

**Assessment on the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (ECLIP) as perceived by rebel returnees in Agusan Del Norte, Philippines**

**Mirasol C. Malinao**

PHINMA Cagayan de Oro College  
Cagayan de Oro City, Philippines  
Email: mirasolmalinao@gmail.com

**ABSTRACT**

The study aims to assess the effectiveness of the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (ECLIP) in terms of livelihood assistance, housing assistance, educational assistance and psychosocial support as perceived by the rebel returnees in Agusan del Norte. The respondents of the study were the 159 rebel returnees from the municipality and city of Agusan del Norte. They were selected through purposive sampling. A quantitative non-experimental, causal-comparative design was utilized to describe the respondents' responses. The statistical treatment used in identifying the results were; Frequency distribution and percentages, this was used in establishing the profile of the respondents, considering the formula. And for measuring the assessment of ECLIP the descriptive statistics mean and standard deviation were used. By utilizing the test, the results showed that the profile of the respondents do not have a significant difference with their assessment on the effectiveness of the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (ECLIP). Recommendations for the government, NGO's, rebel returnees and future research endeavors and improvements for the implementations of the program were also provided.

**Keywords:** Rebel returnees, Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program, livelihood assistance, housing assistance, educational assistance, psychosocial support, assessment

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**INTRODUCTION**

The Philippine government has long grappled with insurgency while striving to protect life and uphold peace among its citizens. Decades of armed encounters with rebels and terrorist groups have resulted in the loss of thousands of lives—not only among government forces and insurgents but, most tragically, among innocent civilians. This prolonged conflict motivated former President Rodrigo Duterte to intensify efforts toward ending local insurgencies, emphasizing that peace must be achieved without sacrificing the welfare of Filipino communities. In pursuit of this goal, Duterte

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issued Administrative Order No. 10, “Centralizing All Government Efforts for the Reintegration of Former Rebels and Creating for the Purpose an Inter-Agency Task Force,” which established the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (E-CLIP). This program responded to the public’s demand for a peaceful solution that does not rely on violence or further bloodshed rooted in ideological differences.

The Philippine experience aligns with global patterns observed in regions such as Latin America, where rural guerrilla conflict and urban terrorism escalated in response to social inequality and political repression. Many of these movements drew inspiration from the Cuban revolutionary model, with Cuba providing support, training, and ideological guidance to other guerrilla groups. In Chile, for example, communist leader and former Recoleta Mayor Daniel Jadue stated that their movement sought to fundamentally transform the state, which they viewed as an instrument of class domination incapable of responding to the needs of its people (Philippine News Agency, n.d.). These international parallels highlight the ideological motivations and structural grievances that often fuel armed rebellion, including the longstanding insurgency in the Philippines led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), New People’s Army (NPA), and National Democratic Front (NDF).

With the government’s persistent campaign for peace and order, particularly against communist insurgency, significant progress has been recorded since the implementation of E-CLIP. As of December 28, 2018, approximately 8,367 communist rebels had surrendered to the government. Of these, 1,207 were identified as armed NPA regulars, while the remainder consisted of Militia ng Bayan members, Sangay ng Partido sa Lokal operatives, and underground mass activists. A total of 1,117 former rebels received government benefits under E-CLIP, and an additional ₱170 million was allocated to 34 provinces and cities for the construction of halfway houses as part of the reintegration support system (Philippine News Agency, n.d.). More recent reports also document individual surrender cases, such as that of a former Vice Team Leader of the NPA’s Sandatahang Yunit Pampropaganda (SYP) under the North Central Mindanao Regional Committee, who yielded to authorities in May 2022 after expressing disillusionment with the false promises of the movement (Caraga Police Chief Warns Cops vs. NPA Assassins | Philippine News Agency, n.d.).

Despite these developments, local studies on reintegration programs for rebel returnees remain limited, particularly in provinces heavily affected by conflict such as Agusan del Norte. While numerous international studies examine similar programs in post-conflict settings, Philippine-based evidence—especially evaluations of E-CLIP’s effectiveness—remains sparse. This gap underscores the need to assess the extent of program implementation to assure the public, especially taxpayers, that government resources contribute meaningfully not only to the reintegration of former rebels but also to sustaining peace and security within local communities. Moreover, evaluating the program provides the government with critical insights into whether E-CLIP genuinely improves the lives of returnees and their families. In this regard, the present study seeks to measure and explore the effectiveness of the government’s reintegration program for rebel returnees, while addressing the shortage of local references on reintegration initiatives in the Philippine context.

