MARANAO TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM: STRUCTURE AND ROLES

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I
STRUCTURES AND ROLES

The Maranaos are organized within a traditional system which they refer to as the "Pat a Pangampong KoR anao"[1] (Four Principalities of Lanao). The principal divisions which are co-equal in powers, rights and prestige include Bayabao, Masiu, Onayan and Baloi[2] (See Figure 1 and Table I).

These four principal divisions are further subdivided into smaller structures called the *inged* (townships) and to still more numerous smaller units called *agama*. An *agama* is a small community whose activities move mainly around a mosque. Within each community are a variety of kinship units differing in the number of members and whose fundamental unit is the family . These *agama* communities are relatively independent of other units although in some instances they are grouped together into a confederation of *agamas*. These traditional units fragment and multiply into more numerous units as the number of leading descent groups increases. Fragmentation may also arise on account of the struggle for power among groups within the traditional community.

Relationships and interactions between the traditional units are defined in the *taritib*,[4] which regulates and directs the different units within the total structure. One governing principle

provided for by the *taritib* is the Maranao notion of superordination and subordination. This organizational principle establishes a system of ranking where communities are categorized into super-ordinated status (*pegawidan*) and subordinate (*pegawid*) status[5] (See Table II). Under this arrangement, the *pegawid* are obliged to support the rule of the *pegawidan* in their respective *pangampong*. Support in this case is voluntary and the *pegawid* may withdraw or decline support any time depending on his moral judgment of the *pegawidan*'s acts. The status of the *pegawidan* community in relation to a *pegawid* community is obtained on the basis of descent from a common founding ancestor: the former comes from the male line (*wata sa mama*) and the *pegawid* comes from the female line (*wata sa bubai*).[6]

Table I

PAT A PANGAMPONG KO RANAO
Major Territorial Subdivisions

Pangampong	Major Subdivision
I Bayabao	Mala—Bayabao (Great Bayabao)
	Lumba—Bayabao (Central Bayabao)
	Poona—Bayabao (Original Bayabao)
II Baloi	Pat a Inged
III Masiu	Sebangan a Masiu (East Masiu)
	Sedapan a Masiu (West Masiu)
IV Onayan	Sebangan a Onayan (East Onayan)
	Sedapan a Onayan (West Onayan)

Table II

PAT A PANGAMPONG KO RANAO:

Fifteen *Pegawidan a Inged* (Superordinate Communities and their Corresponding Titles and Present Titleholders)

Pangampong	: Pegawidan a Inged	: Traditional Title
I Bayabao	:	:
Mala a Bayabao	: Ramain	: Sultan sa Ramain
	Ditsaan	: Sultan sa Ditsaan
Lumba a Bayabao	: Barokot	: Sultan sa Borokot
	: Bacolod	: Sultan sa Bacolod
	: Maribu	: Sultan sa Maribu
	: Minitupad	: Sultan sa Minitupad
Poona-a-Bayabao	: Bansayan	: Sultan sa Bansayan
	: Rogan	: Sultan sa Rogan
	: Taporog	: Sultan sa Taporog
II Baloi	:	:
Pat a Inged	: Balut	: Sultan sa Baloi
III Masiu	:	:
Sebangan a Masiu	: Maruhom Rakmatula	: Sultan sa Masiu
Sedapan a Masiu	: Maruhom Diamalodin	: Sultan a Kabugatan a Masiu
IV Onayan	:	:
Sebangan a Onayan	: Butig	: Sultan sa Butig
Sedapan a Onayan	: Pagayawan	: Sultan sa Pagayawan

In some instances, distinctions between the *pegawidan* and *pegawid* are made on the basis of one's position in the family where the eldest son who inherits the community is considered the *pegawidan* in relation to other members who are the *pegawid.* The principle that organizes communities into such system of ranking is repeated in the lower levels of organization with groupings or communities uniting in subordination to a particular community or communities whose ancestor is considered to have founded the original settlement of the area. The arrangement among communities in accordance with the notion of superordination and subordination is envisioned to facilitate the consolidation of groups in each *pangampong* for unity of action.

Just as traditional communities are related to or organized on the basis of a system of ranking, the authority system in the *agama* and other structural units of the organization also follows a pattern of ranking where the traditional leaders are considered to belong to the superordinate rank (*pegawidan*) in relation to the rest who are the subordinate (*pegawid*). In this respect, the *pegawidan* are considered those who are supported while the *pegawid* are those who support. Both have responsibility toward one another on the basis of their rank. A sultan who is a *pegawidan* is said to have greater responsibility to enhance his status and authority in relation to those who are *pegawid.* The *pegawid* who assume subordinate status in relation to their leaders are required to accept their inferior position by supporting their leader. This notion of superordination-subordination among traditional titleholders implies one's recognition and acceptance of one's status in the social hierarchy.

As shown, all relationships arising from their notion of superordination and subordination regulate the conduct of peoples and communities wthin the organizational structure. This is strongly sanctio..ed by traditional norms (*adat*).[8] It is also reinforced by values specifically provided in the *taritib,* one of which is the value of *maratabat* which stresses sensitivity to one's rank and status with its accompanying responsibilities. This value denotes recognition and acknowledgment of one's rank or status in the

community.[9] A person who is not zealous in protecting his *maratabat* is considered to have no standing or status in the community *(da tindeg iyan)*. Another related value which defines and regulates the conduct of peoples and communities within the organizational structure is that of mutual helpfulness among their neighbors. This is expressed by the Maranao term *kangiginawa'i*. The invocation of this value creates a pressure to be concerned with one another's well-being and serves to some extent as a unifying factor among the people. Reinforcing this value is their strong sense of cooperation *(kapapang awida)* which is shown in the relationship of peoples and communities within the traditional organizational structure.

Traditional Roles

Authority and leadership is vested on traditional title-holders who have rights to hold or claim titles. This right is obtained on the basis of ascription where one major descent group is ranked above others by virtue of its special or close relation with founding ancestors. The traditional titleholders in the community are the *sultan* (the senior *datu*) and the other *datus* comprising the traditional governing class. By virtue of their high ascribed status, they assume positions of prestige and influence and as such are regarded as the *pegawid* (superordinate). The sultan is considered the overall chief of the traditional community. He presides during the deliberation of issues among other title-holder and *datus* in the community. He is expected to perform ceremonial functions during weddings and funerals and other community-wide celebrations. He is, also expected to grace and honor the occasion with his presence. His traditional authority comes into play, particularly in relation to his role to keep peace in his respective community. Accordingly, he takes the lead in settling disputes among the people. He performs this function by consulting with other datus and elders of the community called the *uluan* or *pulok-lokusan*. He intercedes

on personal and family disputes brought to him. During periods when violence breaks out between kinship groups in the village, he may be called to intervene, with the assistance of other *datus*, in order to quell hostility. He may also be called to initiate the negotiation between parties in order to end dispute.

In addition, leadership and authority of the sultan is also manifested in the performance of socio-religious functions and activities. He is regarded as a religious head in the community and is expected to participate in religious gatherings and celebrations. He also helps religious leaders decide on important matters pertaining to the celebration or religious holidays, repair or construction of mosques or *madrasah* schools and management of affairs in the mosque. As a sultan, he can also exert influence in the choice of religious functionaries in the mosque. He is also expected to give financial contributions for the maintenance of the mosque in the community.

Aside from the sultans and datus, there are also persons who hold traditional titles in the religious sphere. One of them is the *imam* who is the chief functionary of the mosque. He leads in the congregational prayers and has also the duty to educate the people in the ways of Islam. He also assumes a significant role in the making of important decisions affecting the religious community such as the start and the end of the fast, the celebration of religious holidays, and the construction and management of the mosque and its personnel. He may also be called by the sultan and other datus to help in the resolution of disputes. The *kali* who is regarded in the community to have a good knowledge of Islamic laws may also be called to assist in resolving conflicts.

