nga kabag-ohan sa atong pang governo karon. (PRR-5,Q-4)

The struggle in fighting the cause of the movement brings fear and anxiety to us, but this gives strength to us to achieve said cause.

Antos ra gyud ko ug ampo pud kay para sa ako molabay raman ang tanan. Ampo nga giyahan ko sa labaw nga makagagahom kung unsay maayong buhaton. (PRR-8,Q-4)

Sacrifice and prayer to face the problem. Prayer through the guidance of God of what will be done.

Ako ra gyud gi antos ang tanan sir. (PRR-9,Q-4)

I just did sacrifice at all.

Antos ra gyud. (PPR-10,Q-4)

I just sacrificed.

Insights that the Political Rebel Returnee Can Share to Political Offenders, the National Government and the Society in General

Political rebel returnees have different and various insights which they could share to political offenders, the national government and the society in general. Below are the tabulated answers of the participants according to themes and core ideas.

Table 4

Major Themes and Core Ideas on Insights that Political Rebel Returnees Can Share to Political Offenders, the National Government and Society in General

Major Themes	Core Ideas
To political offenders	To former comrades, give the govt. program for returnees a try, Seize the opportunity afforded by the govt
Yield for Some Freedom and Peace	Come down and join the program; enough of fighting and hiding, It's time to cooperate with government; surrender, live in peace, Be serious in following guidelines to obtain real change in life It is better to go back to the fold of the law than be in hiding, Welcome efforts at reconciliation to find peace for our families
Revisit and Take a New Perspective	Contemplate on the ideology; reflect and ponder seriously Only the CPP-NDF leaders seem to enjoy the fruits of the struggle Put things in the proper perspective for self and country Almost 50 years of struggle, but only the leaders seem to benefit
To national government	Pay good attention to the plight of the laborers and marginalized, Give the poor & indigenous sustainable livelihood; free education We hope govt will look into interest of the people; not their own, Please mind the poor and the indigenous Pleading for attention to the masses, the peasants and laborers, May govt look into the plight of the peasants and the fisherfolks
Listen to the Voice in the Margins	Don't forget the people in the hinterlands, Do not give the people a reason to rebel against government. As long as there is corruption in govt, the rebellion will continue Hope government won't forget assistance pledged to returnees, Hope AFP leadership remain steadfast with the ECLIP program
Support the Rebel Returnees in their Assimilation to Society	Please do not oppress returnees; give all assistance they need Offer programs other than E-CLIP; be serious with the project Please fulfill your promises of reforms Rebel returnees need help stand on their feet again. Give returnees a chance at freedom and peace Cooperate with government, not just complain
Choose to have Vigilance and	Think of what can be done for government and for country Be vigilant and mindful of the government

Involvement in Affairs of Government

Take part in activities of the government
 Don't despair; fight it out; be involved
 Be aware of human rights
 As long as one works, there will be food to eat.
 Be united, generous and concerned with fellow human beings

Yield for some Peace and Freedom (to Political Offenders)

The participants revealed their insights to fellow political offenders who were still active members of the movements. They urged their fellow comrades to give peace and freedom a chance. PRR- 1,2,4,5,6,7 and 12 have the following statements:

Sa mga rebelde nga naa pa karon sa mga bukid, sulayi ninyo ang programa sa gobeyerno nato. Sa mga returnees, ato unta nga pahimuslan tino-oray ang gihatag sa gobeyerno, dapat seryoso ta sa pagtuman sa mga guidelines aron makabaton ug kausaban ang atong kinabuhi.
 (PRR-1,Q-6.1)

To the rebels who are still in their camps, try and accept the government program to those who will be back to the fold of the law. We will give priority to the guidelines of the government program for us to gain and to have change in our lives.

Makighiusa o mo tabang sa pagpatunhay sa kahusay ug kalinaw sa nasud.
 (PRR-2,Q-6.1)

Integrate and help to maintain peace and order of the country.

Unta magkahiusa na kita sa pakigbatok sa kumunidad ug pag pakigbalik sa gobeyerno aron makitag kalinaw atong mga pamilya.
 (PRR-4,Q-6.1)

Hoping that we will be in one to be back to the fold of the law for our peace and for the good of our family.

Akong hanyuon nga magkahiusa ug magtinabangay ang tanan nga returnees, aron mahatagan ug kalinaw ug kaluwasan ang atong mga pamilya.
 (PRR-5,Q-6.1)

I am appealing to my former co-members of the rebel movement to be back to the fold of the law, in that we will be in one for peace and security to prevail in our family.

Mas mayo gayud nga mo balik sa sabakan sa balaod kaysa mag-pabilin kang magtago-tagong sa kabukiran.
 (PRR-6,Q-6.1)

It is good to be back to the fold of the law than being a member of rebel movement.

*Sa mga rebelde ug returnees ato na himay himayon ug usab ang atong ideolohiya, kay sa pila ka dekada sa atong pakigbisog sa bukid kita ra man ang looy ang atong mga kadagkuan sa CPP-NDF rman ang nabulahan, mo kooperar nata sa gobyerno.
(PRR-7,Q-6.1)*

To the rebels and returnees, we will have to seriously examine the movement's ideology that for the decades of struggle, the leaders of the rebel movement, like the head of CPP-NDF are the one benefitted on such movement.

*Ang akong kauban sa una, ang atong pakigbisog walay klaro, ang nabulahan ang ato lang leaderis, kita ang na ala-ot.
(PRR-3,Q-6.1)*

My companion before, our struggle was not clear. The leaders were only benefitted.

