

# **Dynamics of Contention Applied to Variance in Agency**

## **A Process-oriented Analysis of Contentious Politics in the Context of the Philippines from 1972 - 1986**

Universität Hamburg

Fakultät für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation investigated *how* performances are advanced by non-state actors. It specifically sought to find dynamical explanations underlying the variability of protest activities within the setting of contentious politics. The goal of studying relational mechanisms and processes causing variance in agency was paired with the analytical framework based on the *Dynamics of Contention* Research Program that suggested a mix of multiple approaches, data sources, and analytical tools to study what influences performance outcomes on various levels of interaction. As a result, this study was able to generate dynamical explanations to already known observations. The ensuing sequential study of performances within four selected sites of contention hosting cycles of heightened performance incidence ensured the identification of these dynamics in the Philippines during the autocratic rule of Ferdinand Marcos. The following comparative analysis revealed four corresponding constellations of mechanisms and processes underlying observed shifts from dominantly nonviolent to violent performances. It also exposed patterns of identifiable repeating processes (namely, *Mobilization*, *Upwards Scale Shift*, and *Demobilization*) featuring certain minimum determinants or recognizable features on various levels of interaction of the analytical framework explaining performance outcomes, as well as mechanisms and processes that make up these patterns.

The results obtained confirmed the applicability of the aforementioned approach towards the research objective. Due to its multilayered set up, it helped specify additional determinants working together with dynamics to generate a performance outcome. This study also revealed the need to add certain levels of analysis and extent some parameters to the existing analytical framework, with the result of creating an adapted matrix explaining performance outcomes. In addition, as is often the case where triangulation shapes the research design, a holistic understanding of the case emerged, and also led to new contextual insights contesting dominant held beliefs about the role and weight of the nonviolent uprising culminating in the Yellow Revolution.



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## List of Abbreviations

A6LM	-	April 6 Liberation Movement
AFP	-	Armed Forces of the Philippines
BANDILLA	-	Bansang Nagakaisa sa Diwa at Layunin
BAYAN	-	Bagong Alyansang Makabayan
Buklaran	-	Bukluran ng Mangagawang Pilipino
CHA	-	Comparative historical analysis
CDS	-	Capacity-Democracy Space
COCOPEC	-	Philippine Coconut Oil Cartel
COMELEC	-	Commission on Elections
CORD	-	Coalition of Organizations for the Restoration of Democracy
CPP	-	Communist Party of the Philippines
DOC	-	Dynamics of Contention Research Program
FM	-	Ferdinand Marcos
IBP	-	Interim Batasang Pambansa
IM	-	Imelda Marcos
JAJA	-	Justice for Aquino, Justice for all
KBL	-	Kilusang Bagong Lipunan
KMP	-	Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas
KMU	-	Kilusang Mayo Uno
LABAN	-	Lakas ng Bayan
LAFM	-	Light a Fire Movement
MBC	-	Makati Business Club
MILF	-	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
ML	-	Martial Law
MNLF	-	Moro National Liberation Front
MT	-	Manila Times
NAMFREL	-	National Citizen's Movement for Free Elections
ND	-	National Democratic
NDF	-	National Democratic Front
NPA	-	National People's Army
OIC	-	Organization of the Islamic Conference
PDE	-	Philippine Daily Express
PDP-LABAN	-	Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas ng Bayan
People's MIND	-	People's Opposition to the Plebiscite and Election and Movement for Independence, Nationalism and Democracy
POI	-	Point of Interest
POS	-	Political Opportunity Structure
RAM	-	Reform the Armed Forces Movement
SCRAM	-	Senior Cavaliers' Reform Army Movement
SOC	-	Site of Contention
SVO	-	Subject-Verb-Object
UNIDO	-	United Democratic Front