As shown above the sultan, datu and the *imam* and other actual and potential titleholders in the community occupy leadership positions in the community by virtue of their ascribed rank. As members of the hereditary aristocracy or datu group, they have a good chance of occupying positions in the traditional politico-religious hierarchy. Moreover, on account of their ascribed status

they are likely to inherit wealth and followers.

However, being a datu or imam does not automatically imply actual power or influence. In order to be influential, one should have many followers. The exercise of actual influence therefore depends on one's capacity to support, mobilize and continuously maintain one's followers. To achieve this, traditional leaders have to maximize the use of their financial resources to enable them to hold periodic or occasional feasts for other local datus and religious leaders in the community. They spend enough resources to allow them to give generous contributions during religious and social gatherings. They use their funds to enable them to mediate between two disputing parties at their own expense. They also utilize enough resources to enable them to give their *tabang* (financial help) in raising the bride price or in helping the bereaved family raise the *sadka* during deaths.

The Case of Two Traditional Communities[10]

A study of two traditional communities is cited here to illustrate the nature and operation of the Maranao traditional system of organization and leadership as it operates in the lower levels of the organizational hierarchy. One traditional community studied is found in Marawi which, according to traditional grouping, is regarded as an *inged*. The people call this traditional grouping the *Pamagsopa sa Marawi* (Alliance of Marawi). To further illustrate how a traditional community works in still lower levels of the traditional structure, we focus our attention on a still smaller unit found in the traditional grouping of Marawi which the people call the *Agama a Marinaut* (village community of Marinaut). An analysis of these traditional communities serves to highlight the nature and operation of the traditional system of organization and leadership patterns in the lower levels of the total organizational framework.

Sapolo Ago Isa a Pamagsopa sa Marawi (Eleven Alliance Groupings of Marawi)

Marawi is organized into traditional subdivisions which the Maranao call *Sapolo Ago Isa a Pamagsopa Sa Marawi* (Eleven Alliance Groupings of Marawi). The eleven subdivisions are: Marina-ut, Dansalan, Sabala a Manao, Raya Madaya, Lilod a Madaya, Guimba, Buadi Sakayo, Bacolod, Toros, Lumbak a Toros and Toka (See Table III).[11] Five of these eleven communities (Buadi Sakayo, Bacolod, Guimba, Madaya and Toros) are considered the original communities and are regarded as *pegawidan* (super-ordinate) in relation to other communities which are considered *pegawid* (subordinate). Some of the traditional units divide, fragment or multiply into smaller subdivisions which in turn are further subdivided into still more numerous smaller units called *agamas* (See Table III). Thus, the traditional community of Madaya becomes subdivided into two divisions: Raya Madaya and Lilod Madaya. Raya Madaya is further subdivided into three *agamas* (See Table III). In the present Constitutional setup, these traditinal subdivisions are incorporated within the jurisdiction of Marawi City (See Figure II).

Each *agama* has its own mosque. Socio-religious activities center on the mosque. Relationships and interactions among the people within the traditional setup are regulated and defined by the *adat* and other customary laws of the people as defined and regulated by the *taritib*.

Authority and leadership in the system is vested on actual and potential titleholders. The number of actual titleholders in each of the small communities varies. In the traditional community of Buadi Sakayo, there are five traditional titleholders while in Guimba, Lumbac a Toros and Toka, there are four traditional titleholders. The rest have three or less (See Table IV). Smilarly, their power or influence also vary from area to area.

Table III

Pamagsopa sa Marawi
Traditional Subdivisions and their
Corresponding Agamas

Traditional Subdivisions		Agamas
1. Marinaut	:	one agama
2. Dansalan	:	one agama
3. Sabala a Manao	:	one agama
4. Raya Madaya	:	two agama
Lumbao a Madaya	:	
Punod a Madaya	:	
5. Lilod a Madaya	:	three agamas
Datumanong	:	
Bubo nga Madaya	:	
Dagubduban	.	
6. Guimba	:	
Guimba (proper)	:	
Wata sa Babai	:	
7. Buadi Sakayo	:	two agamas
Buadi Sakayo (proper)	:	
Lokos sa Datu	:	
8. Bacolod	:	one agama
9. Toros	:	one agama
10. Lumbak-a-Toros	:	one agama
11. Toka	:	one agama

Table IV

Pamagsopa Sa Marawi

Traditional Units and Traditional Titles

Traditional Subdivisions	:	Traditional Titles
Buadi Sakayo	:	Solotan sa Marawi
	:	Datu sa Marawi
	:	Masirecampo sa Marawi
	:	Cabugatan sa Marawi
	:	Solotan sa Bubong
2. Bacolod	:	Solotan sa Bacolod
	:	Solotan sa Pitiilan
	:	Cabugatan
3. Guimba	:	Solotan sa Guimba
	:	Solotan sa Diamla
	:	Datu sa Guimba
	:	Cabugatan sa Guimba
4. Raya Madaya	:	Solotan sa Madaya
	:	Radiamoda sa Madaya
5. Lilod Madaya	:	Solotan a Diamla-a-Madaya
6. Toros	:	Solotan sa Toros
	:	Solotan sa Diamla sa Toros
7. Lumbac a Toros	:	Cabugatan sa Toros
	:	Solotan a Dimasangkay sa Toros
	:	Solotan sa Cabugatan
	:	Solotan a Simban
8. Dansalan	:	Solotan a Dalomangcob
	:	Solotan a Dimasangkay
	:	Solotan Maamor
9. Sabala a Manao	:	Solotan a Adil
	:	Solotan a Cabugatan
10. Marinaut	:	Solotan sa Marinaut
	:	Solotan sa Sampoma
	:	Solotan a Romapunot
11. Toka	:	Solotan sa Toka
	:	Solotan Adil
	:	Solotan a Cabugatan
	:	Solotan a Mala

For further illustration, let us focus our attention to one of the smaller traditional communities: the *agama* of Marinaut. Marinaut consists of only one agama. Its traditional leadership is furnished by three important traditional titleholders: the *Solotan sa Marinaut*, *Solotan a Samporna a Marinaut* and *Solotan a Romapunut sa Marinaut*. These three sultans are considered belonging to the apex of the leadership hierarchy. As traditional title holders, they assume important responsibilities towards their people, the more important of which are the resolution of disputes, assistance rendered to the people who are in need, and the attendance and participation in socio-religious gatherings. Below the traditional titleholders are the sixteen old men whom the people call the *uluan* or *putoklokusen* (Council of Elders). They can claim positions in the sultanate. They assist in the performance of socio-religious functions. Assisting the sixteen elders are two religious leaders who constitute an advisory group.

Another important traditional officer in the *agama* of Marinaut is the *Datu a Pitiilan*. He occupies the third rank in the sultanate hierarchy. His position, however, is regarded by some people as ambiguous since it is not specifically defined in the *taritib* of the community. As a traditional leader, he serves as the overall chairman of different groups under the supervision of the Council of Elders. He also serves as a link between the head of the *uluan* and the other higher authorities in the *agama*.

In the religious sphere, the most important official is the *Datu a Imam*. In Marinaut, there is one mosque and one *madrasah*. It is the responsibility of the *Datu a Imam* to manage these two religious institutions. He also assumes an important role in the celebration of religious affairs in the community and takes the responsibility of maintaining and improving Islamic education among the people.

