

**CHAPTER II. MUSLIM MINDANAO:  
THE COMMUNITY UNDER STUDY**

The term "Muslim Mindanao" as used in this report refers to the larger portion of the community of Muslim Filipinos often known under the generic name "Moros."<sup>2</sup> Geographically, the former term may also denote the scattered territories occupied by them in central, southern, and western Mindanao as well as some adjacent islands. The concept, "Muslim Mindanao," does not include the other Moro communities in the Sulu and Palawan group of islands, although they belong to the entire Philippine Muslim society.

"Muslim Mindanao" is composed of a heterogenous population numbering about half a million and divided into about five groups differing in linguistic characteristics and whose physical unity is cut apart by geographical barriers. The principal groups are the Maranao and the Maguindanao while the minor groups are known as Tausog, Samal, Yakan, and Sangil. The following table shows their ethnic aggroupment and geographic distribution.<sup>3</sup>

<b>Ethnic or Linguistic Groups</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Principal Concentration</b>	<b>Secondary Location</b>
Maranao	183,402 (Beyer) 191,000	Lanao del Sur & Lanao del Norte	Cotabato Bukidnon
Maguindanao	159,678 (Beyer) 167,500	Cotabato	Zamboanga Davao Lanao
Samal	124,349 (Sulu included)	Zamboanga (Sulu)	Cotabato
Yakan	30,348	Basilan Island	Zamboanga
Sangil	2,398	Davao	Cotabato

According to the census of 1939 there were about 800,000 Muslim Filipinos. Current estimate, however, increases the number to about two million which includes not only those of Mindanao but also the other groups such as the Tausog of Sulu, Zamboanga, Palawan, and Davao, and the newlyknown groups of Jama Mapun of Cagayan de Sulu Island and the Melebugananon of Balabac Island.<sup>4</sup> The Muslim Filipino society constitutes the largest single cultural minority group in the Philippines.

Along with other cultural minorities scattered all over the Philippines, the Muslims constitute one of the most significant human resources whose overall development toward their more active participation in our national life will mean a considerable contribution to our nation building. The barrier, however, toward a closer degree of "integration" of the Muslim into the larger society or the national body politic arises from the former's deep sense of cultural and social distinctiveness which is often expressed in terms of religious differences. The differences between the Muslims and non-Muslims are being consciously maintained by both the minority groups and the larger Philippine society.

**Geographical Position.** The Muslims occupy and lay claim to a good part of Mindanao which is conveniently habitable and considerably rich in natural resources in comparison to the isolated areas of the pagans and the newly-opened settlements of the Christian Filipino settlers. In these old-time areas, they have established since time immemorial their traditional communities upon which they developed and maintained their social and cultural life, despite the impact of new influence brought into their regions by the new settling groups. Occupying some of the best lands in the area, they assert their rights by reason of traditional or previous control. This has led to some instances of conflict, both legal and armed, between them, as the original settled groups and the new "invading" population from the northern regions. It is in these older settlements that this investigation has been undertaken on the problem of socio-economic development.

**Cultural Characteristics.** The term "Moro" which is customarily used to denote Muslim Filipinos sums up a number of religious, cultural, social and political traits that differentiates these people from other Filipino groups. They are culturally more advanced than

other minorities who have not deeply embraced the current western influences.

In many respects, there is little internal unity among the different Muslim groups as demonstrated by cases of ethnocentric hostilities against each other in the past and to some extent in the present. However, a feeling of generic kinship among them may emerge at times of conflict with non-Muslims as shown during the past resistances against the Spaniards, the Americans and more recently, the Japanese. Widespread adherence to certain customary values is the major difference between Muslims and Christians. The customary practice of polygyny among the few prestige-class Moros is a social practice with religious sanction respected even by members of the society who do not actually practice plural marriages. Similarly, the liberal divorce practices which are religiously and socially sanctioned in Muslim society furnish another point of difference between them and the Christians whose sanction against divorces are expressed in the Christian-influenced marriage and divorce laws of the Philippines.

The problem of distinctiveness may be examined in the overt or covert attitude of many unlettered Muslims against the national government. They think of the government as a "foreign" or "Christian" government whose authority they are forced to accept through imposition. This is evident in their customary expression of *gobirno a sarwang tao* which means "government of 'different' (i.e. foreign) people," thereby overlooking the fact of their representation in the constitutional government.

The Muslims belong to the same racial and linguistic matrix as the vast majority of the Filipinos and their languages are closely related to those spoken by the Tagalogs, Ilocanos, Visayans, and other Philippine groups.<sup>5</sup> The introduction of Islam during the 15th century and Christianity during the 16th century introduced the social and cultural forces that have separated the Muslim and Christian Filipinos.

