

THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN EDUCATION IN MINDANAO AND SULU

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Introduction

The invitation to present this paper comes at a time when interest in this part of the country has increased more than ever. One cannot pretend to know the educational system unless one looks into the political environment, the structures, participant roles, and mechanisms of that particular period. President McKinley in 1899 went through a series of steps to "facilitate the most humane, pacific and effective extension of authority throughout these islands." A five-member fact-finding Commission, after a month of investigative work, published regulative guidelines emphasizing the American principles of government and in the year 1900 recommended the establishment of civil government and a system of public education. In response to this Commission's (Schurman Commission) recommendation, a second five-member Commission was appointed with legislative powers which passed more than 150 laws dealing with the establishment of the civic service; the organization of the bureaus of education, forestry, audit, and others; the improvement of the port of Manila; the establishment of provincial and civil governments; taxation and the administration of justice (Agoncillo, 1969). By 1902, military government ceased and subsequently active resistance, despite sporadic disturbances particularly in the Visayas, ended. Reorganization proceeded with qualified Filipino voters voting for provincial and municipal officials while the national government, in the hands of American officials, was divided into four departments: Interior, Finance and Justice, Public Instruction and Commerce and Police. Aside from the organization of the Department of Public Instruction, trade and normal schools were also started and the coming of American teachers placed. Taft in 1903 enunciated his policy of "Philippines for the Filipinos" which drew resident American opposition.

The first decade of American rule may also be characterized as showing initial efforts to draw Filipino Moslems into the body politic

(Agoncillo, 1909). To effect this goal, General Leonard Wood was appointed governor for the newly organized Moro province. In his zeal to put the Muslims under American authority, a series of battles were waged to quell various uprisings: the Hassan uprising of 1903-1904, the USAP Rebellion of 1905, the PALA Revolt of 1905, and the Bud Dajo uprising of 1906. During the Pershing Administration, one of the bloodiest encounters, the Bud Bagsak Battle of 1913, is reported.

It was only in 1915 that the Muslims accepted American rule with the signing of Sultan Jumalul Kiram of a treaty with Frank Carpenter which limited him to the exercise of religious functions. American colonial careerists implementing instructions from Washington, D.C., went into a period of consolidation with auspicious beginnings in initiating a public school system and in the reorganization of government. History repetitively documents the contrasts in relationships between the colonizer and the colonized vis-a-vis the Spanish times.

The Military Character of Education

It has been said that the schools that were organized as conditions of peace and order allowed reflected the massive contact between the Americans and the Filipinos. The American soldiers became the first teachers and an army lieutenant became the first superintendent of city schools. Education was encouraged for everyone as opposed to the prevailing elitist climate during the Spanish period. Incentives took the form of free school supplies and snacks for those who came, on the one hand, and a campaign launched among parents to enroll their children in the public schools, on the other. Education was initially used primarily for pacification with English as the medium for instruction. In view of enthusiasm for schooling the enrollment figures for 1899-1900 was more than 100,000 school children classes. The school system was modelled after the American public school system. Suitable buildings, a little encouragement and attraction as demonstration of success elsewhere are mentioned as factors which helped increase enrollments.

American Policy on Education (1899-1920)

Peter Gowing (1977) gives us a revealing account of how public education based on the Western model was implemented in Moroland as part of the American mandate. General Kobbe's annual report for

1900, stated that schools had been established in various parts of the Department of Mindanao and Jolo. Some twenty-five schools were opened the first year with more than 2,000 pupils attending in the Moro areas of Mindanao. The report stated that the schools at the town of Jolo had a "motley" but well-dressed and well-behaved bevy of 200 pupils representing almost every Eastern race. At first, very few Moros attended the schools not out of disinterest in education since nearly every village already had its "pandita schools" where boys were taught passages from the Quran, Arabic writing and a little arithmetic but for fear of the Moros that the American schools would convert their children from Islam to Christianity. General Kobbe reported that finally a prominent Datu visited the school at Jolo, found that teaching was not confined to religion and announced his intention of sending his own children there. An interview with Sultan Hadji Mohammad Julaspi and his relatives (July 1981) corroborated this when he revealed the Datus first sent their slaves to school before finally allowing their children to attend the schools organized by the Americans. Nevertheless, while the number of Moros who went to the schools increased in most places they were still outnumbered by Christian Filipinos and the children of other non-Moro town residents.

