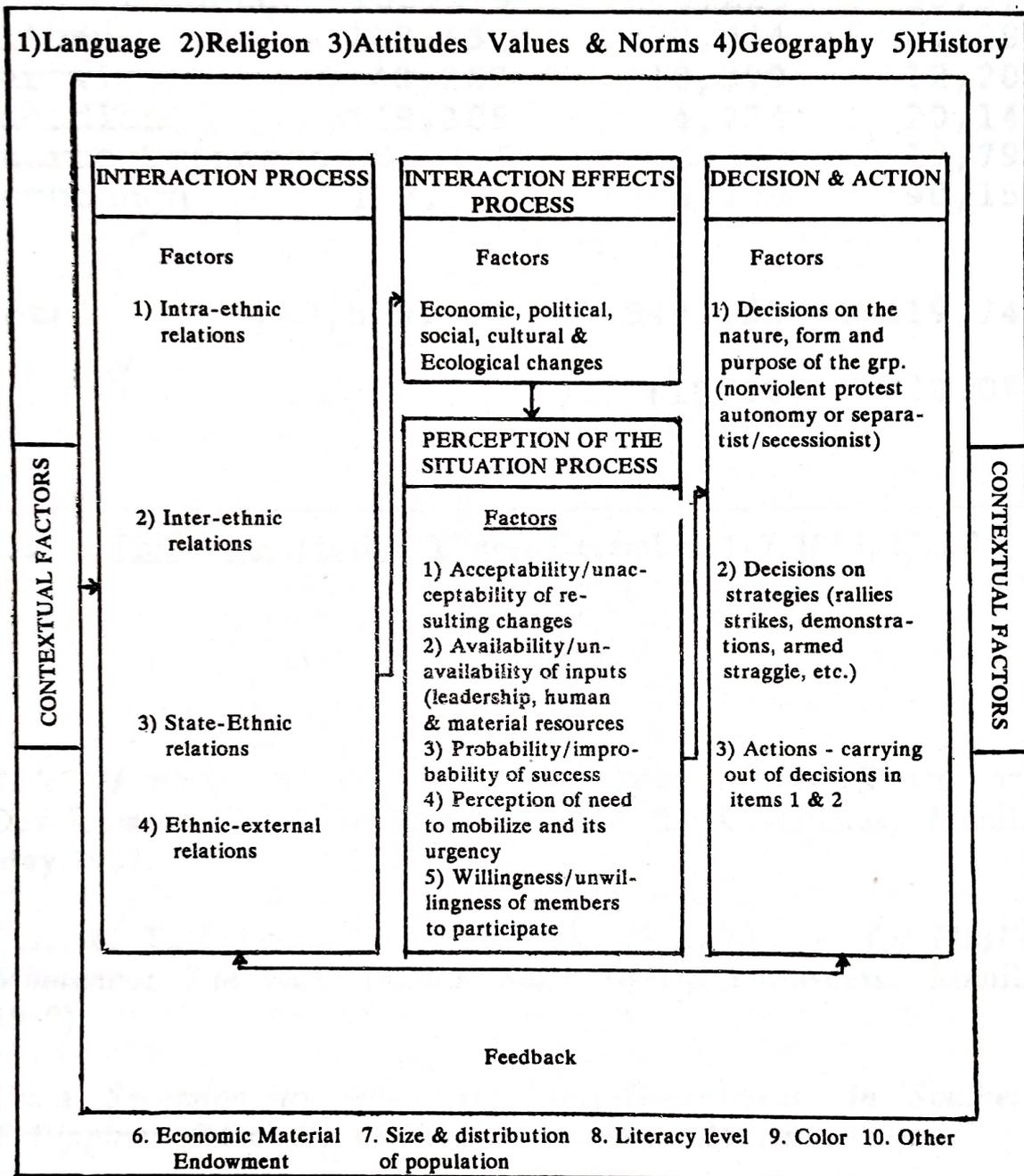


Appendix A

**A GENERAL MODEL OF THE PROCESS OF ETHNIC MOBILIZATION
(A Schematic Diagram)**



A MODEL OF ETHNIC MOBILIZATION

Macapado A. Muslim

State-ethnic conflict or anti-state ethnic mobilization is one of the serious forms of conflict besetting the world today. Aside from the Philippines, other countries faced by this problem include Sri Lanka, Thailand, Indonesia, India, Spain, Lebanon, South Africa, Northern Ireland and the Soviet Union.

