

The Traditional Maranaw Governance System: Descriptives, Issues and Imperatives for Philippine Public Administration

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The traditional Maranaw governance system (TMGS) is regarded as an intricate yet sophisticated system. The Adat and Qur'an are the foundation of the functions and processes of central and local governance structures. This article thoroughly discusses its identity and continuity. Furthermore, TMGS places importance on family, relatives, and society and community. The central government bears the concept of a nation or the Bangsa Moro. The author points out that since TMGS is not a closed system, the colonization of the Philippines brought about the integration of formal institutions of power and authority (FIPA) to the once traditional structures of the power and authority of the Maranaws.

Introduction

As a dynamic field of study, Public Administration (PA) dedicates itself to discovering old things with new eyes. It presently attempts at pluralizing views and knowledge of its scholars by reexamining the role of traditional governance systems (TGS) in national development. Because after all, formal institutions of power and authority (FIPA), no matter how modern and sophisticated, can derive a wealth of lessons on governance from TGS.

A system is understood by the PA academic community as a complex of interactions among structures and actors of organization(s), their encompassed functions and roles, and the concerned structural processes. Meanwhile, "governance" is defined in terms of the manifest exercise of power and discretion of an independent state to operationalize its sovereignty—internal, external, and property rights. Unlike the concept of government, governance extends its frontiers of operationalization from

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the central structure of power and authority (usually the central regulative government) to the other members of society and polity. Governance would then pertain to the complex interaction of structures and actors, their functions and roles, and the concerned structural processes in an attempt to enlarge the sphere of participation of different members of society and polity in the dispensation of public functions and services.

Informal institutions of power and authority (IIPA) exist side by side with FIPA; at times, they forge goals and concerns similar to those of the latter. In the Philippines, some of these IIPA are part of the TGS of the indigenous peoples (IPs), the precolonial settlers in a particular locality of a country. Owing perhaps to the waves of foreign conquests and domination of the country, many of these TGS were replaced by FIPA and/or neglected in the latter's establishment and existence. For many years of their existence, FIPA have maintained independent operations and goals from TGS. It came to the extent that FIPA have, intentionally or unknowingly, encroached upon the IPs' rights and threatened their collective interests. Since much of the development problems presently faced by the country can be explained by the foregoing, much of these can be given light and resolved upon the examination of the relevance and dynamics of TGS.

As exploratory study, this article seeks to gain an understanding of the different aspects of the traditional Maranaw governance system (TMGS). Special attention is paid to the dynamics as conveyed in the structure, processes and functions of TMGS. Core governance principles are described. Issues and concerns affecting the functionality of TMGS shall also be identified. This article assumes that there are Maranaws who are cognizant of the sovereign status of their Maranaw state—an important requirement to distinguish their governance perspective from Non-Maranaw. The article shall underscore lessons learned from TMGS and conclude with initial steps that PA scholars can undertake in this regard.

The Maranaw

Maranaw, *Muranao*, *Mu'ranaw*, or *Meranao* literally means "People of the Lake." It roots from the word *Lanao*, a Bisaya-Cebuano equivalent for *Ranao* which means "lake" (Madale and Cheng 1994: 160; Moalam-Abdulrachman 1991: 58). This attribution is based on the dense concentration of Maranaw settlements around the region of Lake Lanao in the prequest Philippines (Umpa 1972: 4).

Presently, Maranaws are found in Lanao del Sur, Lanao del Norte, Cotobato, Bukidnon, parts of Misamis and Maguindanao, in the CARAGA region, and as far as North Borneo (Madale and Cheng, 1994; Disomangcop 1991; Sumaguina 1988). They speak Maranaw sublanguages such as Danao in Lanao, Ilanun or Iranon in Lanao and Maguindanao, and Maguindanao in Maguindanao (Madale and Cheng 1994). Bennet described Maranaws as “the most traditional Muslims who are resistant to changes and the last of the *Moro* groups to submit to the American authorities” (Russel 1964: 220).

Generally, Maranaws are Muslims. As Muslims, they are adherents of Islam, a religion founded and established by Muhammad. In the Philippines, Maranaws are regarded as the most traditional Muslims resistant to changes and defensive of their culture. This claim has a historical basis. During the Philippine-American War in the early 1900s, it took American troops ten years to “pacify” the Maranaw lands (Che Man 1990: 23 cited in Madale and Cheng 1994:162), making Maranaws the last of the *Moro* groups to surrender to American authorities (Bennet 1964: 220).

As of the year 2000, Maranaw population officially stood at 1,036,000 (NSO 2000) and constituted about 1.3 percent of the entire Philippine population. Madale and Cheng (1994) noted that it was the biggest Muslim group in the country.

The Maranaw Governance Institution and Systems

Unlike the other TGS, TMGS is not exactly a closed system that has grown on its own and set itself apart from the rest of the world. In fact two cultural forces impinge upon its development and affect the Maranaw way of life. The first refers to the set of cultures of Hindu, Malay and Chinese; the second to Muslims. The former introduces TMGS to the “clan” concept (Moalam-Abdulrachman 1991: 59). On the other hand, Islam as a religion and way of life among Muslims adds to the system’s values and dimension of spiritual community. Relatives and non-relatives are bound together in the name of *Allah*, Islamic term for God. This influence came at around the 12th century with the Islamization of Mindanao.

Maranaw governance system also contains FIPA found in *barangays* (smallest political unit with approximately 200 settlers), municipalities and in other areas. FIPA are themselves hardly part of TMGS for they have rather formalized structures and processes designed by the West.

