

### CHAPTER III.

## MUSLIM LANAOS: REGION OF SAMPLE COMMUNITIES

### Types of Community

The name "Lanao" denotes a number of concepts — geographical, cultural, social, religious, and political. The name is officially applied to the province having ten regular municipalities and thirty municipal districts under the Provincial Government of Lanao.<sup>23</sup> As applied to the present-day congressional district, the name embraces not only the territorial limits of the municipalities of Marawi and Iligan. The former city is the seat of the provincial capital. The inhabitants of the two cities, which were formerly municipalities of the province, fondly regard themselves as part and parcel of the total social unit inhabiting the whole region composed of the province and the two urban areas.

The population of this region consciously classify themselves into two distinct religious communities, Muslim and Christian. With this fact in view, the observer will easily notice the existence of the two social segments which he might conveniently call "Muslim Lanao" and "Christian Lanao." Each community maintains its sense of religious or sectarian identity.

The members of the Muslim group, popularly known for their ethnic distinction as Maranao, predominantly settle their ancestral home in the interior area, although a considerable number are found in all the communities inhabited by the Christians.

The City of Iligan and the municipalities of Kauswagan, Bacolod, Kolambugan, Tubod, Baroy, Lala, and Kapatagan area predominantly settled by the Christians. (As early as the year 1639 European mis-

sionaries had established themselves and their institutions in the medieval Moro settlement of Iligan where the inhabitants were gradually converted to Christianity. The influence of Christianity spread gradually during the recent decades towards the coastal towns along the shores of Iligan and Panguil Bays.) The thirty municipal districts (with the exception of Matunggao and Wao which are of mixed populations) are predominantly inhabited by the Maranao. Marawi City and the municipalities of Malabang, Caromatan, and Baloi are of mixed Maranao and Christian population, although the former constitute the majority.

Since the American regime, Marawi (then called Dansalan) has been the center of acculturation for the new influences, being the seat of the legal authority. (Malabang is historically the oldest of the Lanao municipalities, dating back to the days of the field generals, of Governor-General Hurtado de Corcuera of medieval fame. Baloi, formerly called Momungan, is similarly a marginal areas where the native Maranao and the Christian settlers meet in accultural situation. At the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, Baloi had a considerable community of American families who established an agricultural colony which significantly introduced American farm technology and ways of life.)

The area of investigation in this study is for the most part focussed upon the communities of "Muslim Lanao" where selections are hereby planned for the sampling of communities, namely, (1) the community that is thought to be representative of the most rural and less affected by change, (2) the community that is intermediary between the most rural and less affected by change and the most affected by change, and (3) the most urban and most affected by change.

Alongside the effort of this investigation to determine these types of community of ranging characteristics, it is thought convenient to utilize as analytical tools the concepts of isolation and accessibility of each community or group of communities based upon interrelated physical and cultural factors. Thus in viewing the communities, it is convenient to group them according to types as follows:

1. *Most Isolated Communities.* These are Butig, Tubaran, Tatarikan, Pualas, Nunungan, Munai, Tangcal, Kapai, Pantao Ragat,

and Wao. The last is currently in a state of transition from both physical and cultural isolations to a state of accessibility. Under the NARRA land settlement program, Wao has increasingly become more accessible by transportation which facilitates the mixture of ethnic groups, generally Muslim and Christian, who are consciously or unconsciously integrating their social and cultural ways of life under the influence of governmental processes. Butig, Nunungan, Munai, Tangcal, and Kapaï which are only accessible by trails are not yet reached by motor vehicles. Tatarikan and Pualas are crossed by the national road linking both communities to the centers of influence, namely the town of Malabang and the cities of Marawi and Iligan. Parts of Tubaran are accessible from Malabang by barrio and feeder roads. Pantao Ragat is accessible by barrio roads from the towns of Baloi and Kauswagan. In the years to come, technological changes in the form of roads will break the physical, social, and cultural isolations of these old rural areas of Lanao.

