

# **The Ethnic Dimension in an Industrial Setting: Muslim Workers on Mindanao**

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## **ABSTRACT**

**T**his study attempts to show the salience of the ethnic dimension in an industrial setting. It focuses on industrialization on Mindanao and examines how this process is affecting Muslim workers. In the exploratory phase, a survey of industries in the Cagayan de Oro-Iligan growth areas was conducted. In general, the survey results show the low employment of Muslims.

The major source of data comes from the two case studies of Muslim workers in two industrial plants. The two plants are located

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<sup>1</sup>This paper is culled from the author's doctoral dissertation in 1996 at the Department of Sociology, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

in two different sociocultural settings. The first case study focuses on a steel plant located in Iligan City, an industrial center and a Christian-dominated area. The second case study is set in a hydroelectric plant complex located in Marawi City and Saguwaran, Lanao del Sur, where the plant is the only industrial firm in the area. The setting is primarily agricultural and the traditional dwelling place of Maranao Muslims.

In general, the study illustrates that a dynamic interplay exists between the community and industry. The economic and the ethnic characters of the setting are reflected in industry which, in turn, influences the community in which it is located. The study shows that the economic and sociocultural features of Muslim workers in industrial plants reflect the character of the community. With respect to the economic features, Muslim workers in the steel plant show a low level of employment and they occupy a low position in work authority. On the other hand, in the hydroelectric plant complex, more Muslims are employed and they hold high positions in work authority from the middle to top level positions. In the overall organization of an industrial firm, it is in the labor structure where ethnic factors are significant.

With respect to the sociocultural features of Muslim workers in the steel plant, heterogeneity is observed in the ethnic affiliation of workers (Maranaos, Maguindanaos, Tausugs, mixed group), place of origin (varied places), spouse's ethnic affiliation (varied ethnic groups exhibiting more mixed marriages), and religious affiliation of workers (presence of Islamic and non-Islamic faiths). To some extent, steel plant workers seem to be lax in observing religious practices. However, homogeneity existed in the other plant in terms of the ethnic affiliation of workers (all Maranaos) and strict adherence to the Islamic faith.

Furthermore, while formal organizations composed solely of Muslim workers are absent in the steel plant, these are found in the other plant. In the hydroelectric plant, formal organizations (a workers' association and a cooperative) composed solely of Muslim workers are noted. As regards kinship ties and views on intergroup relations, both plants show the presence of kinship ties within and across one's ethnic group. In terms of views on intergroup relations, the study shows that

mixed views prevail in both plants.

The study also illustrates the impact of industry on the community. This is indicated by social disturbances brought about by the existence and operation of the plant. The social disturbances include the workers' experiences in strike, land problem exemplifying conflict between the modern versus the traditional concept of land ownership, disruption of peace and order as a result of killings, kidnappings, and opposition from the local community. While these are not noted in the steel plant, these are present in the hydroelectric plant.

In addition, the data show that ethnicity is more salient when there is alignment of homogeneity in a community (i.e., Maranao Muslims in Marawi) and territory (dwelling place). A sense of community as Muslims prevail. Otherwise, ethnic factors tend to be less salient.

The dynamics of ethnicity in an industrial setting shows the convergence of the sociocultural and structural forces in society. Considering the cultural diversity of the country and the government's efforts towards industrialization, this study shows how the ethnic dimension is a significant sociocultural factor.

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## **Introduction**

Using two case studies of industrial plants in two different sociocultural settings, this study attempts to show the salience of ethnic dimension in an industrial setting. In contemporary social science, the current challenge is to process empirical findings into raw materials for theoretical production, as well as to examine the convergence of the economic and social forces (Bautista 1994:3-8).

The convergence between economic and social forces may be reflected in the dynamic interplay between industry and community. The interrelationship between industry and community takes place in

areas where cultural diversity exists and the attainment of economic development through industrialization is an avowed goal. The issue of industrialization has caused mixed reactions among various sectors engaged in the development debate in the country. While others regard the attainment of industrialization as a dream, to some it is a delusion. While diverse views are expressed on strategies to achieve national development, it is a reality that in the country efforts towards industrialization prevail in a society where there are several ethnolinguistic groupings each with its own unique sociocultural features.

Since industrialization and development are concepts usually associated with economic and political concerns, ethnicity as a sociocultural factor is often taken for granted (Florence 1969: 227-230; cf UN Report on the Interregional Seminar on Social Aspects of Industrialization 1965:26; Challenge to the South Commission 1940:45). The issue on development involving cultural communities has to be pursued seriously, particularly when a region such as Mindanao is populated by a diversity of cultural communities.

### **The Research Problem and Objectives**

It has been noted that Muslims have joined the workforce in various public and private sectors (Lacar 1992:117). In nearby industrial and urban centers like Cagayan de Oro and Iligan, it is observable that Muslims are increasingly becoming part of the workforce. In general, the research aims to find out the interplay between industry and community in which the former is located by investigating a) the employment of Muslims in industries and b) the economic and sociocultural features of both industry and community.

In examining the salience of ethnic dimension in an industrial settling, this study specifically aims to undertake the following:

1. To describe the level of employment of Muslims in industries in Cagayan de Oro-Iligan growth area.

2. To know the position of Muslim workers in the labor hierarchy in these industries.
3. To describe the sociodemographic profile of Muslim workers in industrial establishments.
4. To describe the social relations of Muslim workers in formal and nonformal associations.
5. To identify issues and events in the plant with ethnic bearing.
6. To explore the implications of these issues and events on Muslim-Christian relations in the local community.

Considering that industrialization is a continuing phenomenon, there are contending viewpoints among scholars as to the appropriate strategy to achieve development. Mainstream development thinking has always emphasized the supreme role of economic growth in development. Unlike the period of the 1950s and 1960s, when the debate focused on either the economic or social aspects of development, the trend now is moving towards interdisciplinary or complementarity of these two forces to confront concrete issues and areas of concern relevant to changing realities in society.