Statement of the problem

The purpose of this study was to assess the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (E-CLIP) in the areas of livelihood assistance, housing assistance, educational assistance, and psychosocial support as perceived by rebel returnees in Agusan del Norte. In addition, the study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What is the profile of the respondents in terms of age, sex, educational attainment, occupation, and ethnicity?
2. How do the respondents assess the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (E-CLIP) in terms of livelihood assistance, housing assistance, educational assistance, and psychosocial support?
3. Is there a significant difference in the respondents' assessment of the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (E-CLIP) when grouped according to their profile?

## METHODOLOGY

This study employed a descriptive research design to determine whether a significant difference exists between the profile of rebel returnees and their assessment of the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (E-CLIP). Descriptive research identifies what is present, determines the frequency of its occurrence, and classifies the data, as noted by Aggarwal and Rangathan. Cherney and Hartley (2017) emphasized that quantitative research aims to generate knowledge and create understanding about the social world, particularly by observing phenomena affecting individuals. Apuke (2017) further stated that quantitative research involves collecting and analyzing numerical data to identify patterns and averages, make predictions, test causal relationships, and generalize results to wider populations. Guided by these principles, the present study examined the effectiveness of E-CLIP in terms of livelihood assistance, housing assistance, educational assistance, and psychosocial support, and sought to determine the significant differences in respondents' assessments when grouped according to their demographic profile.

The research was conducted in the municipalities of Buenavista, Carmen, Jabonga, Kitcharao, Las Nieves, Nasipit, Remedios T. Romualdez, Santiago, Tubay, and the city of Cabadbaran, all located in Agusan del Norte, which have documented rebel returnees and presence of CPP-NPA-NDF members. Agusan del Norte is a province in the Caraga Region of Mindanao with Cabadbaran City as its capital. It is bordered northwest by Butuan Bay, northeast by Surigao del Norte, mid-east by Agusan del Sur, and southwest by Misamis Oriental. The province covers a total land area of 2,730.4 square kilometers or 1,054.15 square miles and is inhabited by dominant ethnic groups such as the Higaonon, Manobo, Mamanwa, Banwaon, and Mandaya. Its economy is predominantly agricultural, producing rice, corn, coconut, abaca, banana, and mango.

To determine the appropriate sample size, the study used GPower software, applying a minimum effect size of .25, a significance level of .05, and a statistical power of .80, resulting in a recommended sample of 159 respondents. GPower computes statistical power analyses for t tests, F tests, chi-square tests, z tests, and exact tests. It is recommended for sample size and power calculations because it is free, easy to use, and offers a wide variety of calculations, graphics, and protocol statement outputs, making it effective for promoting the routine application of power analysis (Kang, 2021). The study employed purposive sampling, also known as judgment sampling,

which involves the deliberate selection of respondents based on specific qualities or characteristics. As explained by Etikan et al. (2016), this technique identifies individuals who are knowledgeable about the phenomenon being studied. Respondents were selected based on age, sex, educational attainment, occupation, ethnicity, and confirmation by the Agusan del Norte Provincial Police Office as rebel returnees under E-CLIP. The final distribution included 6 respondents from Buenavista, 3 from Cabadbaran City, 30 from Carmen, 2 from Jabonga, 20 from Kitcharao, 52 from Las Nieves, 33 from Nasipit, 6 from Remedios T. Romualdez, 3 from Santiago, and 4 from Tubay, totaling 159.

Ethical guidelines were strictly observed throughout the study. The researcher provided all respondents with complete information regarding the nature and purpose of the research before obtaining voluntary participation. All questions in the survey instrument were translated and explained to ensure comprehension. Because of the sensitive nature of the topic and the need to protect respondents' identities, photographs were taken only with participants' permission and without revealing facial features. The researcher consistently safeguarded participants' right to privacy and dignity and ensured that confidentiality was strictly maintained to produce unbiased and credible results.