*Sa mga kauban nako nga naa pa gihapon sa bukid mayo pag mo naug namo diha, walay pulos na atong pakigbisog diha.
(PRR-12,Q-1.6)*

My comrades who were still in the movement it is good that you will surrender, there is nothing on the cause we are in struggle.

Revisit and Take a New Perspective (to Political Offenders)

The participants revealed their insights to fellow political offenders who were still active members of the movements. They urged their fellow comrade to look back and considered new perspective. PRR- 2,3,7, 9 and 11 have the following statements:

*Sa mga uban nako nga rebelde nga naa pa sa bukid hangtud karon surrender namo. Hapit na 50 ka tuig ang atong pakigbisug ang ato lang nga lidars ang nabulahan. Hinuhunaa ninyo ug mayo, kapoy kayo diha sige lang ta ug tago. Sa mga returnees seryoso nata sa atong pag bag-ong kinabuhi. Naa raba uban sa inyo nga gapangilkil gihapon dad-on dayon ang ngalan sa rebel returnees. Maulaw sad moa ng kasagaran inyo gi biktima ang ato ra kapwa pinoy.
(PRR-8,Q-6.1)*

To my former co-members of the rebel movement who are still in your camps, please do surrender. It has been almost 50 years of our struggle only the leaders were benefitted. Think of something that you will keep on hiding. Let us be serious to have new life under our government.

There are some of you there extorting money, you need to be ashamed because what you victimized actually are our own Filipino brothers.

Sa akong mga kaubanan, hinaot unta nga i-balanse ninyo ang inyong panghuna huna. Huna-hunaa nga adunay permi duha ka nawong ang sitwasyon. Tarungon nato pag abi-abi ang mga butang para atong kaayuhan ug usab sa atong nasud.
(PRR-3, Q-6.1)

To my co-former rebel members I hope that you have to do some ways to have balance in your life and examine the situation for our good and for the good of our country.

Sa mga rebelde ug returnees ato na himay himayon ug usab ang atong ideolohiya, kay sa pila ka dekada sa atong pakigbisog sa bukid kita ra man ang looy ang atong mga kadagkuan sa CPP-NDF rman ang nabulahan, mo kooperar nata sa gobyerno.
(PRR-7, Q-6.1)

To the rebels and returnees, we will have to seriously think of the movement ideology that for the decades of struggle, the leaders of the rebel movement, like the head of CPP-NDF are the one benefitted on such movement.

Listen to the Voice of the People in the Margins. (to National Government)

The participants revealed their insights to the national government. They urged to hear the outcry of the general masses. PRR- 2,4,6 and 8 have the following statements:

Ang paghatag ug importansiya sa mga kabus ug lumad nga katawhan, sustainable nga panginabuhian ug edukasyon nga lebre.
(PRR-2, Q-6.2)

Giving of importance to the sustainable livelihood of the poor and the lumads. Also with free education.

Unta maghatag kamo ug tabang sa mga kabos ug sa maga nanginahanglan. Ayaw kalimte ang katawhan nga anaa sa kabukiran.
(PRR-4, Q-6.2)

Hoping that you will give help / assistance to the poor. Don't forget the people in the mountain and their welfare.

Hatagan unta ninyo ug pagtagad ang mga masa ilabina kadtong mga pobreng mamomoo.
(PRR-6, Q-6.2)

That the mass people will be given importance by the government, especially those poor farmers.

Sana seryoso na gyud sila sa E-CLIP nga programa. Dili na unta sagulan ug korapsyon. Labi na gyud sa mga kadagkuan sa ARMY.

(PRR-8, Q-6.2)

Hope that there is a serious implementation in this E-CLIP program. That this program will not be mixed with the concept of corruption.

Support the Rebel Returnees in their Assimilation to Society (to National Government)

The participants revealed their insights to the national government; they urged to have a full support to all political rebel returnees who peacefully merge into the fold of the law. PRR- 1,3, 5, 8 and 9 have the following statements:

Sa gobeyerno nasyonal dili lang unta E-CLIP program unta ang e-implementar, tutukan ug mayo ang problema sa kapobrehon sa pobreng mamomo-o. ang atong gobyerno. Sir para sa ako, gwapo kayo ug balaud pero usahay ang ga-implementar o ang ahensiya didto magsugod ang korapsion, imbis dako ang budget, grabe nga tigbas ang mahitabo kami nga recipients gamay nalang gyud kayo. Hinaut unta nga seryoso sila sa ilang mandato ngadto sa kinatibuk-an nga katawhan.

(PRR-1, Q-6.2)

As to the national government, it was not only E-CLIP program to be implemented. The government will have to seriously look into the living of the poor farmers. You know the laws of the land are for the benefits of the majority, but sometimes those who implement the laws started to do corruption. Slashes from the budget are done, then a small amount will be left to the beneficiaries. We are hoping that these people in the government will be concerned about the welfare of the majority.

Sa mga magbabalaod, hinaot unta nga inyong tumanon ang reporma nga inyong gisaad. Huna hunaa sa makadaghan ang angay ug dili angay sa katawhan ug sa nasud nato.

(PRR-3, Q-6.2)

To the lawmakers, we hope that you will give / follow the reform you have promise. Take note of what are the things to be given / to serve for the good of the people.

Dili unta kalimtan nila ang ilang gipasalig nga pagtabang sa mga returnees ilabi na nga mibalik na sa sabakan sa atong goberno.

(PRR-5, Q-6.2)

They must not forget what they have promised of helping the returnees, especially that these people decided to be back to the fold of the law.

Sana seryoso na gyud sila sa E-CLIP nga programa. Dili na unta sagulan ug korapsyon. Labi na gyud sa mga kadagkuan sa ARMY.