Each Muslim group speaks a different language. The name given the language is usually the name of the ethnic group. Some of the languages are mutually intelligible like the *Maguindanao* and the *Maranao* (also called *Iranon*), but there is no one language spoken in common by all groups. The *Maranao* and *Maguindanao* are closely related to *Cebuano* and *Tagalog* and the major tongues of other Christian groups. It has also been observed that the *Sangil* of *Davao*

and Cotabato use a tongue with closest affinity to the language of the Muslim peoples inhabiting the group of islands in the Celebes. The Samal and Yakan Languages of the Basilan-Zamboanga area show closest relationships.<sup>6</sup>

Some groups whose languages are not mutually intelligible resort to second languages in their inter-group communications. A large number of poblacion Muslims speak English, Tagalog, Bisayan, Chabacano which they learned in their contact with the non-Muslims, or in the case of the first two languages, the influence of the public school. Likewise, many Mindanao Christians learned some of the Muslim languages. Some of those highly schooled in Islamic courses speak Arabic which is gradually gaining popularity among the tutors and students in the Madrasah schools of Cotabato and Lanao.

In addition to language variation, there are also disparities in the degree of Islamization among the Moro groups. Although all are nominally Muslim, their knowledge and observances of the rites and beliefs are not often equal. This may be seen by observing the difference between the life and practices of the "folk-Muslim" in the isolated areas and those of the better-exposed section of the population in the accessible territories. For instance, the Tagagonai of Wao, inhabitants of the Lanao-Bukidnon border, belong to the same language group as the Maranao, but have been called "non-Muslim Maranao" for reason of their lesser knowledge of the beliefs and practices of Islam. Many non-Islamic customs characterize the life of this physically and culturally isolated section of the Maranao group. The larger groups of Maranao and Maguindanao, however, are more religiously advanced as indicated by the considerable number of religious practitioners and their well-organized mosques and madrasah schools. These variations in Islamization within the same ethnolinguistic group are a function of geographical location. Generally, the more Islamized group dwell in areas with greater access to urban ways.

Although the Moro groups differ in many specific traits, they bear observable similarities that unite them as "Moros." One of these similarities may be seen in the manner of dressing. The wearing of the garment called *malong* by the females is widespread among the different groups. In Lanao and Cotabato, it is also worn by the males in rural areas. The kerchief called *tobao* by the Maranao and worn on the head by the males is similarly widespread among the different

groups. Religious Muslims, regardless of group identifications, wear the Arab turban. The Turkish fez was recently quite popular, but is gradually being replaced by the Malay *kopia* which resembles the army overseas cap. The turban is the headwear of those who have made their pilgrimage to Mecca. Formerly, most Muslims tabooed some Christian clothing items such as the necktie and the brimmed hat. The chewing of betelnut, betel-leaf, and tobacco mixed with lime which blackens or reddens the teeth is a widespread custom.

A number of Muslim behavior traits which distinguish them from non-Muslims are religion in origin. This includes the abhorrence of pork and alcoholic drinks. However, many among the acculturated ones who are oriented to Christian poblacion customs disregard the religious prohibition against alcoholic beverages.

Many traditional types of war weapons are common to all groups. These include the *lantakas* (brass cannons), *kampilan*, *kris*, spear, and other variety of small blade-weapons. The customary carrying of a weapon is expressive of the bearer's masculinity as well as a symbol of his rank of authority. Formerly, the male's dress was incomplete if he did not carry a kris or dagger.

Perhaps, the most significant similarity among the Muslim groups is the existence of their traditional system of social and political organization. This system is variously called the "sultanate," or "datu system." Leadership in the system is furnished by aristocratic families descended from founding ancestors who handed down different titles and authorities. The office of leaders are supported by traditional legal codes.

This socio-political system promotes unity and cohesiveness among the societal members of the kin-groups within a sultanate or datanship. This system serves as the organ of concerted action among the people as it is inherently possessed of the traditional social bond and religious unity thus forming the structure of Moro society.

**Religious Unity.** Religious identity brings together the different Moro groups in a feeling of oneness in Islam. "All Muslims," as Prophet Mohammad is commonly quoted, "are brothers." Brotherhood in Islam ideally means that every Muslim shares the pains and the happiness of every other Muslim. Not all may remember this ideal of religious bond but the fact remains that Muslims share the same interest in the persistence and defense of their religion. Currently, the people under the influence of religious and political leaders "start

to desist from calling themselves 'Moro' or 'non-Christians' and properly call themselves 'Muslims' to distinguish them from the majority group of Christian Filipinos."<sup>7</sup>

The defense of their religion historically united all the different groups in resistance to the common Spanish foe, though this unity was more frequently one of spirit than of joint military action. The old political system is weakening, but the revitalizing Islamic institutions and processes are today gaining structural strength under modern conditions to furnish the welding effect upon Philippine Muslim society. While in the past Muslims were relatively isolated, they are now in closer contact with foreign co-religionists with whom they have a mutual feeling of kinship. This increased contact increases the Muslim Filipino's knowledge of his Islamic rites and practices which further the religious bond between the several Muslim groups.