2. *Intermediary Communities.* These may be sub-divided into two categories according to their degrees of isolation and accessibility. *Type A* – Tamparan, Lumbatan, Ganassi, and Matunggao. The last is typically a marginal area of Maranao and Christian social cultural influences. Tamparan, Lumbatan, and Ganassi are “centers of acculturation” with significant influences upon the nearby districts inhabited by the Maranao. Christian families of army and the civil government personnel have been diffusing their culture traits slowly and gradually into the life of their Maranao neighbors. In the past, the few Chinese residents of Lumbatan and Tamparan with their merchants were unconscious agents of acculturation and diffusion. Lumbatan as a community is a center of processes of change, namely, *acculturation* (unconscious) and *education* (directed or administered).

In the course of mixed living, some culture traits of the Christian community were diffused into that of the Maranao. The Lumbatan Agricultural School have had a known effect in the life of the community and the inhabitants of the neighboring districts. Since the American regime, Tamparan, Lumbatan and Ganassi – once served by a steamboat (formerly the *S.S. General Blanco*, flagship of the old Spanish fleet on Lake Lanao which brought about a fast and more convenient travel and communication between Marawi and the three aforementioned settlements) – have been the “centers of acculturation.”

*Type B* – Taraka, Masiu, Lumba Bayabao, Poona Bayabao; Bayang, Binidayan; Madamba, Madalum, Bacolod Grande, Tugaya; Saguiaran, Marantao, Bubong, Ramin-Ditsaan, Molundo, and Balindong. Depending upon factors of geographical proximities and transportation links, these “Type B” communities bear imprints of social, cultural, and economic influences from the “centers of acculturation,” the role represented by Marawi City and the “Type A” communities just described above.

4. *Communities Most Affected by Change.* These communities may also be conveniently sub-divided into the categories according to conceivable degrees of change, based upon local criteria in this study. *Type C:* Most Urban and Most Affected by Change – Marawi City. *Type D:* Municipality Most Affected by Change – Malabang and Baloi.

#### A. DESCRIPTION OF THE THREE COMMUNITY TYPES

##### **Most Rural and Least Affected Communities**

The communities classified under this category are geographically isolated from the centers and sub-centers of acculturation whose “affecting” influence upon the relatively inaccessible areas are hindered by physical barriers and the inadequate means of transportation and communication. These communities are on the immediate vicinity of Lake Lanao. As a rule, influences of the urban centers reach rural areas indirectly through the “intermediary type” communities. In some of these communities, the physical barriers to communications and contacts are gradually being minimized by the road constructions resulting to the increasing spatial and physical mobility of the rural elements among the Maranao.

Wao and Matunggao are examples of physically-isolated localities which are increasing their accessibilities as a result of the current increase of incoming settlers of ethnic groups into their farm areas. Pualas, Tatarikan, and Tubaran are likewise crossed by the national highway to promote the mobility of their inhabitants. In contrast, with the small scale farming among the Maranao, large *haciendas* are developing in the Tubaran area near Malabang. The isolation of Tangcal and the eastern portion of Lumba Bayabao (Maguing) may

soon witness changes with the government plan for the establishment of NARRA settlements. Barrio roads and vehicles are also gradually minimizing the isolation of Pantao Ragat whose rural inhabitants frequently commute towards the urban center of business in Iligan and Lalo. Munai, Nunungan, Kapai, and Butig are facing a problem of minimizing their isolated position in contrast to other communities in Muslim Lanao. However, the government practice of constructing roads from the Christian towns toward the interior (instead of the other way from the Muslim settlements) has a decided advantage for the inward movement of the Christian settlers into the virgin lands of these isolated districts adjacent to the coastal towns inhabited by the Christians.

#### **"Intermediary Type" Communities**

The "intermediary type" communities derive their categories as "sub-centers of acculturation" from factors of their inter-relationships with the urban or "most affected and affecting" communities just described. Tamparan, Lumbatan, and Ganassi which command strategic locations on the accessible shores of Lake Lanao were established as advance operational bases of the civil and military authorities towards extending governmental rules over the Muslim districts. Government personnel had brought along their Christian families to work and live among the Maranao. This inter-ethnic contact brought about the unconscious process of acculturation of their Maranao neighbors in the course of mixed community living. The schools which serve as agents of the conscious processes of change were also established in the three communities alongside with other governmental institutions. A few Chinese whose business was to extend services to the communities followed the settling Christian group.

