

CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AND METHOD

This is a study of leadership in a Philippine setting developed both for practical and theoretical purposes. Primarily, it is designed to explore a specific type of leadership for its significance upon Philippine administrative problems in mixed Muslim and Christian communities in the quest for "good" leadership. Secondly, the unique facts of this leadership deserve analysis to achieve, if possible, a conceptual generalization as a frame of reference for that common type of leadership occurring in most, if not all, other phenomena of culture-contact and social change. In short, the study has both local and universal implications.

Importance of the Problem

A subject may be important when it is unexplored. If it had been studied, it might have some aspects which deserve to be viewed from a certain approach. The Philippines is a well-known marginal area of culture, melting-pot of oriental and occidental races with their varied religions, culture, and other ways of life. A kind of leadership is observable in this culture-contact setting during over half a century. But the subject is little explored, at least from the viewpoint of social science. In choosing this topic for an academic dissertation, this writer is not aware of any similar studies done in either his own country or abroad. Thus, it might be asserted with certainty that an earlier investigation would have been of great practical value to Philippine problems as well as of theoretical value to social studies in general.

The historic culture-contact background of this study is known to historians, but the significance of the data has never been explored extensively by anthropologists and sociologists. The scanty information is scattered in

history books, government records, and periodical files.¹ The British term "culture-contact" and its American synonym, "acculturations," both found in the language of social anthropology,² are rarely used in Philippine writings. This is evidence of the lack of scientific approach in this "virgin field." Philippine culture-contact needs to be explored in different social settings among the seven thousand and one hundred islands with their varied subcultures under the impact of external influences.

In early 1913, when the Moros were actively resisting American occupation, Najeeb M. Saleeby,³ studied the governmental administrative problems in the mixed Muslim and Christian community in Mindanao. In this pamphlet, *The Moro Problem*, he wrote his observations as basis of formulating policies. Incidentally, he was exploring the conflict brought about by the culture-contact and the need for the proper accommodation of the Moros into the larger Philippine society which was, as it is now, predominantly Christian. For the desired social change of the Moros which he implied but did not specifically designate, he recommended a kind of leadership from among the Moros. Saleeby's pioneering work contains meritorious data for sociological treatment as indicated in the "Document" of this investigation. Conditions have changed since Saleeby's writing but the problem is still of interest and importance.

The present dissertation is concerned with two problems: first, the leadership problem in the Muslim-Christian inter-relationship in which the desired degree of accommodation is still unresolved; second, the leadership problem in other marginal areas of culture-contact having similar conflicts, due to the intermingling of racial, social, religious, and cultural groups. The scope of the subject is very broad, but the present study will lay emphasis on the Philippine problem. The other implication will receive due treatment but not as extensively -- not that it lacks merit but because of the lack of material and time to consider many culture-contact situations having the same leadership problems.

In the course of the discussion the following will be considered: (1) some theories or concepts already advanced in sociological literature will be illustrated and, at the same time, these theories and concepts will be employed as analytical tools in exploring the Philippine leadership problem in which pertinent data are available in the "Document"; and (2) some tentative hypothesis which this study aims to present for consideration in the general concepts of leadership. Again, this latter level of treatment will not be extensive. The "leader" is the prior and central concept. He is treated here with more emphasis on his social type and category.

This study involves both the scientific and private motives of this writer, although the latter motivation is merely incidental and of much less import. The writer is a private citizen and a leader in a setting of inter-societal relationship and interaction between two component groups in Philippine society, to be identified in the latter part of this paper as the "dominant" and the "subordinated" groups, respectively, or other appropriate terms. In both social segments, he enjoys roles and statuses that constitute the controversial personality of a "marginal person" or "cultural hybrid."⁴ The writer feels that any unflattering connotation that the term used for this social type may imply should not hurt anyone. What is important to him is the answer to any scientific inquiry about the social position of this abstract person. In some specific situations, the writer sees the "marginal man" with a capacity to become a heroic "bat" in the fabled war between the beasts and the birds despite his seeming social predicaments. The facts of this experience need deeper consideration.

This study may serve the writer as a personal guide as he lives in a society where there occurs the demands of "double loyalty." In this writing, he desires to reveal his personal experience in the situation of socio-cultural conflict involving himself and his fellowmen. In part, the discussion is his self-confession as a participant-observer analyzing his own self and others in the same social environment.

