

CHAPTER II

MARGINAL LEADERSHIP IN THE PHILIPPINE SETTING

This study follows the suggestion that "leadership must be examined in specific kinds of situations, facing distinct problems,"⁸ for "leadership is specific to the particular situation under investigation. Who becomes a leader of a given group engaging in a particular activity and what the leadership characteristics are in a given case are a function of the specific situation including the measuring instruments employed."⁹ This leadership study is being examined in a setting of inter-societal relationship in a condition of culture-contact. It is a situation where the interacting groups are facing distinct problems. Studying the situation will demonstrate how a type of leadership emerges in the Philippine setting. The ultimate aim, however, is to formulate a frame of reference which may, more or less, be applicable to other situations similar to the Philippine case. The emergence of this leadership went through historical stages involving social processes. The historical background of this development needs prior consideration in the discussion.

Historical Background

The case-study document presents a brief account of the historic culture-contact. The interesting societies at different levels, that of war and later of relative peace, are those of Islam and Christianity with their competing ideologies as witnessed in other parts of the world. The first was represented by the Moros who were politically independent before any western invasion and who wanted to remain undisturbed by any outside influence. The second was represented by the Spaniards, the Americans, and Christian Filipinos who have imbibed western culture and religion. Besides the religious conflict, each side had its social and political philosophies. Basically, therefore, the issue

was one of an ideological conflict in which each side used its own ideology ~~as an incentive for defense~~ or offense¹⁰ against one another, thereby bringing about a relationship of violence at the initial stage of the contact.

The Spaniards, with whom the Moros had been in first contact, had the ultimate aim of assimilating the latter into the general colonial society, as had been the case in their world program of conquests for colonization, christianization, and general westernization which were backed up with their martial might. The Moros defended their territory and culture and remained unconquered for almost four hundred years, until the Spaniards retired from the scene, failing to integrate the Moros into the structure of Philippine society.

The coming of the Americans brought about a relatively painless "conversion" of the Moros into the former's democratic ideology through the so-called "policy of attraction" which minimized the bloody struggles characterizing the initial stage of the contact. Partly due to the American military might and partly due to the "policy of attraction," the Moros were gradually brought into what may be termed as general "aggregation" of the Filipinos in their early stage of nation-building. It was a transition toward establishing the desired harmony. In both the Spanish and American campaigns, the Moros have met their Christian Filipino brothers in the battlefields. Painful were the memories of war with which the Moros, until recently, regarded the three peoples under the generic category of Kasila, a corruption of "Castillan," a symbolic name for "enemy." Toward the end of the American regime, the Moros have been gradually passing through the channel from conflict to the relative status of accommodation as they are today in the national structure of the Philippine Republic. The "Document" quotes the statement of the Muslim Senator, Domocao Alonto, defining the attitude of the average Moro who, according to him, lacked the "real feeling of Filipinism toward integration into the general body politic."¹¹

This leads to the necessity of inquiring into the nature and degree of the Moro accommodation in which situation the leadership type and process may be understood. Here it seems logical to follow the transitional processes from violent war, to simpler social conflict, to accommodation. The general background of the first, that is, war, has been treated above.

Social Conflict

The present relationship between the Christians and Muslims is not that of tyranny and oppression. The term "conflict," as used here in its mild sociological sense, refers to inconsistencies or lack of coordination in the general social structure. Neither are the Christians an oppressive majority nor are the Moros a violent minority. The recent defiances by a few in the latter society did not cause any "shared ideology" which, in inter-societal conflict, is used as a rallying point for an attack or defense. To borrow and transfer Park and Summar's view about primitive society,¹² this report will attempt to give a clear picture of the situation by saying that the whole Philippine social structure is composed of a small congeneric but ethnocentric groups scattered over the territory. Each group thinks of itself as the "center of everything" and a "we-group," which considers others as outsiders, although both are parts of the general society. Thus society is a group or groups. The Moros, therefore, for reason of their distinct religion and culture, have a feeling and sentiment of we-groupness which, more or less, isolates them from the larger group.

Conversely, until recently, the larger society, or the government, treated the territories occupied by the Moros as "special provinces," which term was almost as significant of relative isolation as the American "Indian Reservation". Each group defines each other in ways which are expressed by some popular terminologies in the respective languages. For example, the average *Maranao*, who constitute the larger number within the minority Moro

group, perceives all non-Muslim living among them or outside as *sarwang a law*, literally "different people" or "foreigners." The more orthodox or ethnocentric elements use the term *kapir*, meaning "infidel," although this word is not often uttered in the presence of the outsider. They regard the laws of the government as *kokoman a sarwang a law*, meaning "laws of the foreigners" and the latter's customs as *adat a sarwang a law*, or "foreigners' customs," although the Moros are also governed by the same laws under the Constitution. Evidently, they often confuse the Constitutional laws of the government with the religious laws and norms of the Christians. Here lies their misconception that the government is a Christian or a "foreigner's" government, which subordinates Moro society. Their cool cooperation is expressed in the above attitude and misconception. Indeed, it is safe to say that the totality of Moro attitude, sentiment, and activities are to a relative degree unorganized into the general structure. This results in a failure to achieve the desired functional unity and harmony.

