
CONCLUSION

Practical Implications of the Study

The main concept which this dissertation attempts to establish is by no means new despite the introduction of new terminologies. "Marginal leadership" is more or less identical to Kurt Lewin's "Leadership on the periphery," except that the position of the leader has been viewed from different local settings and factors of variation. Lewin sees his "leader" ejecting himself "out of the periphery" to a status of nominal assimilation into the larger society.⁶⁵ Park and Stonequist's "marginal man" who assumes leadership in some situations has a tendency to escape from his original group to be assimilated into the dominant group.⁶⁶

In the Philippine setting and elsewhere, this study does not deny the possible "de-marginalizing" of a leader by his own act or the attitude of one or both the groups which grant him social statuses and his corresponding complex role. Yet, this study reports from actual occurrences the relatively stable position of the leader in his marginal role due to the appreciable balancing of forces affecting his behavior in bridging the relationship of the two groups.

The emergence of marginal leadership has been observed primarily in the process of socio-cultural change in a culture-contact situation where the interacting societies are in a state of accommodation after their conflict. Other settings of inter-societal relationship where similar leadership inquiry may profitably be made, both for theoretical and practical aims, have been indicated. It is hoped that the present analysis of a concrete situation has achieved the first theoretical aim which it tried to establish, namely, the formulation of a theory of "marginal leadership." In answer to the practical

implication, the appraisal may shift back to the Philippine case.

Implication for Philippine Administration

The "Document" and the previous analysis brings to light the fact that outside the Philippine constitutional government, the Moro citizens maintains their traditional culture and society, hence the persistence of conflict of ideologies with the dominant authority. In such a structure, the Moros have their own leadership pattern rivaling the power of constitutional officialdom. The constitutional agency is not empowered to grant titles of nobility, neither has it any measure to de-institutionalize the existing Moro titles. Despite the fact that Moro titles are not officially legitimized, administrators utilize the service of *datu* who serve as government agents to control tribal groups.

Here, it can be seen that although the government does not formally "invest" nobility titles, it informally recognizes the capacity and traditional authority of the *datu* to lead his community in its common affairs with the government. There is, therefore, an inconsistency between formal policy and the actual informal practice in this leadership situation. Yet, the political appointment of "any" *datu* as a district agent places him in a position of an intermediary between the government and the different *agama* groups in the district, territorial and political jurisdiction. When a "datu-agent" happens to be not the choice of the people as a leader, his role is that of an "imposed" leader from above. Actually, as a "dummy" of the political party in power, he resembles a fascist chief of a district in manipulating votes during elections with the coercive influence of the administration. This was an actual fact in recent elections which caused national resentment.

If the government desires a more democratic pattern, a "new deal" might be instituted, based upon the policies

and practices of other countries in their governing of minority groups. For instance, the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs recognizes some tribal councils through whom the Indians are governed. Thus an indigenous association gains a legal status in the largest general social and political system with the former exercising a degree of local autonomy. A council elects its own tribal official who cooperates with the Indian Service officials appointed under civil service rules. This policy is found to be efficient in contrast to the past when tribal organizations were thought to be "backward" and inconsistent with democratic patterns.⁶⁷

In communities predominantly settled by Moros, it may serve the interest of good government if the *agama* under their territorial jurisdiction is formally or legally incorporated into the organizational structure of a town or district. Under the *agamas*, the people are traditionally associated with each other by the social bonds of sentiment and interest in their blood-kinship, culture, and religion. They have their traditional leadership system under which the people are individually and collectively kept subject to social control. Besides those with royal titles, some other leaders may be elected as deemed necessary for the innovation. These *agamas* can be confederated into a functional unity with the larger society.