An increasing number of men, women, and children make annual pilgrimage to Mecca as a result of modern transportation and, from this contact with other Muslim groups, the Philippine Muslims tend to observe religious requirements more rigidly than they did when they had relatively superficial knowledge of Islamic life. Learned Muslims called *olamas* from other countries, notably Egypt and Indonesia, have been invited by local organizations to teach in the newly-organized Madrasah schools. These schools train an increasing number of teachers for the smaller Arabic schools in the villages.

In their desire for further knowledge, many students from the Madrasah schools seek the scholarships offered for study at the religious schools in Cairo, the capital of the United Arab Republic. As this report is being written some eighty-three Muslim Filipino student pensionadoes are attending the Al-Azhar University in Cairo. Others, as part of their pilgrimage, may remain in Mecca to study Islamic theology and observe Arabian ways, both the traditional and the more modern. On their return home they are the authorities on the definition for their people of Islamic and un-Islamic traits. They are given a higher prestige that qualifies them to become teachers and founders of new religious associations and Madrasah schools.

In addition, Islam literature in Arabic and English translations printed in other Muslim countries is being widely circulated in the

Philippine Muslim communities.

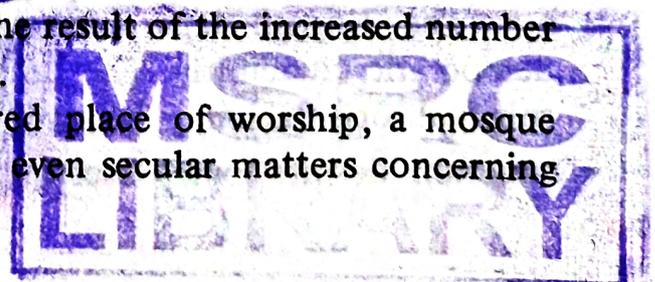
This reawakening movement in religion brings about the founding of associations with social, educational, religious, and at times, political programs. In Cotabato, for instance, they have organized the Philippine Islamic Union; in Sulu, the Sulu Islamic Union; and in Lanao there are three prominent ones, namely, the Kamilol Islam Society, the Hidyatol Muslim Society, and the Agama Islam — each having a Madrasah school in Marawi City whose graduates serve as tutors in small village madrasahs.

In Manila, Muslim leaders holding prominent positions in the National Government founded the Muslim Association of the Philippines with membership among both local and alien Muslims residing in the national metropolis. This larger national organization has started organizing provincial and city chapters in Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan. Since its founding several years ago, it has sponsored at least four national "Muslim Filipino Conferences" held in the cities of Cotabato, Marawi, Sulu, and Manila where representatives of the different groups have met with foreign Muslims in social and religious activities.<sup>8</sup> The Association founded a monthly magazine, *The Crescent Review*, which publishes among others articles of Islamic literature and current events.

Muslim dignitaries from the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Malaya who come to Moroland on goodwill visits receive fraternal courtesies and hospitality from local leaders and the communities. These visitors bring information on the adjustment of other Muslim societies to western contacts. Significantly, this information tends to reduce the Moros' resistance to some aspects of western culture which at first were thought to be "harmful" if accepted by Muslims.

Further indication of this religious interest is also manifested through the current widespread activity of reconstructing and building more and larger mosques in all Moroland. The shores of Lake Lanao are now mushrooming with reconstructed mosques or newly-built ones which violate the traditional local style in order to conform with Moorish architecture with graceful domes and minarets. This change in architectural taste is the result of the increased number who have visited other Muslim lands.

Besides its function as a sacred place of worship, a mosque serves as a meeting-place to discuss even secular matters concerning



community interest. In many instances, it is serving as a community hall for both secular and religious leaders to decide on some community projects. The financing of a mosque construction is customarily the obligation of the kin-groups within a datanship, sultanate, or *agama* who collect contributions from their members. However, during the current construction or reconstruction of mosques, the community, just like modern organizations, organize "committees" to coordinate with traditional leaders for the solicitation of funds from outsiders. Solicitation committees usually issue printed receipts like the practice of modern organizations among Christians. Evidently, these are among the indications about the change taking place in the structure and function of the traditional system — the *agama*, datanship, or sultanate — which furnish the leadership and decision-making in the community.

The growth of new associational societies among these Muslims is fast breaking the old fanatical attitude of the earliest Islamic institutions of pre-contact days. These associations are seen taking active interest in civic and governmental matters. It is not unusual to witness in the cities and larger towns their members marching with the civic parades during Philippine Independence Day and other important public celebrations. They also contribute their shares to many community projects.

While Islamic institutions are growing rapidly in influence, Muslim Filipinos also look forward toward the adoption of western thoughts and practices for enrichment of their lives. The latter influence has a levelling effect and tends to minimize the social and cultural distance between them and their Christian brothers. In Marawi City, there has been established a government-recognized Muslim school, the Kamilol Islam Colleges, which offers courses in Islamic education as well as the regular instruction found in modern public and private schools.