The "Document" also mentions the attitude of the Christians toward their Moro compatriots, as expressed by Christian writers and leaders in their views of the "Moro Problem."¹³ The missing information may be added here. The Visayans from central Philippines who settle among the Moros in Mindanao regard a member of the latter as a person who is *walay buniag*, similar to *walang buniag* in the language of the Tagalogs in Luzon Island. Both are profane terms for "unbaptized, heathen, pagan, or non-Christians." (The average Christian who has not lived among the Moros sufficiently to know their ways think of the latter as warlike, dangerous companions who, at a slight provocation, may run amuck, and in general are a less civilized group.)

The connotations attached to the above terminologies used in the in-group and out-group relationships are expressive of the covert rather than the overt sentiments of both groups against each other. One uses its own "profane" term in the absence of the other, or even in wry jokes during occasions where both are present. The jokes,

of course, are made in sportsmanlike humor but in a deeper sense are expressive of the social distance and latent enmity between the groups. (It used to be that in order for a Moro to be accorded higher social acceptance among the Christian group, the latter thought that the former should be "baptized" to gain the a status of a "naturalized" Christian). An army general was once badly ridiculed by the Moros for allegedly saying to the press that the solution to the peace and order problem was the "conversion" of the Moros into the Christian faith.

In Christian communities there are traditional (and now disappearing) plays called "moro-moro," originally invented by a Spanish friar dramatizing the historic war between the Christians and the Moros in which the victory of the former brings the climax. This "anti-moro" play is staged during a town fiesta held in honor of a patron saint. On the other hand, the Moros have an epic called *Darangen* and a war-dance, both of which depict their brave resistance against the Spaniards or Christians. The Moro group is a "culture island" which is some sort of, but not strictly, an isolated "sacred society"¹⁴ within the general structure of the whole Philippine society.

In its relatively isolated state, Moro society is also relatively non-responsive to most of the stimuli from the larger social structure. There are few activities which Moros hold in common with the dominant society in which both can act in the development of common interests and sentiments.¹⁵ The ideological secularization of the Moros has been relatively slow, which explains in part their slow social change. In order that its constituent groups can be of interactive character with the whole social structure, the larger society needs to understand the former's internal systems.

In the "Document," it is mentioned that the Moro society is composed of many small congeneric "we-groups" called *agama* corresponding to the ancient Greek city states. Future students of Moro society may clearly visualize the ethnocentrism of the small group by

coining from the native term the concept of *agamaism* which is analogous to the "*villagism*" of many underdeveloped Asian countries. There is a problem of integrating *agamaism* into *Moroism* and *Moroism* into real *Filipinism*. The Maranaos, for instance, had offered resistance to modern governments over a long period, not through organized resistance, but through their very lack of central organization.

Saleeby had observed the above condition as evidenced by his statement that the Moros can be easily defeated in battle but to govern a "mob" is a different thing.¹⁶ "Mob" is a bit exaggerated description of the loosely organized general Moro society under the rules of so many sultans and datus. To "divide and conquer" the Moros is not impossible as their history proves, but to govern together their many small rival groups requires more scientific techniques.

The "Document" points to the fact that Moro nationality was formerly not a part of the general society which was under Spanish influences for about four hundred years. It has come into the general social structure through a method of conquest and annexation which is traced in history through a lengthy narrative. During the period of over half a century, under the American regime and the present Philippine Republic, the Moros have been a part of the whole structure but have not been closely organized into it.

Religion is an activity where people interact and develop a common sentiment and *esprit de corps*, besides a common language and common customs. Islam rallies the Moros into unity and defines them as one against any other religious group, including their Christian Filipino brothers. The "glassplate" of religion and culture separates these two component units of Philippine society. They are able to see each other, but unable to work together for the common welfare. In some situations or activities they interact together but in others they do not interact so as to develop a common interest. In World War II, for instance, they found themselves interacting in the common activity of national defense which tended to integrate

their national sentiment for the first time in the history of the nation. In the recent event of the death of the late President Magsaysay, the Moros mourned the passing of the national leader as much as the Christians. Both their sentiments, after all, are not so much apart despite the Moros passive reactions to other stimuli. The conflict gradually has been passing into a state of relatively peaceful accommodation. It is in this latter condition that this research may find the emergence of a distinctive type of leadership.

Social Accommodation

The Muslim-Christian Filipino relationship had gradually passed from violent to mild conflict to the present state of accommodation characterized by a reciprocal interaction of superordination and subordination, which, in essence, is not completely peaceful, such as would be necessary if assimilation were to occur. A working knowledge of accommodation might help in the analysis. Accommodation is a "participation *to a certain extent*, at least, in the memories, traditions, and culture of the new social group." In this definition the phrase "to a certain extent" delineates accommodation from assimilation. While in the latter state antagonism is likely to be wholly dissolved, in accommodation antagonisms of the groups are, for the time being, regulated, and conflict disappears as overt action, although it remains latent as a potential force. Accommodation is a term "applied to any acquired alteration of function resulting in (relatively) better adjustment to the environment and to the functional changes which are thus affected."¹⁷²

The above general conditions of relationship are observable in the Philippine situation. Conscious or unconscious processes, that of education and acculturation, for instance, have thus modified the life of the Moro people in a manner such that they participate to a certain extent in the memories, traditions, interests, sentiments, and other fitting aspects of the culture of the

larger society under whom that have been brought into culture-contact. These is needed, however, a more extensive study of the processes of diffusion and acculturation as they are related to the general concepts of social and cultural changes.