This paper is designed to help in the efforts to understand and find appropriate remedies to this conflict. It presents a general model of the process of ethnic mobilization, i.e., how a particular ethnic group gets mobilized against the state. This model has the potential to serve as a guide or heuristic tool that a researcher can use to identify the possible factors involved in an ethnic group's anti-state mobilization. The factors or elements identified in this model may be used as pointers or guideposts in data gathering works concerning a particular case of state-ethnic conflict.

Components/Elements

The ethnic mobilization process may be viewed as consisting of five units (see schematic diagram, Appendix A). The first unit, context, is comprised of the following factors, namely: 1) language; 2) religion; 3) attitudes, values and norms; 4) geography which includes compatibility between territorial boundaries and ethnic composition/distribution, and distance from, or accessibility of, the center; 5) history of the group; 6) economic conditions which include level of resource endowment; 7) size and distribution of the population; 8) literacy level, 9) color, and other similar factors.

The second unit, interaction process, consists of the following: 1) intra-ethnic relations which include interpersonal (individual to individual) and inter-sub-group (like inter-elite) relations within ethnic groups; 2) inter-ethnic relations which include interpersonal and inter-sub-group (like inter-elite) relations across ethnic boundaries; 3) state-ethnic relations which include interactions between the individual members of an ethnic group and the state, between sub-groups (like political, economic and religious elites) and the state, and between the ethnic group as a collectivity and the state; and 4) ethnic-external relations which include interactions between members of an ethnic group (individually and collectively) and external/foreign entities.

The third unit, interaction effects, embraces the changes (economic, social, cultural, political and ecological) resulting from the different levels of the interaction process.

The fourth unit, perception/interpretation of the situation process, consists of the following: 1) acceptability or unacceptability of the changes resulting from the interaction process and the members' (individually and collectively) general situation as affected by such changes; 2) availability or unavailability of the inputs deemed necessary for ethnic mobilization which include leadership, communication channels, adequate human and material resources, and external assistance or alliance; 3) perception of the probability or improbability of success of the struggle against the state and/or other considered enemies; 4) perception of the need to mobilize which includes its urgency; 5) willingness or unwillingness of members to do something about the situation, or share in mobilization efforts.

The fifth unit, decision and action process, involves the making of decisions on what to do, how, when, where and who will do what, and the carrying out of decisions. Specifically, it embraces decisions on the nature, form and purpose of mobilization (non-violent protest movement, autonomy movement, or separatist movement), and on strategies of action (e.g., protest rallies, strikes, demonstrations, presentation of position papers or manifestoes and armed struggle).

Dynamics

The contextual factors are seen as originally neutral factors, i.e., they are not direct explainers or causers of ethnic mobilization. The model holds that differences in such things as language, religion, color, attitudes, values, geography and education do not directly cause ethnic tensions and mobilization. To illustrate, being a follower of a certain faith (alone) does not predispose members of the faith to dislike members of other faiths. Being 'white' (alone) does not predispose one to dislike 'blacks' and vice versa. Being without exposure to Western secular education does not predispose one to detest and hate individuals educated in the West. Being far from the national capital does not predispose one ethnic group (or members thereof) to rebel against the state.

The interaction process is the center stage in the whole ethnic mobilization process. The intra-ethnic, inter-ethnic, state-ethnic, and ethnic-external relations may generate changes or conditions which are unacceptable and worth protesting or opposing by (therefore, causing to mobilize) the affected ethnic group or groups. To illustrate, the mobilization of a particular ethnic group may be ushered in by competition for political and economic resources among its elites in which losers (or those who feel aggrieved) may initiate the mobilization of the group to alter existing patterns of distribution of such resources. In this case, the winning elites may be viewed as puppets or agents of an allegedly corrupt and unjust central government. Mobilization may also spring from the resolve of a group of idealistic and committed young professionals to grab power from the traditional leaders in their ethnic group (who enjoy the support of the central government) whom they view more as impedances to, rather than facilitators of, their community's development.