Despite the varied literature on Mindanao, the influence of sociocultural setting on industry, and vice versa still needs to be explored. This research endeavor is intended to help fill this gap.

### **Towards A Conceptual Framework**

Taking the Muslim workers of the industrial organization as the focus of study, industry-community relationships are explored based on the basic premise that there is interrelationship and interdependence between industry and community (Miller & Form 1964; cf Schneider 1969; Parker, et all. 1989; Moore 1951; Eldridge 1973).

This assumption brings to light the role of the external factor or the environment and community influencing the industrial organization. The community influences the industry which, in turn, influences the former and its institutions or subsystems. In the process the industrial organization reflects the sociocultural environment in which it operates. The industry, in turn, affects the community. There is then a dynamic relationship between the industrial organization and greater community or between the structural forces and cultural forces in society.

In the context of the industrialism argument vis-a-vis ethnic relations, Blumer's contention that industrialization will move along with, respond to, and reflect the current of ethnic transformation in which it happens to be caught (1965:239-252) is employed as a guiding concept. According to him, the transformation of ethnic relations in the industry is brought about by forces outside the industrial structure and not within it. Thus, ethnic relations inside the industrial apparatus are a product of outside conditions due to the pressure of new situations that arise outside of it (Blumer 1965:253).

Taking the industry as an organization, the economic and social dimensions are also important components (Park 1981:11). The economic structure of the industry is composed of three vital social processes which include ownership and authority control, production process, and labor structure (Wright 1978:72-73).

Under the economic aspect, this study also looks into the employment and occupational levels in the industrial structure. To reiterate, Turner (1951:524) explains that the employment and occupational level "is the degree of labour force participation, and for those employed, the level at which participation is attained." This concerns the quantity and quality of jobs referring to the proportion of ethnic workers on the labor force and their proportion in the various jobs at different attus levels.

The workers' experiences also matter. To reiterate, Park, (1968) has said that aside from the social economic and political organization,

the experiences of its members are important aspects of an industrial society.

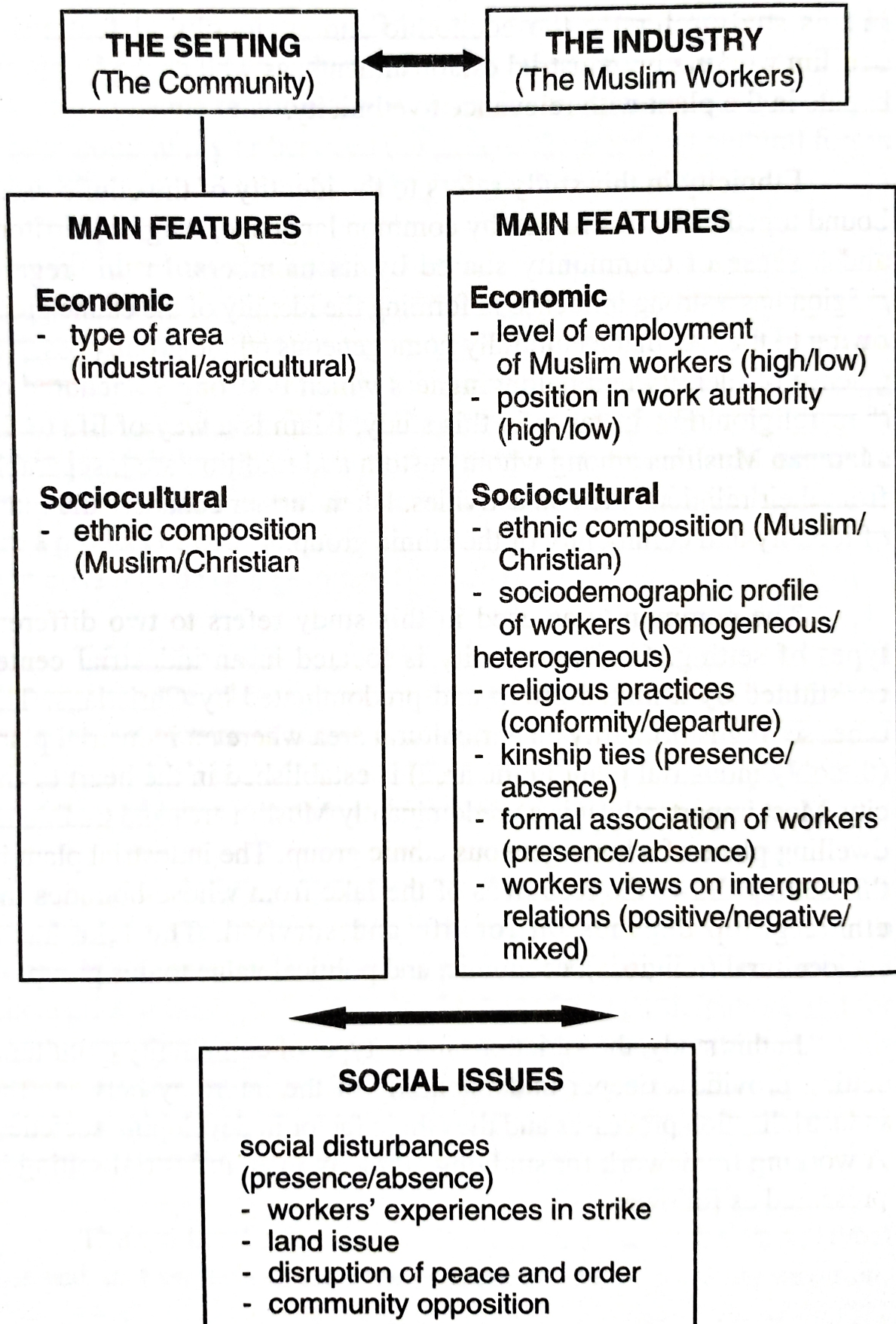
In the context of industrial development, the ethnic dimension in this study refers to the economic and sociocultural features of Muslim workers in industrial establishments, as well as the issues and events in the plant with relevance to ethnicity.