(PRR-8, Q-6.2)

Hope that there is a serious outlook in this E-CLIP program. That this program will not be mixed with the concept of corruption.

Ato na tarungon ang atong pagdala sa mga tao. Kay sa daghan nga panahon ang hinungdan sa pagrebelde sa atong mga kaig-suonan, ang gobyerno ra gihapon.
(PRR-9,Q-6.2)

We have to rule the people in a democratic way. For many times, the cause of those people who join the rebel movement are those who are in the government doing things in which the people were oppressed.

Choose Vigilance and Involvement in the Affairs of the Government (Society in General)

The participants revealed their insights to society in general. They urged the public to be always on guard and be involved in government activities. PRR- 1,2,3,6,7,8, 9 and 10 have the following statements:

Sa akong mga kaigsuonan, atong himo-on ang atong reponsibilidad sa atong palibot. Dapat makisayud ta sa mga panghitabo sa atong palibot. Maningkamot aron mo angat ang atong panginabuhian ug dili magsalig sa atong gobeyerno.
(PRR-1,Q-6.3)

To my brothers, we will do our responsibilities. It should be that we must be vigilant enough of the things that happened in our locality / surroundings to raise our level of living and won't depend on the government.

Makig tambayayong ug dili mag dinalo sa nanginahanglan.
(PRR-2,Q-6.3)

Integrate and work and be generous to the needy.

Sa kinatibuk-an nga katawhan, hinaut nga kita maghatag ug importansya sa nahitabo sa atong Gobeyerno. Sa mga balaod nga angayan ipatuman ug apil na katong dili angayan. Magtinabangay kita alang sa atong kaayuhan.
(PRR-3,Q-6.3)

To all the people, there is a need to cooperate, help the government if we have a chance for the common good, and find ways to help the government, not that we just keep on asking something from the government. It should be that we will do things to safeguard the activities of the government.

Alang sa kinatibuk-an katawhan, tabangan nato sa pag-ampo aron masulosyonan ang pinaka dako nga problema. Dili kay inod-nod noon nato ug tamayon ang kadagkoan.
(PRR-6, Q-6.3)

To all the people, we will help to pray to have solution on the big problem that our country is facing. Not that we will just keep on complaining on people in the government.

Sa kinatibok an nga katawhan, kinahanglan mo kooperar nata, tagaan nato mug kahigayonan ang gobyerno para sa atong kaayohan ug isip balos, mangita pud ta ug pama-agi nga makatabang ta sa atong gobyerno, dili kay segi rata ug pangayo. Pero dapat nga mag bantay gyud ngadto sa atong gobyerno.
(PRR-7, Q-6.3)

To all the people, there is a need to cooperate, help the government if we have a chance for the common good, and find ways to help the government, not that we just keep on asking something from the government. It should be that we will do things to safeguard the activities of the government.

Para sa ako, sana ang katawhan magbinantayon sa iyang palibot ug magpakabana para ilang mahibaw-an kung unsa na ang dagan ug ang gapangbuhaton sa atong mga kadagkuan sa nasyonal ug local nga pangagamhanan.
(PRR-8, Q-6.3)

On my part, it should be that the people will be vigilant enough on the things that people in the government are doing.

Mo kooperar ta sa gobyerno, dili ta magsige lang ug reklamo
(PRR-9, Q-6.3)

We will cooperate to the government, not just keep on claiming.

Hunahuna-a kung unsay imong ikatabang sa imong gobyerno.
(PRR-11, Q-6.3)

Think of how to help the government.

Magpakabana nata, buhaton nato ug unsay angay natong buhaton isip pinoy.
(PRR-12, Q-6.3)

We will be vigilant, and work on what is worth being a Filipino.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the discussion, conclusion remarks and implication for future research. This was based from the themes generated from the analysis of its data. The study had the purpose of exploring the journey of political offenders. The objective is to unfold the life experiences of political rebel returnees, how do the returnees cope with the challenges of their experiences, what insights do the returnees provide for political offenders, the national government, and the society. The study utilized qualitative research method-phenomenological approach. The study focused on the sets of experiences of an individual and it sought to understand the complexities of human behavior (Creswell & Creswell, 2017)

The phenomenological approach in unfolding the experiences of political rebel returnees. There were 12 participants who actually peacefully reside in the different municipalities of Misamis Oriental. An in-depth interview was the only tool used to explore their experiences considering the proximities of their residences within the whole province of Misamis Oriental.

Experiences of Political Rebel Returnees

Hard and Tough Times at the Hinterlands (before returning to the fold of law). The in-depth interview reveals the struggles of the respondents when they were still political rebels before they

returned to the fold of the law. They recalled how hard and tough their life conditions living in the hinterlands. Since they were being pursued by the government troops, they had to move places in the mountains constantly. Their constant movement hindered them from putting up a haven (a tent or hut) where they could comfortably stay to survive physical exhaustion and even hunger. As they shared, they had to contend with hunger as they as they were always on the move. In the worst case, they had to hide with empty stomachs during military operations, which could last for days. As they quipped, “Our meals are ‘memorice.’ Sometimes, what would survive them from hunger as they went hiding was a pocket of copra to eat. There were also instances when they had to ask for food and even money as “revolutionary tax” from civilians to stay fed.

Other than contending with hunger and lack of rest, they also had to contend with anxiety and fear. They feared for their lives due to possible surprise attack by or possible encounter with the military. They were beset with anxiety day in and out. They confessed sniffing marijuana to overcome fear that they described as unnerving. Somehow, smoking marijuana gave them temporary relief from anxiety caused by the uncertainties of their journey battling against the government force. No matter how strong their conviction that led them to take arms against the government, they could not evade the fear of losing their lives, more so when they had their significant others to return to.