The general feeling that the whole system of education for the Moros and Pagans should be akin to kindergarten methods was dramatized by Captain Cloman of Bongao who said that what were only needed were "several blackboards and an exorbitant amount of chalk." Teachers assigned to the new schools were both males and females; Filipinos and Americans, civilians and military "civil funds." New school buildings were constructed or vacant structures were rented but in most cases these buildings were supplied by the provisional municipal authorities. Oral instruction was initially given but in time textbooks were used. The pupils apparently motivated by their parents were eager to learn English as American soldiers served as English teachers. Generally, however, there was slow progress on the use of English as the language of instruction.

From 1899 to January of 1901, the embryonic educational system in Moroland was under military officers but as the Philippine Commission took control of the reins of government, education was held under civil jurisdiction and Mr. Colton came from Manila to become Superintendent of Schools in the Department of Mindanao and Jolo. Thereafter,

past commanders served only to provide the money to pay expenses and detail soldiers as teachers when requested.

Teachers

Mr. Colton¹ reports that "a number of natives who speak some English have been sent out as teachers to out-of-the way places, and places that have no teachers of English. With the arrival of the American teachers a number of native teachers may be released to continue this policy. They might be sent out temporarily until new teachers could be prepared for these less important points and when the new teachers were prepared the teachers of longer standing could be returned to their original places."

He observed further that "Native teachers, especially female teachers were utterly incompetent which he attributed to the distance of the schools where they studied from Manila. He also observed that even during the Spanish times not many of the women went to the Manila Normal Schools. While the education and methods of the native teacher were extremely bad, their ideas of discipline were branded as even worse. The lack of discipline was also observed as due to the frequent reproofs given by the teachers. Teachers resorted also to physical punishment, such as standing a child on one knee in an uncomfortable position, with his hand on the wall, or standing him on his knees for hours at a time, pulling his ears, beating him on the head, giving a very severe whipping with bejuco.

The Schools, 1900-1930

In keeping with the political policy, Americans looked to the schools as partners in its mission of training Filipinos for self-government. At the beginning, all the teachers were enlisted men serving under a military superintendent of schools.

Alzona (1932)² maintains that "it was the American policy to make the non-Christian population of the Philippines useful to the nation by giving them the same educational opportunities as the Christian Filipinos received. In the early part of the American regime, not only the military government but also private American citizens earnestly worked among these people and established schools for them."

Act 74 of the Philippine Commission mandated the appointment of 1,000 American teachers and by the end of the year in 1901, 765

had arrived and were assigned as teachers and administrators in the various regions of the country.

Aside from the integration of native teaching into the system, the coeducational system ran counter to Moslem culture. Tribal customs, early marriage, religious differences and the lack of women teachers kept the Moslem girls away from school. Persistent efforts by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes ³ to get them into school resulted in the following figures:

Year	Girls Enrolled
1917	10,191
1918	13,023
1919	18,609
1920	22,960
1921	25,849
1922	26,464
1923	27,609

Daughters of leading Mohammedans were also pensioned by the government to study in Manila schools, and one of them was sent to the U.S. By 1919, six Mohammedan princesses of the Sultanate of Sulu who had completed their studies in Manila were serving as public school teachers. A total of forty-two men and women Mohammedan teachers were reported for the same year.

Early American Educators

Van Vactor (1981) presents sketches of American educators who figured prominently in the educational scene in Mindanao and Sulu during the first four decades of this century. Prominently mentioned are Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby, J. Scott McCormick, Edwin M. Kuder, Dr. Frank C. Laubach, and Pearl F. Spencer.