Leadership and authority of the traditional titleholders come into play in the settlement of disputes. The traditional leaders and the elders of the community assist in the resolution of disputes presented by the people. This system of resolving disputes through the assistance of the traditional leader and community elders is

called the *kapangokom*. The disputes commonly presented to them pertain to divorce, land problems, petty crimes as slander and stealing of livestock.

In the resolution of the dispute, the sultan or his designated official (usually the *kali*) acts as the judge and another designated official (the *sangkopan*) is responsible for maintaining order during the deliberations. Both the contesting parties provide themselves counsels called the *wakils*. Resolution of disputes is based upon the *adat* (customary laws) and the *taritib* of the Maranao. The *igma* based on community consensus as agreed by founding ancestors of the place also serves as basis in reaching decisions pertinent to the dispute. Once the decision is arrived at, both parties, through the assistance of the sultan, are morally obliged to make the decision binding upon them. The people as members of the traditional community are also called to extend their cooperation in resolving disputes and are asked to help in facilitating the implementation of the decision.

Major cases like murder are not submitted to the *kapangokom* especially if such cases involve the whole community. In most instances, this is resolved through mediations (*kapangawida*) between conflicting parties. The sultan and the elders act as mediators between the concerned parties.

Interactors among the people in the *agama* are facilitated by religious and social activities. One of the occasions which brings the people together is the Friday congregational prayer held at the mosque. Aside from its religious significance, this activity draws people together thereby providing a useful means for ensuring unity and cohesion among them.

Apart from the religious interaction among the villagers, the people come together in the celebration of social and community affairs. One of these occasions is the coronation of the sultan. In this occasion, a *kalilang* (festivity) is held honoring the sultan at his coronation and proclamation. Flags adorn the streets and houses of the entire community. Other traditional titleholders from other neighboring communities are invited to grace the event. The new sultan is proclaimed by the sultans who were invi-

ted.   Other occasion that would gather people together are weddings, burials or death celebration as well as religious holidays.

Maranao Traditional System of Organization: Basic Features

There are two major aspects which serve as analytical tools in describing the Maranao traditional system of organization, particularly in so far as it operates in the lower levels. One aspect is the articulation of units and roles within the system and the other pertains to the allocation and distribution of power within the system as a whole. In terms of the articulation of units and roles, the Maranao traditional system of organization is largely characterized by a weak and loose structure. While traditional leaders assume leadership roles in the central bodies of the organization, there is actually little or no control that is exercised by them at the base.   Hence, traditional leaders belonging to the central or top levels of the organizational framework hold no well-defined control over peoples and communities in the lower levels of organizational structure. Within its unit, there is no authority available to the sultan which is not available to other traditional leaders.[12] Functions are not well differentiated. As such, the sultan in the lower levels as in the agama, performs functions similar to the sultan in the higher levels of the Maranao political system. The sultan does not have final authority which is also denied to any of the other titleholders in any level of the system.

Authority and influence varies from area to area depending upon the situation at hand. Thus, a sultan who is regarded as the traditional leader of the *pegawid* (subordinate) community may have greater control and influence over his area more than a sultan who occupies a position in the higher levels of the organization. Similarly, a sultan may have more power or influence than another sultan occupying a traditional position of a larger *agama*. This shows that actual authority in the traditional system is not fixed. Occupying positions or offices in the traditional hierarchy does not automatically imply actual power and influence. The exercise

of actual influence depends on the number of followers one can mobilize and continuously support. Within each unit, distribution of effective authority varies and actual authority depends upon the situation at hand.

Another related aspect that is characteristic of the Maranao traditional system of organization is the nature of power distribution within the system. In principle, the Maranao political organization manifests a strongly hierarchic or monolithic structure whose power seems to be concentrated at the top and flows down to the base. In actuality, power is largely diffused and fragmented among several number of power centers sharing varying degrees of strength and unity. On account of its diffused character, close relationships and interactions between and among the units are minimal. This reinforces and intensifies the weak and loose structure of the Maranao system of organization.

The loose and fragmented nature of the organizational system is, however, balanced by integrated mechanisms which unite the people and communities together into a unified whole. The mechanisms include the integrating bond of kinship and the traditional values and norms rooted in them as a people. As just mentioned, the Maranao organizational structure is primarily structured on the basis of kinship. The traditional units at the lower levels of the structure, the *agama*, is primarily a kinship unit. As a kinship unit, all its members tend to be related to one another. Relationship among the traditional units are defined and regulated by the *taritib, adat* and other customary laws of the people. On the basis of these norms, communities and peoples are ranked accordingly and their rights and obligations are defined in accordance with their rank. Their notion of superordination-subordination (*pegawidan-pegawid*) does not only serve to structure communities but also to define the relationship among individuals within the total organizational structure. Furthermore, reinforcing these relationships are traditional values of *maratabat* which denotes one's recognition and acknowledgment of one's position in the community. These, together with the value of *kapapangawida* (sense of community cooperation) and the value of *kangiginawa'l* (mutual

assistance) serve as unifying factors that can consequently bring the people together into a total scheme of a well-integrated society.

II
FOUNDATIONS OF THE MARANAO POLITICAL SYSTEM

To understand the nature and functioning of the Maranao political system, one must take into account certain aspects of the social structure together with roles, statuses and interactions that arise within the framework of the system. This involves a study of major institutional complexes in the Maranao social system within which the Maranao political system operates. It seeks to show the interrelation among these institutional complexes and the interactions within the Maranao society as a whole. It also aims to show how power relations are structured in the society.

Kinships System

One of the most powerful forces that influence Maranao behavior is their kinship system. Kinship facilitates the formation of alliances for the purposes of attaining power.

The Maranao kinship system is essentially a bilateral system in which one is equally related to both parents' consanguinal kins. The bilateral structure of the Maranao kinship system provides a vast number of relatives inherited from each of the parent, thereby increasing and strengthening one's personal following and consequently giving the Maranao a wide-ranged and built-in bases for support.

The vast number of relatives necessary in strengthening one's personal following is further augmented by the acquisition of affinal kin or in-laws upon marriage. The relatives of one's spouse become one's relatives as well. Moreover, this is easily achieved among the Maranaos who practice polygamy. As such, the rela-

tives for one's spouses can significantly increase one's number of relatives necessary for support. By having four wives, a man establishes relationship with four families which are strong solid sources of support.

Strength of alliances does not only depend on number but also on the quality of its members. In this regard, the Maranaos do not only emphasize the number of relatives acquired but also seek to improve the quality of its members. Thus the more influential the members affiliated in one's kin group, the stronger the group. This is particularly important in a society where the strength of political alliances depends largely on family or kinship ties.

Insuring the quality of relatives in this regard is easily achieved by the Maranaos through their practice of mate selection. Parents choose the mates of their sons and daughters for political purposes. Leading influential families within a kin group are pressed to arranged advantageous unions in order to validate their kin's claim to rank and influence.

Aside from mate selection, there is also a tendency toward kindred endogamy normatively sanctioned through preferential cousin marriages. This preference, among other practical considerations, is motivated by the desire to keep political resources intact in the same kinship unit.

Quantity and quality of members within one's kin group is further enhanced by strong and widely extended kinship ties (*kaplolot*). Closeness among the Maranaos is not only within nuclear family but also extends up to the clan. To them the kinship group which revolves around the nucleus, the family, is a closely knit one to which each member is naturally bound. It is the source of his *maratabat* (pride) and his *kaito* (shame). It gives him protection and he in turn is obliged to work for its upliftment.