The school has both Arabic and English departments with not only different languages of instruction but quite different curricula. Each is relatively independent. There are students who enroll in both departments.

The English department prepares the student for his role in democratic citizenship. The Arabic department gives him religious or spiritual orientation. The two departments teach many values in common despite some observable oppositions.

**Economic Life.** There are similarities and differences in the occupational characteristics of the various groups in Muslim Mindanao. The Maguindanao and Maranao are basically agriculturists. The former have among them families of datus with large landholdings, while the latter have the majority of small independent farmers. The Maranao are lake fishermen and expert handicraft makers in their villages around the shores of Lake Lanao. A considerable segment of Maguindanao population also make their living from the sea. Others, like the Maranao, are also known for their skills in native handicrafts. Both groups produce metalworks of brass, iron, copper, gold and silver for domestic use and for trade with non-Muslims. The Samal, originally from the Sulu Archipelago and now on coastal areas in Mindanao, are fundamentally fishermen, agriculture being less developed among them. The minor groups of the Yakan and Sangil are less known for their occupational characteristics but are reported to have some similar economic characteristics with the first three larger groups.

The Maranao are shrewd businessmen who trade their farm produce and handicrafts in other communities. Today, there is hardly a large business town in the Philippine where Maranao sidewalk vendors are not seen selling "sari-sari" items. They also engage in transportation business, rice-milling, as well as in the wholesale and retail trades. It is observed that Maranao businessmen can withstand competition with the Chinese in the former's localities. Herding cattle was once a popular occupation among Maranao families, but the interest has been minimized by the rampant cattle-rustling which seems to be a new vice in their areas.

The new establishment of cassava flour mills and the hacienda operations in Malabang, Lanao by Americans and Christian Filipino employers are attracting the Maranao to factory and farm labors. A few of the wealthy ones, however, have invested in the same kind of enterprise to become employers like the newcomers. This is an indication of the tendency of the Maranao to join and compete in the occupational ways brought in by any newcomer.

The Maguindanao economic strength is primarily found in the traditional prestige class of datus whose families control large amount of fertile lands. In fact, landholding is a part of the datanship system which continues to dominate agricultural economic life in the traditional Moro areas. While farm operators are found among the

higher-prestige datus, the tenancy or farm labor is supplied by their followers or lower prestige class. Scientific and mechanized farming techniques, however, have not gone deep into the Moro agricultural life.

In the more populous towns of Cotabato, operators of gold and silversmith shops, curio stores, restaurants and lodging houses gave service to their own group. Some entered into the land and river transportation business along the Pulangi river. Both Maranao and Maguindanao groups are being attracted to professional careers and white-collar jobs in the government. An increasing number of the educated occupy teaching and clerical jobs and the practice of law. The technological careers that are more desired in the development of the rich natural resources are yet poorly developed in the interest of the people.

Markets and trade centers play a significant role in the inter-group contacts of the various communities. The public market place in Cotabato City is a meeting place of the different groups of Maguindanao, Maranao, Tausog, and Samals with the Christian and the pagan groups. The shores of Lake Lanao have many market places, but the most important one is that of Marawi City serving as the distributing center for trade articles going in and out of the region. Formerly, Chinese middlemen had a monopoly of the buying and distribution of the farm produce in Lanao. The entrance of the Maranao into the competition had dislodged the alien merchants and their larger monopoly of the trucking service between the lake area and the Christian communities in the directions of northern Mindanao.

Perhaps more than any other process, the stimulated economic contact and partnership is going a deep way into the common interest among the different Muslim groups and in their relationships with their Christian brothers resulting in the social and cultural gap being bridged for better understanding among these all-Filipino groups settling in Moroland.

**Traditional System: Social and Political.** Just as the ancestors of the present-day Christian Filipinos were united in each local area and governed under a socio-political system called "*barangay*," the inhabitants of Muslim Mindanao have preserved remnants at least of their ancient system which is called the "sultanate," "datuship," or

“datu system.” Later chapters will describe this system in more detail but a brief description is given here.

The Maguindanao population is distributed among several traditional political organizations, namely the sultanates of Maguindanao, Buayan, Kabuntalan, Bagumbayan, Kudarangan, and some less well-known ones. The two most important are the Maguindanao and Buayan sultanates. According to tradition both came from the same original ruling house founded by a common ancestor. The once most powerful Maguindanao sultanate had, at the coming of the Spaniards, a theoretical jurisdiction over the southern half of Mindanao comprising the modern provinces of Cotabato and Davao with control over both Muslim and pagan subjects.