It is by means of this participation in the life of the larger society that the once "isolated sacred" Moro group has been brought into a state of secularization and accessibility. It is becoming consistent with the whole social structure. And it is in this stage of the social process that the group and the individuals participate in the life of co-existence and co-functional activities with the larger group in such a manner that the influence of the latter penetrates into the life of the former. Indeed, it is at this stage of the process that the Moro group has produced individuals who are cultural hybrids or marginal persons in different grades and degrees and with social statuses and roles in both societies. It is, therefore, the concern of the whole social structure to maintain an undisturbed equilibrium within the relationship of accommodation of its constituent parts.

Under accommodation, there is always the danger that the relationship may deteriorate to the condition of conflict. It must be remembered, for instance, that the war through which the two groups have passed brought about the adjustments in their relationship which made peace possible. But under the condition of peace, the peoples whose life habits and traditions have been founded upon the basis of war frequently multiply under the condition of peace to such an extent as to make an ultimate conflict inevitable.¹⁸ Simmel had also observed that the "conditions existing in time of peace are precisely the conditions out of which war emerges and contain in themselves struggles in a diffused, unobserved or latent form."¹⁹ William James also offered the precaution that "the problem must find a solution in some method by which the conflicts which are latent in, or developed out of, the conditions of peace may be adjusted without resort to war. In so far as war is an effect of the mere inhibitions which the conditions of peace impose, substitute for war must

provide...for the expression of the expanding energies of the individuals...in ways that will contribute to the welfare."²⁰ Both the contesting groups must get together with the intention to make life more interesting and at the same time more secure.

Under the limited scope of this dissertation, the writer does not aim to measure in detail to what extent the larger and subordinated groups are related in the state of accommodation. A more comprehensive knowledge of the subject will acquire a detailed study of the social change. The relationship may be investigated by itemizing the forms of activities and norms in which both interact together for the development of common interests and sentiments.²¹ On the other hand, the incoherence within their relationship can be traced from the fundamental social, religious, and cultural differences which are observable in Christian-Muslim relationships in other parts of the world as well as in the Philippines. The present view has not devised any systematic scale to measure the social distance created by these ideological differences. Future studies might undertake this task to understand further both the conditions of conflict and accommodation.

It is a contention in this report that the process of leadership of a certain type, along with other processes of socialization, has been contributing to the transformation ~~of~~ the relation of conflict to that of accommodation and that leadership is still active in the latter state in trying to maintain a stable equilibrium in the whole social system.

It is inferred in the "Document" and in previous discussions summarizing the former that the Philippine culture-contact brought about a conflict which tended toward accommodation. This, in short, is the event or setting of the leadership problem under investigation. This study shares the "situationalists" point of view that leadership emerges in a social situation rather than merely being an expression of character traits.²² In the next section it is the aim of this investigation to demonstrate

how a type of leadership emerges in the Philippine setting by elaborating on the concrete facts contained in the "Document." From the nature of the situation, the leadership concept may be given a name and a definition.

"Marginal Leadership"²³

What is "marginal leadership"? Scientists often devise terminologies which are appropriate to the concepts and to this rule sociologists are no exceptions. When the terminology is appropriate to the concept that it signifies, it becomes a frame of reference. Often, there is a difficulty to illustrate in words the significance of the concept so that it becomes a necessity to devise illustrative diagram or mathematical representations. In view of the inadequacy of language, it seems advisable to supplement the verbal explanation with diagram somewhere in the end of this chapter in an attempt to illustrate the concept of "marginal leadership," especially as it emerges in a culture-contact situation.

Most leadership studies identify the belongingness and activities of a leader in the center of a group or society which he leads. But a group has external relations in which the leader also serves an external organization with which his group is in contact. The activities of the leader are known but the phenomena are little explored for a specific purpose to develop a clear conceptual frame or reference for that type of leadership.

There is evidence in the "Document" that leaders move from the center of the peripheral areas of their groups. A Muslim datu, for instance, with original identity in the center of his traditional organization (kinship, "agama" or tribe) moves toward the periphery to bridge his society's interrelationship with the larger society.²⁴ In other instances a Christian leader moves from the center to an area of interaction with the Moro group. In both situations, it does not mean that their positions and activities are static on the peripheries for as each is a vehicle of interaction and intercommunication, this leadership

seemingly moves in a circuit with a feedback between the center and the peripheral area of intersocietal interaction. (See "Fig. I")

The role of either leader in the whole social system is to coordinate the functions of his unit structure into the activity or function of the entire social organ, thus maintaining a state of equilibrium. Upon an initial view, a functionalist might be tempted to call this leadership role that of a "coordinator" which might be appropriate except for a slight difference in role and status. A coordinator is a leader supposed to have equal roles and statuses among all the entities whose activities he is coordinating. On the other hand, the type of leader under investigation has no equally legitimate statuses in both units, so that in trying to formulate a conceptual frame of reference in this study the writer is reluctant to apply the term "coordinator." In these comparative leadership situations, the acts of coordination are the same in type, but perhaps different in degree, due to limits imposed by status-roles of the person in the specific situations.