The participants’ revelations depict the ordeal they went through as they rebelled against the government. Indeed, it was never easy for them to remain in hiding and to go on the move constantly. They were not battling against the government only but for their lives as well. In Negros Occidental, during the 42nd anniversary of the movement-CPP/NPA/NDFP, Ka Marco of the Negros Regional Party Committee announced that there were newly recruited fighters to stand as the guerilla fronts in the islands, however, as validated by military intelligence only very few in their 20’s and many who were lured refused due to a public knowledge that life in the mountains is very hard and difficult.

Disenchantment with the Movement (before returning to the fold of law). Making things even harder for the respondents when they were still rebels were realities they discovered and realized in the movement. These realities resulted in their disgruntlement and resentment towards the movement. The participants' confessed to the dangers the movement set for them. They recalled of the execution of their comrades ordered by their leaders for mere suspicion and for non-remittance of collected taxes from civilians. They did not believe the mass grave story. Their very comrades were killed and buried by the movement itself. That is, both the government force and the movement put their lives at risk. The movement that they were fighting for was the same movement that could get them killed.

Moreover, leading to their disenchantment against the movement was the way how the movement was run. While they suffered so much for the movement, their leaders just reaped the benefits. They felt like being used for the leaders' benefits. When recruited, they were promised by the movement of a pay to help provide for their families left as they went at large fighting the government force. However, as they confessed, the promise remained so – they got nothing. Instead, they had to provide for the movement and for themselves through tax collection from civilians, whom they saw as innocent victims caught in the crossfire.

Further disenchanting them against the movement was their realization that the end of the struggle was nowhere in the horizon to see. They found themselves dog tired and hopeless in their struggle. Sinking their courage and hope deeper was seeing their enemies – the military – too powerful for them to defeat. The enemies outnumbered them and were well-fed and fully geared for battle while they were not. To the respondents, they were not going anywhere with their struggle. No end was in sight.

The participants' revelations echo that of the other rebel returnees in Davao Oriental, Mindanao not accounted for in this study. As reported by the spokesperson of the Armed Forces of the Philippines-Eastern Mindanao Command, more Communist NPA members voluntarily yielded to the authorities because of frustrations and hardships (Morrell, 2019).

New Lease on Life (after returning to the mainstream society). After returning to mainstream of society, they came to realize how difficult life was in the hinterlands being always on the move to evade military operation and how seemingly hopeless the fight as they saw no sight of the journey's end, thus the participants, at last, took heed of the government's call for them to surrender voluntarily and return to the fold of the law. As they integrated themselves back into the mainstream, they experienced new lease on life. To them, life back to society is life regained. As they recalled, way back in the mountains, life was filled with anxiety and fear – a kind of life likened to a nightmare, disturbing peace within, stealing happiness, and destroying dreams and aspirations. Seeing their comrades killed either by the government troops or the movement was itself nightmarish.

In contrast, according to them, life back to society liberated them from the enslavement of fears, false hope, and disillusionment. Now they can move around freely without worrying about their safety. Now they can soundly sleep with their family in their decent abode, while back in the mountains sleep seemed elusive. Now they can find a living with the government's support to meet somehow their day-to-day needs, unlike in the mountains where they often waged battle against hunger, barely eating a single meal a day.

Now they can take three decent meals a day. Now that they are back to the mainstream, they live a normal life, enjoying some comfort they can afford, savoring the newly found freedom, and having peace of mind. Indeed, to them, life is now less stressful compared to a life in hiding. According to Cruz (2010), the government has strengthened the following as part of its response to insurgency but not limited to: the return of a true democracy, the reduction of poverty, the cooperation of LGU's and the AFP's shift to hearts and minds war. With these all, the participants have nowhere to choose but to voluntary surrender and be in the fold of the law. Moreover, he emphasized that these government actions have changed the lives of former rebels seeing new opportunity and hope and staying in the organization is nothing but a hopeless endeavor.

Any parent desires for the welfare of his/her children or family. Parents will do anything to protect and provide for their family. We can see such parents among the participants. Though forced to leave their respective families because of what they then believed was worth fighting – an ideology, they always had in mind their family's welfare. As they disclosed, other than their disillusionment with the government, they went back to the fold of the law for the sake of their family. While in hiding, they could never secure their children and spouse. Their participation in the movement endangered their family, too. Also, their absence left a void both in them and in their family. That is, their family life was never the same when they took arms.

The participants opened up that all they aspired for was having a normal family life where their children can get their education, have a normal childhood to live just like any regular kid, and live each day with nothing to fear or worry. All they wanted then was a good future for their children, which their rebellion against the government could never offer. All along, they feared for the life and future of their children as they remained in the movement. They knew that their children could become innocent casualties of the battle they were in. However, getting back to the mainstream will make their children's life safer and their future more secure.

The participants' contentions were backed by the testimony offered by one of the political rebel returnees who underwent and graduated in the E-CLIP program of our government. Ka Rosa said that *after years of being deaf-mute, I was awakened from my wrong perspective in life, I finally decided to jump out being member of the movement.* She further said that *I realized that if I will pursue with the movement even if I already recognized what's really their purpose, why I need to be deaf-mute? If I knew already their real interest. I will not exchange my family with a wrong and deceitful promise and to win the struggle just to earned equality. Even inside the movement we do not experienced equality tell you", I have pity of my family.* She also claimed she benefited from the ECLIP program of the government *I benefited from the program, I was even able to build a small house, amount of money as their support for former rebel, a sari-sari store for my mother, I also underwent massage training, which helps me a lot to sustain my livelihood".*

Opportunities with Government Support (after returning to the mainstream society). Making the participants more resolved in returning to the fold of the law was the government's offer to support them to start a new life as they re-integrate into the mainstream. The government offered them financial assistance embedded in programs intended for political returnees. One government program is the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program or E-CLIP, which is the government's program that offers cash and livelihood programs to lure rebels to give up their armed struggle and begin a new life. That program, as admitted by the participants, strongly convinced them to surrender with the hope that the program could adequately capacitate them to start anew. Credit to the government, the participants are now availing of the promised assistance of the government.