Data were collected using a survey questionnaire personally designed by the researcher based on the Implementing Rules and Regulations of Administrative Order No. 10, "Centralizing All Government Efforts for the Reintegration of Former Rebels and Creating for the Purpose an Inter-Agency Task Force," as amended by Administrative Order No. 25. The instrument aimed to assess the effectiveness of E-CLIP across livelihood assistance, housing assistance, educational assistance, and psychosocial support. It consisted of two parts: Part 1 gathered demographic information (age, sex, educational attainment, occupation, and ethnicity), while Part 2 measured respondents' assessments of the program. The researcher explained each question to ensure accurate responses and assisted participants who could not read or write.

Instrument validation involved submitting the questionnaire to the researcher's adviser for feedback, followed by revisions and a pre-test. Pre-test respondents were excluded from the final administration. Results were submitted to a statistician who conducted reliability measurements, particularly Cronbach's alpha. All items met the required reliability criteria, indicating good internal consistency.

Before gathering data, the researcher secured authorization through formal request letters addressed to the Provincial Director of the Agusan del Norte Police Office via the E-CLIP focal person and to the Provincial Director of the Department of the Interior and Local Government. After approval, the researcher distributed the survey questionnaires across the selected municipalities and conducted face-to-face surveys while observing mandated safety and health protocols. Visits to respondents' homes were conducted with police assistance, and in areas with scheduled assemblies of rebel returnees, surveys were distributed after the activities. Questions were explained in the dialect most familiar to respondents, and the researcher translated items for those unable to read or write. Only identified and available E-CLIP beneficiaries were surveyed. After collection, all data were recorded confidentially and tabulated with the assistance of a statistician.

Responses were scored using a four-point scale with numerical and adjectival values: 4 represented Strongly Agree (Highly Effective), 3 represented Agree (Effective), 2 represented Disagree (Ineffective), and 1 represented Strongly Disagree (Not Effective at All). The numerical

ranges were derived by subtracting the lowest scale value (1) from the highest (4), producing a difference of 3, which was then divided by the four scale levels, yielding .75. These increments established the following ranges: 1.00–1.75 for scale 1, 1.76–2.51 for scale 2, 2.52–3.27 for scale 3, and 3.28–4.00 for scale 4. Each range was described and interpreted accordingly.

For statistical analysis, frequency distribution and percentages were used to establish respondent profiles. Mean and standard deviation measured their assessment of E-CLIP. The Mann–Whitney test was used to compare assessments between two groups, such as sex, while the Kruskal–Wallis test analyzed differences across categorical variables and assessed variations in respondents’ perceptions of E-CLIP.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of results is grounded on the data gathered from 159 rebel returnees across the municipalities and city of Agusan del Norte who were purposively selected according to the criteria established in the methodology—namely age, sex, educational attainment, occupation, ethnicity, and verified identification as E-CLIP beneficiaries by the Agusan del Norte Provincial Police Office. Using the validated researcher-made questionnaire aligned with Administrative Orders 10 and 25, the study sought to assess the effectiveness of the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (ECLIP) in the domains of livelihood, housing, educational assistance, and psychosocial support. The respondents were surveyed face-to-face across multiple sitios, barangays, and municipal assemblies, resulting in a complete set of quantitative data analyzed through descriptive statistics, Mann–Whitney U tests, and Kruskal–Wallis tests. The succeeding sections present the comprehensive interpretation of the results.

### Demographic profile of respondents

The distribution of respondents according to age showed that the largest clusters were those aged 25 and below (36 individuals or 23%) and those aged 31–35 (also 36 individuals or 23%). These were followed by 34 respondents or 21% within the age range of 36–40, 14 respondents or 9% within 26–30, 13 respondents or 8% in the 41–45 range, and 26 respondents or 16% who were 46 years old and above. These patterns suggest that many returnees joined the communist movement in their youth, a phenomenon consistent with Haer and Böhmelt’s (2016) argument that young recruits—particularly those lacking education or economic stability—become vulnerable to conflict-driven participation. Bloom (2019) likewise noted that children and youth in extremist movements are “made” through indoctrination and deprivation. The age distribution therefore reflects both vulnerability during early adulthood and a potential for long-term reintegration, as most respondents are still within productive years. The Armed Forces of the Philippines’ practice of enlisting young returnees beginning at the rank of Private further reinforces the possibility of redirecting their combat experience toward national service.