Looking at the position of each person in the "Document," one can see that the Muslim leader has the status of an accommodated person in the Christian society. Similarly, his Christian counterpart is accommodated in the Muslim group. It is, therefore, a case of a reciprocal accommodation in which the activities of both leaders become complementary and mutually interrelated in the general social system. Ordinarily, in common parlance, the former is called a "Muslim leader" and the latter a "Christian leader." Both these terms and other synonyms obscure the concept of double-role, double-status, double-loyalty, and all other conceptions of dualism attached to the persons of these leaders. Here, therefore, lies the need of resolving the question in order to establish a frame of reference that may be appropriate.

The state of accommodation exists not only as influenced by the condition or relative differences in "size or dominance," but also upon the condition of fitness

or acceptability, in whatever degree, between two societies in their reciprocal relationship. It may be viewed further that while the Muslim minority group is said to be accommodated by the Christian majority group, the latter is also said to be accommodated by the former. In this view, there is an attempt at seeing the consistency between the accommodation of a group and that of a single individual.

A leader originating from one group may be accommodated in another and assume leadership because of (1) his personal qualifications for acceptance in the "out-group" and (2) the sort of "alliance" between his "in-group" and the out-group which influences the latter to recognize him as a "friendly" member of the former. The same assumption may hold true if this hypothesis is reversely stated. A person's accommodation, therefore, is granted upon consideration of both individual and social reasons with a certain exception.²⁵

In this analysis, there is a distinction between an "imposed" Christian leader from one who is accorded spontaneous acceptance by the Moros. A Christian leader, for instance, who is voted to office by the majority, if not unanimously by all the Moros, is said to be in a position of accommodation.

The nature of accommodation, being *not* a condition of full acceptance or assimilation, is a "marginal" situation. "Marginal," as an abstract sociological concept, refers to a condition in which an individual or a group is "incompletely assimilated and denied full acceptance and participation by the dominant group in a society because of racial or cultural conflict."²⁶ (The earlier reciprocal view expressed in the previous paragraph is inconsistent with this definition for the previous definition presupposes a condition of "two-way" accommodation or reciprocal acceptability in whatever degree between the two societies.)

Since the leadership type in the "Document" emerges in a situation of accommodation which is a marginal

situation, this investigation assigns to it the concept of "marginal leadership" and the human actor of this leadership as the "marginal leader." Historically, it is a leadership type which evolved from the inter-societal relationship in the relatively common life between the two societies just described above as components in the culture-contact situation. The "marginal leader" is a social rank which is an outgrowth of the general metamorphosis of the "marginal person" in the same social setting. Basically, the marginal leader is a person whose socialization in both culture has transformed him into the social type of a "cultural hybrid." His ideal role is that of participating in a larger or lesser degree in the memories, traditions, interests, sentiments and cultures, not only of one, but of both societies living a life of co-existence. Socialized in the melting pot of culture-contact, he is in words and in deeds the hope of peace and co-prosperity of the social whole where he belongs. But "marginal leadership" is not a perfect role, as it will also be illustrated with some of its contradictions and dilemmas like any other leadership type. It is certain that this study is dealing not with the real but with an "ideal type" which seems to be valid in scientific studies.²⁷

It is recognized in this report that "marginal leadership" is a social role "in-between" interacting societies. It is presumed to be a universal phenomenon in many similar settings of inter-societal relationships. It is further considered as an "ideal-type" leadership role, but the degrees of "marginality" may vary in different concrete situations. Further studies may possibly devise a systematic scale to indicate these variations for the current investigation simply presents some examples. Toward the ideal standard, one leader may have "low marginality" in contrast to another having "high marginality," that is to say, the former may not be farther from the ideal than the latter. For example, a simply "acculturated" Moro leader and another who is formally "educated" will have low and high marginalities, respectively.

For further illustration from concrete facts, an "educated" Moro teacher is generally closer to the ideal-type marginal leadership role in contrast to the superficial role of an "acculturated" Moro district mayor in the same setting of Muslim-Christian inter-relationship. On the other hand, the "educated" teacher may go beyond the ideal-type standard of marginality if his interests and sentiments have drifted away from his original Moro group toward the Christian society. In this case, his ideal marginality deteriorates into the "Christian horizon," that is, if he is near assimilation or is actually assimilated. In the Philippines, the few Moro Christian converts are regarded "lost or assimilated."²⁸ The difference in marginalities, therefore, are measured by the kinds and degrees of the socializations of individuals in both societies. Taking another view, a Christian leader in mixed communities who speaks the Moro language and participates in some Moro customs is nearer the ideal-standard marginal leadership in contrast to the position of one of his compatriots having superficial knowledge of, and sympathy for, the Moro way of life.