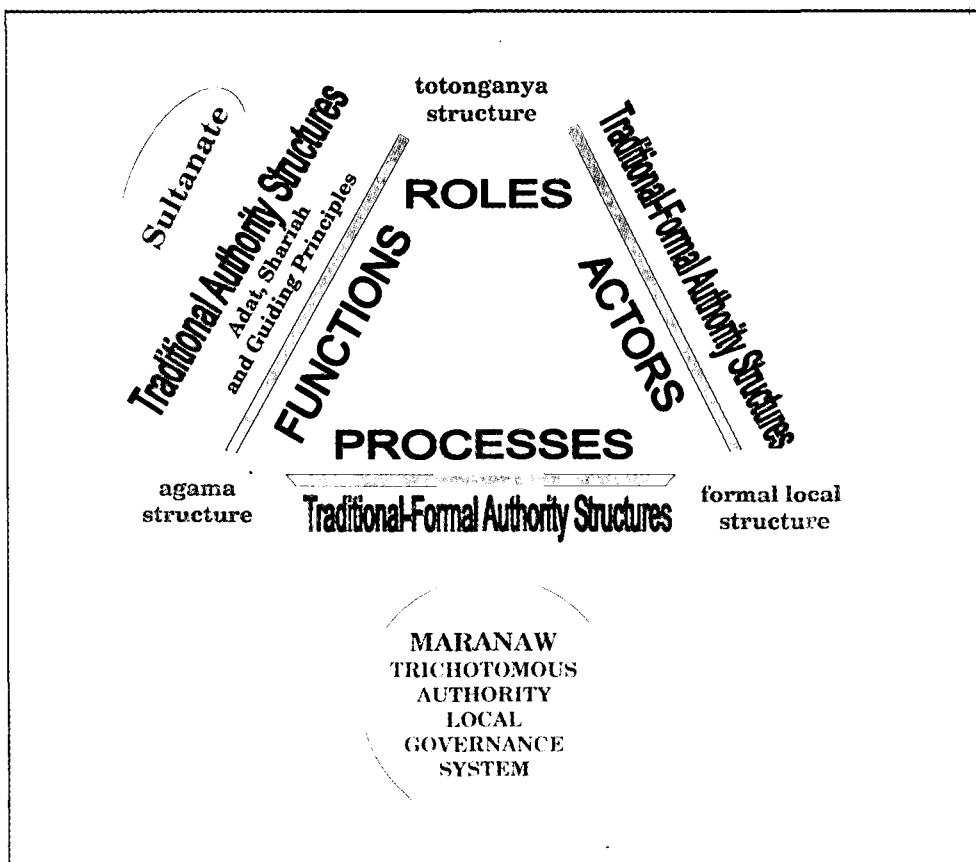
Nonetheless, FIPA expose TMGS to legal, universal and formal institutional relations (Sumaguina 1988). The annexation of Lanao to the Spanish empire in the 19th century¹ and its conquest by the American forces in 1903 facilitated the institution of FIPA in Maranaw states.

These cultural influences give rise to what Sumaguina (1988) termed as "trichotomous system of authority," descriptive of the Maranaw governance system. It is from the pre-Islamic influences where it derives its "kinship authority system;" from the Islamic influences, its "community authority system" (*Ummah* for the Islamic community); and from the Western influences, its "formal-legal authority system." These authority systems are enclosed in three different governance spheres: the *totonganaya*, the community or *agama*, and the formal structures like *barangays*, respectively (see Figure 1 for the TMGS framework).

Because of the pre-Islamic and Islamic influences, general Maranaw governance structure is two-tiered. It has traditional central and local governance layers. The central government of Maranaw owes its form to Sultanate institutions unique among Islamic states. Local governance structures are supported by two pivotal social units: kinship and community, and two basic and most stable social units: relatives and family/household or *isa ka koman* (Sumaguina 1988). Kins, family members and community members serve as building blocks of Maranaw state and its traditional local governance system.

Generally, TMGS is enclosed in *Pat-a-pengampong ko Ranao*. This term refers to the co-equal Maranaw states namely Mayabao, Masiu, Unayan and Balo-i (Madale 2002). A *pengampong/pangampong* is a Maranaw state or principality (Abbahil 1980: 85) that contains one central government and several local government units. It is geographically subdivided into *sub-pengampong/sub-pangampong*. This division is sociocultural and mainly based on the notion of common ancestry or origin, territorial unity, and some valued cultural traditions (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 60; Umpa 1972). One can further subdivide *sub-pengampong/sub-pangampong* into a number of districts and *suko* (section or region) (Sumaguina 1988: 60; Abbahil 1980: 86). A *suko* is ranked "in terms of the rights and duties accorded to 'lines of descent'" (Madale and Cheng 1994: 165). It may be given a rank of *pegawidan a ingod/inged* or the supported/superordinate/ruling Maranaw village/sultanate, or *pegawid a ingod/inged* or the supporting/subordinate Maranaw village/sultanate. The first assumes leadership and the latter followership. Ranking however is not promotive of exploitive subservience and superordination.

Figure 1. The Traditional Maranaw Governance System



Framework by: Nolasco, Liberty I. 2004.

Basic Source of Data with modifications: Madale and Chieng 1994; Sumaguina 1988.

The smallest community formed from each inged is agama.² Activities in agama are conducted in the *masgit* (Disomangcop 1991: 106) otherwise known as mosque (Abbahil 1980: 86). Presence of a mosque in each agama signifies "the community's relative independence from *agamas*" (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 60). Criteria of membership in agama are blood kinship (or descent from common ancestor or *apo*),³ common residence, affiliation to a religious organization symbolized and united under a common mosque (Sumaguina 1988: 62). Membership in the agama is of the following classes: active resident members; active part-time resident members; active non-resident members (those who live in other agama but maintain their identification by frequent visits and participation in community activities); *miakamong* (associate or affiliate members, those married to members); *bala-i* (residents related to *miakamong*); inactive non-resident members (connection to the community

can be traced and activated by actively participating in community life); *mananangga* (residents who take active interest in the affairs of the community and are entitled to the protection of the community); and *sakop*, *oripen* or *bisaya* (slaves whose memberships are affiliated with those of their masters) (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 66).

The leadership-followership ranking of ingeds and, therefore, of the agamas redounds to the rights, duties, and claims on various concerns of a Maranaw. Arinto documented,

In this system, each person inherits the rights and duties, the claims on titles, the land rights, the claims on ceremonial payments and the seating claims in the mosque from each of his ancestral lines. These rights and duties are exercised by him as an individual in the *agama* communities with which each of the particular rights is attached, regardless of the place of his residence. During election, for instance, he can vote in an *agama*, of which he is a member, regardless of where he lives.