A positive effect of close kinship ties is the emergence of collective responsibility among its members which is essential in the maintenance of power. Collective responsibility toward the kin group implies that better-off members have the responsibility to take care not only of their immediate family but also of their rela-

tives. More specifically, those who belong to the high status category (*mala i bangsa*) are duty-bound to help those below them (*mababa i bangsa*). The search for power and prestige becomes the concern of the family as well as the kin group as a whole. A body of relatives supports a few influential men within the kin group. This group of supporters consisting largely of close relatives is usually large and cohesive, thereby reinforcing the strength of alliances formed. Thus, kinship ties which link the relatives together into a unified group are useful instruments for establishing close and enduring relationships necessary in maintaining power within the system. Moreover, the search for power and influence becomes a continuing effort in the desire to maintain their power positions within the group vis-a-vis other groups. Consequently, possible channels of increasing one's prestige and influence are continuously explored.

The above discussion shows one outstanding feature of the Maranao society, which is the peculiar tie between kinship and social status. A person's status and prestige in the society is largely determined or measured in terms of his family background. Thus, kinship becomes a very effective and useful means of maintaining and enhancing one's power position within the society. It serves as an important means of validating one's status or rank within the system. It also serves as a means of providing important bonds through which close relationship can be established. It is an effective base for support particularly for individuals and groups searching for power.

System of Ascribed Rank

Another important feature of the society which has tremendous impact on the Maranao political system is the principle of ascribed rank. The traditional system of ranking individuals on the basis of birth persists in the Maranao society and has an important influence on the society's power system. An analysis of the Maranao social structure and its bearing on power should, there-

fore, include an analysis of the system of ascribed rank and the relationships and interactions arising from it.

The principle of ascribed rank, as it operates in Maranao society, sets one major descent group above all others by virtue of its special or close relation with the founding ancestor of the community. The major descent group consists largely of actual and potential titleholders. More specifically, this group is divided into two categories, the *pegawidan* (superordinate nobility) — those with titles of sultan and other equivalent titles — and the *pegawid* (subordinate nobility) who do not assume titles but are close descendants of titleholders and, as such, are potential titleholders. This group consisting of actual and potential titleholders (the *datu* class) constitute what we may call the traditional elite.

Membership into these categories is defined by ancestral lines called *bangsa,* which connotes lineage that is inherited bilaterally. In view of the bilateral structure of kinship in the Maranao society, each person belongs to a variety of lineages which determines one's descendants and one's access to particular offices as well as their accompanying rights and duties. For purposes of tracing one's descendants and thereby determining one's position in the society, two instruments are used: one is the *taritib* which, among others. specifies the order of succession of descendants of particular ancestors and their corresponding titles; the other is the *salsila* which is a genealogical account which lists down and enumerates the traditional ruling families who have the right to assume offices in the community. Both of these instruments serve to legitimize the assumption of an ascribed position in the Maranao social structure.

Continuity of the datu group could be insured by marriage among full-blooded datus in order to maintain and strengthen one's ink in the traditional community. As persons belonging to the traditional prestige group, they are regarded as having *mala i bangsa* (high ascribed category) in relation to people below them who are considered to have a low ascribed category (*mababa i bangsa*). Membership in the highest category entitles a person to a certain measure of influence but it is not fully given unless this

is strongly validated by a person's possession of wealth, political influence, personal attributes and in some instances, religious charisma.

Interactions and relationships establishing close links between the upper class vis-a-vis the people below them is facilitated through the notion of superordination-subordination (*pegawidan-pegawid*). As persons belonging to the *pegawidan* group, they are expected to help the people below them. Their help may come in the form of financial assistance or services in times of need. It may also include help extended to the people in general as the repair or construction of the mosque or the *madrasah* (religious school), the settlement of disputes, and participation and involvement in community activities. In exchange for their help, the people bestow deference and loyalty to them. They also render services to them when the need arises. In the Maranao society, however, where the people (the *pegawid* group) constitute a large group, the obligation to support or help all of them becomes an impossibility. Thus, the leader often draws a line somewhere and selects consciously those whom he will support. They will then constitute his alliance group which he can mobilize any time when necessary. His selection is made on the basis of kinship connections, self interest and friendship ties. The leader must assess the degree of closeness involved as well as the favors done by persons or groups to discover who among them must be given support.

The proper observance of one's duties in accordance with one's status in the society is highly valued among the Maranaos. This is sanctioned by their *maratabat* which emphasizes not only the need to perform responsibilities towards one's subordinate for its own sake but also for purposes of enhancing the honor and pride of oneself and his kin. Performance of one's obligations indicates recognition of one's rank in the society. Thus a *pegawidan*, by virtue of his ascribed status, is said to possess a high degree of *maratabat (mala i maratabat)*, relative to persons below him. The acknowledgment or the zealous protection of one's *maratabat* implies the need to constantly enhance it. For these reasons, the *pegawidan* are motivated or induced to help their kins and followers

and perform their traditional roles and functions in their respective communities in order to maintain or strengthen their status and thereby enhance their *maratabat*. For the same reason, the *pegawidan* are in constant search for other channels to enhance their *maratabat*.

In addition, another value closely correlated to status is their respect towards elders (*lokus*) and persons of authority. This value is easily discerned in the relationships between a child and a parent, or between a leader and a follower. This is particularly manifested during the *darpa* (assembly) usually held during community celebrations or gatherings where an elaborate expression of deference towards persons socially superior in status is shown. Celebration of status is also done during social occasions where sultans and datus are exalted by giving them a share of the dowry as a symbol of their rank in the traditional community.

The principle of ascribed rank as sanctioned by traditional values of the Maranao serves as an effective way of structuring power relations among groups. It serves to order hierarchical relations between higher prestige groups and the lower ones. It is also a way of opening channels of communication between high status groups and persons below them. This operating principle continues to play a significant role in the Maranao social structure.

Title System

As indicated earlier, the Maranao traditional organization operates on the basis of a set of offices which are bestowed on persons who have rights to hold or claim titles by virtue of this special or close relations to recognized founders of the sultanate. As such, title legitimizes the right to occupy particular offices with acco panying rights and duties. It also defines the holder's relations with other offices in the system.

Titles may largely be political or religious in nature. Titles like *solotan, kabugatan* and *radiamuda* are largely political titles while that of an *imam* is religious in nature. These are primary

titles since they constitute the highest and most important titles in the community. It is generally agreed among the people that the titles of the sultan and the *imam* are considered the highest titles relative to the rest.

Surrounding the primary titles are auxiliary titles which are granted or reserved to females and are inherited matrilineally. While they are not accorded the same rights and prestige granted to male titleholders, they may also be designated to assume traditional roles such as assisting in the reformulation of the *taritib* and participation in social and religious activities in the community.

In addition to primary and auxiliary titles are secondary titles. These are held by persons who represent those who assume primary or major titles in their absence. These secondary titles also denote the pattern of succession of titles of sultan or other major titleholders. The relative prestige and ranking of the titles are not however fixed.

As earlier indicated, titles in the Maranao society symbolize power but do not confer it. Actual validation of one's title depends upon actual power including such factors as number of followers, wealth, ability, and social reputation, birth and family background.

As shown, power relationships in the traditional framework are essentially based on a system of titled descent groups. The assumption of a title has direct relevance to the Maranao policy. It serves as a supplement to political influence which may be acquired in many other ways. It is quite common for a traditional leader who has acquired power and influence to legitimize that position by resurrecting a title which have been previously ignored and perhaps abandoned.

The *Datu* System

Our study of the Maranao *datu* system is necessary to provide explanation concerning the nature and exercise of traditional

power and authority and its effects on the Maranao political system as a whole. This discussion focuses on the traditional roles and their bearing on power relations both within the system and the local government.

The analysis of the Maranao *datu* system in the context of the Maranao power structure leads us, therefore, to examine two important aspects: the sources of influence that could be generated from the datu system itself and the purposes from which it is employed.