The above proposition seems to be an answer to Saleeby's early observation of the problem. "You can defeat the Moros," he said, "but to govern them (being like a "mob") is a different thing." The internal level of the so-called "Moro Problem" is the issue of the "Moro versus Moro" with the existence of many rival and seemingly "independent" *agamas*, which in the past resisted domination not through organized resistance but through their very lack of a truly centralized organization. Modern administration can establish the common interest and welfare by exploiting the kinship inter-relationship of the people. In Lanao, for instance, the Maranaos trace the oneness of origin of their people and the *agamas* under the

ancient confederation of the "Pangampong Sultanates" as it appears in their genealogies and everyday sayings.

The present organization of a town or district under agents' leadership has usurped the power which formerly belonged to traditional societies. But the present structure is not altogether advantageous, considering that it has not utilized the efficiency of the traditional patterns under which the people are united by sentiments and interests. As a result, government projects on education, health, agriculture, industry, peace and order, move in a slow fashion despite over half a century of effort toward socio-cultural change extending from the American regime to the present. The reason is that native initiative, cooperation, and leadership have been confused as a result of a conscious or unconscious attempt to de-institutionalize native traditional structure. The effort has not been fruitful, because tribal loyalty still resists changes that could be utilized to an advantage. The need is for a thoughtful adjustment between the old and new patterns. Such must be the function of "marginal leadership" as an instrument for achieving a new way of life and order.

The Philippine program has much to learn from the experiences and practices of other governments. British colonial administrators and policy-makers have generally respected native organizations with their "nobility" leadership patterns in the governing of colonies. The Philippine problem is not a colonial issue, but the technique of such colonial administrators can bring advantage in the task of introducing innovations by exploiting existing local traditions. It has been noted that by utilizing native social and cultural resources in a locale, the government can move more rapidly toward progressive changes.⁶⁸

If the Moro socio-cultural patterns are not exactly the same as those of the democratic patterns of the Philippine Republic, marginal leadership can be utilized to bring about the desired degree of consistency. To govern the Moros "through their indigenous associations," which is in

itself a process of marginal leadership, is believed to be a better policy with which to hasten their secularization. If an *agama* (or *agamas*) is given the opportunity to change its social and cultural structure, the natural process of "mode-imitation" will bring about the desired changes. The "scared" minority groups will imitate the mode of the "secular" majority society without the need of maximum imposition of the majority cultural patterns. If the structure and leadership patterns of the *agama* are exploited, it is believed that they will serve and strengthen the position of the whole national system.

If the past administrators had looked deeper into the nature of the native social system, they would have seen that democracy was simply veiled in native dress. The "Document" describes the sultan or datu as a humble and democratic ruler who, aside from his being a leader, is also a follower of his own people; that in deciding public matters, the Moros observe the "majority rule"; that "trial by jury," which is uncommon in the Philippine judicial system except in national courts, is the Moro way of a democratic trial. Indeed, the misunderstood Moros have many other semblance of democratic patterns and where the patterns are not democratic in the definitions of other people's value-judgements, they are at least "suitable" to the Moro way of life. The analogy is that if pork is delicious to the dominant Christian Filipinos, it is not acceptable to their Muslim brothers. An attempt to impose an unsuitable pattern into the life of one people will only bring about a conflict as is now the order of the things in the Philippines.

The shortsightedness of the past and the present are still curable. In the past, there seemed to have been no scientific inquiry before laying out the cornerstones of social patterns in the governing of Philippine Muslims. What customs and traditions can contribute to the common good have been overlooked. "Practical" administrators were obviously blinded by their enthusiasms that their "modern" solutions were sweet morsel for the governed to swallow. A truly progressive government should not remain in the ways

of shamanism, which does not revise its techniques despite the proof of inefficacies. It must adopt the scientific attitude of critical scrutiny or operations in order to revise antiquated plans or to innovate new plans. A blended harmony can be achieved between the old and new ways of life through the process of "marginal leadership."

Like Gouldner's *Studies of Leadership*,⁶⁹ this study sincerely supports democratic values. "Marginal leadership" with its ideal role, that of viewing with consideration and justice the interest of interrelated groups, is in essence democratic leadership.