Within an *agama* a person may inherit rights and duties belonging to several ancestral lines. When this is the case he may exercise both rights (distribution of ceremonial payments), or choose between them when they are mutually exclusive (e.g., place of seating in the mosque). His election is not permanent and he may alternate between the rights and privileges without giving up any claim. But he often shares a claim with others who trace the same descent. Where the claim is not distributive, it is circulated, or one may relinquish his exercise of the right to another with great personal prestige and power.

Rights and privileges may also be acquired by prestige though partially influenced by his lineage skills for being *kalalagan* (ceremonial orator), by his knowledge of the *Adat* (law), or the Koran, by his bravery, by the number of his children or arm-bearers and the organization of his army (1996: 107-108).

Nevertheless, this ranking does not affect the political status of *agama*. As a matter of fact, each *agama* in a Maranaw state "has more of an autonomous status" (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 63).

Totonganaya is an authority structure whereupon the Maranaw kinship system is organized. Members in this structure are solidly organized and tied together by affinal kinships up to the fourth degree of *tenged makapat* (consanguinity) and blood ties. This structure contains two types of kinship groups: the large Maranaw kinship group (Sumaguina 1988: 60) or casual/pseudo group (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 73), and the more rigid internal kinship group or *mbetabatas/mbatabataa* (Sumaguina 1988: 60; Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 73).⁴ The latter refers to "persons of consanguinal and conjugal connections (blood and

marriage connections), who live together, eat together, and work together” (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 73). It involves bilateral affinal connections down to the two sets of grandparents and their descendants, which may be *isa ka lokes* (who belong to a single family) or *isa ka tiyan* (a single body) (Sumaguina 1988).

Areas of Traditional Maranaw Governance

The forces behind the strengthening and tightening of Maranaw relational structures and processes are its customary law or Adat⁵ and the *Qur'anic* law (especially the commandments known as *Hukum Shariah* law) of Islam. Both serve as the overarching frameworks for Maranaw's justice system, delivery of services, external relations, security and defense, fiscal administration, human and property rights and Maranaw governance core values such as transparency, accountability, gender sensitivity, leadership and people's participation and support system.

Legislation and Policymaking

Adat is the foundation of authority of the Maranaw Sultanate and serves several purposes (Barra 1994). As a customary law, it defines courtship and betrothal, marriage and divorce, settlement of disputes, and religious and customary observances related to childbirth, marriage, illness and death. It also traces the connection of a Maranaw with the sultanate and his/her ancestry through the *salsila* or *tarsila* (genealogical accounts), written or committed to memory of the keeper, and helps in identifying the classes of people (nobility, commoners or slaves).⁶

Adat is either customarily handed down or recently legislated. It contains *taritib/taribtib/tortib* (literally “ordered ways”) which serve as Maranaw protocol for special occasions and the basis of relationship between communities and different kinship groups, especially with regard to their rank, prestige and the rights and obligations (K. Tawano 2003; Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 117). It also contains *Igma/Ijma* or the legislated ordinances. When *igma* is intergenerationally transmitted, it becomes a *taritib* (Disomangcop 1991; Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 117). Buat commented: “*Adat* is regarded as a material source of Islamic jurisprudence under the guise of *Ijma*” (1977: 83).

The second force is the Shariah law, the canon law of Islam written in the Holy Qur'an (Buat 1977: 84). It covers all ethical guidelines and doctrines of duties or a code of obligations of Muslims. Just like the Adat,

the Shariah also finds form in valued traditions, opinions and consensual agreement. Ordinances of Shariah law are drawn from the *Sunnah* and *Haddith* (traditions of Prophet Muhammad, founder of Islam), the *ijma* and the *Ijtihad* (opinions of Islamic jurists) (Buat 1977: 85).

Administration of Justice

The Maranaw justice system generally encompasses conciliation, mediation and arbitration, and imposition of punitive or retributive measures upon the party at fault (K. Tawano 2003). It seeks to address disputes concerning conjugal discord, family feuds, offenses against chastity, conflicts resulting in bloodshed, life concerns and loss of lives (Madale 2002; Barra 1994). It emphasizes respect for symbols of traditional local governance, morality and religion. Sumaguina (1988) summarized specific foci of the totonganaya and agama justice systems. Specifically, the totonganaya focuses on the following: kinship quarrels and disputes, nonacceptance of a man proposing to marry a girl of his relations, absence of mutual assistance among the members of the *kinsgroup*, nonpayment of debts and other obligations to relatives, and noncompliance with the Adat (e.g., nondistribution of dowry among relatives). The agama, on the other hand, includes mediation and resolution of conflict over the transfer of sultanateship to the legitimate successor, conflict among agama leaders in their programs for agama activities, lack of cooperation among the members of the agama in the implementation of projects and activities, functional disunity among the members of the agama due to divided political loyalty, conflict among agama members in particular religious bodies.

The totonganaya adopts a method of resolving through blood relations known as *Kokoman a Kambatabata-a* or *Kambetabata* (Sumaguina 1998). Blood ties of contending parties are traced via the *salsila*, usually facilitated by a *phamitiara* (mediator/third party) or by party relatives. If both parties are found to belong to the same bloodline, mediators may request the offended party to decline the amount of damage being paid by the offending party. As normally practiced, the offending party is asked to visit the offended party in his/her house or any place where both parties agreed to meet. In doing so, a confession of his/her guilt is made. Offering of thanksgiving or *kandori* is expected to be delivered by the former accompanied by some family members and the mediator himself/herself. *Kandori* may be offered in the following forms: delivery of oratorical speeches, clarification of common lines of descent, and damage compensation.

In the agama, justice system is governed by the unwritten customary law, *Kokoman a Taritib ago Igma* (also *taritib*, from the Arabic words: *taritib* to mean order and *ijma* [consensus]), contained in *Adat and Kokoman a Kitab* or the Qur'anic justice (Barra 1994). The former involves consensus-building among community members as mediated by the *sultan, datu, imam* (Islamic priest), *kali* (Arabic, *qadi* or Islamic judge), political leaders and other community leaders. Resolution of conflicts is arrived at by way of *kapangangawid*, a community system of assigning material damages as well as moral damages against the offending party (Sumaguina 1988). The community may also choose to adopt *totonganaya*, resolutions, e.g., *kandori* (offering) which in the agama is called *kapamamanikan* (the indirect way of accepting guilt of the offending party; this time, accompanied by some of the former's family members and relatives).