The sultan's role has two major aspects corresponding with two major groups which he has relations with. On one hand, he holds an authority position of a particular kind vis-a-vis other people of the village. On the other hand, he is a link between his people and the wider political system.

Within the *agama*, the sultan's influence grows out of the authority accorded to him by virtue of his ascribed rank in the society. As a *pegawidan*, he is accorded rights and privileges arising from his position in the traditional hierarchy. This includes actual and symbolic recognition of   status,   a share of goods (*adat*) distributed during social gatherings as in marriage, death and in other socio-religious celebration. His influence and prestige also grows out of his important role in the decision-making process in the *agama*. As a traditional leader, he serves as keeper of traditional values and traditions. He performs ceremonial functions, particularly wedding ceremonies, funerals and other community-wide celebrations. He gives contributions and initiates their solicitation for the repair or construction of mosques and *madrasah* schools. He also exerts tremendous influence in the choice of religious tasks in the mosque.

His influence is also manifested in his role to keep peace in his respective community. Accordingly, he takes the lead in settling disputes which threaten the peace and this takes the form usually of consulting with informal leaders and elders (*puloklokusen*) in the community. He intercedes on personal and family disputes brought to him. In some instances, where violence breaks out between kinship groups in the village, the sultan intervenes

either by himself or with the assistance of other leaders to put an end to the hostility. Often the sultan may be called in to prevent conflict when asked to witness the negotiation of a dispute. Being a respected person, the sultan or datu can do much to help in settling conflicts or misunderstanding among the people in the community. Aside from the assistance of elders, the resolution of disputes are also done through the *agama* court. This traditional settlement involves calling of witnesses to help gather the facts of the case. Traditional lawyers (*wakils*) are hired to argue the case in the presence of the sultan. Disputes are resolved through the payment of fines.

In addition to the settlement of conflicts, leadership and authority of the sultan are manifested in the performance of religious functions and activities. He is regarded as a religious head in the community and is expected to participate in religious gatherings and celebrations. He also coordinates with religious leaders pertaining to religious matters and coordinates with other traditional leaders regarding matters affecting them. He also exerts inflence in the choice of the *imam* and other religious functionaries in the mosque.

Furthermore, the influence of the sultan is reinforced by his role as a middleman between his people and the local government. He is not simply a traditional leader; he also serves as a link between the local government and the people. In this regard, he can help the people who encounter difficulties in the transaction with government agencies and officials. As such, he is considered as a political broker of the community. During elections, he is utilized to perform the function of a political leader assigned to deliver votes necessary to win the political contest. By virtue of his traditional influence and status, he can easily mobilize his people to support candidates during election periods.

Moreover, the influence of the sultan is reinforced by his mutual-aid relations generated by his leadership role in his community. As a traditional leader, the sultan establishes mutual-aid relations with ties of personal loyalty with the people, his kinsmen and other groups in the community. During times of need, he is

the person whom they could turn to for help. During weddings of their children, the people ask for the financial assistance of such mutual-aid relations needed for the wedding celebration and to help in increasing the dowry. During deaths of members of their families, the sultan is there to give his help (*tabang*) to raise the *sadka* (religious alms) distributed by the family of the deceased to religious personage and other people in attendance. And when the people go to the mosque to pray, the sultan is there to exhort them together with the *imam* to live righteously and support them in the building of a better community. The sultan also leads them in the solicitation of contributions for the maintenance or repair of the mosque or *madrasah* schools. In exchange for these, the people give their support and extend him their services when the need arises.

These reciprocal relationships are further strengthened by the value of *maratabat,* their concept of superordination-subordination (*pegawican-pegawid*) and other related values. These relationships, as they operate between individuals and groups, establish close and enduring links between them necessary in maintaining and reinforcing one's personal following. They are also useful in cultivating friendships with influential political leaders; such friendships are necessary in increasing one's influence in the community.

As shown, the sultan's influence and authority are largely based on his traditional role as a leader and his role as a middleman between his people and the wider political system. The performance of these dual roles are effective sources of influence for the sultan. While the performance of these functions gives him prestige and influence, the actual validation of his status in the community is effected through the amount of power which he can bear on important decisions affecting the community. This largely depends on his skill and charisma necessary in maintaining the loyalty and support of his followers. This also depends on his wealth necessary in performing certain functions towards them.

III.

INTERACTIONS WITH MODERN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

We now turn to the relationship between Maranao traditional institutions and the local government and the manner in which leadership has been affected by the introduction of new political institutions. We look into the consequences arising from these relationships and its impact on the Maranao political system as a whole.

Our study of this relationship also leads us to further explore the Maranao traditional political system as it interacts with the wider and "modern" political system, more particularly insofar as the latter affects the members of the traditional elite. We therefore focus on the entry of the traditional elite into the political arena and the resources that they use to strengthen their power positions.

By analyzing these aspects, we gain insights into the bases of power utilized by them in their attempt to obtain leadership positions in the wider political system. Our focus on the Maranao traditional elite is important since in the past and even in the present, it has been from their ranks that a significant number of political officials have been recruited. By focusing our attention on the traditional elite, we gain sharper focus on how certain important factors affect and influence their perceptions of and attitudes towards the government. It sheds light on their socialization and recruitment into the political process. We also gain insights into how they are mobilized to undertake political roles in the legal constitutional framework.

Data for this topic were obtained from interviews conducted with traditional titleholders who served as informants on aspects pertinent to traditional organization and leadership.[13] The members of the traditional elite interviewed hold traditional positions in their respective traditional communities as well as political positions in the local or provincial levels of the legal constitutional set-up. They are also members of the Marawi Sultanate League, the most active of the four traditional organizations in the area.

Traditional Institutions and the Local Government

With the introduction of modern government, indigenous traditional units are gradually brought into a new scheme of the new, legal local organization. The constitutional framework is superimposed upon the sultanate or *agama* groupings. Thus the sultanates and their subdivisions are integrated into various districts of the city's organizational structure (See Figure II).[14] More important than these organizational transformations are the changes which affect Maranao traditional leadership. The introduction of the new political system has opened new avenues for the access to power. This time the positions are sought for in the political arena in order to enhance one's power position in the community. The traditional elite vie for government positions to ally themselves with political officials. The members of the traditional elite who succeed in the political contest consequently assume dual roles, that of a traditional leader in the community and simultaneously of a political official by virtue of his political position in the government. This is the case of the mayor who at the same time is a sultan of one of the *agama* communities. The traditional role of maintaining peace among the people supplements the legal power of maintaining peace and promoting the general welfare of the people. Moreover, the dual roles assumed by the sultan-mayor also serves to bridge the relationship between the traditional community and the new political system. The sultan-mayor serves as a middleman between his people and the local government. He tries to establish a link between his agama and the local government by soliciting the help of other traditional leaders in the supervision and implementation of government projects. He seeks audience from them on occasions or community gatherings which require his presence. He also solicits their help in the adjudication of disputes among the people. Likewise, as a traditional and political official, he tries to fulfill the expectations of the people by performing his role as a kinsman of some sort. He assists them in times of need. Moreover, in the performance of this dual role, he has easy access to other leaders and

officials in the government, to enable him to help the people who encounter difficulties in the transactions of government agencies.