The establishment of transportation and communication lines from Marawi City stimulated contact and mobility and the effect of acculturation and social change. Starting with the early military administration, a steamship (the *S.S. General Blanco*) and a good number of launches were made available on Lake Lanao between Marawi and the three "intermediary" communities. This minimized the traditional isolation of the communities around the Lake Region.

The pre-war educational role of the Lumbatan Agricultural High School and the Lumbatan Secondary Normal School made no less than a significant contribution to the changing patterns of community life on the southern shores of the Lake. Graduates of the two courses among the Maranao have had a strong changing effect upon the attitudes of the people towards the new ways. The raising of new crops such as the Irish potatoes, cabbages, and others of the agricultural school projects was a new knowledge and interest transmitted to the Maranao farmers of the surrounding rural area as far as Butig, east of Lumbatan.

Ganassi occupies another significant location on the way to Malabang whose trading position had attracted the mobility of the people from the Lake region, on the south from Lum'atan and on the northwest from Wato, now Balindong. Before the construction of the national highway running through the western Lake Lanao shores trade commodities from Illana Bay such as salt, sugar, dried fish, and other goods were traded between Malabang and Ganassi for distribution to the Maranao localities.

During recent times when transportation and communication facilities were relatively inadequate, Tamparan, Lumbatan, and Ganassi served as auxiliary centers of trade and government for three groups of municipal districts — Tamparan for the Basak area, Lumbatan for Eastern Unayan, and Ganassi for Western Unayan. At present, the administration of police duties by the Constabulary and the educational program by the school districts use these three places as their center. With the construction of roads around the Lake and the introduction of motor vehicles and outboard launches, other Maranao localities besides the three are now directly linked with Marawi City. More frequent commuting to the urban center is decreasing the relative importance of these communities.

### **Most Affected and "Affecting" Communities**

Marawi City, besides being a center of acculturation is also the center of commercial dominance among the clustered communities in "Muslim Lanao." The acceptance or rejection of external influences or the diffusion of culture traits from the western-oriented Christian areas first pass the acceptance or rejection test in this Muslim urban center of influence.

The inter-urban relationship between Marawi City and Iligan City has a significant function in the inter-community relationship between "Muslim Lanao" and "Christian Lanao." There is intensive commuting among the two ethnic groups between the two cities with the characteristic two-way influence between the two urban centers.

Marawi City commands a controlling position upon factors of economic, social, political, geographic, and technological forces over the clustered communities in the Muslim region. The processes of social and cultural changes are observable in the shaping and reshaping of the city as well as the other communities within the radius of its influence. The changes occurring in the surrounding communities may be measured by the degree of influence radiating from Marawi City, considering the factors of geographic distances and the communication links from this center of acculturation and dominance.

The Maranao of Marawi City who are more exposed to the new mode of life had their first contact with the Spaniards who captured their ancient *kotas* in 1895. With the establishment in 1903 of Camp Marawi as the center of the United States Military administration, and the organization in 1907 of the defunct Municipality of Dansalan, the community gradually developed into its present status as a chartered city under the name Marawi. Aside from the different characteristics of city or town life, it was earlier the meltingpot of ethnic or racial groups – Muslim and Christian Filipinos, American, Chinese, and Japanese.

The "affecting" influence of urban life in Marawi City is to a greater degree intensely felt by the communities adjoining the former's boundary. Due to geographical proximity and the relatively more convenient transportation facilities, the rural inhabitants of Marantao, Saguiaran, Bubong, and Remain-Ditsaan commute into the city for their daily necessities. The people of Molundo, Taraka, Balindong, (Wato), and Tugaya are the next group commuting into the city for similar purpose with greater frequency than the movement of people from farther places. This mobility of population bears a significant acculturating effect upon the commuters and their communities.

The towns of Malabang and Baloi are to a lesser degree centers of acculturation and dominance with increasing influence upon the life of their respective townspeople and their geographically-neighbor-

ing communities. Malabang's influence affects the municipal districts on the south and south-western directions toward Lake Lanao region. In terms of communication and mobility, Malabang so lies between Lanao and Cotabato to make it a marginal area.