The territory was partly occupied by the invading Spaniards but the sultanate power was never completely subordinated to the foreign authority despite the military and political pressures of the invading force. The sultanate was still the major influence in the area at the coming of the United States forces. In the face of the rival power, the sultanate is gradually weakening, but it persists today with a lesser territorial claim, nominally comprising the lower valley of Cotabato Province. Its capital is located in the modern municipality of Nuling. The area upstream crossed by the Pulangi River is the theoretical jurisdiction of the Sultanate of Bayan. The Sultanate of Bagumbayan claims traditional rights over the area where the first two larger sultanates meet.

The Sultanate of Maguindanao combines kinship and political structure. Thus in addition to family loyalty, the people are bound together under the sultan and the subordinate datos who function like a “council of leaders.” This government is a legal system based upon traditional laws and the Holy Quran. In the past, and to some extent in the present, the followers of these datos paid tribute from their harvest. The datu or the council of datos settle disputes within a given jurisdiction. The sultans, datos, and their followers are usually drawn together by customary events in the community such as marriage celebrations, funerals, religious ceremonies, enthronement of dignitaries, and other forms of social, political, and economic activities. The building, repair, or reconstruction of a mosque is to them an important activity requiring community action.

Like any other power system, there is a reciprocal relationship between leaders and followers in the sultanate. The former protect

their followers who in turn serve as the human "fortification" to guard the person and authority of the former. Historically, the sultanate had a military function to defend its territory and institutions. Under present-day conditions a sultan or datu participates in the political campaigns during elections. One of the many sources of the weakening of the traditional organization arises from the rivalries of datu and sultans for modern political offices.

There has been no sultanate, past or present, with overall control of the various Muslim groups, though each has a similar political system. A Muslim group may be broken up into one or more sultanates or *datuships*. The Maranao of Lanao are much more segmentalized in this respect than are the Maguindanao.

The Maranao do not have a sultanate to compare in size and power to that of Maguindanao or the Sultanate of Sulu. The Maranao have never been under one overall sovereign to merit a legitimate title of "Sultan of Lanao" similar to the "Sultan of Sulu" or "Sultan of Maguindanao."

The concept of "state" can be translated into the classical Maranao word *pangampong*<sup>9</sup> with a literal meaning close to the anglicized Arab term "sultanate." Thus, the Maranao distinguish their political organization from those of other groups by what they call *Pat a Pangampong sa Ranao*, referring to the "Four States of Lanao," composed of Bayabao, Masiu, Onayan, and Baloi. Each of these is the name of a territory with a community of people recognizing an allegiance to some sort of an internal authority. In each, the titular sultan enjoys the right of being addressed with his title of prestige, but holds no well-defined control over the people or territory. Excepting the once powerful Sultan of Masiu, the titular *pangampong* sultans are accorded high social statuses but their ranks bear little authoritarian function. The Sultan of Masiu had a stronger hold over the land, property, and people than the other "state sultans."

Within each *pangampong*, there are numerous units of sultanate or *agama* organizations which are relatively stronger in power and structures within their respective jurisdictions. They will be the main focus of our analysis.

Little is known about the Yakan, Sangil, and Samal groups. It had been reported that they had no independent political existence and were once the subject peoples of either the Sultanates of Maguin-

danao or Sulu.<sup>10</sup>

The various sultanates in Lanao and Cotabato and the degrees of authority the sultans hold differs from principality to principality. The numbers of titled persons and offices found in a sultanate also vary. In Lanao the offices are many and a minor sultan might exercise a more effective power or control over his local jurisdiction than a supposedly higher sultan having just a theoretical sovereignty over a larger territory.

The preservation of the Moros' formal system of political organization seem to furnish a picture of unique characteristics of Muslim Mindanao that distinguishes the area from the rest of the Philippines. This is by no means as great a difference as it first seem. The concept of the "state" was shared by the Moros and other Filipino groups before their contacts with Islam and Christianity.<sup>11</sup> The ancient *barangay* government and social structure among the ancestors of the present-day Christian Filipinos were probably shared by the ancestors of the Moros who seemed to have modified the early pattern with influences from Arab or Indian culture. The names of offices in the Moro organization such as the Arab *sultan* and the Hindu-Malay *radiamuda* (originally *raja muda*) and the widespread Filipino title of *datu* are convincing proofs of original similarity on which later occurrence brought variation.<sup>12</sup>

Both smaller and larger sultanates were involved in the past organized resistances against all foreign attempt to stamp out local powers. Under the reign of Sultan Dipatuan Kudarat (Cachil Corralat to the Spaniards,) the Sultanate of Maguindanao resisted Spain's influence for about half a century and the succeeding rulers continued the defiance up to the coming of the Americans. Similarly, the small sultanates of Bayang, Masiu and Bacolod Grande in Lanao fiercely defended themselves against the American forces. Besides their past military functions, the various sultanates still manifest their strength for other events of collective undertakings affecting their territorial jurisdictions.