The links between the traditional community and the local government are further facilitated by the traditional elite in their capacity as leaders of their respective communities. As such, political officials are in continual consultation with their members regarding matters affecting the community as a whole. Matters which would necessitate consultations with the traditional organization pertain to the passage and implementation of ordinances and the celebration of Muslim religious feasts and holidays. During these occasions, both groups of leaders are drawn together for cooperation. These activities serve to bridge harmonious relations between the traditional political system and the local government.[15]

Entry Into the Political Arena

The political arena is utilized effectively by the traditional elite in the struggle for prestige and power. An examination of the political background of the traditional elite shows that many of them occupy national as well as local political positions both in the past and in the present periods. By occupying government positions, members of the traditional elite are endowed with legal powers and functions that serve to enhance their power positions both in the traditional community as well in the local governmental setup. As traditional titleholders, the traditional elite performs traditional leadership roles which inevitably place them in positions of prestige. influence and authority which in turn are magnified by the legal positions they occupy. As traditional titleholders and political officials. the members of the traditional elite are given more access to other traditional leaders and other political officials, necessary in strengthening their power positions in their respective communities. Their access to other people and other leaders in the community is further reinforced by their membership in traditional community organizations. All of the traditional leaders interviewed are members of traditional organizations in

their respective traditional communities. One of these organizations is the Marawi Sultanate League, the strongest and most recognized traditional elite organization in the city. It consists of 33 recognized traditional titleholders who have jurisdiction over their respective traditional communities, covering eleven traditional subdivisions which are all within the jurisdiction of Marawi. In addition to their membership in traditional elite organization, they are also at the same time members of religious organizations and are simultaneously members of civic and professional organizations.

Our interviews with the traditional elite has also shed light on their orientation toward the government. This is manifested in their frequent contacts with the government whenever they have problems. When asked of their reasons for contacting the government, they responded that their personal call are social visits, for informal conversations with their friends or relatives in the government, and to seek advice and/or assistance in the settlement of disputes. Their contacts with the government are indicative of their important role as mediators in the promotion of peace and order in the community. Others contact the government for other reasons such as to seek advice or assistance in solving problems affecting their community.

The traditional leaders' orientation toward the government is also reflected in their awareness of government projects or programs currently launched in their communities. The traditional elite were asked what projects were undertaken or are currently being undertaken by government agencies. Among the activities mentioned are health and sanitation programs, educational projects, infrastructure projects such as the construction of roads and beautification programs.

Furthermore, an examination of the traditional elite's participation in these projects and programs indicate that they take active part in the execution and completion. They explain that for projects that they support, they take part by helping in the supervision. Others go all their way to solicit assistance from other government agencies to speed up the project. In some instances, they take part in the immediate completion of the project by acting as negotiator in the event that conflicts arise.

Interaction in the Political Arena

Much of the dynamics of power is discerned in the mutual interactions between elites and the masses as they are involved in the struggle for power in the political arena. The contest to gain political support is one of the crucial struggles in the political arena. Our discussion shall now focus on how the traditional sources of power are used by the traditional elites and the manner in which they are carried over in the political arena. It shows the ways and strategies utilized by the traditional elite in obtaining political support in their bid to occupy political positions in the government. Focus on these resources and how they are used also serve to provide insights into the dynamics of power in a Muslim community.

Interviews with the traditional leaders reveal five major resources which can be effectively used in the political arena, namely: material resources, kinship ties, values of *maratabat* and other related values, religiousness and the assistance of traditional leaders.[16]

Considered as the most important resource is the command of an important political asset: money. The important political resource, according to them, attracts not only the people but also other political leaders. They are induced to work and give political support in exchange for the material and other benefits that they expect in return. For this reason, it is not surprising for an aspiring leader to harness all his resources in order to maximize his financial capability necessary to join a political contest.

In addition to financial resources, another resource considered important by the traditional leaders is the value of close kinship ties. Kinship bonds which bind powerful families are politically significant. Relatives serve as strong basis for political support. On the basis of kinship, one can easily command a strong and influential following. Moreover, through kinship, close and personal relationships are also established. A kin who has been a recipient of favors for the traditional leader-candidate reciprocates by giving him political support.

Another important political resource is the value of *marata-bat*. This implies the proper observance of one's responsibility in accordance with one's status in the community. One is induced to work hard for his relative-candidate. To a Maranao, the candidacy of his kin is an *awidan* (collective endeavor) which involves the *maratabat* of the whole clan. The victory of a relative is a confirmation of his and his clan's status while his defeat is a great blow to his *maratabat* and that of his kind.

As such, the traditional elite, by virtue of its high ascribed status, has the obligation to protect and enhance its *maratabat*. For this reason, various channels both in the traditional system and outside are utilized with the aim of enhancing its *maratabat*.

The third most important resource identified is the possession of character traits, most important of which is religiousness. Use of this resource is evident among the traditional elite as reflected in its active membership in religious organizations and societies. Moreover, this is easily facilitated by the religious roles it plays in its respective *agamas*.

Another effective way of obtaining political support is to have access to other traditional leaders in the community. The traditional elite utilizes this mechanism effectively in order to strengthen its power positions in the community. A sultan has easy access to other actual and potential titleholders in the community: the other sultans, datus and *imams*. Likewise, access to other traditional leaders is also facilitated by his role as a middleman between his people in his *agama* and other leaders in other *agamas*. Moreover, by virtue of the traditional position he occupies, a sultan can easily mobilize his followers for political purposes. On account of this, the sultan is often mobilized during election to act as political leader of a politician or a political group. In assuming this political role, he gains access to political officials as well as other leaders and members of political groups necessary not only in obtaining political support but also in strengthening his power position within the system. His capacity to gain access to actual and potential powerholders in the community as well as to the people at large provides him a significant

source of political strength.

Political support is also facilitated through reciprocal ties established between the sultan and his followers. Personal favors extended to them by the sultan are exchanged for their loyalty and support. This system of reciprocity reinforced by their notion of *pegawid-pegawidan* relationship commonly exists between traditional leaders and followers. The nature of this relationship has already been discussed earlier. This pattern of reciprocity which is effectively carried over into the political sphere serves to create personal and close relationship necessary to obtain political support.

Strengthening one's relationship is also done through the creation of associational ties. As already mentioned, the majority of the members of the traditional elite are active members of community associations. Their membership in these associations serves to establish contacts with members of particular groups or associations necessary for obtaining collective support. Associational ties are also considered as effective means of strengthening alliances with other groups. The traditional elite utilizes this by organizing itself into groups that could be mobilized for political support. Members also align themselves with other religious or civic organizations to enhance their political influence.

IV
SUMMARY AND COMMENTS

We have attempted in this study to describe the structure and dynamics of the Maranao political system in terms of the socio-cultural and political factors at work in the Maranao society. We have focused our attention mainly on the following aspects: the nature and basic characteristics of Maranao traditional system of organization and leadership, the aspects in the Maranao social structure that help shape and influence the nature of the Maranao political system, the interactions and processes arising from the traditional framework and the constitutional setup and the orien-

tation of the traditional elite towards the political process.

The most significant patterns and highlights that can describe the nature and dynamics of the Maranao political system may be summarized as follows:

1. The Maranao political system operates on the basis of organizing principles in the Maranao social structure that govern its organization, its source of legitimacy and the manner in which power and authority are allocated and distributed. The kinship system together with the closely related principles of ascribed rank, title system, the datu system of the Maranao society are important and effective instruments in the structuring of power relations among peoples and groups. They also serve as basis for the creation of alliances necessary for strengthening and consolidating one's power position in the community. The principle of ascribed rank, for one, serves to rank peoples and communities on the basis of an hierarchy of status and authority, and correspondingly defines their rights and obligations within the total organizational structure. This principle with its related notion of superordination and subordination also determines the flow of authority within the system as a whole and within each structural level and defines the point around which roles may be allocated.