Malabang is the oldest municipality in Lanao, established during the early medieval campaigns of the Spanish Generals Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera and Pedro de Almonte. In 1902, it was the starting point of the American occupation troops in their movements toward the greater Lanao Region. It is today a growing center of agricultural and industrial activities, as indicated by establishment of large *haciendas* and modern cassava mills. With its location on Illana Bay, it will decidedly flourish into a larger commercial center. Change and development is currently taking place in Malabang along economic, social, cultural, and technological aspects.

Baloi is similarly a marginal area, considering both geographical and cultural points of view. Crossed by the national highway with heavy vehicular traffic, it lies between Lake Lanao and Iligan Bay on the sea or between "Muslim Lanao" and "Christian Lanao," which explains the town's mixed population. Retired American Volunteers, both white and colored, had once established their residence and farm colony in Baloi resulting in the introduction of American farm technologies and other traits of American life. A few Chinese and Japanese families had once joined the community. Here was a case of population invasion and succession. The new settling group had once replaced the Maranao. The advent of the last war brought about voluntary transfer of the settlers and the Maranao regained social and economic dominance in the present-day mixed community of Baloi.

## B. ACCULTURATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

### Agents and Occasions of Change

Acculturation and social change in Maranao society was relatively slow prior to about six decades of social and cultural contact with external forces. In contrast, however, the new processes of change have been gradually transforming the profile of Moro culture and society.<sup>24</sup> The foregoing data on the typology of communities, describe the acculturational relationships among the three ranges of community as well as their inter-societal relationships with non-

Maranao societies. Both unintentional and purposive processes have been operating internally resulting in noticeable changes. Simple acculturation brought about unintentional change as a result of culture contact between the Maranao and the non-Maranao.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, conscious and purposive changes were the results of administered processes by the government through its various agencies, institutions, and instrumentalities whose effects are discernible in the three ranges of the community under this investigation. These changes have varied types and degrees upon the three communities. Effort is being made in this report to examine some of the agents and occasions of change through both "directed" and "undirected" processes. It is, however, difficult to determine the specific effect of each of the two types of process in view of their "dual" results upon the different situations of change.

### Role of Administered Change

The condition of social and cultural life throughout the Lanao area was more or less "level" before the contact with western influences. Before their contact with the western-oriented ways, "Ancient Butig" and "Ancient Marawi" both typified the image of a pre-contact Maranao community. But the greater degree of change have occurred and is still taking place in the latter, in contrast to the cultural lag in the former. The inception of the new constitutional government (which in effect engulfs traditional patterns) brings about the impact of western patterns. Today, as in the past, the government has allowed the active participation of Muslim Filipinos in the administration of public affairs. This co-employment between Maranao and non-Maranao develops in the former western-acculturated persons who in turn influence the socialization and acculturation of the indigenous inhabitants of the community.

The modern school system has a significant role in the westernization and urbanization of the Maranao. The school as a conscious instrument of change has its influence felt even in the remotest district. A good number of Muslim youth have gone through the secondary and college courses and assume a role of integrating themselves and the people of their community into the life of the larger Philippine society in contrast to their former life of isolation.

The early pacification campaign and the suppression of outlawry in Moroland induced the enlistment of adventurous young Maranao into the military service, either with the Philippine Scouts, the Philippine Constabulary, or the Philippine Army. Such employment had institutionalized "plain" Maranao into the army life resulting to their acculturation in non-Maranao communities like Zamboanga and other military stations. Many among them entered into exogamous marriages with women of other groups of Muslims and Christians.<sup>26</sup> Those who retired from the service returned to their respective villages after acquiring new experience and personality quite different from the "plain" Maranao.

### Labor Migration<sup>27</sup>

The early military administration of the United States in Lanao utilized for the first time Maranao labor in the construction of roads. The skill and interest that they have developed in local road construction or other types of constructions in military outposts, as well as their economic interest to receive the glittering dollar or silver coins as pay, induced many labor leaders (*datu*s) and their followers to accept contracts in non-Muslim communities like those of the coastal settlement in Northern Lanao and the two Misamis Provinces.<sup>28</sup>

Likewise, the establishment of private logging and lumber enterprises in Kolambugan, Lanao, and in Anakan, Agusan attracted Maranao labor migration to these Christian towns. During the early opening of the lumber sawmill at Kolambugan, the majority of laborers were *sakadas* (labor recruits) from Wato, Marantao, and Marawi, while those of the Anakan sawmill were mostly from Marawi. An American lumbermill operator had also employed both skilled and unskilled Maranao laborers along with Christians in the Abaga Lumber Company in the mixed community of Momungan (now Baloi), Lanao.