**Political Parties and Civic Organizations.** Changes are occurring in this traditional system which are gradually minimizing the unique characteristics of Muslim Filipino society. In the presence of the current rival positions between the Moros' traditional system and the *constitutional* system of the government, the former will probably disappear as did the historic *barangay* system which no longer in-

fluence the life of Christian Filipinos.

In spite of their solidarity under the traditional institution and the reinforcement of these bonds by the new Islamic associations, the Muslims are drawn into the impact of political parties and civic organizations. All national political parties have their constituents in Muslim communities.

Politics have both integrating and disintegrating effects. Individuals and groups either split or unite into parties and issues though kinship still plays an important part in defining political affiliation. Inter-group political interest saw the appearance of a Muslim-Christian party in Cotabato during recent elections. On the other hand, the division of Lanao<sup>13</sup> into two provinces drew favorable support from the majority in both the Maranao and Christian communities. While Lanao del Norte is predominantly Christian, Lanao del Sur is largely a Muslim province.

In the chartered cities of Marawi and Cotabato, international service organizations like the Lions and Rotary clubs have Muslim members in addition to the Christian Filipinos and Chinese. A good number of Muslims have joined the Masonic Lodge. Interest in *associational* forms of social organization is mostly found among Muslims in mixed communities where Parent Teachers Associations, *puroks*, and other similar formal groupings are organized. However, in "pure" Muslim areas, the PTA organization seems to appear more on paper and the *puroks* on signboards.

Republic Act No. 1408 prescribes the organization of barrio councils in the rural areas of the country including those of Moroland. Interviews with responsible community development workers in Cotabato and Lanao revealed that the "barrio council" idea has yet to gain widespread support and understanding in the Muslim rural communities. The literal meanings of "purok" and "barrio council," which are organized on the basis of written laws, have their parallels in the Muslims' traditional "council of datu leaders" within an *agama* or sultanate. We shall examine the conflicts and correlations between the two kinds of system as they exist side by side in the structuring of social life in the marginal areas.

**Mixed Community Living.** The advent of the past American Regime brought stimulation to the stream of settlers to Mindanao. The concept of "Muslim Mindanao," as explained earlier, applies to

the community of people in the area professing the Islam Religion. The portion of the Island claimed by this indigenous population as their homeland is not wholly inaccessible to the Christian Filipinos who along with the Chinese have established their parallel communities found in commercial centers of large towns. The pagans have also maintained their position despite a push into the isolated sections.

In the Lanao-Cotabato area where they have their largest concentration, the Muslims are matched by a considerable Christian population shown in the following table:

Province or Area Including Chartered Cities	Muslim <sup>o</sup>	Christian	Muslim and Christian Total
Lanao (Sur & Norte)	237,215 <sup>a</sup>	104,300 <sup>a</sup>	341,515 <sup>b</sup>
Cotabato	167,500 <sup>a</sup>	230,470 <sup>a</sup>	397,970 <sup>c</sup>
Total	404,710	334,770	

- (<sup>o</sup>) Embracing all ethnic and linguistic groups of Maguindanao, Maranao, Tausog, Samal, and Sangil in the Lanao-Cotabato area.
- (a) Figures based upon unpublished data of the 1948 census. See *Area Handbook on the Philippines*, p. 1737.
- (b) The 1948 Lanao population total is 343,918. The difference of 2,903 is a mixture of pagans and foreigners.
- (c) The 1948 Cotabato population total is 426,714. Of this figure 39,631 are pagans, 1,735 are Chinese, and 56 are Europeans and Americans. The Muslim figure includes some Arabs and Indonesians. (See Chester Hunt, "Ethnic Stratification and Integration in Cotabato," *Philippine Sociological Review* (January 1957), 13.

The above table shows that in Cotabato the Christians have the numerical superiority over the Muslims, but in Lanao the latter still constitute the majority over the former.

The "majority-minority" picture has changed since the division of Lanao into two provinces; Lanao del Sur is predominantly Muslim while Lanao del Norte is in majority Christian. In the section customarily called "Muslim area," there are 11,897 Christians. Of this

figure, 1,297 are in the municipal districts, most densely populated by the Muslims or Maranao. On the other hand, the towns customarily called "Christian area" have a total of 12,554 Muslims. There is, therefore, almost even numbers of Muslim and Christian settling or cross-penetrating into each other's community as shown on the two tables below.<sup>14</sup>

#### A. "MUSLIM AREA"

PLACE	MUSLIM	CHRISTIAN
Marawi City (formerly Dansalan)	16,995	2,643
Baloi Municipality (a)	8,250	6,248
Malabang Municipality	8,533	1,806
Ganassi District	9,235	338
Tamparan District	10,371	357
Lumbatan District	8,599	505
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>61,983</b>	<b>11,897</b>

#### B. "CHRISTIAN AREA"

PLACE	MUSLIM	CHRISTIAN
Iligan City (b)	2,338	24,632
Kapatagan Municipality (c)	6,997	6,975
Kauswagan Municipality	1,218	9,756
Kolambugan Municipality (d)	1,520	18,239
Tubod Municipality (e)	481	31,201
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12,554</b>	<b>90,803</b>

- (a) Including the Matunggao Municipal District.
- (b) Including the barrio of district of Mandulog.
- (c) Area and population was split to the new Caromatan Municipality having a majority of Muslims.
- (d) Area and population was split to the new Bacolod and Maigo Municipalities.
- (e) Area and population was split to Baroy Municipality.