2. The operation of the Maranao political system is examined in terms of the manner of allocating roles within the total organizational structure. Generally, the Maranao indigenous system of organization has a weak and loose structure. This may be attributed to the absence of a strong central governing body that controls the whole system. Authority in the organizational system is not fixed nor well-defin Traditional leaders do not hold a well-defined basis for control over peoples and communities. Another factor that can account for the weak and loose structure is the nature of power distribution within the system.

The traditional system of organization appears to assume a hierarchic or a strongly-centralized structure where power is concentrated at the top and flows down at the base. In actuality power is diffused and fragmented. Power is shared by various power centers, with varying degrees of strength and unity. Power is dispersed among different groups, and actual authority within the system is not fixed. It varies from area to area and upon the

situation at hand. Furthermore. within each unit, one can discern the overlapping of roles. There is no authority available in the sultan which is not vested on other traditional titleholders. Authority, therefore, is not explicit and well articulated within the structural units as well as within the total organizational structure.

This loose and fragmented structure of the indigenous organization is, however, balanced by integrating mechanisms which unite peoples and communities together into a unified whole. These integrating mechanisms include the unifying bonds of kinship, the values of *maratabat, kapapangawida* and the value of *kangiginawa'i* and other religious and communal bonds and arrangements that guide and direct the whole system of relationship among peoples and communities, consequently bringing them all into a total scheme of a well-unified and integrated society.

3. The functioning of the Maranao political system is also analyzed in terms of the process in which traditional authority is exercised and distributed. As shown above, traditional authority is exercised by a group of leaders who hold traditional titles. As traditional titleholders, they have the right to hold or claim offices within their respective communities. As a consequence of their offices, the traditional elite possesses certain rights such as the right of control over religious officials, rights arising from social functions and activities, and rights to maintain peace and order. All these rights are sources of authority and influence of the traditional elite. Traditional authority derives its power and legitimacy from the customary laws and order which govern Maranao political organization as well as from Islamic laws.

4. Regarding traditional leadership, the following findings are revealing as far as the nature and character of the Maranao political system is concerned:

A. Leadership influence in the Maranao political system does not operate segmentally. It tends to permeate all spheres simultaneously such that the sultan exerts influence not only in secular matters but also in the religious matters as well. This is particularly true if the sultan is a recognized religious leader and at the same time a political official. The traditional influence, by virtue of the performance of traditional functions exercised by the traditional elite, extends beyond the traditional structure in its pene-

tration in the wider political system where traditional leadership is reinforced through political posts.

B. The Maranao traditional authority system is not rigidly organized so as to define clearly the authority exercised by an individual. It is often almost impossible to separate other offices from ritual or religious office.

C. Actual authority within the system and in relation to the wider political system is largely based on the number of followers one has and one's capacity to support and maintain them. Such a basis for authority creates and continuously encourages a system of unstable alliances between individuals and groups. As a result, leaders are in constant search for ways and means of maintaining and strengthening their power positions in order to increase their wealth, gain more followers, consequently placing datus under their authority.

D. The Maranao political system has been shaped among others by the social values and attitudes strongly adhered to by the people. An analysis of the Maranao political system, therefore, necessitates an understanding of the socio-cultural and psychological factors whose interplay forges the dynamics and structures of the political system itself.

5. The introduction of the new political framework has resulted in changes which have strongly affected the Maranao and his traditional institutions. A new pattern of recruitment is introduced. The introduction of the modern government has opened new avenues for access to power and authority. While in the traditional system, the struggle for power and authority was confined to the competition for traditional titles, the political arena provide a new source of power. Members of traditional elite have utilized the political arena to enhance their influence. Their entry in the political arena has been facilitated by their command of important political resources which they use effectively to obtain political support.

The introduction of modern government has transferred the locus of power competition to another sphere. Competition for power has been extended to the political arena as traditional leaders vie for political positions in order to strengthen their influence. This has reinforced the fragmentation of power, consequently preventing the emergence of more permanently stable alliances. Such a situation poses a problem regarding the difficulty of bringing the people together into a strong and solid political unit. This inability arises largely from the Maranao traditional system itself. Moreover, the competition and strict adherence to *maratabat* reinforces this difficulty.

6. An analysis of the interactions of the Maranao political system with the legal constitutional framework has also led this study to explore and discover how certain aspects of the Maranao social structure are carried intact in the political arena. As shown above, kinship obligations underlie the Maranao orientation to political action and organization. Family ties and a system of reciprocity arising from kinship and the traditional values of *maratabat* and *kapapangawida* have also been the basis for the creation of political alliances. Moreover, political attitudes and orientations are shaped by their notion of rank and their respect for hierarchy *(kapoporo'ay)*. They play a vital role in validating the influence of the traditional elite in their unending quest for the enhancement of their *maratabat*.

Implications for Change

The traditional political institutions of the Maranao are strong vital forces to reckon with. Despite the introduction of modern institutions, they survive and still play a significant role in the lives of the people. These traditional institutions are vital as far as the people's identity is concerned and are considered as the embodiment or symbols of Maranao traditions. They constitute a part of their past and, therefore, should be preserved.

Even up to the present, the sultans and datus, as well as the religious leaders in the community, are looked upon by the people for leadership and guidance. The people's strong faith in the datu

have been attributed to their religious beliefs, their *maratabat* and their strong adherence to their *adat*. The performance of these leaders' roles by virtue of the traditional offices they occupy elevates them to positions of prestige and influence. The performance of traditional roles also provides them a built-in channel for continuous interaction with the people and other groups necessary for their access to and identification with them. These interactions with the people and the traditional leaders are further nurtured by their traditional values and orientations such as the stress of close kinship ties, the pervasive value of *maratabat* and the notion of superordination-subordination. All these contribute to the survival and strengthening of indigenous political institutions among the people. Furthermore, the traditional leaders reinforce also their positions by assuming political positions in the government. By taking on these positions, they have simply added to their traditional authority, the prerogatives arising from such positions.

In view of their persistence, one cannot simply ignore these traditional political institution. On account of their influence vis-a-vis the people, there is a need to use them to effect changes in the system. The traditional leadership is useful as a mechanism for change especially among those who are strongly integrated within the institutional network of their communities. As such, responsible leadership from within should be developed and eventually utilized to bring about the development of the area. There is, therefore, the need to work through religious and traditional leaders in order to promote and facilitate an awareness for change. There is a need to work within the framework of existing traditional roles and structures. Moreover, since traditional values are deeply ingrained in the culture, a program should be devised where values and norms are utilized to facilitate change. Traditional values and norms can be effective tools to bring about change.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Pangampong is a derivation of the word Kampong which refers to a place or community having some kind of power structure consisting of leaders and followers. Literally, it means "settlement" and is variably applied to any small or large community. For detailed treatment. see Melvin Mednick, *Encampment of the Lake, the Social Organization of a Moslem-Philippine (Moro) People* (Philippine Studies Program, Chicago University, 1965).

[2]The boundaries of Bayabao, Masiu, Onayan and Baloi can be traced by the people on the map of the two Lanao provinces and part of Misamis Oriental whose present organizations have been sumperimposed upon the traditional boundaries of the *pangampong.* See Mamitua Saber. "The Transitions From a Traditional to a Legal Authority System: A Philippine Case" (Kansas: University of Kansas, 1967), pp. 58-66.

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]The *taritib* is a collection of customs, traditions and usages that are observed in the community. It defines the relationships of territories, the extent of communities, the status and ranking of families with their corresponding functions and roles, the titles that should be given to individuals and in general the social behavior patterns. See Mednick, *op cit.*

[5]Within the four *pangampong,* there are 15 *pegawidan* communities representing the superior rank while the other twenty-eight are categorized into *pegawid* communities representing the subordinate rank. During the Muslim Conference of June 1974, together with 15, *pegawidan sultans* of Lanao del Sur, former Congressman Raschid Lucman was proclaimed as the first paramount *sultan* by President Ferdinand E. Marcos. See *Daily Express* (June 22, 1974).