The *kokoman a kitab* is presided over by *kali*. The basis of this variant of justice system is the Shariah Law which is written in the Holy Qur'an. Cases are heard in the agama courts and conducted in two ways: via trial by ordeal or trial by jury (Tawagon 1987: 108).⁷ For the latter, a group of agama officers as well as nontitle *datus* of known honesty and integrity performs the *kokoman* or judicial function (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 65). The *pulok* and the *kali* constitute the jury. *Wakils* (counsels of the accused parties) and witnesses are part of the court proceedings. A *datu* may be requested to "intervene" in the process with the approval of the *sultan*. It is possible for a *datu* to surrender the offender to the "jurisdiction of the offended *datu*" (Buat 1977: 90). It should be noted that the *datu* presides over the court if he meets with the *pulok* (Buat 1977: 99). The following is an account of Buat as regards agama justice administration:

Procedure before the *Agama* court is marked by simplicity. A complainant files his case orally or in writing. If the judge finds a sufficient cause for action, the defendant, if he were within the jurisdiction of the court, will be asked to answer it. In most cases, the plaintiff brings with him the defendant and applies for the decision of the court upon an oral stipulation of facts. The present practice among the *datus* is to either require the parties to reduce their agreement into writing or seal their agreement with an oath in the Qur'an.

Trial and hearing are also simple. The plaintiff is first asked to state his case and adduce evidence in support of the same. If the plaintiff can not produce any witness or evidence, the defendant, if he does not admit the claim, will be required to take an oath. In the olden days, the *datu* or Muslim judge had no problem of executing judgments because of their power and influence....

Usually, a decision rendered by the datu and his judge is final. A party who submits to the jurisdiction of the *Agama* court can not appeal his case unless the decision is contrary to law and custom. However, an appeal may be taken to a higher Datu or the Sultan.... (Buat 1977: 99).

Kitab intends for the contending parties to enter into a compromise agreement or amicable settlement, through a system of consensus called *kapagupakat*, whenever possible. Buat (1977: 65) claimed that the pulok belabors upon a popular decision. On the other hand, Barra (1994) noted that the taritib may gain precedence over kitab when conflict-mediators request from the kali the transfer of jurisdiction of the case to them. Considered punishable criminal acts are (*lese majeste*) affront on the person of the sultan or datu, apostasy (crime against religion, including nonpayment of *zakat* and causing disorder during congregational prayers), misconduct and immoral acts (or crimes against Adat), crimes against persons (murder and physical injuries), and crimes against chastity, crimes against honor and property. The following are imposed upon offenders: enslavement for insulting the sultan, stoning for committing adultery and incest, confiscation of property, imposition of fines (depending on the social status of the offended; this also concerns blood money), and retribution (Tawagon 1987: 108).

Saber and Tamano noted that the agama justice system also recognizes other acts of law (*igma* and *pasad* or terms of alliance between interrelated agamas), and *kiasagadan* (precedents) as legal references for dispute settlement (1985-1986: 65).

With respect to Islamic law and central government operations, the administration of justice falls on the hands of two entities: the *Caliph* or Imam and the sultan. The Caliph or Imam is the "head of Islamic community" who at the same time acts as a "secular representative of the Holy Prophet" (Buat 1977: 98). The administration of justice in the sultanate is led by the Sultan. Assisting him in judicial matters are the *Wazir* (minister) who receives petitions and complaints, and the *Datu Kali*, the most learned person in the community who gives expert opinion and decisions on "important questions of law" (Buat 1977: 99). Incidentally, the Court of the Sultan is called *Turugan*.

Delivery of Basic Services

The basic services of prime importance in a Maranaw society are health, education, and culture and religion. Environmental services are likewise rendered. Services are delivered in and by each agama, and performed by different entities. Discussion shall focus on health,

education and environment as culture and religion are widely discussed in all areas of Maranaw local governance.

On Health. Maranaw society traditionally believes “illnesses are directly or indirectly caused by spirits that inhabit the world” (Arinto 1996: 118). This perhaps explains the use and practice of black magic, witchcraft and sorcery in traditional healing. This modality aims at either curing body sickness or poisoning or injuring and inflicting harm on people. Magical-curative services are administered by a *pantak* (sorcerer) who injures a person’s enemy; *gagamoten* (magical poisoner) charms a loved one with *kata-o sa kababago-i*, equivalent to *gayuma* or *lumay*; *pamonolong* cures corporal sickness and poisoning of an individual through a *tawar* or a prayer or magical spell (Saber and Madale 1975: 66-68); and, *pendarpaan* (spirit medium) cures any type of sickness except those determined by fate (Arinto 1996: 119). Diagnosis of the cause of illness is done first before traditional healers conduct treatment (Arinto 1996: 119).⁸

Maranaws have provisions for healthcare services. These concern, among others, health education (as part of the doctrine of Islam), pre- and post-natal care services, and women’s reproductive healthcare.

With respect to health education, Maranaw society believes that health is morality. Ingrained among women are the values of fertility, big family, and marriage and procreation in accordance with their customs and traditions (Guro 1985: 188-190). With respect to pre- and post-natal services, all birth needs of expectant women are attended to by *pandai a babai* or *panggawai* (midwife) who in turn assists the *pandai a mama* (male child birth consultant) The *pandai a babai* regulates Maranaw women’s menstrual flow and cycle. It is usually attended by a *pangingilot* (another term for midwife) who uses *hilot* (massage) (Sumagayan 1982: 51).

On Education. Disomangcop (1991) observed that the traditional educational system of Maranaw prepares an individual for his/her complex responsibilities and roles in society through a process called “enculturation.” This process has three broad phases or stages: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Below are the phaseal features of enculturation.