In terms of sex, 108 respondents or 68% were male, while 51 or 32% were female. This distribution supports the established trend that armed groups are disproportionately composed of men, who are typically more exposed to combat, risk-taking, and recruitment pressures. Gurr (2015) described the male response to perceived injustice as one that often escalates toward retaliation and violence, which explains their overrepresentation in insurgent groups. Nevertheless, the high number of male returnees holds significant reintegration opportunity: with government livelihood

programs and ECLIP's structured support, men may transition back to fulfilling roles as fathers, husbands, and community providers. Blattman and Annan (2016) further observed that employment programs for former combatants substantially reduce illicit behavior by replacing violent identities with productive economic roles.

With regard to educational attainment, a dominant 111 respondents or 70% had reached only the elementary level without completing it. Another 27 or 17% were elementary graduates, 16 or 10% were high school graduates, and only 5 or 3% had finished college. The overwhelming number of undereducated individuals confirms longstanding findings that limited schooling heightens susceptibility to recruitment due to misinformation, lack of opportunities, and isolation. JR (2018) documented that many Filipino youths joined armed groups not because of ideological commitment but due to idleness, hardship, or the appeal of carrying firearms. The results therefore illuminate the urgent need for accessible education, especially in geographically isolated and disadvantaged communities where rebel influence is strongest.

The occupational profile indicates that 94 respondents or 59% were farmers, 26 or 16% were fishermen, 17 or 11% were employed in other occupations, 4 or 3% managed small businesses, and 18 or 11% reported having no occupation. Mirroring Agusan del Norte's agricultural landscape, the predominance of farmers reflects rural vulnerability to insurgent recruitment. Bagozzi et al. (2017) noted that rebel atrocities often occur in rural agricultural regions where state presence is weak and communities feel excluded. The data therefore emphasize the need for strong agricultural support, rural infrastructure, and government visibility to weaken insurgent influence.

The ethnicity of respondents further supports this pattern. The largest group belonged to the Higaonon tribe (59 respondents or 37%), followed by Manobo (36 or 23%), Kalagan and Mandaya groups (each 9 or 6%), Kamayo (10 or 6%), Tausug (8 or 5%), Maranao (5 or 3%), and other mixed ethnicities (23 or 14%). The dominance of indigenous groups in the sample is consistent with studies showing that marginalized ethnic communities are more vulnerable to conflict due to historical exclusion and geographic isolation. Denny and Walter (2014) observed that ethnic groups with deep grievances against the state are more likely to mobilize or be mobilized for armed resistance. Lindemann and Wimmer (2018) added that rebel mobilization thrives where state presence is limited and grievances remain unresolved. These findings underscore the intersection between ethnicity, marginalization, and insurgent recruitment.

#### Assessment of livelihood assistance

Respondents strongly agreed that ECLIP's livelihood assistance was effective, as shown by the overall mean of 3.72 with a standard deviation of 0.46. The highest-rated indicator was the statement, "I became more productive and responsible as a result of ECLIP's livelihood training and services," which obtained a mean of 3.77. The lowest, though still interpreted as strongly agree, was the statement, "The livelihood trainings given were useful and simple," with a mean of 3.67. These findings affirm that ECLIP's livelihood interventions significantly enhanced returnees' ability to generate income, develop skills, and rebuild self-worth. Livelihood support serves as a stabilizing mechanism, a concept affirmed in Hettiarachchi's (2013) study of Sri Lankan ex-combatant reintegration, where vocational training and employment opportunities substantially improved post-conflict transitions. Similarly, Cubero et al. (2022) found statistically significant

improvements in rebel returnees' living standards after program participation. With the government's continued provision of work, livelihood, and educational options, returnees are effectively supported in redefining their identities as productive community members.

#### Assessment of housing assistance

The housing assistance component was also rated highly effective, registering an overall mean of 3.46 and a standard deviation of 0.42. The highest-rated item, with a mean of 3.55, expressed that ECLIP “was able to provide the financial, material and land area where I can build my own home.” Meanwhile, the indicators concerning housing quality and access to essential services obtained the lowest means at 3.42, though both remained in the strongly agree range. These responses indicate satisfaction with the foundational support provided but also highlight expectations for improved housing quality, durability, and integration with schools, health facilities, and employment hubs. Macdonald and Kerali (2020) emphasized that return is often a “new beginning” rather than a return to the past, and adequate housing forms a cornerstone of that new life. However, consistent with Seneviratne et al. (2015), challenges in post-conflict housing reconstruction persist, particularly in ensuring that all housing needs—including safety, accessibility, and sustainability—are met. While ECLIP offers a promising foundation, respondents' answers suggest that the housing component would benefit from strengthened implementation and improved alignment with community-level development.