[6]Saber, *op. cit.*

[7]Data provided by a relative of the traditional titleholders in Marawi.

[8]The *adat* is an Arabic loan word for "custom" or "customary law." It includes not only Islamic laws derived from the Holy Koran but also the pre-Islamic law called the *taritib.* See Saber, op. cit., p. 59; Also Mednick *op. cit.,* **p.** 87.

[9]Mamitua Saber, Mauyag Tamano and Charles Warriner, "Maratabat of the Maranao." *Philippine Sociological Review* VIII, nos. 1-2 (Jan-Apr., 1960), pp. 10-15.

[10]These case studies of two traditional communities serve to provide insights into how traditional communities work in the lower levels of the total Maranao traditional organization. A study of the traditional groupings in Ma-

rawi is also necessary to explore possibilities for identifying distinctive features characteristic of traditional communities found in a rural-transitional setting. Data for these case studies were obtained from two informants one is a member of the traditional elite in Marawi and the other, a longtime resident of the *agama* of Marinaut who was a student of Mindanao State University in Marawi at the time of this study.

[11] For related discussions on some aspects of Maranao political culture, see Benitez, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-17.

[12] Maranao power system is described as "multicentric" since there is no one point within the structure wherein power emanates and is controlled. See David B. Baradas "Maranao Law: A Study of Conflict and its Resolution in a Multicentric Power System" in *On Codification of Muslim Customary (Adat) and Quranic Laws*. Papers of the 6th Annual Seminar on Islam in the Philippines in Asia. Davao: Ateneo de Davao College, 1974.

[13] Additional data on the entry of the traditional elite into the legal constitutional framework are also obtained in the published masteral thesis of this writer. The thesis, entitled "Politics of Marawi" published by the U.P. Press for the Asian Center in 1969 is a study of the nature and structure of Marawi politic.. While using some of the material from my master's thesis, this chapter selects parts of the data that are relevant to the scope of analysis on the interactions and relations between traditional institutions in Marawi and the local government. The material obtained from my thesis together with the results of later field studies provide a richer and clearer description of the interplay of modern and traditional political institutions.

[14] Ibid., pp. 9-15.

[15] For additional discussions on the relationship between the traditional political system and the local government, see Gangco T. Punginaguina, "The Agama System and the Constitutional Local Government of Lanao" *Philippine Journal of Public Administration* (Vol. XVII, Jan. 1973 No. 1, pp. 47-57.)

[16] Benitez, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46. Two political resources mentioned by the traditional elite which are not identified in the thesis are religiosity and the role of the traditional leaders in obtaining political support.

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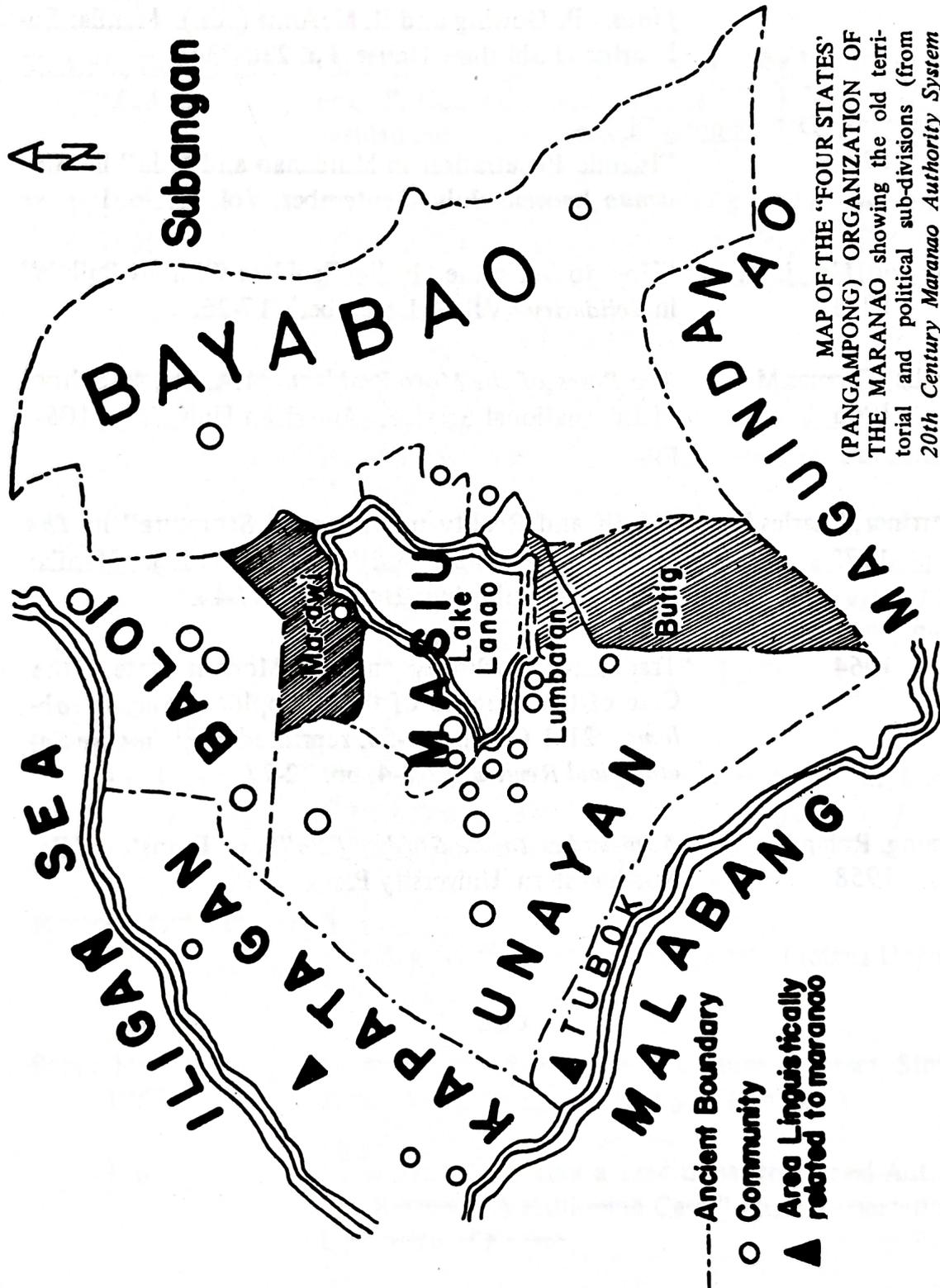
MAP OF THE "FOUR STATES" (PANGAMPONG) ORGANIZATION OF THE MARANAO showing the old territorial and political sub-divisions (from 20th Century Maranao Authority System by Mamitua Saber. Copied by Henry Cocos from the original drawn by Soreach Siribolt)

MARAWI CITY

ILIGAN CITY

LANAO DEL NORTE

SAGUIARAN

KAPAI

BUKIDNON

PIAGAPO

BUBONG

MARANTAO

RAMAIN

BALINDONG

MULUNDO

KALAWIBACOLO

TUGAYA

TARAKA

MADALUM

LUMBA – BAYABAO

MADAMBA

TAMPARAN

POONA BAYABAO

Lake Lanao

PUALAS

GANASSI

MASIU

BINIDAYAN

PAGAYAWAN

BAYANG

LUMBATAN

MALABANG

TUBARAN

BUTIG

WAO

ILLANA BAY

BALABAGAN

DIANATON

COTABATO

N

PROVINCIAL MAP
SCALE: 1:400,000