The pre-war establishment of Japanese abaca plantations in Davao similarly attracted labor immigrants from most of the communities on the southern shores of Lake Lanao through the Malabang and Cotabato outlets. During post-war time when the plantations in Davao were acquired or squatted on by families of ex-servicemen, more Maranao immigrated to the southern province to accept con-

tracts for jobs of stripping abaca, or the planting and clearing of the *haciendas*. Here, they came into culture contacts with other ethnic groups from Luzon and the Visayas.

Many among labor immigrants of humble origins (slave class) found freedom in their assimilation into Christian communities by entering into exogamous marriages with Christian females. Some of them became Christian converts and refused to return home to their masters. However, the majority among these labor immigrants, after having been exposed unconsciously to acculturation, returned to their respective villages or districts with new ways and ideas.

### Trading and Peddling

Mat-weaving is a popular craft and home industry for women in the lowland areas of Molundo, Taraka, and Ragain-Ditsaan, where the materials for weaving called *sesed* (Visayan *tikug*) grow in abundance. This export item to non-Maranao communities induce the peddling of large quantities of mats to permit the extensive travel of peddlers from Marawi, Ragain-Ditsaan, Taraka, Marantao, and Molundo. But these peddlers often discover profitable business in other communities like the buy-and-sell of *sari-sari* articles on the sidewalk pavements of commercial streets and market places. This peddling class of Maranao spend considerable periods of temporary residence in commercial towns for them to learn diverse dialects and customs of other ethnic groups who are more advanced in their adaptation of western traits.

During the early American military administration in Mindanao, government encouragement was extended to Maranao datu and followers to exhibit their fine workmanship of brasswork, gold and silversmith products, and blade weapons in the Moro Exchange at Zamboanga and during the carnivals in Manila. This gave them occasion to travel and engage in business and return to their people with "Marco Polo" ideas and experience from the outside world. A good number of Maranao curio dealers learned to transact their business with the non-Maranao in American slang, "bamboo" Spanish, and the dialects of the more western-acculturated ethnic groups when they meet during occasions of business transaction.

Agricultural products from Maranao farms like cereals, peanuts, coffee, abaca, and other items are marketable in Christian com-

munities. This gives the occasion for business "middlemen" to ship and follow their stock of these crops to the markets in northern Mindanao and Cebu in the Visayan Islands. On their return home, they bring in other merchandise such as textile and other manufactured articles, salted fish, lumber, and other saleable items for distribution in the localities around Lake Lanao. Consequently, this commercial contact with other ethnic groups result in cultural-borrowing of material as well as non-material items of culture.

Maranao traders are not usually the principal actors in the illegal smuggling of trade articles in the Sulu Archipelago. Since these articles are marketable in Lanao and other communities, Maranao middlemen buy them from other brother Moro smugglers for distribution to other localities. This, too, despite its illegal character, is another occasion for Maranao culture contact with other Muslim and Christian ethnic groups.

### Land Boom

The opening of forest areas for homestead applications in Baloi, Malabang, and the north coastal regions attracted Maranao families to immigrate to these areas to be in closer contact with other groups. In Baloi, they learned from the Cebuanos and the Boholanos the raising of corn in commercial scale and also the use of corn grit in their diet. Beside the traditional use of sleds, they learned to use more frequently the Visayan-type animal-drawn cart called "*caro*," for transporting heavy loads of agricultural stuffs. From the influences of American farmers, they shifted to the use of the iron plow which prove more durable than their native wooden-frame plow.

While most culture contact results in give and take of culture traits, Christian farmers in Baloi also learned from the Maranao the use of more efficient items of farm tools like the *parang* (weeding trowel) and the *sangket*, a cutlass for mowing tall grass. A considerable number of the Maranao serve as laborers or tenants in the large *haciendas* in Malabang owned by American and Christian Filipino enterprises. Working side by side with skilled Christian laborers, Maranao laborers also develop the same skills in handling jobs in the modern cassava mills in Malabang.