Primary enculturation. In the process of becoming a member of the society, a Maranao undergoes a number of initiations or rights of passage. The first formal right starts from the time a baby is born when a *panday* or *panggaway* (local female and male midwife respectively) gives the *bang* (call to prayer in Islam). To a boy uttered in right ear; to the girl, left. This right is an Islamic

requirement to all babies with Muslim parents. One elaborate baptismal rite called *kaganat sa lantay* is performed to commemorate the successful delivery of the child. Usually, this is performed seven days after the delivery and is followed by naming of the child or is done before or after the rite is performed. Another ritual is the *katoro sa manok* (literally, pointing to a chicken, considered as pet) performed to please the child's *inikadowa* (twin spirit). This *inikadowa* is believed to guard and keep the baby healthy and in harmonious relationship with itself. Once the child reaches puberty period or *riaot a akir balig*, s/he undergoes the ritual of *pag-Islam* through circumcision for the boys and clitoridectomy for the girls (Disomangcop 1991: 264).

This stage aims for any Maranao children to learn their language, behavior, social roles, Maranao literature story telling, and to socialize with their age groups. They also have to learn survival and occupational skills: for girls, weaving, embroidery and needlework (*ibabaton sa kapanayong-tayong* or rite for handiwork); and, *ibabaton sa kawaraw o di na kapamono* or rite of passage to the society of the brave or killer for boys. Boys also have to learn brassware making, gong-making, weaponry and tools-making (Disomangcop 1991: 265).

Secondary enculturation (7-12 years old). This involves, "acquisition of behavioral patterns appropriate to one's age and sex. This period builds the foundation of adult personality. One significant and obligatory learning that occurs in this period is the teaching of elementary Islamic values. Traditionally, the parents are always the first teacher; later the child is sent to school, under the tutelage of *ustadz*, his formal teacher. Early education is based mainly on the Qur'an. The materials of instruction are confined to the 4r's [*sic*]—reading, writing and religion. Children are either sent to *madrasah* or to a public elementary school or both. Boys and girls now assume new roles and status as well as increasing of responsibilities at home. They are exposed to different community affairs. The latter part of this period is adolescence which is marked by the start of the menstrual flow in girls and circumcision for boys. These changes characterize the transition from childhood to adulthood," (Disomangcop 1991: 212; Madale 1975: 113-115).

It is when young boys (*pemamangoda*) and girls (*peraga-raga*) build the foundation of their adult life (Disomangcop 1991: 213). In addition, this stage consciously observes "strict segregation of sexes... it is also when girls are taught personal hygiene during their first menstrual period. Social and religious gatherings are the main venue for teaching the child appropriate *Adat*: including *kakewing* (wedding ceremony), *kandatu* (investiture), *diaga-an* (vigil for the dead), *kakendori* (thanksgiving), burial and post burial, participate in fetching waters used to bathe the cadaver (Disomangcop 1991: 216).

The teaching of specialized skills and trades [is] consciously and unconsciously handled by the ritual specialists in the village: people engaged in *kakutika* [(soothsaying)], *kaprimar* (fortune

telling), *kapamilong* (folk medical practitioner), *kapamitoon* (astrologist), *pendarpaan* (spirit medium)...this body of knowledge (*kata-o*) is passed on from generation to the next.... Training for economic purposes continue[s]. Boys help in weeding of the ricefields, others help their fathers in plowing. Girls attend to their household chores and take care of their siblings (Disomangcop 1991: 216).

Tertiary enculturation. The adulthood stage until death is referred to as the tertiary enculturation. This stage is characterized by the acquisition of the knowledge, skills and attitudes of an adult. He becomes more and more part of the social world of Maranao society. When an adult settles for marriage, s/he completes the age of transition to a new life cycle (Disomangcop 1991: 216).

And involved the following modalities, actors and other pertinent features:

Primary enculturation involves listening, observation through watching, doing via imitation and repetition, story telling, discovery or exploration, role playing or dramatization, memorization or rote learning, and reward and punishment which are verbal or non verbal; singing of *kambayoka* (Disomangcop 1991: 217). In general, teaching and learning in the primary enculturation is unplanned, unstructured, unconscious and spontaneously occurs in a natural setting as the needs arise. It takes place within the protective structure of the family and kin and is achieved largely by seeing or observation, doing by imitation, and repetition (Disomangcop 1991: 217).

Secondary and tertiary enculturation. Secondary and tertiary enculturation takes place within the structure of authority based on age, sex, generation and social skills in the interlocking context of the domestic unit, the kinship network, and the community. Learning in the secondary enculturation is achieved largely by observation, listening and doing, while the tertiary enculturation is achieved largely through discussion, consultation, problem solving, etc. (Disomangcop 1991: 217).

On Environment. Maranaws believe that all resources created in this world have their own uses, functions, or exploitive qualities (Disoma 1990: 146). Because of this, Maranaws are obliged to take care of nature, especially that which is believed to “cause harm or destruction” (Disoma 1990: 146).⁹

Maranaw society generally believes that spirits, benevolent or malevolent, inhabit or dwell in the environment or nature (Disomangcop 1991: 146). Therefore, its people have to find ways to properly utilize nature and regulate their activities (e.g., avoid cutting down small and young trees). More than that, they have to show their respect for the

dwelling spirits and, when necessary, offer sacrifices to appease them. Below is an account:

The Meranao believe that Lake Lanao is owned by God, not by them. They do not have control of it, as can be seen from their beliefs and practices. It is an abode of different kinds of unseen creatures, benevolent and malignant, notably the *tonong*....Fishermen held ceremonies for the *tonong* whenever the catch diminished, in order to appeal to them to provide more catch. In addition the Meranao had to ask permission, appease, or invoke the *tonong* of the lake whenever they had to make use of it, as when they would cross it or begin to fish, because once the *tonong* were displeased it was believed that they would cause misfortune to those who travel or fish. One who would cross the lake must invoke the protection of the *tonong* in words and deeds, especially someone who was a first-timer, or when there was a possibility of accident.... (Disoma 1990: 154-55).

External Relations and Diplomacy/Networking

Two or more sultanates can forge bilateral or multilateral relations with one another. Confederacy illustrates this point. Presently, Maranaw has its own confederacy called the Sultanate League of Lanao. The League includes the pengampong sultans, the 15 pegawidan and the 28 pegawid. There are also cases when external relations or diplomacy are facilitated through *kapamala-i* or intermarriage (K. Tawano 2003).