The mere mention here of a private or personal motive may cause alarm for it may presuppose a pre-determined motive for arriving at a biased conclusion. If the study has any pre-determined motive, it is a social one. The writer lives under a social condition where society and individuals often ask themselves what kind of leadership they need to reach their desired goal, and how they can achieve their objectives. Their means-goal is to them a subject of interest. Every society has multiple problems and, for every problem, there is a crying need for suitable leadership. The attempt to answer the need of society brings this investigation to the most common purpose of leadership studies, that is, the search for efficient or "good" leadership.⁵ It is, therefore, the public need of his society that stimulates this writer to undertake this investigation even on an exploratory level. This is the practical aim of the study. Yet, the practical objective can only be attained to full satisfaction, as scientists have agreed, through a theoretical and conceptual approach. This report makes the bold assertion that the search for efficient leadership for the solution of the so-called "Moro Problem" in the Philippines started in the reverse direction. "Practical" administrators and policymakers may have been blinded by the over-enthusiasm that their "solutions" were the most "democratic" ones for a certain cultural group to swallow without considering the predicaments.

The Philippine problem calls for a well-meaning consultantship to approach the situation with a scientific analysis. The conflict, not of course a violent one, is between the larger Philippine society and one of its segments where social distance is created by basic differences of religious and cultural ideologies. The consultant may view the problem through the eyes of the majority and the minority as well as that of a third uninterested party. With these "triple lenses," an investigator may get a clear picture of the situation upon which to base the desired conclusion for the practical aim.

Dr. Saleeby, who first studied the historical background of the conflict, had better opportunity of living with and understanding the Moros than did his stereotype-minded contemporaries who had a superficial look at the problem. As a public educator, he also represented the viewpoint of what the natives formerly called the government of *sarwang a tau* or "foreigners." He also played a third role as an American scholar. Undoubtedly, his recommendation for the solution of the problem had tremendous effects. But time and condition have changed. A new approach needs to be conceived for there is still much room for improvement in the Moro-Christian relationship.

The Case-Study Document

One difficulty in this study arises from the problem of inadequate written sources, as mentioned earlier. Accompanying this thesis, however, is a personal document, entitled "Leadership Among the Maranaos" by this investigator, who, besides being a born Muslim Filipino, has worked with the research staff of the Filipiniana Division of the Philippine Library as an informant-translator, and compiler of data on Moro folklore and history. The "Document" contains what mature sociologists will call "surface data," representing an initial exploration of the subject matter. It is, however, the main basis of data for analysis, interpretation, and further elaboration.

The case-study method is the principal methodological approach. But the "document" contains first-hand information on both the current and historical backgrounds of the problem. Consequently, the historical method, as well as the participant-observation method is employed. Other resources from classroom lectures and some interviews are indicated in the footnotes to support the discussion.

The "Document" contains two parts. The first part is a short autobiography of this writer describing his life and leadership in a setting of culture-contact. It is a story of his social metamorphosis in the common environs of "two worlds" which may conform with Park's description of two societies and in two not merely different but antagonistic cultures. He loves them both with love a somewhat analogous, if one may, to that of a Muslim or an old Mormon polygynist. This analogy expresses the unique behavior of this leadership type under consideration.

The second part contains the combination of direct observation and documentary data about the culture-contact and the emergence of leaders among the writer's compatriots. These leaders represent a social type but each is not detached from his society that granted him his role and status despite his acquired status and role from the other. Their personality and culture are subjects of conceptual generalization for comparison with situations outside the Philippines. The "Document" should have contained more information if it were not for the lack of time and source materials in the immediate vicinity of the University campus. Had this study been conducted in the writer's home country, where he had familiarity with the sources in the Philippine Library and the opportunity for further direct observations the quantity of materials would have been richer for the analysis.

This work is an elementary investigation, so that the available materials are believed to be quite adequate for the limited scope of the present writing. In this analytical part of the work, new data, which are not included in the "Document," will be introduced whenever the situation demands such material in the discussion.