Consideration of the social statuses of marginal leaders in the Philippines may give further illumination to this discussion. The nature of their acceptabilities in both societies are implicit or explicit in their social statuses. A distinction may be drawn between the "marginal (Muslim) leader" and the "marginal (Christian leader)" whose roles vary in some ways due to circumstances affecting each leader.

The Marginal (Muslim) Leader

In the "Document," one can easily trace the social metamorphosis of Maranaos who became "marginal leaders" and the functions of their social statuses. First of all, the leader is a datu (or other royal title) which is an *ascribed* social rank among his Moro people who know him to be a descendant of a royal family in the kinship organization of the agama or the whole tribe. His rank is traditional and

hereditary. A noble, he traces his genealogical origin from the Holy Prophet Mohammed.²⁹ The people accept his leadership on the strength of faith in religious authority. As a part of this faith, they gradually trust their leader to represent their interests in both internal and external affairs.

Under the present-day condition of social change brought about by culture-contacts, he intermingles with the Christians with whom he aspires to gain a social status by conforming with their behavior to a certain extent. At this level, he is either "educated or acculturized." He, therefore, partakes of the culture, sentiments, and traditions of the new social group with whom he is granted an *acquired* or *achieved* social status, if not also a high social rank. As he is a cultural hybrid or a marginal man, the Christians often refer to him as a person who is "like us," which is a condition of accommodation; however, if they say he is "one of us" this indicates a state of assimilation.

Because of his dual socialization as a "marginal man," he becomes capable of leadership. By virtue of constitutional authority, he is appointed or elected to office, which grants him the legal *status* of a leader in the whole social structure. Combining all his roles and statuses, he receives recognition as a "marginal leader;" that is, to his original ascribed rank in the kinship is added his *acquired* social status among the Christians, and his *legal* status in the whole social structure. He has complex roles and is expected to conform with parts of the two or three sets of norms which bring him to the dilemma of contradiction in his statuses, in which case he has to work out some compromise. The limit of his role among the Christians arises from the fact of his position of being a "Muslim or Moro." Conscious of this problem, he tries to prove that his is impartial and fair to both groups.

The Marginal (Christian) Leader

Unlike his Muslim counterpart, the "marginal (Christian) leader" has no caste status for the ancient caste system of the barangay had been discarded as a result of Spanish or Christian influence. He may belong to a kinship group in a Philippine village which does not grant any royal status. In so far as the cases in the "Document" are concerned, the Christian's assumption of marginal leadership occurs in a different way. First, it has been observed that a Christian is a government official, which is a *legal* status of leadership that is also achieved through constitutional authority. In the course of his public service in the mixed community, he is acculturated to some extent into Moro customs and sentiments. Perhaps, in a lesser degree than his Muslim counterpart, he, too, is a marginal man, although comparatively, he imbibes fewer Moro culture traits because the Moros have no formal way of indoctrinating Christians into their way of life. In whatever degree, he is also considered as an accommodated person into the Moro society. For example, the late Senator Tomas L. Cabili,³⁰ although a loyal christian, had been regarded by the Philippine press as a "Moro" leader because of his active and militant representation of Moro interests and sentiments. His political supporters recognized his Moro title, as *Sultan a Dimasangkay* ("High Sultan").

Captain, and later General, John J. Pershing was publicized by a New York paper for having been given an honorary title of "datu" by friendly Maranaos which was an expression of "accommodation." But hardly could Pershing be called a marginal leader at a time when the Americans and the Moros were at war. The motive behind the conferment was to establish a peaceful relation with the occupation force by trying to neutralize Pershing's punitive expeditions and by expecting him to live up to his "Moro" social status or rank. This show of confidence in the military commander's leadership between the two forces. An uncle of this writer adopted Pershing as his *pagari* ("brother").