External relations of Maranaws also reflect their national sentiments. They forge ties with other Muslim groups through the *Bangsa Moro*. The Bangsa Moro is the very concept of Muslim nationhood. A *bangsa* member recognizes that Muslims, regardless of their Islamic orientation, belong to one race, one blood, one ancestry, one religion, and one state. Madale (1994) traced the evolution of bangsa concept from *merepeda sa posed* (part of a long umbilical cord). It has presently broadened its scope to include geopolitical and sociopolitical dimensions of a Muslim nation, the *dar-ul-Islam* (Community of Muslim brothers).

Maranaw relates with formal structures of government through the sultan. For instance the sultan acts as a mayor of a municipality. While doing his job as a traditional leader, he is at the same time serving his people as an agent of the government (K. Tawano 2003).

Maranaw Sultanates can by themselves establish foreign relations. Historical pieces of evidence point to their links with European countries during the Spanish occupation of the Philippines (Buat 1977: 90). They effectively established ties by concluding treaties and agreements with the latter (Buat 1977: 90).

Security and Defense

There is no specific organization or group that is responsible for the security and defense of a community (K. Tawano 2003). However, the Adat contains *kapaninindegan* or an internal system of mutual defense in the agama (Sumaguina 1988: 67), contained in the Islamic Law. Thus, it is the duty of every member of the agama to defend and die for his place (K. Tawano 2003). In cases of external threats e.g., tribal wars, the Maranaw capitalizes on the confederacy of four principalities.

As Muslims, Maranaw people recognize the significance of *jihād* or holy war. Madale and Cheng describe it as “natural right to self-defense when Muslim land and religion are threatened” (1994: 167).

Fiscal Administration

The community or sultanate does not have a special entity that handles the creation or generation of resources—money (K. Tawano 2003). It is the concept of *katatabanga/katetebanga* (helping one another) that fiscal administration falls under (see People’s Participation and Support System). Money is generated only when there is a need and all financially able members of the community are expected to contribute. In most cases, the sultan is expected to generate resources for his people (K. Tawano 2003). The case is different when it comes to building and/or maintaining madrasah. Agama members give voluntary donations or fixed contributions to their local leaders and imam, respectively. With respect to maintaining mosques, Abbahil wrote:

A portion of the annual *zakat* (an obligatory alms or tithe computed at 1/40 of accumulated income) is paid by Muslims into the treasury of the local mosque. Other donations from community residents and benefactors also help support the mosque, mainly in terms of its upkeep and repair, for mosques (sic) officials do not receive salaries (Abbahil 1980: 85-103).

Concept of Human and Property Rights

Maranaw people value *kapamagadata* (mutual respect) for one another (Sumaguina 1988: 61). This is because they belong to one community of people with a common ancestry. People’s rights among Maranaws are called *kabenar* that is based on taritib and igma of Adat, and on the Sunnah and Hadith of Shariah (Madale 2002; K. Tawano 2003). It is now codified into Muslim Personal Laws (Barra 1994).

Maranaws classify properties into two types—private property and *lopa* or land. Private property refers to wealth, money, land, jewelry and other personal belongings that define the socioeconomic standing of a Maranaw family. Their laws strictly prohibit stealing of private property owing to *kapamagadata*. *Lopa* can be clearly understood in the light of the four land ownership rights regimes recognized by Maranaws. First is the right to stewardship of land—owing to the Islam influence. Maranaw people believe that land is *amanah* or property of Allah lent to them for their survival (K. Tawano 2003; Fianza 1994: 7) or *khahulah* that means property of Allah which all mankind have equal rights to (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 69). They normally treat it as territory and subdivide it on the basis of its peace and other situation as provided for by the Islamic law.

Islamic law generally divides the whole world into two territories: those under the sway and control of Islam are called Darul-Islam, meaning abode of Islam or peaceful territory. The criterion for this territory is that it must either be ruled by a Muslim government or the Muslim nationals therein are able to enforce their Shariah. Otherwise, the territory would fall under *Darul-Harb*, or hostile territory. Those lands not under Muslim governments are called Darul-Harb. If a Muslim is under Darul-Harb, he has two choices, either to immigrate to safer lands, or bring back Darul-Harb into the sway of Darul-Islam, through the process of *Jihad* (Buat 1977: 92)

To protect the *lopa*, the Maranaw group also forges alliance with other Muslim groups through the Bangsa Moro. Second land ownership right is the private ownership rights. Adat permits acquisition of land through *waratha* (inheritance), sale or *iktisab* (earnings), *hibah* (gift), prior use and continuous occupancy, rewarding the community head, and occupation (Disomangcop 1991: 47; Fianza 1994: 7; Buat 1977: 97). In the Maranaw society, the sultan or datu is given a right to lease or grant land (Disomangcop 1991: 48). Third is the *gapa* or *mianggapa* which is similar to the *pagsuku* or right to usufruct by Tausugs (another Muslim group in the Philippines) (Fianza 1994: 6). This concerns subdivision of “land inherited by a kin group, acquired originally through prior right of occupation” (Fianza 1994: 6). This would also mean, “if one descended from the original owner he is also.... a co-owner of the land by virtue of descent” (Fianza 1994: 6). *Posaka/Pusaka* or communal land ownership rights, the fourth one recognizes the ownership rights of a community to ancestral lands (if inherited it is called *ganat a lokes*) or of an agama/pengampong land belongings or *kakola* which the sultan or any person is not authorized to seize or put under his/her control. Land is held “opened in common by the inhabitants, ‘such forest, land swamps, and the unsettled cogonal areas otherwise claimed by specific kinship-group or

individual members” (Fianza 1994: 5). This assumes that there are “lands collectively held by a family or related families, the possession—that is usufruct of which may revolve around particular members upon prior arrangement” (Fianza 1994: 5-6).¹⁰

The Maranaw Governance Values System and Practices

Leadership

Maranaw leadership is explicitly demonstrated in the agama. Sumaguina noted: “Agama derives its power and authority from the leadership of *sultan*, *datu* and religious leaders” (1988: 65). The Maranaw society itself recognizes traditional leaders in pegawidan and office of supporters in the pegawid. However, the style of leadership is non-authoritarian and nonlinear (Sumaguina 1988: 65).

Sumaguina (1988) noted that Maranaw has formal and informal leaders. Some of them are titled, some are not (Madale and Cheng 1994; Saber and Tamano 1985-1986; Buat 1977). Arinto noted: “Even today, Maranaw value titles. No matter how educated a person is, if he is not titled, his power and influence are limited” (1996: 116).