Ethnicity in this study refers to the identity of the ethnic group bound together by ties forged by common language, religion, territory, and a sense of community shared by its members. In this regard, religion has a strong influence in forming the identity of the ethnic group owing to the fact that a culturally homogeneous ethnic group possesses a sense of identity and belongingness which is strongly anchored on their religion. For instance in this study, Islam is a way of life to the Maranao Muslims among whom custom and tradition are inseparable from their religious life and activities. Islam further enhances the sense of identity and community of the ethnic group.

The community as used in this study refers to two different types of setting. One community is located in an industrial center constituted by a mixed group and predominated by Christians. The other setting is primarily an agricultural area where an industrial plant (the only industrial plant in the area) is established in the heart of the city. Most importantly, it is a predominantly Muslim area and traditional dwelling place of a homogeneous ethnic group. The industrial plant in this setting draws the resources of the lake from whose bounties the ethnic group depends on for life and survival. The lake has a sociocultural (religious), economic, and political value to this group.

In this study, the variations in the type of community or cultural setting provide a deeper understanding of the interplay between the industrialization processes and the ethnic factor in developing societies. A working framework for studying ethnicity in an industrial setting is presented as follows:

## A WORKING FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF ETHNICITY IN AN INDUSTRIAL SETTING



The diagram shows the community as representing the setting and the Muslim workers, the unit of analysis, representing the industry. Both community and industry possess economic and sociocultural features. The components of industry are manifested in the economic position and sociocultural features of Muslim workers. In the setting, the economic and sociocultural components are manifested in the type of area (industrial/agricultural) and ethnic composition (Muslim/Christian-dominated) of the population. The indices for determining ethnicity in the community include the religious affiliation and language of the population.

The working framework suggests the salience of the ethnic dimension in the industrial setting by examining the economic position and sociocultural characteristics of Muslim workers. The former includes the levels of employment and work authority or position in the labor hierarchy. The latter involves the sociodemographic profile of workers (e.g., workers ethnic composition, religious affiliation, place or origin, spouse's ethnic affiliation), their religious practices, presence/absence of kinship ties, presence/absence of formal associations, as well the nature of worker's views on intergroup relations.

## **Methodology**

Informed by the propositions in relation with the objectives of the study and with an aim towards overcoming the deficiencies of only one method, the study employed a multiple perspective or pluralist strategy in the form of triangulation. In explaining social phenomena, various theories and concepts and multiple methods are employed.

To some extent, this study employs the "across method of triangulation" by using survey, unstructured interviews, key informants (28:1 Lumad, 10 Christians, 17 Muslims), and secondary data (company files/records, research reports, documents, pamphlets/brochures, news items, magazines, unpublished materials).

The study consists of two phases, the first part of which is the exploratory phase. This phase dealt with the preliminary investigation of the conditions obtaining in the worksite and the survey of the employment and occupational status of workers in various industrial establishments in the cities of Cagayan de Oro and Iligan. The second phase was the conduct of the case study of Muslim workers in two plants. This focused on two plants where the Muslim workers were found in relatively greater number.

A total enumeration of 22 Muslim workers was used in the steel plant through snowball sampling, 60 workers (quota sampling) out of 86 Muslim workers were taken as sample respondents in one hydroelectric plant complex.

## SALIENT FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

### **A. Level of Employment of Muslim Workers**

The initial survey shows the low level of employment of Muslim workers in industrial establishments (see Tables 1A and 1B) in both cities of Cagayan de Oro and Iligan despite the fact that the Cagayan de Oro-Iligan Corridor (CIC) is part of the Southern core's regional industrial growth area and is considered a center of employment. In Cagayan de Oro, Misamis Oriental, out of 11 industries surveyed, only 1 manufacturing company employs Muslims. In Iligan, the Muslims are found in 5 of the 16 industries covered where the Muslim workers constitute a very small percentage (3.4%) of the total workforce. It is interesting to note that like the situation in Cagayan de Oro industries, men predominate in the industries. Among the 16 companies, the only plant that has a significant number of female workers (approximately 76% of the total labor force) is a biscuit company. Female workers are employed in the packing section of the firm, indicating that the nature of their work is a job requirement. A low level of employment could occur not only according to one's ethnic affiliation but also with reference to one's gender affiliation.

**Table 1A. Distribution of the Total Labor Force by Sex and Number of Muslim Workers in Selected Major Cagayan de Oro, Misamis Oriental Industries, 1991-1992.**

Name of Company	Year Estab- lished	Labor/Work Force			No. of Muslims
		Male	Female	Total	
Metro Alloys Corp.	1989	30	3	33	0
Master Wood Ent. Corp.	1988	153	11	164	0
Nestle Phils., Inc.	1982	341	15	356	0
Vicmar Dec. Corp.	1980	395	62	457	0
Phils. Sinter Corp.	1974	384	47	431	0
Pilipinas Kao, Inc.	1974	98	24	122	0
Cagayan de Oro Oil Co.	1972	50	8	58	0
Resins, Inc.	1968	95	15	110	0
Pepsi Cola Bottling Co.	1967	256	18	274	0
Coca Cola Bottling Co.	1952	251	19	270	0
Phil. Packing (Del Monte)	1926	2,313	1,700	4,013	3
Total		4,366	1,922	6,288	3

**Table 1B. Distribution of the Total Labor Force by Sex and Number of Muslim Workers in Iligan Industries, 1991-1992**

Name of Company	Year Estab- lished	Labor/Work Force			No. of Muslims
		Male	Female	Total	
Newtech Pulp	1991	75	7	82	2
Alsons	1980	284	75	359	0
Integrated Chrome	1989	52	16	68	0
Fil-Eslon	1977	27	5	32	0
Refractories	1976	177	33	210	0
Granexport	1975	123	11	134	0
SMC-ILICOCO	1975	94	14	108	1
National Steel Corp.	1974	3389	332	3721	23
Mindanao Steel Corp.	1973	134	36	170	0
Iligan Cement Corp.	1971	315	37	352	1
Mabuhay Vinyl Corp.	1965	307	27	334	0
Mind. Portland Cement	1962	253	11	264	0
PILMICO Foods Corp.	1962	173	6	179	0
Lonbisco	1960	44	138	182	0
Ma. Cristina Chem. Inc.	1954	361	9	370	0
National Power Corp.	1936	1559	224	1783	264
Mindanao Total		7367	981	8,348	291

In general, the findings show that the Muslims are found in relatively greater number in a steel plant, a semi-government corporation that is currently non-operating, and in a hydroelectric plant, a government-controlled corporation.