#### Assessment of educational assistance

Educational assistance received an overall mean of 3.59 and a standard deviation of 0.49, interpreted as highly effective. The highest mean of 3.63 pertained to the indicator, “ECLIP's educational assistance helped me boost my self-confidence to be educated and have a better future,” reflecting how education restored dignity, hope, and a sense of purpose among returnees. The lowest-rated item, with a mean of 3.55, concerned the assurance of proper education for beneficiaries, which—while strongly agreed upon—points to a desire for continuous support for their families. Given that 70% of respondents did not complete elementary school, the high valuation of educational assistance is expected. Gaspar (2016) reported similar patterns in Compostela Valley, where former rebels aged 15–45 required profiling by social workers to address educational gaps. Haer and Böhmelt (2016) further connected lack of education to long-term economic disadvantage in post-conflict settings, reinforcing why educational aid is pivotal for reintegration. As Paglayan (2022) argued, primary schooling instills values of discipline and civic responsibility that reduce the likelihood of future rebellion, underscoring education's preventive and transformative role.

#### Assessment of psychosocial support

Psychosocial support was likewise deemed highly effective, with an overall mean of 3.56 and a standard deviation of 0.33. The highest-rated item (mean 3.62) was the statement that church-based Bible study groups helped returnees “become religious again,” underscoring the role of spiritual reorientation and community building in healing. The lowest mean, though still strongly agreed at 3.52, concerned activities catering to talents, suggesting that respondents desire more

creative and confidence-building activities. The results reveal that respondents meaningfully benefited from conversations with social workers, peer group discussions, trauma processing sessions, and faith-based engagements. Hettiarachchi (2013) observed similar improvements in interpersonal interaction and emotional resilience among rehabilitated combatants in Sri Lanka, while Sydes et al. (2022) noted that community engagement reduces isolation and fosters hope. Overall, psychosocial support under ECLIP appears to have strengthened trust, optimism, and relational integration for the returnees.

### Summary of program effectiveness

Comparative analysis of program domains shows that livelihood assistance achieved the highest mean score (3.72), followed by educational assistance (3.59), psychosocial support (3.56), and housing assistance (3.46). All components were assessed as highly effective, indicating that the returnees meaningfully experienced ECLIP's holistic reintegration support. The relatively lower rating for housing assistance suggests an area for improvement, particularly in terms of quality, accessibility, and sufficiency of housing interventions.

### Differences in ECLIP assessment across demographic groups

#### Age

When comparing assessments across age groups using the Kruskal–Wallis test, none of the program domains showed significant differences. The p-values were 0.854 for livelihood, 0.845 for housing, 0.552 for educational assistance, and 0.833 for psychosocial support, all exceeding the significance threshold of 0.05. This finding indicates that ECLIP was consistently perceived as effective regardless of age. JR (2018) noted that individuals of diverse ages joined insurgent groups due to varying hardships, yet their reintegration needs remain aligned, a pattern mirrored in this study.

#### Sex

The Mann–Whitney U test likewise revealed no significant differences according to sex, with p-values of 0.331 for livelihood, 0.587 for housing, 0.706 for educational assistance, and 0.854 for psychosocial support. Male and female returnees perceived the program similarly, which aligns with field reports from Davao de Oro, where both male and female rebels received equitable financial and reintegration assistance (Cubero et al., 2022). The finding suggests that the gender-responsive elements of ECLIP have been applied consistently.

#### Educational attainment

No significant differences were observed when assessments were compared across educational levels. All p-values exceeded 0.05, indicating that college graduates, elementary graduates, high school graduates, and elementary-level respondents all shared similar perceptions of program effectiveness. This demonstrates ECLIP's broad applicability across education

backgrounds. Complementary government initiatives in places like New Bataan, where educational materials and services were distributed to former NPA-affected communities (Cubero et al., 2022), reinforce this finding.