Titles are hardly based on one’s educational attainment. “Persons occupying higher and lower offices assume inherited rights, roles and status. Ascension to office is by ascription or inheritance from a founding ancestor” (Sumaguina 1988: 65). Informal leaders are those without formal titles but belong to noble class themselves. They include the *datu* for civil affairs, and *tuan* for religious matters. Leaders can then be grouped into civil, religious and spiritual, and secular and political leaders.

The formal powerholder in the agama is the *pulok-loksen* (the Council of Elders; used afterwards as *pulok*) because it bears civil and religious titles (1988: 65). As a group of civil leaders, the *pulok-loksen* gathers people around to discuss community activities. It is also tasked to formulate policies and legislate laws. It acts as the “guardian and enforcer of *Adat* and customary rules” (Ladonga 1972: 2). The presiding officer of the *pulok* is the *datu*. On the other hand, informal agama leaders like the *kalalagan* are recognized. A *kalalagan* is a wise speechmaker or an orator consulted by the *pulok* in community assemblies. Saber and Tamano (1985-1986: 115) noted the participation of a *kalalagan* is an *awid* or gesture of support for the whole agama leadership.

The sultan is the leader of a Maranaw agama. Each agama has one sultan. "He is the chief judge and the chief executive of his state" (Buat 1977: 87). He settles disputes, promotes peace and order, aids the needy members, performs traditional rites, assists entities and religious affairs, attends social and religious gatherings, provides financial assistance for the construction of mosques (Benitez 1968: 25), and determines the successful use of practices or *salisa*, *taritib* and *igma* (Madale 1976: 25). Aply dispensing above cited functions, the Maranaw Sultan is given one of the following titles (Madale 1976): *panondiongan* (most high), *kasangoan* (adviser), *paniyambaaan* (great), *ampuan* (most revered), *amptua* (wise), *solotan a pitilan/pitulan* (chosen solotan), *simbaan* (idol), *solotan a dalomangcob* (wise sultan), *songcopan* (unbeatable), *solotan a adil* (wealthy solotan), *pangarongan* (adviser), and *solotan a gaos* (moneyed solotan). These are ranked titles in Maranaw society (Arinto 1996: 116).

The sultan does not earn a fixed income from his constituents (like other community leaders), but "in exchange, they (his people)... accorded him certain actual and symbolic recognition such as a show of graces.... Parting of products and other kinds of goods...." (Benitez 1968: 25), which he usually receives in every community gathering he attends. Also, the sultan receives a portion of the fees and fines imposed for a variety of services and occasions, among others are social and religious festivals, holidays, marriage ceremonies, settlement of disputes, and others (Disomangcop 1991: 50). These amounts derived from the fees and fines are contributed by relatives and followers so that "the *sultan* can fulfill his obligations as a member or representative of a particular place and descent lines" (Disomangcop 1991: 50). This is sanctioned by the Adat and Qur'an. The corresponding obligatory due being called *zakat* (Disomangcop 1991: 50).

Ideally, the sultan is a datu himself; wisest and richest Maranaw; and comes from *Pidtaylan* or the royal class of Maranaw society whose descent can be traced from the first sultan (Buat 1977: 88). In cases when the sultan is of the pegawid class, he can establish himself a torogan or big communal house where he can host assemblies (*bitiara*, for formal assemblies) with his people (Buat 1977). This shows that sultans are not of equal status with one another, although there are co-equal sultans. A superior sultan is the "chief officer above all ranks of a community council of lower-ranked titled men including some minor sultans representing kinship units in the same organizations" (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 63). As such, he "presides in all state meetings or in his absence meetings could be held in 'in nature' of his traditional authority" (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 63). On the other hand, "weak sultans played the role of titular heads" (Buat 1977: 89).

A Maranaw sultan maintains community council for his central government.¹¹ It is made up of several leaders from the elite class: *Chief Pandita* (the most learned man in the community both in Adat and Shariah) with the rank of *Datu Kali*, *Grand Vizier* (or the chief minister), *Raja Muda* (the crown prince), *Raja Bendahara* (a senior prince), *Nakoda* (commander of the royal fleet), *Temanggong* (Chief of the Royal Guards) (Buat 1977: 87), and his prince heir-apparent *Kabugutan* (Buat 1977: 87), usually a civil leader (Sumaguina 1988) confirming decisions on behalf of the sultan.

The sultanate maintains local government units which are administered by the *datus*, *panglimas* (governors) and *maharajahs*. An *agama datu* comes from *Dumatius* group, the nobility class. Unlike the sultan, his authority is ideally limited to his own tribe (Buat 1977: 88). It is said that he traces his right from descent from "Sharif Alawi who was reported to have gone to Mindanao ahead of Kabungsuan and married a native princess" (Buat 1977: 89). In Marawi City, the *datu* functionally "assumes an office similar to that of a prime minister where the most active power of administering all important social and political affairs resides" (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 115; Buat 1977: 89). This is to include his active intervention in cases of injustice and presiding over all important assemblies held inside or outside the sultan's *torogan*. Normally, a *datu* is assisted by his prince heir-apparent, the *Radiamoda/Rdiamuda*. Interestingly, Saber and Tamano (1985-1986: 114) noted that his power is co-equal to that of the Sultan of Marawi and the *Masiricampo*. The *masiricampo* functions as follows: an economic officer, an administrator of *pegawidan* agricultural lands, a tribute collector due his families, and the representative of the three ruling classes to local assemblies. In convening the *bityara/biticara*, the *datu* assigns the *masiricampo* as his co-presiding officer and extends discussions of general interest with the *kabugatan*, *radiamoda* and other *datus* (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 115). Together with the *masiricampo*, the *datu* submits "approved matters to the sultan for confirmation" (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 115).