A case in point of the government's faithfulness to its promised help for rebel returnees, in Compostela Valley 64 rebel returnees received cash for the firearms surrendered and immediate aid for livelihood which amounted to Php 65,000 (Nepomuceno, 2018). Other than the cash assistance, the government also extends to the rebel returnees other forms of assistance to include health care, education, skills training, shelter, and legal assistance. All these forms of assistance are not the end but the means to help the returnees as they transition into the mainstream society (Nepomuceno, 2019).

Threats and Insecurities (after returning to the mainstream society). Though the participants are now enjoying their freedom, living life normally with their respective families in society and receiving support from the government for a new start, some of them are still beset with economic and safety concerns. On safety, one respondent disclosed worrying about the revenge of the kins of the killed soldiers during the encounters. He expressed fear that the revenge could be directed not just to him but even to his family. The thought of it, according to him, is disturbing and unnerving. Also, one respondent shared that he could not avoid worrying too much

about his safety from the possible retaliation of the former comrades for bolting out and even from the military for their slain compatriots.

Moreover, a few participants expressed concern with their economic condition. Though they are receiving support from the government, they worry about the duration of the government aids. How long the support will last is to them a cause of anxiety especially when they are not schooled and do not have enough financial resource to support their family and the education of their children. Though they have livelihood, still they worry about its sustainability. The expressed concerns of the respondents indicate their continued economic instability and uncertainties after returning to the fold of law despite of the received government financial assistance.

Former rebel returnees of the CPP-NPA-NDFP or CNN has shown threats and insecurities of their lives when about 2,430 members and ex-members were killed (Cruz, 2010). This was one of the bloodiest purges among communist movement codenamed "Kampanyang Ahos" in Mindanao where the only perpetrators were their own comrades and cadres after suspected of being their traitors and government undercover. The members bodies were discovered in about 239 mass graves.

How Political Rebel Returnees Cope with their Challenges of the Experiences

Being Tenacious and Resolute. The hardships the participants underwent when they were still rebels had taught them how to be tenacious and resolute in life as the way on how they cope with the challenges of their experiences. According to some participants, they have lived a life deprived of comfort since childhood. In fact, some of them cited poverty as one reason for joining the rebel group in the hope of finding deliverance from impoverishment. Used to hardships before taking arms and exposed even to a harsher environment and life condition when in rebellion, they have learnt to be tough and determined in life amidst challenges. It has dawned upon them that the only way to get through life so rough and tough for them is to remain resilient, strengthening the resolve to withstand difficulties. The participants expressed hope that things will get better

should they stay persevering, patient, and industrious. They articulated that if they endure their hardships and remain patient no matter how trying the situations are, they can surpass challenges. It is worth noting that the travails that beset them have not put them in deep despair that may lead them to regret laying down their arms against the government.

Being Positive and Practical. Beginning a new life after a long arm struggle in the hinterlands and a long life of seclusion – away from the family and society – is never easy to the participant returnees. Their rebellion cost them their livelihood and their safety and that of their loved ones. Returning to normal life is without doubt a trying experience to them. No matter how worn down they are by unfavorable circumstances, they choose to see the positive side of life to keep them going. Their positivity is made evident by their going with the flow, believing that all things will soon just work for good and that their present condition is just but temporary. Such beliefs they hold give them the inner strength they need so as not to give in to desperation but to continue pressing on no matter how seemingly hard their life is. Also, the inner strength they have makes them face difficulties in life squarely. They have learned to deal with their fears and insecurities, which before their surrender upset their life.

Positivity is also evident in the way the participants conduct their affairs in life, particularly on the social dimension. Generally, to live a normal life again, they immerse themselves in the community to which they belong. Now, they socialize with their neighbors and engage in community activities. It is important for these rebel returnees to re-immerses themselves in the community to restore the trust and confidence of the community people who might have distanced themselves from them due to their rebellion. Getting involved in the community is an important ingredient of the full re-integration of the rebel returnees into the mainstream society.

Being Industrious and Resourceful. Cognizant of the insufficiency and unclear sustainability of the government's financial support for them, the participants deemed it necessary to find other means of earning income to support their family. To equip themselves for a livelihood, some of

them attended skills training through which they could obtain a know-how on a livelihood they would embark on. Some of the participants have opted to plant crops in the farm to support the family. Also, a few of them opted to continue their education and get enlightened about the laws of the land. Their desire to know more about the laws reveals one reality about their rebellion – their lack or limited knowledge of the existing laws made them easy prey to recruiters. It is a good thing to discover through this study that the political rebel returnees have not relied solely on the financial assistance they are receiving from the government. Instead, they have put on the attitude of self-reliance and resourcefulness. The demonstration of such attitudes somehow reveal that the participants do realize that it is far better to work hard to make it through life with their loved ones in the mainstream society than to go back to the mountains in arms again.

Faith in Divine Providence. It can be gleaned from the responses of the participants during the in-depth interview that they have developed high spiritual consciousness after their armed struggles and when they re-integrated themselves into the mainstream society. Their hardships in life somehow have drawn them to divine providence. They have realized their deep need for God from whom they believe they can get inner strength to endure life's challenges and setbacks. As remarked by the participants, they only have God to turn to during the lowest and hardest moments of their life. They believe that God can deliver them from their miseries or woes resulting from their impoverished status in life and that God can help them achieve the changes they have desired for themselves and for their family. Moreover, the participants have shown strong faith in God by bringing the cries of their heart to God in earnest prayer. As they shared, they pray for divine guidance, provision, and deliverance, and strength.