The land resettlement program in Wao, Lanao del Sur under

the NARRA administration induced the movement of families to join other ethnic groups in mixed community life. The selection of a Maranao leader as a NARRA project superintendent served as an unconcious inducement for his people to join the settlement.<sup>29</sup>

### **Backpay and War Damage Claims**

Before the war, many Maranao have not visited cities and towns larger than Marawi and Iligan cities, neither were they afforded the opportunities to travel by airplane or modern interisland marine vessels. The war period saw a considerable number of Maranao claimants of guerrilla backpays and war damage settlements who had to make trips to follow up their business in Manila. This, of course, was another occasion for them to be in direct contact with urban life to which they become acculturated. In the different districts of Manila, Maranao communities of traders, students, and permanent residents are now to be found in residential integration with other city residents.

Many among these recipient of claims payments returned home to engage in some profitable investments such as establishing rice and corn mills, motor vehicles, outboard motor launches (which stimulated mobility on Lake Lanao), and movie projectors. Wearing of western-style clothings for both men and women and the use of other foreign articles of ostentation have become more popular as a result of the prosperity brought about by the relatively wide circulation of money.

### **Change Through Education**

It has already been reported that the modern school system holds a fundamental role in the westernization of the youths who, in turn, assume the role of a "reference group" for the acculturation of their less-exposed fellows through the influence of books and schools. Those among them who have acquired higher educational training in larger Philippine cities, either as professional students or pensionados,<sup>30</sup> enter into general competition in professional practice with their Christian brothers, especially in the white collar jobs.

Besides the western-oriented school system, the Arabic Madrasah school is gaining current popularity to hold the balance of the ten-

dency towards extreme exposure to western culture. With its program of religious instructions, the Arabic school defines for the Maranao what to accept or reject from western knowledge and culture. This type of school plays a direct or indirect role of influencing western diffusion into the cultural ways of the Maranao.<sup>31</sup> Trained teachers and preachers from Islamic schools in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Indonesia have once pioneered in the current trend of establishing Madrasah Schools in Marawi City which in turn produce *guros* (religious instructors) for smaller schools in villages.

### Changes Through Transportation and Communication

The role played by roads and modern transportation in bringing about change has been previously treated showing among others how modern technology shapes and reshapes the communities. Regarding the mass media of communications, the Maranao have no local newspapers, although the educated elements read the metropolitan papers from Manila and the provincial papers from Iligan City.<sup>32</sup> The circulation of news among the non-literates in Roman letters is similar to the ancient Athenian style of chatting and discussing among casual groups in market places.<sup>33</sup>

It is customary in Marawi City and other Muslim towns to witness spontaneous groupings inside and outside coffee shops discuss news on politics and other interesting news subjects. Riding busses and launches is a common occasion to relate and hear the news of the day with the tendency towards inaccuracy and exaggeration. The radio broadcasting communication is a recent development with the establishment of two stations — one commercial and other an army radio in Marawi City.<sup>34</sup> Municipal and district mayors and other governmental personnel have government-issue radio receiving sets for listening to the tri-lingual programs of the radio stations. In Marawi City, Malabang, and Baloi some private residents listen to radio broadcasts in Maranao, English, Visayan, and Tagalog.

Marawi City is the only Maranao community served by a telephone system. Before the war, there was a government telephone service connecting the Provincial Capital and the rural constabulary outposts and the offices of district mayors and deputy governors. This form of communication helped in the convenient means of

checking up the movement of outlaws who obstructed the peace and order condition in the settlements around the Lake.

The looks and the ideas of the outside world are brought into the senses of the Maranao through the movie houses. Even rural folks make special trips to Marawi and Iligan cities for purposes of recreation, and in effect the movies have a fundamental educational and acculturational influence upon the audience. The diffusion through the movies of clothing styles and languages (e.g., English, Tagalog, and Visayan) are noticeable in the total accultural experience of many Maranao. Like American children, Maranao youngsters imitate what they see through western pictures of the Indians and cowboys.

### **Role of Recreational Activities**

Carnival expositions and fairs, town fiestas, western sport contests, and other social recreation activities rival or sometimes minimize the popularity of native recreations. This is manifested in the interest of the Maranao to join the Christmas in the latter's celebrations of town fiestas and carnivals and the competition in beauty contests. Interest in western sports especially the ball games are gradually replacing many of the native pastimes like horse racing and *sipa* (or "kick-ball") sport. The children in school are the most exposed to these recreational changes which keep them to the premises of the school building. School star athletes often get chances to visit other communities during regional inter-scholastic contests in modern sport games. This to them constitute a new experience in education and acculturation.