With respect to the position of work authority of Muslims in Iligan industrial establishments, 5 have reached the management level in a plant where majority of the Muslims are employed. Twenty-five (25) occupy supervisory position, 58 are skilled, and 4 are unskilled workers (see Table 2A).

**Table 2A. Classification of Muslim Workers by Position in Work Authority in Selected Iligan Industries, 1992-1993.**

Name of Company	Position in Work Authority				Total
	Managerial	Supervisory	Skilled	Unskilled	
NPC Mindanao					
Agus 1/2 HEP	5	20	35		60
Agus 4/5 HEP			2	3	5
Agus 6/7 HEP			1		1
National Steel Corp.		4	18		22
SMC-ILICOCO			1		1
Iligan Cement Corp. (ICC)				1	1
Newtech Pulp		1	1		2
Total	5 (5.43%)	25 (27.17%)	58 (63.04%)	4 (4.35%)	92

It is also interesting to note that in various units of NPC Mindanao (1990-1993) the Muslim employees constitute 14.8% (264) of the total personnel of 1,783.

In terms of employment in the hydroelectric plants, Table 2B presents the distribution of workers in 6 Agus hydroelectric power plants (HEPs) by ethnic affiliation and sex. There are a total of 325 workers-46 workers in Agus 1, 50 in Agus 2, 61 in Agus 4, 53 in Agus 5, 71 in Agus 6, and 44 in Agus 7. Comparing Muslim employment with Christian employment, the data point out that on the whole for every 1 Muslim employed, there are 2.53 Christian workers. Out of the total population in the three hydroelectric power plant complexes, Muslim workers constitute only 28.31%, while the Christian workers, 71.69%.

However, if plant level is considered, it is obvious that the location of the plant has a bearing on the composition. For instance, Plant Complex 6 and 7 which is located in Iligan City shows Christians are exceedingly dominant. In fact, of the total 115 employees, only 1 is Muslim. In Plant Complex 4 and 5 in Baloi, Lanao del Norte located in between Marawi and Iligan, the number increased to 5. But in Plant Complex 1 and 2, the situation is reversed where the Muslims are greater in number. The location of the plant complex is part of Lanao del Sur, the home province of the Maranaos. Agus 1 is in the heart of Marawi City, while Agus 2 is in Saguiaran, Lanao del Sur.

The same table also shows the distribution of workers according to sex. This enhances the findings that an overwhelming majority of workers are male. The sex ratio suggests that for every 12 male workers, there is only 1 female worker. This pattern seems consistent in all 6 plant units. This may be partly attributable to the nature of work requirements in the hydroelectric industry.

**Table 2B. Distribution of Workers in 6 Agus Hydroelectric Power Plants by Ethnic Affiliation and Sex, 1992-1993**

	AGUS 1		AGUS 2		AGUS 4		AGUS 5		AGUS 6		AGUS 7		TOTAL
	N		N		N		N		N		N		
Christian													
Male	3	6.52	7	14	54	88.50	47	88.68	69	97.18	35	79.55	215
Female	0	-	0	-	2	3.28	6	11.32	1	1.41	9	20.45	18
Muslims													
Male	42	91.30	37	74	5	8.20	0	-	1	1.41	0	-	85
Female	1	2.17	6	12	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	7
Totals	46	(100)	50	(100)	61	(100)	53	(100)	71	(100)	44	(100)	325

**Table B.A Comparative Summary of the Ethnic Dimension in the Two Plants**

	Steel Plant (Case Study I)	Hydroelectric Plant (Case Study II)
I. The Character of the Setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Industrial Center with a variety of industrial establishments</li> <li>● Christian-dominated (mixed community)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Primarily agricultural area</li> <li>● Agus 1/2 plant complex is the only industrial plant in the area</li> <li>● Muslim-dominated and a traditional dwelling place of the Maranaos</li> </ul>
II. Basic Features of the Muslim Workers in Two industrial Plants		
1. <u>Economic Features</u>		
1.1. level of employment	low (.59%)	high (90%)
1.2. level of work authority	low position in the labor hierarchy	high position in the labor hierarchy
2. <u>Sociocultural Features</u>		
2.1. sociodemographic profile	heterogeneity	homogeneity
2.2. religious practice	lax adherence to traditions	strict adherence to traditions
2.3. kinship ties	present	present
2.4. formal associations	absent	present
2.5 views on intergroup relations (Muslim-Christian relations)	mixed views (positive and negative)	mixed view (positive and negative)
3. <u>Social Issues</u>	absence of marked social disturbances	<p>presence of social disturbances</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● workers' experiences in strike</li> <li>● land problem</li> <li>● disruption of peace &amp; order</li> <li>● commonly opposition</li> </ul>

**B.1. The Character of the Setting of Two Industrial Plants.** The first case study involved the steel manufacturing plant in Iligan City, which is constituted by a mixed population and predominated by Christian groups of varied ethnolinguistic origin. A variety of industrial establishments is found in this setting. On the other hand, the hydroelectric plant complex, the focus of the other case study, is located in a traditional dwelling place predominated by Maranao Muslims. As mentioned earlier, the Agus 1 plant is the only industrial plant in the area, which is built underground in the center of Marawi City. Its location is strategic considering the Agus River, which emanates from Lanao Lake, the abode of the Maranaos or the “people of the lake.”