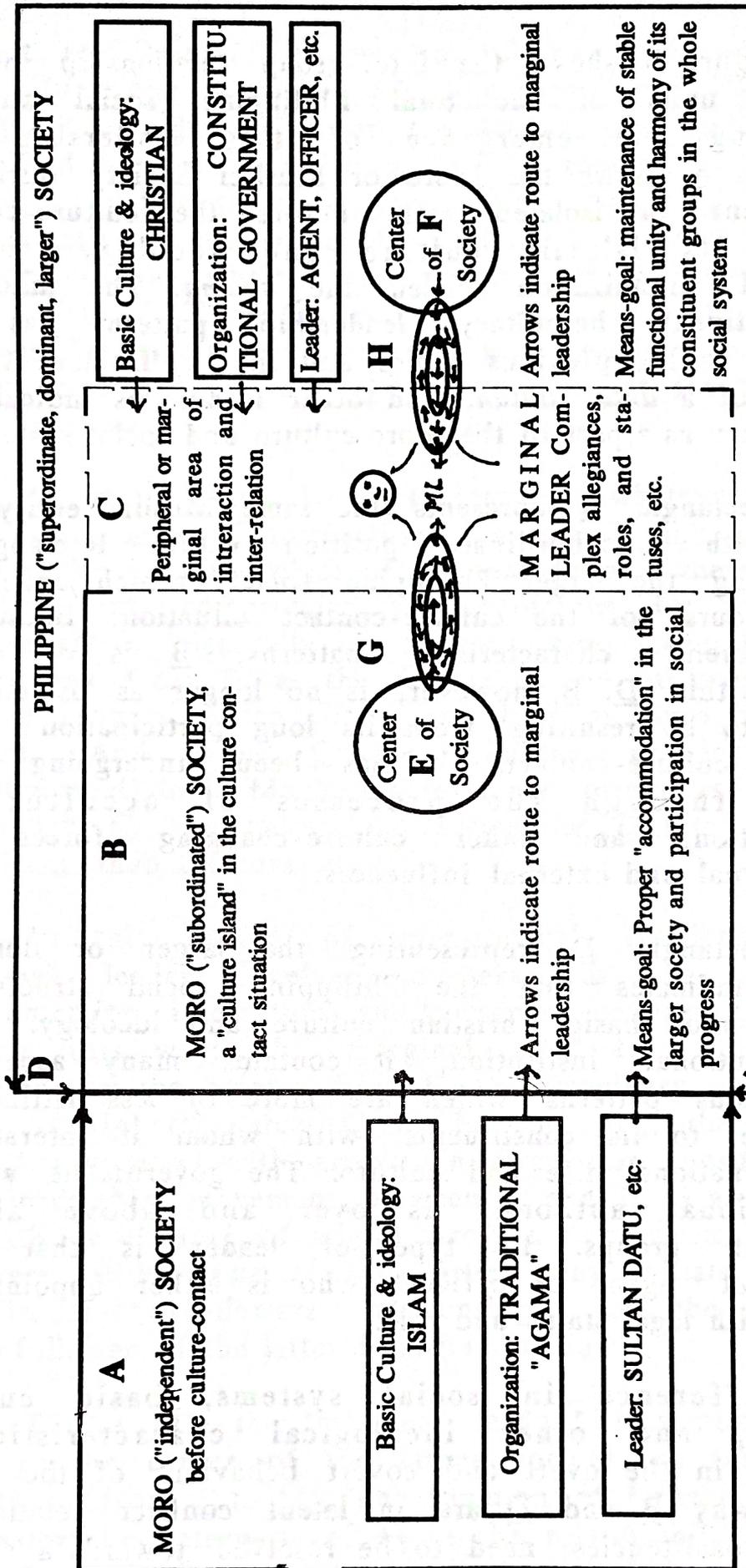
The predicament of a Christian who would consider becoming a "full-pledged"³¹ Moro leader from his marginal role arises from the contradiction of his "Christian" status. In contrast, an Arab, because of his Muslim identity, can gain better or full acceptance as a leader among the Moros. The degree of Moro culture and sentiment acquired by a Christian at present would be lesser in comparison to the degree of Christian culture and sentiment acquired by an "educated" marginal (Muslim) leader because the former is simply "accultured" to the Moro ways.

Illustrations of the Concept

The "situation" of socio-cultural contact creates the type of "marginal leadership" as explicitly and implicitly indicated in the roles and statuses of the leader. To further clarify the concept, this investigator devised two illustrations, labelled Figure I and II, under this section.

(Please turn to next page for Figure I.)

FIGURE J



In this culture-contact situation, the "marginal leader" emerges from the center of either society toward the peripheral area C to bridge the inter-relationships. Note this complex position due to the demands of both groups amidst ideological conflicts of cultures, religions, social structures, and the need for functional adjustment in the whole social organism.

Figure I shows the inter-group relationship between the two units of the total Philippine social structure illustrating the emergence of this leadership type. Rectangle A shows the Moro or Muslim Society during its independent or isolated state before the culture-contact, bearing its Islamic culture and ideology and its traditional organization called the *agama*. The nature of its traditional hereditary leadership pattern has been discussed in the previous topics and in the "Document." The position of a *datu*, *sultan*, and other leaders is indicated in the diagram as a part of the Moro culture and social system.

Rectangle B represents the same Muslim entity as a group with a subordinate position within Rectangle D representing the larger Philippine society which annexed B in the course of the culture-contact situation. Because of its "different" characteristic patterns, B is a "culture island" within D. B, however, is no longer as "isolated" as it used to be resulting from its long participation in the life of culture-contact. It has been undergoing social change through the processes of acculturation, secularization, and other culture-changing forces from both internal and external influences.

Rectangle D, representing the larger or dominant society, indicates that the Philippine social structure is founded upon basic Christian culture and ideology. But as a constitutional institution, it contains many aspects of non-religious patterns which are more or less fitting and acceptable to its constituents with whom it interacts in common national life and culture. The government with its constitutional authority is over and above all the constituent groups. Its type of leader is that of a government "agent or officer" who is either appointed or elected with legal status and role.

