

Philippines

Ethnicity in Philippines

Group selection

In the Philippines, the decisive units for an assessment of access to/exclusion from executive power on the central state level are pan-ethnic categories (corresponding to ethnic clusters), not ethnic groups. Thus, we can determine relative power access for Christian lowlanders, the Fil-Chinese (=Filipinos of Chinese descent), the Moro (= Muslim Filipinos) and the Indigenous Cultural Communities (ICC, the official designation for indigenous peoples in the country). There is neither a public nor a hidden key that decides entitlement to power access for the ethnic groups proper, e.g. the Ilokano, Tagalog, Visaya. The pan-ethnic categories (ethnic clusters) consist each of the following major ethnic/ethno-linguistic groups:

- 1) Christian lowlanders: Tagalog; Ilokano; Pangasinan; Bikolano; Waray-Waray; Aklan; Ilongo (Hiligaynon); Cebuano.
- 2) Fil-Chinese: mostly Hokkien Moro: Maguindanao; Maranao; Tausug; Sambal; Yakan.
- 3) Moro: Muslim Filipinos inhabiting the southern Mindanao region.
- 4) Indigenous Cultural Communities: Kankanaey; Bontok; Kalinga; Ifugao; Gaddang; Tinggian; Ilongot; Agta; Aeta; Mangyan; Tagbanua; Palaw'an; Manobo; Bagobo; Mangguangan; Mandaya/Mansaka; Bukidnon; B'laan; T'boli; Tiruray; Dulangan; Tagabili; Subanen.

In the Philippine case, changes in groups' relative access to power are indicated not by alterations in the distribution of central power, but by changing local or regional power constellations. Highest executive offices and senate and congress seats circulate exclusively among the Christian lowlander Filipinos, with the occasional cabinet post that goes to a member of the Moro or the Fil-Chinese minority who was propelled to power on a party ticket. The two decisive forces are the separatist movement in the Muslim south, which began around 1971, and the movement for self-determination (which implies for the Philippines cultural and economic demands rather than secession) among the country's indigenous peoples, whose start roughly coincided with the fall of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986. Both movements have not aimed for national executive offices.

Power relations

Christian lowlanders: Christian lowlander ethnic groups share power as part of an informal ethnic coalition. Power runs in political dynasties/families that have a local base in the province; "ethnicity" (e.g. a politician's Tagalog, Ilokano or Cebuano background) plays a subordinated role to political entrepreneurship that operates on the basis of clan-based networks. Regionally-based political families access power through a neo-patrimonial national party system. There are Muslim political dynasties that dominate local politics in Mindanao; occasionally, they conquer cabinet positions in Manila, but on the main, executive political power on the national level is an all-Christian lowlander affair. Christian lowlanders have been coded as having the power monopoly for the period 1946-1971, and as being merely dominant ever after. The 2010 General Election results suggest that this pattern is likely to continue.

Moro: The Moro launched an armed struggle for secession in the beginning of the 1970s, which led to a peace agreement based on the central state's offer of regional autonomy in 1976 (Tripoli Agreement). Various and changing armed groups have since continued the struggle for secession and/or an Islamic state in Muslim Mindanao, prompting ever new state attempts at co-opting them by offers of regional autonomy (the latest one being the establishment of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) in 1989, and the expansion of the ARMM's coverage in 2001). Moros were coded as being powerless before the onset of armed radicalism (1971), as having local power through secession between 1971 and 1986, and 1986 and 1989, and local power ever since, secured by the autonomy scheme put into place in 1989. Moro participation in political life remained localized to the ARMM and sub-regional governments in Mindanao. One notable exception was the bid by Jamalul Kiram III, current Sultan of Sulu, to obtain a Senate position in the 2007 General Elections. On the whole, Moro access to political power persists only at the sub-state level. The expansion of Moro access to political power is hampered by continuing insurgent and terrorist attacks by the MILF and Abu Sayyaf which have made political compromise difficult. Several tentative peace agreements reached in the 2000s were undermined by political violence. In 1990, the population of the ARMM was 2,108,061 and by 2010 had risen to 3,256,140 or approximately 3.5% of the country's population.