**B.2. The economic and Sociocultural Features of Muslim Workers in Two Plants**

1) Economic Features

When the setting of the plant is industrial and Christian-dominated, there is low employment (.59% or 22/3721) and low position of Muslim workers in the labor hierarchy (negligible supervisory position). On the other hand, when the plant is located in a primarily agricultural and Muslim-dominated area, Muslim employment level (90% or 86/96) and position in work authority (middle-level to top positions) are higher. Other pertinent information on the profile of workers can be gleaned in Table 3 below.

**Table 3. Workers' Profile in the Two Plants**

	Steel Plant	Agus 1/2 HEPC
Job Positions	4 (18.2%) supervisory 18 (82.8%) skilled	5 (8.3%) managerial 20 (33.3%) supervisory 35 (58.3%) skilled
Mean Length of Service	16 years	14 years
Mean Monthly Salary	P 9,727.77	P5,900.50
Employment Status	19 (86.4%) permanent 3 (13.6%) temporary	57 (95%) permanent 2 (3.3%) temporary 1 (1.7%) unspecified
Eligibility	no data	35 (72.9%) present 13 (27.1%) none
Availment of Training	16 (72.7%) w/in Iligan 3 (13.6%) outside 3 (13.6%) no response	38 (63.3%) w/in Iligan 18 (30%) outside 4 (6.7%) none

## 2). Sociocultural Features

The findings show heterogeneity in ethnic composition of workers where various Muslim groups such as the Maranaos, Tausogs, Maguindanaos, and other mixed Muslim group (mestizo/a group) are present. However, in the hydroelectric power plant, the situation is different with a population homogeneously composed of Maranaos.

In the steel plant, the workers' place of origin includes Marawi, Iligan, Lanao del Norte, Lanao del Sur, Cotabato, Sulu, Surigao, Manila, Davao, and Zamboanga. In the second plant, workers come only from Marawi City, Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur.

The workers' religious affiliation and the ethnic affiliation of spouse tend to follow a similar pattern. While there exists a variety of religious beliefs among workers in the steel plant, there is monopoly of adherence to Islam among workers in the hydroelectric power plant.

All profess Islam in the latter but in the former case, the presence of Islam (17), as well as non-Islam faiths (Catholics, Mormon, and Pentecostal), indicates conversion from Islam. As regards the ethnic affiliation of the spouse, only 4 have Maranao wives. The rest have non-Maranao spouses (Cebuano, Siguijodnon, Boholano, or Surigaonon) which indicates a higher occurrence of mixed marriages. However, in the hydroelectric power plant, there is a lower occurrence of mixed marriages where only 6 have Cebuano spouses, while 46 have Maranao wives (see Table 4A).

**Table 4A. Workers' Sociodemographic Profile**

	Steel Plant	Agus 1/2 HEPC
Mean Age	40 years old	40 years old
Sex	1 (4.5%) female 21 (95.4%) males	2 (3.3) females 58 (96.7%) males
Civil Status	21 (95.4%) married 1 (4.5%) separated	57 (95%) married 3 (5%) single
Mean Number of Children	4 Children	6 Children
Education	8 (36.4%) high school 13 (59.1%) college 1 (4.5%) graduate	5 (8.3%) elementary 15 (25%) high school 37 (61.7%) college 3 (5%) graduate
Ethnolinguistic Affiliation	12 (54.5%) Maranaos 5 (22.7%) Tausugs 1 (4.5%) Maguindanao 4 (18.2%) mixed	60 (100%) all Maranaos
Religion	17 (77.3%) Islam 5 (22.7) non-Islamic faiths	60 (100%) all Islam
Place of Origin	9 (40.9%) Iligan/ Lanao Norte 6 (27.3%) Marawi/ Lanao Sur 2 (9.1%) Manila 5 (22.7%) Other Places	48 (80%) Marawi/ Lanao del Sur  9 (15%) Lanao Norte 3 (5%) unspecified
Spouse's Ethnic Affiliation	13 (59.1%) Cebuanos 4 (18.2%) Maranaos  5 (22.7%) Other affiliations	46. (80.7%) Maranos 6 (10.5%) Cebuanos 5 (8.8%) unspecified 1 (4.5%) unspecified

Except in the observance of Muslim holidays, workers in the steel plant show tax observance of all the other religious activities. These pertain to the observance of daily prayers, fasting, and pilgrimage to Mecca. On the other hand, in the hydroelectric power plant, workers show strict adherence to such religious activities as daily prayers and fasting (see Table 4B). In this regard, consistency is also reflected in the mode of dressing. The only "Muslim mestiza" in the steel plant does not wear a kombong (chador), but is always dressed in Western outfits; the Muslim women in the hydroelectric plant wear this veil to cover their heads. Even some of the men in the latter plant wear the kopia or tutob (sort of hat) which is hardly seen in the steel plant.

**Table 4B. Observance of Religious Activities**

Nature of Religious Activity	Steel Plant		Agus 1/2 HEPC	
	N	%	N	%
<b>Muslim Holidays</b>				
Yes	18	90	60	100
No	2	10	-	-
<b>Daily Prayers</b>				
Yes	4	36.4	40	90.9
No	7	63.6	4	9.1
<b>Fasting During Ramadhan</b>				
Yes	-	-	57	98.3
No	12	100	1	1.7
<b>Pilgrimage to mecca</b>				
Yes	-	-	10	16.7
No	12	54.54	50	83.3

In terms of the existence of formal associations solely for Muslim workers, in the Christian-dominated steel plant there is no Muslim workers' association. The hydroelectric plant, which is

predominated by Muslims, shows the presence of workers' associations as indicated by the Muslim Employees Association and Cooperative Association. This implies that with respect to social interaction, the steel plant workers show fewer interactions. In this plant, there is no organization existing exclusively for them to meet and gather together. Except for some who are related to each other by blood or affinity, or who are co-workers in the same division, they do not seem to know each other.