Difference in social systems, basic cultures, religions, and other ideological characteristics, as expressed in the overt and covert behaviors of the people, explain why B and D are in latent conflict relationship. Their inconsistencies need to be resolved toward a state of

constant equilibrium. The problem of D is how to maintain a better functional unity and interdependence of all its constituents, including B, in the total social system. B has been and is still resisting total assimilation and is, therefore, in a state of accommodation within D. D desires a more active participation from B in the general affairs or functions of the whole social system. But the changes in B, in order to achieve greater consistency with the "mother" unit, are relatively slow due to some obvious obstructions already mentioned. A and B have to discover the solution to their disunity.

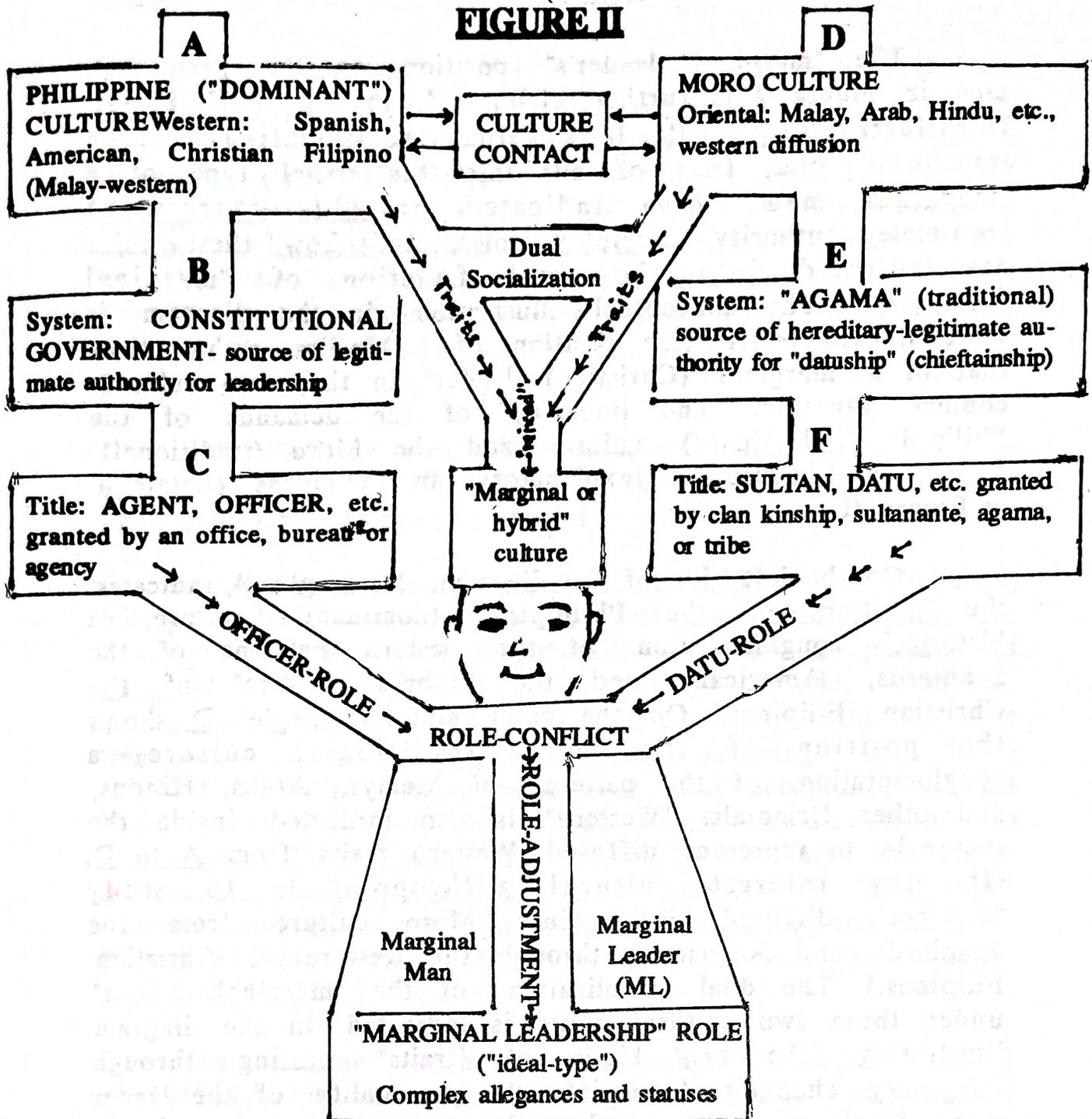
In this joint effort to resolve whatever conflict, there is an area of interaction between B and D in their common life. C is the place of accommodation where processes of adjustment, compromise or conciliation for co-existence are generated. Generally C receives more stimuli from D rather than from B, as the former is the initiator of most activities upon which both are brought into interactive relation. And from C the stimulus or influence is communicated to B. Much less influence originates from B to D through C. The cultural diffusion of D into B is more significant than the reverse.

In this setting of inter-societal relationships, the "marginal leader" evolves to serve as the vehicle of communication interaction and consensus between B and D. It happens this way: The "marginal man" from B moves as indicated by the arrows from D, the imaginary center of B, to the peripheral area C to become ML, the "marginal leader." Figure G with arrows in circulatory position shows ML's leadership movement between C and E. G also signifies the path or channel of stimulus-response between leader and followers. Either one of the parties may initiate action in this leader-and-followers relationships for the former is also a follower of the latter in some situations.