Indigenous Cultural Communities: In the case of the Indigenous Cultural Communities (ICC), the struggle has been for local territorial control, and perhaps for the re-drawing of local-level political units (i.e. creation of "indigenous" municipalities), but executive office at the national level was never in the purview of indigenous political leaders. Mobilization (though not for a share of national power) coincided with the downfall of Marcos in 1986 (manifested in the mushrooming of indigenous organizations, agitation for land rights and against development aggression), winning the ICC a landmark piece of progressive legislation in 1997 (the so-called IPRA, 'Indigenous Peoples Right Act') that secures local land rights. Unlike the Moro, however, they have not won concessions that include devolution of power to the regional/sub-regional level. (In the Cordillera in North Luzon, the Philippine Communist party and the armed insurgency movement built around it have a strong base among the indigenous communities (collectively called 'Cordillera Peoples'). However, they frame their struggle in class rather than in ethnonationalist terms; if they vie for national power, they do so not as Igorot, but as part of a united revolutionary front of the "oppressed masses" of the country.) The ICC were coded as being irrelevant before 1986, and progressed to powerlessness after the onset of their movement for self-determination. The ICC remain underrepresented and excluded from access to national power despite continued attempts to further their land rights through national forums such as the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP).

Fil-Chinese: The third ethnic category that is excluded from central executive power are the Fil-Chinese. As a minority, they are subjected to "active, intentional and targeted discrimination"; widespread, virulent antisinicism has, for instance, manifested itself in the serial abduction of Chinese-Filipino businessmen (and their later release against ransom) in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The prevalent arrangement is for the Chinese business community to buy protection by financing the political careers of Christian lowlander politicians. Seldom do Chinese entrepreneurs openly venture into the national political arena. Consequently, the Chinese Filipinos were coded throughout as discriminated in spite of certain individuals such as Arthur Cua Yap (Secretary of Agriculture under President Arroyo, 2004-2005 and 2006-2009) having received high profile posts at the national level.

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Political status of ethnic groups in Philippines

From 1946 until 1970

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Christian lowlanders	0.859	MONOPOLY
Indigenous	0.075	IRRELEVANT
Moro	0.051	POWERLESS
Fil-Chinese	0.015	DISCRIMINATED

From 1971 until 1985

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Christian lowlanders	0.859	DOMINANT
Indigenous	0.075	IRRELEVANT
Moro	0.051	SELF-EXCLUSION
Fil-Chinese	0.015	DISCRIMINATED

From 1986 until 1988

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Christian lowlanders	0.859	DOMINANT
Indigenous	0.075	POWERLESS
Moro	0.051	SELF-EXCLUSION
Fil-Chinese	0.015	DISCRIMINATED

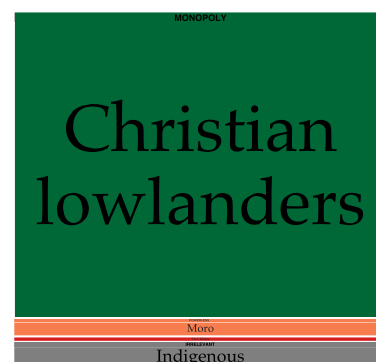


Figure 601: Political status of ethnic groups in Philippines during 1946-1970.

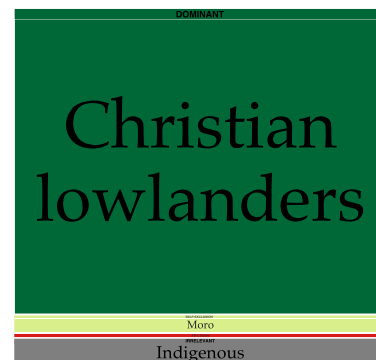


Figure 602: Political status of ethnic groups in Philippines during 1971-1985.