As regards kinship ties, these are present in both plants. The kin in the hydroelectric plant includes such relatives as cousins (8) in-laws (4), husband/wife (3), following: cousins (2), in laws (2), father (1), son (1), uncle (1), and husband (1). These signify the presence of relatives within and across one's ethnic group. The operation of kinship ties also reflects a strong family relationship among Muslims, which is also typical among Filipino families in the country. This further marks the meeting of traditional and rational norms in the firm.

Furthermore, mixed views on intergroup relations between Muslims and Christians are also present in both plants. These reflect the events and circumstances within the plant and locally as well as the worker's personal experiences.

Thus, the significant findings in a plant located in an industrial center with mixed population (Christian-dominated area) are as follows. The Muslim workers occupy a low level of employment and low position in the labor hierarchy. The workers have heterogeneous sociodemographic profile and show laxity in observing religious rituals. In the same setting, there are no formal organizations solely for Muslim workers. However, kinship ties and mixed views on intergroup relations exist.

On the other hand, in the plant located in a primarily agricultural areas and traditional dwelling place of Maranaos (Muslim-dominated area), the Muslim workers occupy a high level of employment and high position in the labor hierarchy. The Muslim workers also show homogeneity in their sociodemographic profile, strict adherence to

religious practices, presence of formal organizations, and presence of kinship ties. They also have mixed views on intergroup relations between Muslims and Christians. This observed pattern illustrating the socioeconomic characteristics of the Maranao Muslim workers is likely a reflection of the locality and culture in Marawi where the industrial plant is located. The industry reflects the economic and sociocultural character of the setting.

With respect to the circumstantial factors for entry in the company, in both plants (see Table 5 below), a few mentioned the *padrino/palakasan* system, which involves having connections with and getting backed by influential persons. The findings also show that unlike the case with the steel plant, some workers in the hydroelectric power plant (HEP) have claimed that they have been admitted because they are owners of the land where the plant is located. In addition, others mentioned localized hiring which local residents usually demand whenever an industrial plant is established in their area.

**Table 5. Circumstantial factors for Entry in the Company**

Respondents	Steel Plant		Agus 1/2 HEPC	
	N	%	N	%
padrino/palakasan system	2	11.11	2	4.3
share skills/knowledge for family/community	-	-	4	8.7
limited employees & applicants/hiring period/need of workers	1	5.6	9	19.5
landowner where plant is found	-	-	3	6.5
localized hiring	-	-	3	6.5
practice profession/experience/tech. preparedness/qualified/no one but self	5	27.8	7	15.2
political backing	3	16.7	-	-
NSC scholars	2	11.11	-	-
others (personal determination/eco.)	2	11.11	13	28.3
None	3	16.7	5	10.9
Totals	18	100%	46	100%

As regards work-related problems, many of the problems are related to the organizational structure as technical/mechanical or procurement problems (see Table 6). In both plants, the non-giving of high positions to cultural communities was mentioned; 3 respondents identified peace and order problem, which characterizes the ethnic dynamics. Others noted psychological problems, like boredom and sleepiness, which are regular complaints of employees dealing with machines on a routine basis.

**Table 6. Work-Related Problems (Multiple Responses)**

Responses	Steel Plant		Agus 1/2 HEPC	
	N	%	N	%
technical/mechanical problems	-	-	11	23.9
lack of material supplies, slow paper processing, slow purchase of machine parts	-	-	9	19.5
organizational structure	1	8.3	8	17.4
peace and order problem	-	-	3	6.5
insufficient service vehicles	2	16.7	2	4.3
tardiness, discipline, behavior of employees	2	16.7	2	4.3
psychological problem like stress/boredom/sleepiness	-	-	2	4.3
inability to perform job well	-	-	2	4.3
physical condition or flooding	-	-	1	2.2
minorities not given high position	1	8.3	1	2.2
communication problem	-	-	1	2.2
non-implementation of guidelines	1	8.3	1	2.2
plant power malfunction	-	-	1	2.2
reassignment/transfer	-	-	1	2.2
others	3	25	-	-
none	2	16.7	1	2.2
Totals	12	100%	46	100%

### 3. Social Issues

An analysis of the secondary data' shows the industry-community interplay. In particular, the social disturbances in the

industrial plant affect the community. In the steel plant, not a single social disturbance with ethnic undertones was noted. But in the case of the hydroelectric plant, social issues and events occurred which are related to the existence and operation of the plant. These social disturbances constitute the core of the ethnic dimension in this plant. It reflects the community and bears implication on Muslim-Christian relations in the community. These social disturbances include the workers' experiences in strike, land controversy, disruption of peace and order in the place, and community opposition. These issues and events reflect the impact of industry on community.

3.1 Workers' Experiences in the Strike. In 1986, during the construction of the Agus 1 plant, a strike was launched by the PHESCO Muslim-Christian Workers Association (PMCWA), the first labor union in the country composed of Maranao Muslims and Christian workers. The demands included payment of hazard pays, sick and vacation leave privileges, separation pay and granting of medical services, regular status, among others. Relating the strike to the dynamics of ethnic relations, the Muslim workers complained of unfair labor practices: excavating 100 meters below the ground and underwater without safety devices; being hired as seasonal workers; communication problem (case of one carpenter not hired even with skill), discrimination in pay (same jobs performed, Muslims got lower pay), and anti-Moro attitude of management (Source of Data: Various interviews).

3.2 Land Issue. Central to the plant construction was the land problem or the right of way issue. The issue of land ownership cannot be separated from the traditional concept of land where ownership is not based on the title of the land but is communally based, where one cannot sell the land but tills the land and enjoys the fruits of his labor. The Muslims adhere to the practice of collective inheritance as a basis for one's right over use of land and its produce. The concept of land to them is a *pusaka* (heirloom of ancestral property).

The conflict centers on two contrasting concepts and systems of land ownership. One subscribed to by the Maranao residents of the

land combined with elements of islamic law and traditional adat or traditional law. The other, held by the company, invokes Philippine laws with antecedents in Spanish and American laws.