Figure ML, the "marginal leader," may also originate from F, the center of the larger society, as indicated by the arrows from F to ML. The function of figure II is a self-explanatory counterpart of G in the relationship between F and ML. Activities or influences channelled through G and

H are coordinated by **ML** who tries to resolve his complex role of maintaining unity and harmony between **B** and **D** in the function of the total social system.

(Please turn to next page for Figure II.)



This diagram is a "magnified" form of the position of the "marginal leader" (ML) bridging the socio-cultural inter-relationship on the peripheral area (rectangle C in Figure I. Socialized under the influences of the two cultures above, the leader develops the personality and attitude of a social type of individual called a "cultural-hybrid" or "marginal man" to qualify him to his marginal role. Combining the roles of an officer and datu, respectively, the situation becomes a role-conflict which is finally adjusted into the leader's complex role. The diagram is more illustrative of the position of a "marginal" (Muslim) leader than that of a Christian who has to "imitate" a hereditary tradition of leadership. The leader in the illustration is supposed to be an ideal type with a positive balance.

The "marginal leader's" position on the peripheral area in Figure I is further elaborated in Figure II. Figure II illustrates the leader's "dual socialization" which transforms him, first of all, into the social type of a "marginal man." Also indicated are his sources of legitimate authority, complex roles, and how these roles are adjusted into the total function of "marginal leadership." The conceptual illustration in the diagram is more illustrative of the position of a Muslim, rather than that of a "marginal (Christian) leader" in the same culture-contact situation. The interplay of the demands of the Philippine (dominant) culture and the Moro (traditional) culture is likewise self-explanatory in the ideas contained in Figure II.

On the left side of the diagram, Rectangle A indicates the position of the Philippine (dominant) culture, a historical conglomeration of the western patterns of the Spaniards, Americans and the "hybrid culture" of the Christian Filipinos. On the right side, rectangle D shows the position of the Moro (traditional) culture, a conglomeration of the patterns of Malays, Arabs, Hindus, and other Orientals. "Western" is also indicated inside the rectangle to represent diffused Western traits from A to D. (It may interest cultural anthropologists to study "indirect" diffused traits into Moro culture from the Spaniards and Americans through the westernized Christian Filipinos.) The dual socialization of the "marginal leader" under these two cultural units is indicated in the diagram illustrating the two kinds of "traits" passing through imaginary channels down into the personality of the leader who develops a "marginal culture" as a result of the culture-contact.

A has a socio-political system, the government, as a source of constitutional authority for leadership. It is indicated in rectangle B. The government has its agency, bureau, or office that grants a leadership title which, for simplicity, is here termed as "officer or agent."

In rectangle E is shown the socio-religious-political system of the *agama*, also a source of "legitimate" hereditary-traditional leadership called *datuship* ("chieftainship"). In rectangle F, the *agama*, through its kinship system of a clan, sultanate, or tribe, ascribes a leadership title which may either be *datu*, sultan or other. For simplicity's sake, the title *datu* is used here for illustration. Note also the "datu role" of leadership symbolically flowing down a channel from DEF, to the leader's person.

The "officer role" of leadership derived from ABC as indicated on the left side of the diagram, is likewise channeled down to the person of the same leader.

The two different "roles" of the officer and the *datu*, being combined in the function of the same person, are developed into a "role-conflict." But as a person of marginal culture, sentiment, interest, attitude, decision, or whatever concept of dualism created by the situation, the "marginal leader" is capable of resolving his "role-conflict" into "role adjustment" for dual acceptance of his leadership function. "Marginal leadership" is characteristically a dual role which is humanly impossible to execute with perfection. It is merely an "ideal-type" concept used as a scientific scheme to clarify the analysis. But there is a valid reason for applying the "ideal type" representation.

In dealing with the so-called "isolated sacred societies," which in reality are not absolutely inaccessible, Howard Becker spoke of the scientists' license for the valid use of the "ideal type" concept. Says Becker: "All scientists operate with ideal types or even conscious fictions. [For example the] theoretical physicists' world is an artificial simplified world in which lines are fictitiously straight, cylinders and spheres are ideally perfect forms, plain surfaces are without even microscopic irregularities."³²

Thus the analysis of the Philippine case is aimed at establishing *prima facie* evidence for the concept of "marginal leadership" and all other related concepts mentioned in the discussion touching marginal roles or functions. The "ideal type" concepts have been employed merely to give conceptual clarity and systematization as if they so exist. The idea about the "marginal leader" which has been abstracted from the position of the person acting the leadership role in the Philippine inter-societal setting may not in reality exist in life, but as an ideal-type the situation seems to be a universal occurrence in most, if not all, racial and cultural intermingling in different times and places. In view of the limited time and resources, this report will attempt to present only a few other situations from other social settings. In the interest of more scientific knowledge on the subject, other sociological analysts may explore many more culture-contact areas having the same problem.