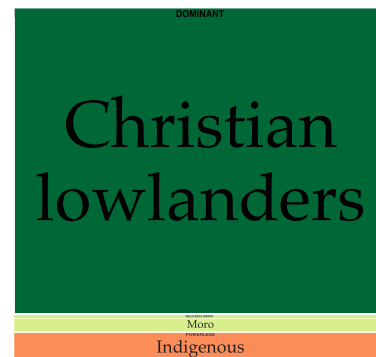


Figure 603: Political status of ethnic groups in Philippines during 1986-1988.

From 1989 until 2013

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Christian lowlanders	0.859	DOMINANT
Indigenous	0.075	POWERLESS
Moro	0.051	POWERLESS
Fil-Chinese	0.015	DISCRIMINATED

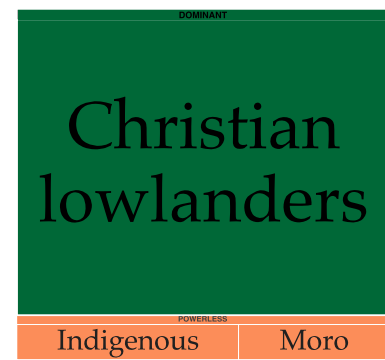


Figure 604: Political status of ethnic groups in Philippines during 1989-2013.

Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Philippines

From 1946 until 1985

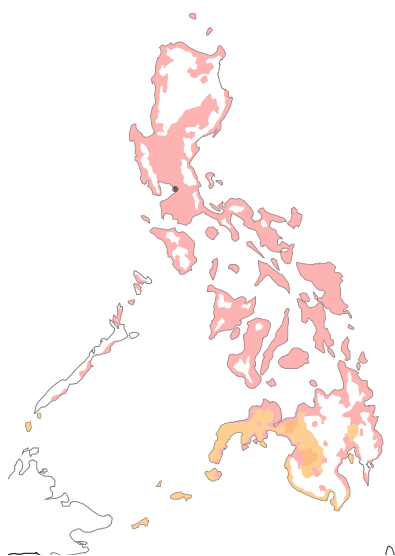


Figure 605: Map of ethnic groups in Philippines during 1989-2013.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Christian lowlanders	174 589	Regional & urban
Moro	31 277	Regional & urban
Fil-Chinese		Urban

Table 175: List of ethnic groups in Philippines during 1946-1985.

From 1986 until 2013

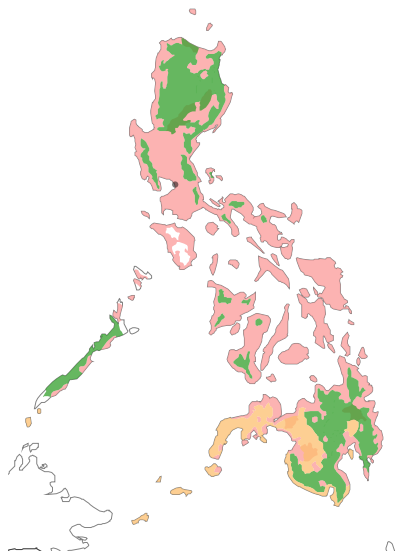


Figure 606: Map of ethnic groups in Philippines during 1989-2013.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Christian lowlanders	174 589	Regional & urban
Indigenous	91 818	Regionally based
Moro	31 277	Regional & urban
Fil-Chinese		Urban

Table 176: List of ethnic groups in Philippines during 1986-2013.

Conflicts in Philippines

Starting on 1946-07-31

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Philippines	Huk		1946-07-31			
Government of Philippines	CPP		1969-09-30			
Government of Philippines	Military faction (forces of Honasan, Abenina)	Zumel)		1987-01-27		

Starting on 1970-08-20

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Philippines	MIM	Moro	1970-08-20	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Philippines	MNLF	Moro	1972-10-31	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Philippines	MILF	Moro	1990-02-04	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Philippines	ASG	Moro	1993-05-03	Explicit	Yes	No
Government of Philippines	MNLF - NM	Moro	2001-11-19	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Philippines	MNLF - HM	Moro	2007-04-13	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Philippines	BIFM	Indigenous	2012-08-05	Explicit	Yes	Yes