Mobilization may be unleashed by interpersonal relations across ethnic boundaries which are tainted by ethnic biases and prejudices. The ethnocentric behaviors of members of one ethnic group (especially the dominant majority) toward members of minority ethnic group may lead the latter to develop a feeling of animosity towards the former. Non-recognition or non-tolerance

of the culture of a person because you are convinced that your culture is superior to his or her culture would injure that person's ethnic pride.

Members of a minority ethnic group may be mobilized by their perception (which may be wrong) of injustices and exploitative domination allegedly by members of other groups (the dominant majority). This may include taking advantage by members of the dominant ethnic group of the weaknesses of the minority ethnic group (e.g., illiteracy) to their favor. Mobilization may also spring from the political competition between some leaders belonging to two different ethnic groups in one political or territorial system. It may be a result of manipulative efforts of politically dislodged elites (against others belonging to their ethnic group or other groups).

The operation of the state may generate conditions which may mobilize members of one or more of its constituent ethnic groups. A centralized political setup may not be acceptable to members of ethnic groups inhabiting the peripheral parts of a country who believe they must be adequately represented and allowed active participation in the different agencies and processes of governance, and who view representation and participation therein as an inextricable part of their security and survival. Mobilization may result from an ethnically lopsided distribution of rewards by the state. This may cause individuals who perceive their group to be discriminated against to feel that they are being treated as second class citizens and lead them to think that they have no future in remaining within the system. The mobilization of one ethnic group may result from public policies and programs deemed prejudicial to its interests. It may also result from perceived government neglect.

The mobilization of an ethnic group may also be precipitated by factors related to its (or its members') external linkages. It may result from conflicts between states. It may spring from certain changes (including dislocations) traceable to certain external influences or entities.

As could be gleaned from the preceding discussion, the interaction process is the specific part of the ethnic mobilization process where accumulation of grievances takes place. In addition, it must be noted that it is in this part of the mobilization process where the contextual factors (language, religion, attitudes, etc.) are activated and may function as the principal causers or explainers of ethnic mobilization. To illustrate, differences in language, religion and color between two ethnic groups do not predispose one to mobilize against the other. They become or appear to be causes of ethnic mobilization when they are used in the interaction among individuals and sub-groups across ethnic boundaries and also in the encounters between members and sub-groups of ethnic groups and the state. Language is activated when the language of one group (usually the dominant group in the state apparatus) is superimposed on a minority group as one of the instruments of the former to dominate the latter. Religion as a factor is activated when used (or perceived by members of one ethnic group to have been used) as a criterion in the state's distribution of resources and rewards. A good example of this is the practice by governments in some multi-ethnic countries of denying deserving junior military officers belonging to a minority ethnic group the privilege to be promoted to higher positions in their military bureaucracies because of fear that they may dominate the same in the future. Color is activated when used as a criterion for social stratification, or when used to mean social quality. An example of this is when a black is denied admission to a club or restaurant because of his color. Geography as a factor is activated when, for instance, the central government is perceived to be favoring certain areas (urbanized centers) and consistently neglecting farflung areas inhabited by minority ethnic groups.

As previously discussed, intra-ethnic, inter-ethnic, state-ethnic, and ethnic-external relations or interactions generate certain changes or conditions (economic, social, cultural, political and ecological). The changes generated in the interaction process are given meanings in the subjective perception of the same by the interacting individuals, sub-groups and groups. Consequently, some individuals, sub-groups or groups may perceive inequities (not necessarily actual) in these changes which may lead to ethnic

based mobilization, i.e., organization and action by members of the aggrieved ethnic group against the state and/or other groups. This perception or interpretation of the situation or the resulting changes is crucial because it shapes the nature and forms of action a group will take in the future. It determines whether the group will mobilize or not, and if it decides to mobilize, the nature of its mobilization (protest movement, autonomy movement, or separatist movement) and the activities it will undertake (such as non-violent rallies, submission of position papers or manifestoes, strikes, demonstrations; or armed struggle).

For an ethnic group to get mobilized, its members must have perceived the objective conditions generated by the interaction process to be unacceptable (this presupposes perception of the reality of grievances like injustices, exploitation and discrimination); high probability of success should they decide to mobilize - i.e., wage a struggle; the need to mobilize and its urgency; and they must be willing to do something about the situation, or share in the mobilization efforts.