In this regard, ownership is based on the possession of a title of the land where the government possesses the right to exercise the power of eminent domain (power of the state to take private property for public use upon payment of just compensation) which goes against the traditional or communal concept of landownership. To quote Saber, as cited by Washburn:

A clan settlement, besides maintaining a communal mosque, laid claim to a certain territory marked by natural boundaries which included both communal property and land eventually subdivided for private use and disposal. The status of this non-communal land is determined by practices of inheritance and transfer of property among the Maranao and part of the unwritten customary law (adat) adjudicated in the *agama* court by the traditional leaders in each community (1981:217-218).

This issue has in fact affected the construction of the Agus 2 plant in the 1970s, which covers more than 200 hectares of land. As emphasized earlier by Washburn (1981:1), this affected an estimated 600 Maranao families mainly dependent on farming for their livelihood.

The case of the Agus 1 plant does not differ in substance. In fact, until this time the company is still suffering from several repercussions and pressures. A problem in determining the rightful owner from among several claimants exists. There are those who feel aggrieved over the unjust payment of their land. Some of them may have caused the breakdown of peace and order in the area. It is a fact that there are several pending cases in court filed by multiple claimants, which are still unresolved.

3.3. Disruption of Peace and Order. Furthermore, the history of the Agus 1/2 Plant Complex is characterized by conflict or disorder. The findings of the study support that there are events in the plant that

involve kidnappings, ambushes, and even killings related to the construction and operation of the plant. For instance, related to the case of Agus 1 Plant, scores of human lives have been lost and several transmission lines and towers have been blown off or destroyed.

**3.4 Community Opposition.** Further, the problem in the hydroelectric plant becomes complicated with the existence of an organized resistance to the operation of Agus 1 plant. There was opposition owing to sociocultural, economic, and environmental reasons affecting the life of the Maranaos. Invoking these reasons, an organization spearheaded by Save Lake Lanao Movement (SALAM) mobilized the Muslims from all walks of life and transcended class/economic lines and political affiliations. The move also mustered support from some Christians, particularly those affiliated with cause-oriented and environmental groups. The essence of real and meaningful development was questioned. This even caught the attention of the national authorities in 1990 so that a Senate Committee was then formed to investigate the matter.

It is interesting to note that some of the immediate consequences of these social disturbances include the delay in the construction/operation of the plant, transfer of workers, additional insurance, security measures for the workers, and to some extent, effects on the personal lives of workers.

### **C. Analysis of the Salience of Ethnic Dimension in Two Plants**

The salience of ethnic dimension in two industrial plants may be explained according to emerging themes and patterns as follows:

#### **C.1. On Community-Industry Interplay**

The study reveals that the most central theme that seemingly evolves is generally a dynamic relationship existing between the industry and community in which the former is located. The community affects the industry, which, in turn, influences the former.

Findings of the study show the salience of ethnic dimension, which is manifested in the economic position and sociocultural features of Muslim workers in industry.

C.1.1. On the Economic Dimension. The level of employment of Muslim workers reflects the population profile of the community. Muslim workers in the steel plant found in a community, which is predominated by Christians, attain a low level of employment. However, they attain a high level of employment in the hydroelectric plant complex which is situated in an area predominated by Maranao Muslims.

The position in work authority of Muslim workers reflects the population profile of the community. Muslims occupy a low position in the labor hierarchy of the plant which is located in an area predominated by Christians. However, they attain a high position in the labor hierarchy when the place is predominated by Muslims.

Thus, there is a marked correspondence between the levels of employment and work authority and the ethnic character of the setting.

C.1.2. On the Sociocultural Dimension. The sociodemographic profile of the workers reflects the economic and sociocultural character of the community. Results of the study show that Muslim workers portray heterogeneity with respect to their sociodemographic profile (presence of Tausugs, Maranaos, and Maguindanaos) when the plant is located in a place with mixed population in an industrial center. Heterogeneity is also seen in the workers' religious affiliations (presence of Islam and non-islamic faiths), place of origin (varied places), and spouse' ethnic affiliation (mixed). The latter exhibits more mixed marriages. But in the other plant, they portray homogeneity in a place dominated by one ethnolinguistic group. The profile of the workers shows that they are all Maranaos and strict adherents of Islam.

The religious practices of Muslim workers reflect the economic and sociocultural character of the setting. In this regard, Muslim workers tend to be lax in observing religious traditions when the plant

is predominated by Christians. Located in an industrial center, this plant is likely influenced by secularism and modernity. This is manifested in their observance of fasting, daily prayers, and pilgrimage to Mecca. On the other hand, they show adherence to their religious traditions when the plant is found in their own traditional dwelling place.

Kinship ties manifest itself in the plant. Kin/relatives operate in both types of setting where the two plants are located. Relationships among relatives are within and across one's ethnic group as indicated by the presence of husband/wife, son, father, uncle, cousins, and in-laws.

The presence of formal associations in the plant reflects the ethnic composition of the workers. In the steel plant which is predominated by Christians, there is no formal association existing solely for Muslim themselves while in the hydroelectric plant where Maranao Muslims prevail, these associations are present. To some extent, this enhances closer interaction among them in the latter plant unlike the situation in the steel plant.

Workers' views on intergroup relations reflect the events and circumstances within the plant and locality as well as the workers' personal experiences. Workers in both plants show mixed views owing to the presence of positive and negative views on intergroup relations. While in general, they consider the relationship between Muslims and Christians as harmonious, negative experiences of both groups also prevail.

C.2. On Industry Affecting the Community. The impact of industry on the community is illustrated by the presence of social disturbances in the community, which are brought about by the existence and operation of the industrial plant. These are, namely: the workers' experiences in strike, land issue, disruption of peace and order (killings, ambushes, and kidnappings), and community opposition. These occur in the hydroelectric plant located in a traditional dwelling place of a homogeneous Muslim group (Maranao) whose culture and traditions are being preserved and maintained.