### **The Role of Pilgrimage to Mecca**

The performance of *haj* or the pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca is one of the five principal rites of Islam. Besides the religious purpose the pilgrimage trip has a sociological function of promoting culture contact among the Muslims of diverse races and nationalities.<sup>35</sup> Maranao pilgrims imitate the Islamic ways of the Arabs like the wearing of veils and turbans besides knowing Islamic rituals. Western culture traits accepted by the Arabs have tendencies to be accepted by the Maranao. On the other hand, any non-Islamic traits

rejected by the Arabs are likely to be rejected by the Maranao. At first, the latter rejected the western-style of wearing brimmed hats and neckties until they observed westernized Arabs and other Muslim sporting European styles.<sup>36</sup>

### Findings, Conclusions and Implications

The foregoing data on the historical and current occurrence of change through *administered* as well as *acculturational* processes belie the common report of many a layman that the "Moro society does not change." This inaccurate report attributes the slowness of change to factors of religious resistance and the alleged reactionary attitudes of spiritual and temporal Muslim leaders such as *imams*, *hadjis*, *sultans*, and *datus*.<sup>37</sup>

All societies change no matter how primitive and Moro society is no exception to the rule. The rate, degree, and type of change vary from society to society depending upon factors that resist or accept the traits being diffused through conscious or unconscious process. The rate of change in Moro society may be relatively fast or slow in comparison or contrast to other societies.

The factors of resistance to change may be true in some particular instances but not in all situations. If closely examined, these alleged resistance factors might be controlled as positive agents of acceptance and change. Societies either totally reject, partially or fully accept, or receive and modify traits and complexes being introduced to bring about change.

Purposive programs on the administration of change could benefit from observed occurrence of unintentional acculturation results as one of the basis of adjusting policies, procedures, and techniques in administering programs of directed change. The results of unintentional and unconscious process of acculturation could be made conscious, intentional or purposive.

A specific culture trait may be diffused from a community which is a model for a certain item of culture intended for introduction to another. An example has just been observed: the knowledge of cabbage culture was introduced from Lumbatan to Butig because the former place was made as a model for cabbage culture. It has also been observed that years ago when the most recognized Muslim religious scholar was a resident of Ramain, Lanao, this community was looked upon as a leader of Islamic learning so that

even the more advanced community of Marawi City looked upon the former for leadership in religious learning.

*A. Practical Implication.* — The foregoing findings bear implication upon public problems. Many government agencies of extension service usually establish their so-called “pilot projects” to spearhead their programs of change in the community. The motive behind these “pilot projects” is to induce imitation of success in one community by the others. A specific type of “pilot project,” in order to be effectively imitated or accepted, should be established in a community that serves as a model or leader of such project intended for introduction to the rest of community units.

*B. Two Types of Process.* — There are two types of process which have been observed changing the Maranao community, namely:

1. *Indoctrinational Change.* It is a “directed change” consciously administered by the government (or private missionary institution) through various agencies including the school. It is a purposive or intentional change. (Example of this is the instructional introduction of chemical fertilizer by agricultural extension workers to rural farmers).

2. *Acculturational Change.* It is a voluntary imitation of change which has occurred in the more advanced community by the less advanced community. This means the acculturation of the latter to the culture traits of the former without the benefit of formal instruction. (Example of this is the pattern of the successful use of chemical fertilizer employed by sub-urban farmers which was imitated by the farmers of more remote districts).

The two types of processes have complimentary effects. The intentional process administered for one community to bring about change was reinforced in effect through the unconscious process of acculturation. Using the same example given above, the culture of cabbage was intentionally taught to student-farmers in Lumbatan Agricultural School, but the same knowledge acquired through formal instruction was passed on to illiterate farmers in the surrounding area through acculturation, and not from books or the programmed demonstration in the school garden.

The general introduction of change in the Maranao community is the result of both conventional and unconventional processes for community innovators to derive knowledge for their strategic approach of community problems.