Dr. Saleeby was the most qualified in many ways of the Americans assigned to the Muslim-dominated southern Islands. He was born near Beirut of Christian Arab parents and studied at the American University in Beirut. His medical studies were at the Bellerue Medical School in New York City. During the Spanish-American war he served as surgeon in the U.S. Army. He volunteered to serve with the American Expeditionary Forces at the outbreak of the Filipino-American War and

arrived in Manila in October, 1900, on board the famous U.S. army transport "Thomas." Because of his knowledge of Arabic and his acquaintance with Muslim customs from his youth, he was assigned to Mindanao where he made many friends with the Muslims. In 1903, he was appointed Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and Agent for Moro Affairs.

He contributed far beyond those required of an able Administrator. His language facility, understanding of, and appreciation for Islam, his respect for the traditional structure of authority among the Muslims, qualified him for his role far better than any other official sent to the region. Dr. Peter Gowing suggests that had the "higher-ups" given adequate attention to Saleeby's proposal for a solution to the "Moro Problem" the succeeding years might have been far different.

Saleeby's three major works, "The History of Sulu," "The Moro Problem" and "Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion" are classics. Despite all of these, his views did not sit well with the American Administrators, particularly the military administrators. He died in Baguio City on December 18, 1935.

Born on January 13, 1894, in Hartford, Kansas, McCormick had already been teaching in his home state for three years when he applied as a teacher for the Philippines. He never married but he always had a houseful of young men earning their way through school as house helpers for the busy teacher-administrator.

McCormick's first 20 years of service in the Philippines were on Luzon where he served distinctively as a teacher and administrator. On June 21, 1920, he was appointed Acting Division Superintendent of Cavite, at 26 one of the youngest, if not the youngest division superintendent in the country. In 1922 he became superintendent of the Philippine Normal School and on October 15, 1925, he became chief of the Academic Division of the Bureau of Education, a position he held until 1936 when he was transferred to Mindanao. He served as Division Superintendent for Lanao from April, 1936 until June 6, 1941. At that time he and Mr. Edwin Kuder exchanged positions. McCormick went to Jolo as Division Superintendent and Kuder came to what was then called Dansalan, Lanao.

He was known as a man of great integrity, a conscientious and hardworking administrator who passed on the same spirit to his colleagues. As the chief of the Academic Division, he pressed continually

for a curriculum that would meet the life needs of a high school graduate rather than one to prepare secondary graduates only for college. Often referred to as the most non-academic Chief to head the Academic Division, he wrote, "A purely academic curriculum is not suitable even for students who plan to enroll in college. Besides information, aesthetics and vocational insight are also essential." He advocated the use of the vernacular and a National Language, adult education, the teaching of native arts and the creation of a Filipiniana section in high school libraries.

Kuder, whose parents were Lutheran missionaries to India, was born in Salem, Virginia on May 15, 1896, but spent his childhood years in India. He graduated from Roanoke College in his native town in 1916 and taught in a Florida High School for one year prior to World War I. He joined the U.S. Army as a private in September, 1917 and was a Second Lieutenant in the Field Artillery by January, 1919 when he was discharged. Kuder made himself an authority on the four major Muslim groups with whom he worked—Maguindanao, Maranao, Tausug, and Samal. Joseph Kalston Hayden wrote:

Mr. Kuder's work as Division Superintendent has been actuated by a deep concern for the welfare of the Moro people and a determination to contribute to the utmost of their adaptation to a sound position in the body politic of the new Philippine Nation. To these ends he has devoted the whole of his time and energy and a substantial portion of his personal funds, money which was used to enable promising young Moros to attain the education which is prerequisite to leadership It is probable that no other American or Christian Filipino has ever had the confidence of as many leaders in all three of the great Moro districts as had Mr. Kuder. At the same time, he has retained the confidence of the officials of the Philippine government.