The autobiography section of the case depicts this writer in the role-play of two persons in himself, even if the composition is not in a dialogue form. First, he places himself in the role of a Filipino "native informant" (in fact he is one) giving the plain facts to a second person, his "interviewer," who happens to be himself, too. In the

present work, he also takes the role of a sociological "analyst." Here is a strange "monologue," a role-play of an "informant-anthropologist-sociologist" rolled into one. It appears biblical "to know thyself." How should scientists know individuals and societies if they do not know themselves first? As a humble student of sociology, this writer looks back at himself and his own society in order to gain, at least, a working understanding of American society where he was not born and reared.

This approach appears unique and may be open to criticism. This work, however is merely an exploratory investigation, not free from any possible defects. Its aim might be achieved if it can at least influence other investigators to bring the study to a higher level of scientific investigation. Scientists have agreed that the growth of their disciplines started from "crude" beginnings; hence it is believed that, although this study may have limitations, better work may evolve from its embryonic stage.

Comparison to Problem in Other Settings

"Leadership Among the Maranaos" (the "Document") is written almost without any preconception that the innocently gathered data would be viewed for their sociological value, if any. The writer was simply aware that he was describing a leadership situation which to his mind was not uncommon in parallel settings of inter-societal conflicts brought about by the phenomena of socio-cultural contact. For its historical background, the specific leadership case occurred or tended to occur in what is popularly known as the "Moro Problem." For reasons of convenience, the case-material and the setting in which it occurred will be referred to in the succeeding discussion as the "Philippine case" but alternately called the "Moro Problem" for occasional specification.

The "Moro Problem" is something analogous to what laymen simply term in common parlance as the "Indian Problem," "Negro Problem," "Jewish Problem," "Minority Problem," and similar social phenomena in other societies. The Philippine case had long passed from a racial-cultural problem involving violence (the past American-Moro relation) of a socio-cultural conflict between the Philippine larger society and its constituent Muslim minority group. In the above comparable situations, the protagonists have always desired for the establishment of social equilibrium in which the processes toward balance called for leadership. A leader who acts the leadership role in each of the situations appears, in the layman's language, for example, as a "Moro leader," "Indian leader," "Negro leader," "Jewish leader," and the more common, but not always all-embracing term, "minority leader."

In many situations these leaders not only represent a segment of one society, but serve as intermediaries between majority and minority groups, with which they have dual entities. Under such conditions, these leadership terms are actually inappropriate to indicate the dual role. A Philippine senator-at-large elected by the nation to his national post is described as a "Muslim solon." A congressman representing his state in the United States Congress is introduced in the press and television as a "Negro Congressman or politician." Both examples are misnomers. In reality either of these leaders is a "man of peace" who bridges the inter-societal relationships of what may be termed ethnocentric groups. The present investigation will attempt to develop a conceptual terminology which may be more appropriate and possesses a general applicability to this universal situation.

The case is not exclusively found in the Philippines. Studies in racial and cultural relationships prove that the phenomenon is a widespread occurrence. For example, Robert E. Park and Everett V. Stonequist,⁶ who viewed some parallel situations, developed the concept of the "marginal man" who sometimes emerges as a leader in his attempt to resolve intergroup conflicts, of which intergroup he is a

part. The emergence of this type of leader in ethnic and cultural inter-relationships among conflicting groups in the United States led to the concept of "leaders on the periphery" by Kurt Lowin and Alvin W. Gouldner.⁷ They referred to minority leaders who moved or tended to move from the centers to the peripheries of their societies to assume other seemingly paradoxical roles and statuses in the larger society.

The four abovementioned sociologists, however, viewed the "marginal man" and "leaders on the periphery" as being in a difficult situation to maintain the positive balance of their "double loyalties." They tend to forfeit one or both their statuses and roles, whether by their own acts or the acts of the social groups which they lead. The same view is shared in this investigation, excepting that in this report the writer sees the possibilities or even actual cases of the leaders maintaining their marginal positions, which, will be illustrated in the Philippine case. In the attempt to conceptualize this leadership style, a new term, synonymous with and identical to "leaders on the periphery" will emerge from what seems to be a new finding in the Philippine leadership inquiry.

Like some other studies of leadership, there might be a "democratic value" judgment in the final analysis. It will be considered in more detail in the last chapter with the reason for the value judgments being considered in such analysis.