Corollary to the above, the salience of ethnic dimension is closely related to the conditions in the community and industrial plant. Ethnic factors are more salient when these are observed to be dominant in relation to the community and the industrial setting. However, under present circumstances in the plant and the community, ethnic factors are considered less salient when they do not surface and appear to be downplayed.

The conditions where ethnic factors are less salient are as follows: In the steel plant where heterogeneity (presence of “ethnic mix”) and complexity/variety of an industrial area are present, the characteristics inherent in the setting usually operate. The influence of modernization and urbanization seeps and penetrates easily. To some extent, the hectic pace of urban life; the prevalence of secondary or impersonal relationships; the presence of varied professional and civic organizations; or the existence of a number of commercial, industrial, educational, service or recreational establishments, among others, would dissipate the workers’ focus other than the preservation of their age-old traditions.

To some extent, it could also be the case that the workers are influenced by the utilitarian value-orientation of a secular society. Highlighting their own identity is not as productive as when they play it down.

Furthermore, there is a more relaxed adherence to tradition as one lives farther away from one’s cultural environment. The tendency is not to observe religious rituals as the society becomes more heterogeneous and secular.

Lack of institutional support in the plant would also downplay ethnicity. Except for the observance of Muslim holidays which is recognized by the plant and mandated by the government, there could be lack of encouragement for the Muslims to practice their religious activities. For instance, the atmosphere where Muslims would be motivated to say their daily prayers is not present in the steel plant. Support could be lacking in the plant for the workers to know each

other as Muslims, to enable them to come together to practice their religious tradition or to advance their interests related to their ethnic affiliation.

The absence of a formal association of Muslim workers in the steel plant may also lessen the opportunity for them to know and interact with each other so as to enhance their belongingness.

On the other hand, the conditions where ethnic factors are more salient include the following:

As regards ethnic affiliation of workers in the hydroelectric plant, homogeneity prevails where all are Maranaos. It is easier to hold on to one's religion in this plant predominated by Muslim community. The daily encounter with their cultural practices and visibility of their cultural structures facilitate conformity to the norms of one's group. These structures may be in the political form — the traditional leaders, the *agama* (village), the shariah (islamic law) and the like; or in the sociocultural form — the *madrasah* schools, the mosque, the mode of dressing, the language, the food preferences, and indigenous social gatherings such as *kandori*. These serve as constant reminders of the group where they are affiliated.

It could also be the case that the plant indirectly facilitates the observance of religious activities. For instance, it would be easy for the workers to find a room to say their daily prayers in the hydroelectric plant. In this respect, institutional support in the plant promotes cultural practices.

The presence of associations in the plant composed of Muslim workers, such as the workers' association and cooperative association, further reinforces ethnic belongingness. These associations also help to advance and promote the workers' interests.

Ethnicity (as ethnic identity and religious identity) is therefore more enhanced in the workers' own territory and community. The Muslims are more cohesive if they are with their own group and in a

place where they predominate. In a place where there is a strong sense of community, they can easily sustain their customs and religious tradition. The bond of the community strengthens their distinct ethnic identity. The alignment of their own ethnic group (identity or belongingness) and territory (dwelling place) contributes to the dominant manifestation of ethnic factors.

Living in their own community further suggests that they regard their own environment as part of their culture. It is not therefore surprising that when an industrial plant, which affects their habitat and environment, is established, reactions may be expected. There is tendency to renounce an industrial project and resist when it encroaches on their life and tradition. This holds true, particularly, when the source of their livelihood is affected, when their domestic and religious life is altered, and when their physical environment is threatened. While this move is absent in the steel plant, this strong sense of community prevails in the hydroelectric plant.

### C.3. On the Saliency of Ethnicity in the Economic Structure of Industry

In the economic structure of industry, the findings show that among the three processes which include capitalization/resources, production process, and labor structure, it is in the latter where the ethnic dimension is more salient. The economic position and sociocultural features of Muslim workers in the industrial firm explained earlier manifest the significant of ethnic dimension.

C.4. Convergence of the Economic and Social Forces. The study illustrates the convergence of the structural-cultural or economic-social forces in society as indicated by the link between industry and community. The complementarity is articulated in the dynamics of ethnicity in an industrial setting wherein the community (the social or cultural) influences the industrial plant (the economic or structural) which, in turn, affects the former.

## Conclusions

In the present decade, the changing theme in the context of sociology of industry and development has recognized the importance of the sociocultural factor. Ethnicity is not dissolved but persists in an industrial setting. This brings to light the convergence of the structural-cultural forces, or economic-social forces as indicated by the link between the industry and community. The complementarity is articulated in the dynamics of ethnicity in an industrial setting where the community (the social or cultural) influences the industrial plant (the economic or structural) which, in turn, affects the former.

Considering the role of the character of the setting in this study, it can be concluded that the ethnic dimension is less salient when the plant is located in an industrial center composed of a mixed population and dominated by Christians. However, ethnicity is more salient when a plant which is located in a dwelling place of an ethnic community (Maranao Muslim-dominated) and site of the lake from whose bounties the group depends on for life and survival. Hence, when the area is industrial and of mixed population where the ethnic group constitutes a minority, distance from the traditional abode occurs, the ethnic affiliation of the worker and his/her spouse is heterogeneous, as well as institutional support in the plant and formal associations are not present, ethnicity tends to be downplayed. But when the area is a traditional dwelling place where a homogeneous ethnic group is dominant, institutional support and formal associations of workers are present, the ethnic factor is salient. When there is alignment of the homogeneous ethnic group and territory, ethnic factors strongly persist and emerge relevant.

In the economic structure of industry, it is in the labor structure where the ethnic dimension is salient particularly in the economic position of Muslim workers in the firm such as the level of employment and position in work authority.

The interrelationship exemplifies the link between ethnicity and industrial development. Development process should respect the indigenous people's culture, which is a vital pillar of social and

economic transformation. Thus, it is imperative for development planners to take cognizance of the ethnic dimension as a significant sociocultural factor.

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