Dr. Frank Laubach and his wife Effa were missionaries sent to the Philippines by the Mission Board of the Congressional Churches in the U.S. They first arrived in Lanao in 1915. Because of the difficulties the American military rulers of Lanao were having with the Maranaos they did not welcome the young Christian missionaries. The Laubachs then worked in Cagayan, Misamis Oriental and Manila. It was not until 1929 that they returned to Lanao to continue their mission work, finally among the Maranaos. Because of the ancient feud between Christians

and Moslems, the plan to establish a mixed Moro and Filipino school was not viable. Laubach decided it would be more beneficial to teach the people to read and write their language using the Roman script. He believed that in the future it would help their integration into the larger life of the nation.

A printing press was secured and publication of a newspaper, *The Story of Lanao*, was begun in what was called "The Madrasa Press." At first it was printed in Arabic and Roman script. Soon, the newspaper's name was changed to *Lanao Progress* and it was published in three languages—English, Visayan and Maranao, using the Roman script.

Dr. Laubach and his associates established the Madrasa Folk School and the adult literacy campaign became one of the major activities of the school. This became such an immense success that officials of the Bureau of Education in Manila requested Laubach to assist in establishing similar programs in many other parts of the Philippines. Soon, Laubach was being asked to share with nations around the world the literacy methods developed among the Maranaos of Lanao. Thus, was born the worldwide adult education program.

Mrs. Pearl Spencer came to Lanao in 1915 with her husband, Mr. Ralph Spencer who was one of the early superintendents of the division of Lanao. She taught for 5 years in the elementary school, then became principal of the newly opened Lanao High School which did not offer a complete 4 year course until 1927. Her new concern was that the best education be given to the youth in Lanao.

Dates	Political Events	Policy	Distinguishing Features
1898	Cession of Spanish sovereignty to U.S.	To exploit, develop, civilize, educate, train in the search of self government (McKinley)	
1899-1913	Administration by U.S. Army Officers		
1899-1902		Non-interference policy embodied in the Bates agreement	Token forces were maintained by U.S. army
1903-1913	Organization of Moro Province – substitution of direct rule	Policy was segregationist	Large scale pacification campaigns
1914	Civilian-run Dept. of Mindanao and Sulu	Policy of attraction	Escalation and implementation of health education and public works
1916	Jones Law	Filipinization of administration	
1920-1935	Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, Dept. of Interior	Ending of American direct rule and the promotion of Filipinization of civil service	Transfer of control to Christian Filipinos
1937	Commissioner of Mindanao and Sulu	Development of Mindanao and Sulu for the nation as a whole (Quezon)	Schools were assimilationists in character

- 1899
Establishment of schools
Extra efforts to enroll the children of
datus or chiefs
- 1901
Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes
To do ethnological research
To make policy recommendations
- 1903
Moro Province with key positions
given to US Army Officers
To take over schools where there was
15% enrollment Muslims; Muslims
who are elementary school grad-
uates were employed as teachers
- Policy fluctuated between instruction
in English and in the dialect
depending upon administrator
- 1905
Saleeby, the new Superintendent of
Schools, promoted instruction in
Arabic, industrial work and agricul-
ture for boys and domestic science
for girls.
"Settlement farm school concept" —
on elementary school were half of
day was spent

Date	Implementation of Activities	Objectives
1907	Zamboanga Normal School graduated teachers and reported increase in enrollments	
1908	Schooling was compulsory but not for those living farther than 2 kms. away.	
1911	Interest in Koran schools which was supported by Americans and expanded in its curriculum.	
1920	Teacher training pensionados to U.S. Acceptance of scholarship by niece of sultan of Sulu to U.S.: helped set Moslem girls to school	Decline of enrollments due to opposition of datu, deteriorating peace and order situation, lack of funding and lack of employment opportunities for graduates

Events of Educational Significance

I would like to review some of the changes I would make if I were to rewrite the chapter on American Education today in Mindanao and Sulu. I would like to point out some of the ways in which education has changed over the last eighty years and what these changes seem to suggest for the future.