One can only surmise that their strong faith in God must have sustained them that long after surrendering their arms to the government. Their high levels of spirituality could have made them more resilient to life's challenges – enabling them to persevere amidst hardships, to adapt to the changes in their life after rebellion, and to stay positive no matter how difficult life can become. Filipinos are generally known to be religious. Belief in the Supreme Being is highly wired

among Filipinos, and that is true among the participants of the study. Their spiritual connectedness was not at all broken by the political ideologies they once embraced, and that is very advantageous to them because that made them strong and hopeful as they started anew. According to Comendador and Cortez (2013), Catholic religion has undoubtedly been influential in Colombia's definition of society, culture, economics, and political ideology. Hence, it is crucial to study religion from its colonial origins, especially when it refers to the following issues: the economic and social legacy of royal patronage and the concordat.

Insights that the Political Rebel Returnee Can Share to Political Offenders, the National Government and the Society in General.

Yield for Some Freedom and Peace (to political offenders). The political rebel returnees were one in saying that their comrades must follow suit in finding freedom and peace through genuine reconciliation with the government as their given insights given to their co-political rebel returnees. Now that they have breathed again the air of freedom and basked on the sweetness of peace, they are convinced that there is no better way of enjoying life but to live normally in freedom and peace with their loved ones in the mainstream society. The same kind of life the participants want their former comrades to desire and enjoy. Therefore, with new conviction and perspectives of life, they offered political rebels at large a strong advice to give the government's peace offering a try and relinquish their armed struggle to find back the lost freedom and peace and start life with their loved ones anew.

Moreover, they shared this piece of thought for their former comrades that real change in life is within reach if they cooperate with the government and live according to the laws of the land. In retrospect, the participants learned that in hiding, peace and freedom are elusive. Hence, they wanted their former comrades to go back to the fold of the law and, just like them, live a normal life free from the terrors of armed conflict or war against a formidable force of the government. They, too, must realize that never can the movement become at a par with the military strength of

the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Hence, the armed struggle is a political exercise in futility.

The better option for the insurgents is to pursue the peace process the Philippine government is initiating.

Based on the testimony of one of toughest leader of the New People's Army operating in Agusan del Sur "Ka Manoy" who happen to surrender with his 14 other comrades, underwent and graduated under the E-CLIP program of our government Ka Manoy he persuaded his fellow comrades that *It's not good to stay in the mountains, there were commanders who lasted for over 35 years but got nothing out of their struggles, you have no future as insurgents, your future is in our government. Our life in the mountains are full of misery and sacrifices. Being a political rebel fighting against our government is not the right way to solve our problems rather it's a matter of uniting ourselves with the government and having a corroborative effort in addressing our claimed as caused of our struggles.*

He further persuaded and said that *I am very thankful to President Duterte for accepted us and give us a chance to changed our wrong ideology and further gave us livelihood programs as stipulated under the new implemented E-CLIP programs of our government.*

Revisit and Take a New Perspective (to political offenders). Having lived a war-torn life in the hinterlands for an ideology they thought worth dying and now back to a normal life in the mainstream society, they offered an advice to other political offenders who are still at war with the government to consider examining deeply their embraced ideologies and the disgruntling realities about the movement and its leaders. Firstly, the participants wanted the rebels to realize that only their leaders are benefiting from the movement. While the soldiers of the Red are fighting for their lives and for their ideologies and taking every hard blow of living in hiding and without enough provisions to survive each day of tormenting and exhausting movement from place to place like vagrants but worse than them, their leaders are in luxury living outside the country where they allegedly sought political asylum. The soldiers' lives are at stake, but their top leaders' lives are well secured and provided with all the comforts in life abroad. The participants further shared that even the leaders of CPP-NDF in the country enjoy the fruit of the movement's struggles such as

the revolutionary taxes the RED soldiers collect from the masses while the soldiers have barely to eat.

Moreover, the participants advised their former comrades to put things in proper perspectives in mind regarding one's welfare and that of the country. As there are two sides of the coin, they, too should examine each side of the issue and think about the greater good of every Filipino, not of the few such as the movement and its leaders who seem to reap the benefits of the movement. Five decades of the struggle must make them realize the futility of the struggle. As the participants shared, they got dog tired of the seemingly endless struggle – in hiding and in fighting – that achieved nothing significant but lost lives and dreams of the innocent as consequence of the war and even the demise of the movement's soldiers who saw no light of their fight, if there is any in the horizon. To the participants, it is far better for the rebels to give up the fight and seek a new life. Again, to the participants when they were still rebels, it was a delusion to think that they could topple the Philippine government.

The Philippine governance has allotted at least 1 billion for insurgency problems (Avendano, 2006) and that amount was purposely for poverty alleviation and anti-corruption campaign (Cruz, 2006). These two were major reasons of the emergence of insurgency. The reasons why participants of the study enticed their comrades to step down from the mountains and take a closer look on the side of the situation. The former seems only to benefit as alleged their leaders and they were so tired running away from the government troops while the government has already initiated both combination of "hearts and minds" just to lure the whole red community to be in the mainstream of society. Furthermore, the participants' central concern was the longevity of their five decades of struggle. They feel hopeless and aimless of their previous ideological motivator. Caouette (2004) concludes that even if the CPP-NPA-NDF will grow because of the continuous ineffective actions of the government, it will only remain as the "marginal actor of the Philippine politics because of its capabilities of being the main central and main actor in a large social coalition at present is still very remote.