### Occupation

Occupational classification also did not yield significant differences, as all program domains generated p-values above 0.05. Regardless of whether respondents were farmers, fishermen, employed workers, business owners, or unemployed, their assessment of ECLIP remained consistent. This suggests that reintegration assistance adequately addresses occupational needs across groups. Lodangco (2022) similarly found that sustained government support in securing employment and ensuring safety significantly eased the returnees' transition.

### Ethnicity

Finally, comparison by ethnicity through the Kruskal–Wallis test showed no significant differences, with all p-values above 0.05. Higaonon, Manobo, Kalagan, Mandaya, Kamayo, Tausug, Maranao, and respondents belonging to other ethnicities all perceived ECLIP as similarly effective. This result mirrors broader findings that inclusive reintegration programs reduce ethnic-based marginalization (Harris-Hogan et al., 2016; Cederman et al., 2010). Ensuring equitable implementation across ethnic communities remains essential, given the historical vulnerability of these groups to insurgent recruitment.

## CONCLUSION

The conclusions of this study derive directly from the findings gathered from 159 rebel returnees in Agusan del Norte, whose demographic characteristics provide important context for understanding the patterns of insurgent involvement and reintegration outcomes. The majority of the respondents were young adults and male, with most having reached only the elementary level of education. They were predominantly farmers and largely belonged to the Higaonon ethnic group, which is also the dominant ethnic community in Agusan del Norte. These results support the conclusion that many of the respondents had family members who were previously affiliated with rebel groups, and they themselves grew up in environments where exposure to insurgent ideologies was common. Since the Higaonon group constitutes a significant portion of the local population, it is justifiable that many rebel returnees are also members of the same ethnic community. Furthermore, because agriculture is the fundamental source of income in the province, it follows that a large number of rebel returnees are farmers by nature and livelihood. Their geographical and socio-economic conditions—being situated in distant and often underserved areas—may have contributed to their vulnerability to recruitment and participation in armed resistance.

The study also concludes that the Enhanced Comprehensive Local Integration Program (ECLIP) is perceived by rebel returnees as highly effective, particularly in the domains of livelihood assistance and educational assistance. Respondents affirmed that livelihood support helped them survive their daily lives as civilians and provided them with opportunities to rebuild their economic stability. Educational assistance, in turn, enabled them and their family members to pursue studies, thus preparing them for a better future and helping restore their confidence and

sense of purpose. While housing assistance and psychosocial support were likewise rated as highly effective, the findings show that livelihood and educational components are most felt and valued by the respondents. The strong perceptions of effectiveness across all four domains indicate that the program is fulfilling its intended roles in reintegration. The results also reveal that the program's implementation is consistent across demographic characteristics, as the study found no significant differences in returnees' assessments of livelihood, housing, educational assistance, and psychosocial support when grouped according to age, sex, educational attainment, occupation, or ethnicity. This suggests that ECLIP is uniformly beneficial, demonstrating that the services are indeed received and experienced by the respondents as intended.

These conclusions lead to several recommendations informed by the study's data. The Philippine government, through the National Housing Authority, must continue to provide quality and secured houses for rebel returnees and their families, ensuring that homes are located in safe and accessible communities where returnees can rebuild their lives. Non-Government Organizations such as Gawad Kalinga may expand their assistance by donating facilities, materials, and support that can help expedite the construction of new homes. Likewise, organizations like the Psychological Association of the Philippines and other private groups can provide continuous psychological and social interventions to help returnees heal from past traumas and cultivate hope for their future as civilians. On the part of the returnees, particularly among Higaonon communities with the guidance of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, there must be a sustained desire to cooperate with government programs and protect the properties, benefits, and opportunities provided to them. They must take responsibility in using these gains wisely, seeking self-improvement regardless of educational background or ethnic identity, and recognizing that the success of any government program depends heavily on their full cooperation, support, and appreciation.

Finally, given the scope and importance of reintegration in long-term peacebuilding, further research similar to this study is necessary. Continuous assessment and evaluation of ECLIP's implementation across the country will allow policymakers and stakeholders to determine whether the government's desired outcomes are being met, and whether reintegration efforts remain effective, equitable, and responsive to the needs of rebel returnees. Through sustained research and program refinement, the nation may better ensure that former rebels are fully reintegrated, empowered, and supported in their transition to peaceful, productive lives within their communities.

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