Curriculum Development

The era for bringing in materials from developed societies is over. The materials did not revolutionize life in the classrooms. They did not fulfill the dreams shared by the educators and the teachers when they brought them over. Educators have realized since then that modifications need to be made so that curricula can be adapted to local conditions. For this, guidelines, conceptual models, schemes for decision making and technologies for analyzing programs and identifying important features need to be translated into materials appropriate for local conditions, national needs and interests, learned characteristics and the curricular structure in which they are embedded. There are special efforts to serve students with special needs and a growing emerging concern for the needs of society since the political and social context in which education exists will unlikely remain stable.

Recruitment, Selection and Training of Teachers

The recruitment, selection and training of teachers continues to grow in importance. This trend is consistent with the recognition that teaching is subject matter specific rather than generic across subject areas. Modes of teaching will receive a great deal of attention with emphasis on the variety of technologies, laboratory, and individualized instruction. Questions of teachers and teaching will become central to the future of education. Society must be served and teachers need to know that society and make adaptations of the curricula to meet the needs of society in terms of their assessments of learner characteristics, community interests and over-all school curriculum needs. Training will be done more with teachers who are already teaching in view of the need to adopt curriculum to the exigencies of everyday life in the classroom.

What is the Impact of American Education on Mindanao and Sulu?

Education in the context of this article refers primarily to "the

formal learning activities and experiences that take place under the auspices of the school." The curriculum, the textbooks, the instructional methods, the school clubs, the extra curricular programs, the student and the classroom milieu are all factors which go into the teaching-learning process. It is also a social system having its locus in the schools interacting with the economic, political and other social systems. Coleman considers its important functions in the political system as consisting of: a) The socialization of children and youth into the political culture, b) the selection, recruitment and training of political elites, and c) the political integration or nation building of groups of people. Massialas reinforces this framework by explicating the relationships between education and the political order, where the political system needs the support of the politically socialized citizens if it has to survive. The political orientation of the citizens in the schools is expected to be congenial to the political system in order that it can continue to exist. Massialas further points out that in developing countries, education selects and trains political leaders. The governing elite tends to "capture" the schools in its imposition of criteria for admission or exclusion of undesirable elements. Those who are sympathetic to the government are naturally recruited into the schools. One of the dimensions of political integration, the elite-mass gap may thus be accentuated or closed by education. The other dimension is alluded to by Coleman as "the divisions among different, ethnic, regional and parochial groups," a factor which could inhibit the processes of nation building and political development. The relationship between education and policy is an input of demand or support from one institution to the other through the mechanisms of political socialization, recruitment and integration.

Political Socialization

How do the schools fare in the political socialization function? If socialization is viewed as a process whereby one generation inculcates its patterns of behavior and attitudes in the next (Easton and Dennis), then, the impact of a conventional civics curriculum on political socialization indices political efficacy, expectations for political participation, political knowledge, needs to be examined. Questions need to be raised as to whether the content of curriculum materials gives a realistic picture of society and the political process. The presence of political participation opportunities in the schools and the attitudes of teachers

which reflect their allegiance and responsibility to the government are some of the political conditions for learning political skills to participate effectively in political life.

Another dimension is the impact on political knowledge and attitudes of such socialization agents as the family, peers, media and events. For the family, such factors as type of family, level of education attained by the parents and opportunities to participate in family decisions are considered significant.