Listen to the Voice of the Marginalized People (to national government). To the national government, it is common knowledge that many who were enticed to join the underground movement belonged to the sectors of society that are marginalized such as the peasants and fisherfolks and laborers. As contended by Hauge, Wenche and Ellingsen (1998), generally low level economic condition emerges as the most important factor that explains rebellion among the marginalized people in society. Hard up, they got disgruntled with the government and looked for other means, regardless of what it would take them, that would deliver them from their plight. Desperate and hopeless, they became highly vulnerable to discourses that would promise them hope and change.

As revealed by the respondents, they, too, in destitute condition and with discontentment with the government, fell on the persuasive talks of the movement's recruiters. They then hoped for a real change to come if they could topple the existing institution of the land. However, not long enough, they came to realize that what they hoped for was never within reach, and that to continue with the movement would never put an end to their personal struggles – that is, they would remain in the dark and in pain through and through. Insiders of the movement and familiar with the hardships of the poor, the participants have this to say for the government: understand the plight of the poor – the marginalized sectors in society – and listen to their voice to effectively fight rebellion.

According to the participants, if only the government pays attention to the needs of the poor and provide them with the help they need – such as education and sustainable livelihood and equitable access to the government basic services – the poor will not turn to the other voice that seeks to destroy the existing order of society. The participants' common sentiment is for the national government to look into the interest of the people especially the poor and those in the hinterlands barely reached out by the government and deprived of the basic things that make life a decent one. They warned the government that turning deaf ears to the cries of the poor will give the poor the reason to revolt.

These sentiments of the respondents received attention from the former President Gloria M. Arroyo who announced that the government's all-out campaign the put an end to the insurgency problem makes as an integral part of the overall strategy the delivery of equitable basic social services to address the socio-economic roots of the insurgency (Intengan, 2006). Such component of the program is sustained in the present administration. With the present government re-affirming its commitment to peacefully end the insurgency by the creation of Provincial Task Forces (Nepomuceno, 2019) throughout the country to ensure that that the benefits and other support of surrendering rebels will cascade more easily, rebels must then be assured of the government's sincerity to its programs.

Lastly, the respondents reminded the government about the corruption of those in power that has left the marginalized people distrustful of the governments' sincerity to serve the people, thus making them to believe that the way to achieve real change is through a revolution no matter how bloody it can be. The respondents commented that as long as corruption in the government remains, rebellion continues. That is, corruption sows the seed of rebellion.

Support Rebel Returnees in their Re-integration into Society (to national government).

Beginning a new life after years of armed struggle that made the condition of their life and that of their family so difficult in many aspects especially financial, the participants found it also a struggle to re-integrate themselves into the mainstream society. As earlier cited, they, having some apprehensions of the sustainability of the E-CLIP, which cannot merely rely on the assistance of the government; hence, they must find other means of earning a living. Therefore, they wanted the national government to give its unequivocal support to the rebel returnees for their welfare. The support must be sufficient for the rebel returnees to get back to normal life soon enough and must also be sustained until such time that they can be on their own. While they are now making avail of the government's program (ECLIP), they hoped that the government will show seriousness and steadfastness in the program's implementation, not forgetting what it has promised to them. That is, the government must make good of its promised reform for the rebel returnees.

Also, the participants advised that the government should in no way oppress rebel returnees by denying them the assistance it has promised to them and making access to the government's basic services hard for them. Giving all equal opportunities to the government services is termed by Auvinen (1997) as democratic opening, which if limited to the affluent few will explain the revolt of the underprivileged. Rebel returnees must be given the chance to live fully in freedom and peace. Any form of oppression by the government may undermine the resolve of the rebel returnees not to rejoin the movement. Thus, giving rebel returnees the needed assistance to start living a normal and decent life will keep them committed to the new path they have chosen to journey – that to the mainstream society.

Choose to have Vigilance and Involvement in the Affairs of Government (to society in general). To the society, the participants once took the dangerous path to demonstrate their discontentment with the government, and they realized how wrong they were treading that path of rebellion that took a costly toll on them and their family. And this they have to offer as an advice to the members of society: choose to be vigilant and involved in the affairs of the nation.

To the participants, to be vigilant means to be mindful of how the government carries its mandate to the nation. What led the participants to the bloody revolt was the perceived gross corruption in the government that they attributed to their destitution. Nevertheless, this time around, they come to realize that war can still be waged against government corruption in a peaceful way, not sacrificing human rights. They knew that their armed struggle had compromised the human rights of the civilians for whom they thought they were fighting. Many were then caught in the crossfire. The lives of the civilians were taken and their dreams and that of their loved ones were dashed out. The fight against corruption and abuses can be taken without arms to the street and even to the court, but never again to the mountains in hiding and in the darkness. Other than being vigilant, the participants also underscored the importance of the citizens' active participation in the affairs of the nation that lead to nation building.

They advised the Filipino people to always think of things that can contribute to the government and to the nation. Such piece of advice echoes the historic statement of John F. Kennedy in his inaugural address: “Ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country.” Instead of just complaining against the government for its failures or criticizing it for its weaknesses, they should also play their part responsibly– lending the government a hand in doing things right for the nation. That is, instead of making themselves enemies of the government, they must make themselves the government’s partner for advancing the welfare of the whole nation, for safeguarding the peace and order of the land, for preserving democracy, and for making the nation great.