Judging from the variation of vernacular periodicals circulating in the area and other criteria,<sup>15</sup> the majority of Christian settlers in Cotabato belong to the groups of Cebuano, Hiligaynon (Hilongo), Tagalog, and Ilocano. Lanao is also settled by the same ethnic classifications although other immigrants representing other major Filipino groups are scattered in the whole Mindanao region. This phenomenon of mixed community living is apparently not free from the usual conflict along the social, cultural, economic, and political aspects. The processes of change and adjustment, however, are at work toward the resolution of conflict. The basic difference lies in religious variation although there is no "jihad" nor "crusade" from the two distinct groups to retain a wide social distance between them. But obviously, this is a situation of ethnic and cultural contact where the problem of "integration"<sup>16</sup> is of interest to government administration and the national program of community development. A state of a relatively peaceful accommodation is taking place between the two peoples.

**Historical Review.** The Spanish Government took military and political action against the Muslims in its attempt to effect the religious, cultural, and political unification of all Filipino groups under a common colonial administration. The Spanish forces succeed in establishing Christian communities on the coastal regions of Mindanao but failed to conquer the whole of Moroland during more than three hundred years of conflicting relationship. The following significant dates and events may be mentioned in brief:<sup>17</sup>

1579— Governor Francisco de Sande sent an expedition to attack the Moros of Mindanao but the Spanish forces failed to gain any ground.

1596— Captain Rodriguez de Figueroa obtained from the Spanish Government exclusive right to colonize Mindanao. The expedition was resisted by Datu Silongan of the Sultanate of Buayan. Figueroa was killed during the encounter by Datu Ubal.

1599-1600 — Datus Sali and Silongan with *vinta* fleets and sea warriors assaulted towns in Panay, Negros, and Cebu. This retaliatory expedition was at first successful but was later repulsed by the Spanish and Visayan defenders in Panay.

- 1635— Zamboanga was established as a military and naval base for the Spanish invasion of all Moroland. After the establishment of the base, Datu Tagal, a kin of Sultan Kudarat (“Cachil Corralat” in Spanish records) attacked *pueblos* in Visayas, Mindoro, Cuyo, and Calamianes with *vinta* fleet and warriors.
- 1637— Governor General Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera assaulted and captured the defenses of Sultan Kudarat at Lamitan and Ilian (now in modern Malabang, Lanao del Sur), then a territorial jurisdiction of the Sultanate of Maguindanao. Kudarat continued resistance for about half a century.
- 1639— Corcuera sent the first Spanish expedition to Lake Lanao under the joint command of Captain Francisco de Atienza and Father Agustin de San Pedro. The Spaniards attempted to control the Maranao by entering into alliances with their datos.
- 1640— Don Pedro Bermudez de Castro went to Lake Lanao to establish Spanish sovereignty. Alarmed by the threat of subjugation, the Maranao drove back the Spaniards to the coastal towns. Spanish forces were not able to return to Lake Lanao for over 200 years.
- 1848— Introduction of the Spanish steam warships which outmaneuvered the Moro war *vintas*.
- 1886— General Torrero re-started a series of Spanish campaigns against Datu Utto of Cotabato.
- 1891— Governor General Valeriano Weyler took personal command against the Maguindanao and the Maranao. He captured Fort Marawi from Datu Akadir Akobar (Amai Pacpac in Spanish records) but no permanent Spanish garrison was established.
- 1895— General Ramon Blanco re-captured Fort Marawi which the Maranao rebuilt after Weyler’s assault. Blanco established a Spanish fleet of steamships on Lake Lanao in an attempt to effect final conquest of the Maranao.
- 1898— General Buille resumed campaign in Cotabato Valley.

The Spanish-American War saw the Muslim and Spanish forces stalemated in the battles of Lake Lanao and Cotabato Valley.

1899— The United States troops landed at Zamboanga and Jolo and relieved the Spanish soldiers who retired from the battlefield, failing to establish their country's colonial authority even after 300 years of invasion.