Major events in which individuals participate play a major role in socialization or resocialization. A great deal of political activism, for example, in many countries has been attributed to the saliency of events such as the Vietnam War. Direct participation in such events has lasting effects on political attitudes. In a similar manner, it could be speculated that the pacification wars waged by the U.S. army, Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary had lasting effects on the generation of Muslims growing up during those periods. Research reports that young children learn important values before they fully understand the facts. Such effects as "increased alienation, cynicism and withdrawal from or rejection of all political authority are mentioned in the activism literature of the 60's. In view of the absence of research that considers socialization as a dynamic interchange between the individual and his environment, on the lack of knowledge about what was learned and how the learning took place what could have given us a broad picture of schooling with its classroom psychological climate, its cognitive performance, the extent of participation in the kinds of decisions that took place and the total political culture of the school, it is unwarranted to make generalizations on the kind of school environment that could have changed the basic orientations. Studies confirm the notion that the political knowledge of adults can be traced back to childhood. Jennings and Niemi (1974)⁴ conclude, however, that from adolescence or through the total life span, "sizeable alterations occur in political interest and activities, in the conceptualization of such interests and activities, in conceptualization of political parties and attachments to them, in the differential salience of political systems, in the relative emphasis on various citizenship norms and in the quality of the over-all political trust and objects of political trust."

Selection, Training and Recruitment of Political Elite

In non-western societies, the relationship between formal education and the formation of the new political elite is substantially documented. Keller uses the concept of strategic elites who perform socially significant functions in relation to the attainment of important social goals and the maintenance of the continuity of the social order. Elite training and recruitment are processes for educating and selecting those who will fill the political positions. While studies have established what educational credentials individuals need in order to enter the ranks of the elite, they do not provide guidelines of interelite recruitments. For Mindanao and Sulu, it can be said that the schools run by the Americans rather than changing the socio-political structure reinforces it when the foci for recruitment and selection for scholarships were the children of the *datus* and the strategic elites. Such individual factors as social status, sex, age, and ethnicity have significant roles in the determination of who is selected to receive such training. The environmental factors of location of schools, its ethnic composition, the quality of the teachers, the quality of the subjects taught and the over-all school environment are limiting features in the political mobility of certain segments of the population. The school was thus used as an agent in the hands of the controlling elite to perpetuate their positions of power.

Political Integration

A third dimension of education is its contribution to nation building. It has been observed that education using as bases ethnicity, religion, language or region tends to perpetuate and reinforce pre-existing inequalities through its assignment of roles to individuals or when it legitimizes the authority of the elites. Thus, Massialas⁵ observes, primarily as a result of the colonial policies, that disintegrative educational privileges exist in such countries as "Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and the Philippines" where ethnic, regional and denominational privileges occur together. When the school system reinforces the ethnic and linguistic differences it does not contribute to nation building. The acceptance of this diversity, however, allows for more options in terms of resource allocation and bases for decision making. A new policy which legitimates and strengthens the capacity of schools to offer relevant programs rather than suppress linguistic and cultural deficiencies is

expected to improve the academic achievement of children with limited national language or English speaking ability and to strengthen their self-concepts, occupational aspirations, ethnic identity and the like. It is assumed that an understanding and appreciation of other cultures or sub-cultures, the concern for the issue of equity and increasing access to opportunity have long range implications for society.

In this part of the paper, I have tried to show how the schools could affect the development of political attitudes, how they could perform as agents in recruiting for political leadership and how they could contribute to nation building.

The Future

What does the future hold for education in Mindanao and Sulu?

In recent years we have witnessed new mechanisms designed to increase the participation of Muslims in self-government, in economic development packages, and government schemes to relate regional goals to national government priorities. We need to look to the schools and their curriculum development efforts to provide a balance which would require that the Muslims veer from their isolationist position and accommodate to the national values. In accepting the regional diversity in school organization, religion, culture, ethnicity, language and the like we hope to attain unity. While we study the Ramayana and the Mahabharata as literature content of the curriculum in this part of the country, we need also to read about the heroes in other parts of the country and in these epics we see similarities in our needs for bravery, belongingness, respect for the elders and the like. We would want to see more of the Muslim women, a formerly less privileged strata, participate in nation building as broader access to secondary and advanced schooling for them have become realities.