The participants conveyed the thought that in unity much can be achieved for the country. Hence, they advised the Filipino people to hold hands for a common cause. Rather than allowing issues to divide the nation, they must strive to work together to preserve their unity to address issues confronting the nation. Such thought rings the popular quote by Publilius Syrus: “Where there is unity there is victory.” The people should also be one in generosity and kindness, each helping the other. Such thought strikes the message of altruism, which if imbibed by all and put to practice will leave no one in want and in despair. As can be recalled, the participants identified despair as one factor that pushed them and many others to join the Red. Hence, if only people would show concern for others especially those in dire need, the Red could not succeed in luring the needy to join its cause.

Based in the preceding findings, rebellion in the Philippines has been deeply rooted among the peasantry, poor and marginalized people in society. These people are highly vulnerable to political rebel discourses that promise them change in the government system and hope for the better. They are those who have been deprived as they claim of governmental services and being abused in the subsequent implementation of governmental policies, rules and laws. The deprivation theory of Gurr (1970) that advances the idea of “perceived discrepancy between expectation and value capability” could be best described in the context. Rebels here were those who had been promised and expect for those promises to be delivered by the government

effectively and efficiently yet the government failed to do, make good the promises to those who have the right to receive. The theory emphasizes that when people are frustrated with failed expectations, they felt frustrated and angry and these are the best sources of aggressions, thus resorting in rebellion against the government.

Implications for Practice

Mao Tse Tung once said “because the guerrilla warfare derives from the masses and supported by them, it can’t neither exist nor flourish if it separates itself from their sympathies and cooperation”. The political rebel returnees are a concrete manifestation of the organization’s gradual demise. The decades of struggle still failed to overthrow and be on its political power as its main goal of existence in the Philippine governance. Their twisted ideological identity into banditry and propaganda causing decreased of their comrade’s and masses support. Moreover, E-CLIP and other government programs which were intended for them is said to be of great help in reversing support for the organization to government side. However, the gradual demise as alleged by our protagonist government has still been contradicted by the movement’s unending attacks to our police and military force a manifestation still of their presence and existence. It is within this premise that the following recommendations were drawn:

The government may have more comprehensive programs on poverty alleviation such as but not limited to: government free of corruption assistance for peasants (farmers, fisherfolks, laborers and the masses in general), reaching of basic government services of the later (health, livelihood trainings through vocational and non-formal education and formal education) to far flung areas around the country not only for the rebel returnees but to all unprivileged masses thus eliminating the lure of their being part of the movement.

There may be religious and sustainable implementation of the Joint Memorandum Circular No. 2018-01, dated July 5, 2018- the implementing guidelines for the provision of DILG-Administered package of assistance for former rebels (political offenders) as the heart of the

reinvigorated Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (E-CLIP) before Social Integration Program (SIP).

Those political rebels who are still active in the movement may re-examine the kind of ideology and indoctrination as reasons of their participation and membership of the movement. They need to evaluate whether or not what they are expecting to experience after being lured to be part of is commensurate to the realities of their present existence.

The government may not be blind and deaf-mute to the needs of the poor/peasants specially in far-flung areas which are the breeding venues of the movement's ideologies and indoctrinations.

Other future researchers may conduct identical study situating in other locale or even the same participants or in another time around in order to monitor the veracity of the results of this endeavor and to know the changes and development of such revealed phenomenon.

Concluding Remarks

The revelations of the rebel returnees offer some valuable insights about the phenomenon that the national government has been battling against incessantly for more than five decades – the armed struggle of the CPP-NPA. These insights are revelatory of the realities behind the recruitment of rebels, internal issues plaguing the rebel movement, the returnees' struggles beyond their surrender or during their re-integration into the mainstream society, and the returnees' reflections on how rebellion can be curbed and how the welfare of the returnees and the underprivileged in society can best be served.

Firstly, the rebel returnees' recollections prior to their participation in the armed struggle with the political rebel disclose the factors that cause many to bite the bait of the movement's recruiters. Economic factor emerged as a primary factor explaining involvement in a revolutionary movement. The poor stand to be the most vulnerable to the lure of the rebel and poverty is an issue the rebel plays on with them. Poor education emerges as a secondary factor as it came out

most prominently as a problem the rebel returnees wished to be addressed by the national government.

Secondly, the rebel returnees' disclosures of the happenings they witnessed within the movement paint a horrific picture of the movement – the brushstrokes clearly depicting the atrocities the movement committed to its very own members. More than the exploitation by the leaders of the illegally amassed goods of the movement and the injustices committed to the common people is the termination of its alleged erring soldiers that causes many of the rebels to surrender their arms and to return to the fold of the law. The atrocities committed by the movement's leaders coupled with the very tough living conditions within the movement and the disillusionment among the members cause disgruntlement among the rebels – a reality that questions the sincerity of the political rebel to its cause, a reality that gives the rebel a bad repute, and perhaps a reality that will soon be the cause of the movement's weakening and unpopularity among the masses.

Thirdly, the rebel returnees' re-integration into the mainstream society is an attestation of the effectiveness of the government's initiatives to bring back rebels to the fold of the law. As revealed by the participants, other than their disillusion and disgruntlement, the government's pledge of support should they surrender has enticed them. Weary of the kind of life they had as rebels, they trusted the government to make good of its promise to them.

The political rebel returnees' story of their journey back to the mainstream society may either create a backlash of the government's peace initiatives among the rebels or cause them to accept the government's offer and start anew. Thus, the government's faithfulness in its program for rebel returnees is crucial to the success of all efforts of ending insurgency in the country.

Finally, the rebel returnees stand unified in the idea that the society in general plays an essential role in keeping its people, especially the underprivileged or marginalized, from turning their back against it. A caring society makes a loyal citizen. That is, every able member of the society must not turn a deaf ear to the cries of the poor, but instead offer a helping hand.



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