Spain's military invasion could have resulted in the complete colonization, Christianization, and westernization of Moroland, but instead it only served to unite the defenders against the common enemy. United in hatred, the Muslim principalities had shown their organizational strength and capability to resist Western invasion. Thus "the close of the unsuccessful Spanish conquest of Moroland marked the beginning of the end of one of the most remarkable resistance in the annals of military history. The Muslims had staged a bitter and uninterrupted warfare against the might of Spain for a period of 377 years."<sup>18</sup>

The Americans came only to inherit the unfinished task of pacifying the Muslims. The Muslim resistance against Westerners continued in fury even in the face of the superior weapons and military skill of the new enemy. From 1902 to 1904, the United States forces first tested the boldest defiance of the Maranao in the battles of Bayang, Masiu, Taraka, Bacolod Grande, and in other sections of the Lake Lanao region.<sup>19</sup> In Cotabato Valley, they met the Maguindanao warriors under the leadership of Datu Ali who died fighting in 1905. These were followed by other bloody engagements up to 1913 and the end of the United States military administration in Mindanao and Sulu.

**Constitutional Government.** The superior skills of the Americans on the battlefield gained the respect of the Muslims. However, even American observers of contemporary events admitted that only through the "policy of attraction" and the promise of non-interference with the Islam religion could the Americans win a lasting peace and cooperation from the Muslims. The Muslim armed resistance began to disappear in 1915 following the change from a military to civil administration in Mindanao and Sulu. Since then, the task of government has been focussed on the problem of effecting the unification of the Muslim groups with the Christian Filipinos. Through govern-

mental processes, the Muslim defiance against the state authority and their hatred against the Christians gradually eased toward the solution of the so-called "Moro Problem."

For the first time in their history, the Muslims came under a single political authority of a modern government. But the administration of public affairs in Moroland did not strictly follow the prescribed pattern for the rest of the Philippines. These administrative units were successively the Commission for Mindanao and Sulu, the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, and the Department of Mindanao and Sulu.<sup>20</sup> Each of these in turn inherited the conception of the "Moro Problem" that has continued to the present.

Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby, a member of the Legislative Council of the Moro Province, defined the "problem" as follows:

By Moro Problem is meant that method or form of administration by which the Moros and other non-Christians who are living among them can be governed to their best interest and welfare in the most peaceful way possible, and can at the same time be provided with appropriate measures for their gradual achievement in culture and civilization, so that in the course of a reasonable time they can be admitted into the general government of the Philippine Islands as a member of a republican national organization.<sup>21</sup>

More recently, the Muslim view on the same subject has been expressed by Senator Domocao Alonto as follows:

The Moro problem, as it is known and so called by the government and the nation at large, is nothing but the problem of integrating into the Philippine body politic the Muslim population of the country, and the problem of inculcating in their minds that they are Filipinos and that this Government is their own and that they are a part of it. It is regrettable that the Government to date has failed to inculcate into the minds of the Muslims the true meaning of Filipinism to enable them to be integrated into the body politic.<sup>22</sup>

A newspaper analysis of the situation is also worthy of consideration. An editorial of the *Manila Times* for October 6, 1954, says:

The Moro Problem is not so simple that it could be classified as a job solely for the law enforcement authorities. It involves an understanding of the Moro way of life and the impact of Christian culture upon it, together with the many problems that arise as a result of the conflict of ideas and attitudes, customs and beliefs, between Christian settlers and the indigenous Moro way of life and the impact of Christian culture upon it, together with the many problems that arise as a result of the conflict of ideas and attitudes, customs and beliefs, between Christian settlers and the indigenous Moro population. It means a demolition of the old notions about the Moros . . . . Efforts should be made to attract Moros in Christian schools without prescribing any conditions that would compel them to abandon, say, their religious beliefs and customs.

Summarizing the past and recent views on the situation, it is generally assumed that the Muslims are quite different from other Filipinos and that the so-called "Moro Problem" stems from these unique characteristics. Although they are peaceful today in contrast to past events, the less-aculturated portion of the Muslim population shows signs of passive resistance to governmental programs of innovating social, cultural, economic, and political life in their communities.

### Conclusion

The description in the above report shows the unique characteristics of Muslim Mindanao as well as the common features that the community shares with the rest of the Philippines. The Muslim and the Christian Filipinos belong to the same racial matrix. The social and cultural gap seemingly separating the two groups is the result of accidental variation in religious and political alignments. While the Muslims have maintained their Islamic creed since the time of Sarip Kabunsuan together with their Moro-Arab political system, the Christians have remained under the dominant influence of Christianity and the Spanish political systems whose influences are still traceable in our present-day constitutional institutions.

Widespread similarities rather than gross differences may charac-

terize the common values shared by the two groups. The pre-Islamic traits of the Muslims and the pre-Spanish traits of the Christians can be assumed as the basic elements which when added to the shared modern traits constitute the unity of culture and society among the Filipinos. Historically, the Muslims share with other Filipinos the same nationalistic resistance to past colonization although the effect of western contact shows lesser influence in the Muslims way of life. What seem most resistant to western change are the religious institutions and the indigenous political system of the Muslims.

Like the rest of the Philippines, Muslim Mindanao has many rural characteristics. Its transformation depends upon the gradual impact of urban traits through directed and undirected processes of change similarly affecting the rest of the country.