Since the *agama* holds interest in propagating Islamic faith, administration of organized religious activities is one of its important functions (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 64). In this respect, leaders are either temporal and spiritual officers or pure theological and secular ones (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 65). Sumaguina (1988) noted *imam*, *kali* and *tuan* are viewed as community leaders. The former is the mosque leader or president while the latter is a judge or consultant on religious laws (Arinto 1996; Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 65). Both however are conflict mediators. The *agama* also recognizes the *katib* or *bilai* as a

community officer in charge of calling mosque-goers to prayer. The *modin*, on the other hand, assists the katib and substitutes for him in his absence (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 65). Other religious elites are identified as *ustadz* or *guru* (religious teachers), *olamas* (religious teachers educated in Middle East Islamic learning centers), *hadjis* (pilgrims), and other preachers and pious men (Madale and Cheng 1994: Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 64).

Power in the agama "is measured in terms of the number and status of the people who are thought as followers of a particular titleholder, or are willing to cooperate with him in the settlement of disputes" (Mednick 1975: 85). Other titles without formal roles that are recognized in the agama are *sangkopan* (feared male individual), *wata mama* (male son), *adapun* (majesty) (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 65). In *totonganaya*, mediators can qualify as leaders. And since a household or a family is the most stable Maranaw social unit, the oldest male member serves as its leader. He, in turn, is expected to provide for the needs and protect the interests of his family members in accordance with the Qur'anic law.

Gender Sensitivity

Men occupy high-ranking positions in the agama as sultan, datu, kali, wakil and imam. While men generally have the upperhand in political deliberations and decisionmaking processes, women in general are not accorded the same rights.

Maranaw society generally has high regard for men because they are to fulfill social expectations. For instance, men have to assume the role of *pekeo-natan* or head of the family. As such, they have to become responsible individuals. Maranaw society expects them to provide well for the needs of their families and relatives and, to construct a communal big house for them. To meet those things, they somehow need to be *malai kawigan* (economically well-off). Maranaw society also expects them to imbibe certain traits like being *malai-takdir* (concerned and committed), *malai sekdal* (deeply concerned), and *mawarao* (brave). They can command respect and authority not only from their *lolot* (kinsmen) but also from the whole community if they can lead the *bhata-bata-a* (whole clan) with a *grar* rank (social position; title) (Disomangcop 1991: 80). Traditionally, men can exclusively choose whom their children have to marry. Decisions of male family members are given a big weight because society regards them as the family provider (Umpa 1972: 61). This social expectation could explain why men have greater inheritance rights over women in Maranaw society.

Ordinary Maranaw women traditionally assume most of the household functions and roles. They are trained to play the *kulintang*, and encouraged to attend social gatherings. They are also groomed for marriage (Umpa 1972: 61). Child-rearing, however, is one of their most important responsibilities. It includes "taking care of child's physical needs and teaching the child proper behavior and community values, especially respect for elders and honesty, modesty and honesty among women" (Arinto 1996: 114).

In the Maranaw society, marriage is a very valued social institution. It is a means of forging alliance between families, of settling disputes as advised by a mediator, and of perpetuating familial influence (Umpa 1972: 9). Women's marriage becomes a central factor in realizing those instances. Obedience of women to parental decisions about their marriage is thus crucial (Umpa 1972: 9). In one view, however, women can use marriage to improve society's opinion of them. "Women can gain status and power in the Muslim community only by becoming a mother of many sons and one day ruling an extended family. Her security and stable position in the Muslim society lay in her ability to produce many children (prerequisite for her marriage; comment mine)" (Ladonga 1972: 233).

In Maranaw society, only women belonging to the noble class or of high social status can assume sultanate positions (Macaagir 1991). The highest position accorded a Maranaw woman-nobility is *bai-a-labi* (most exalted queen), followed by *potri maamor* (princess), *solotan a bai* (kind queen), *bai a dalomangcob* (wise queen) and *bai a cabogatan* (queen) (Madale 1976: 27). There is also the official title of *bayi* (lady) for a Maranaw woman (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 63), and an informal title of *bayi a gaos* (rich lady) (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 65). All of them are accorded with community respect, but only the *bai-a-labi* is vested with exceptional powers, functions and privileges that are not given Maranaw male leaders (except hereditary rights). She is given authority to mediate in conflicts (consistent with *taritib*), draw out a share from dowry and other gifts (given during weddings and other ceremonies), consult with on important gatherings, disagree with other royalties (men or women), take over settlement of dispute and conflict in the absence of the sultan or *datu*, and advise them on temporal concerns (moral, social, judicial, spiritual and religious issues that cannot be resolved by the sultan or *datu*) and spiritual matters. She is also exempt from performing some traditional rites (Macaagir 1994: 29). In return, a *bai-a-labi* is obliged to pay respect to dead community members and console their families, give feast of fasting on special occasions, and host the celebration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday (Macaagir 1994: 29; Sumagayan 1982: 43-44).

People's Participation and Support System

There are various ways by which participation manifests in TMGS. In totonganaya where marriage is considered an important social and community affair, decisionmaking is actively and collectively participated in by both party relatives. According to Umpa, this is one way of forging "solidarity among groups of family" (1972: 64).

The totonganaya has a system of mutual aid and cooperation called *katatabanga/ketatabanga* system. This is rather customary on the part of a group member. His/her obligation is to provide aid and assistance to her/his relatives 'in times of danger, trouble, accident, sickness, death, poverty and others" (Sumaguina 1988: 60). This is rather influenced by *da-a tadumiyan* (reciprocity) and *kapakiro-royudun* (cooperation).

The rich family members are obligated to provide financial assistance to kins with minimal income. In times of need, all the members of the clan are obliged to provide assistance to the needy. One who is in power and authority is also morally obliged to accommodate the needs of his relatives, if not, he is considered useless.... (Moalam-Abdulrachman 1991: 60).

In managing family and household concerns, participation means joint decisionmaking between married couples, although married men are considered the family heads (Umpa 1972: 61). Women's participation is more pronounced in food preparation, managing family income, and choosing and buying jewelry for family consumption (defines the socioeconomic standing of family). Men do most of food marketing.

In the agama, the Maranaw community is cognizant of *kapamagogopa*, a term for people's participation, equivalent to *bayanihan*. Community members are expected to help during weddings, enthronements, deaths and other significant community ceremonies and activities (K. Tawano 2003). The agama also employs *katatabanga*, which is rather voluntary on the part of its members. Those who are financially capable are also expected to contribute financially. It is the sultan who shoulders the expenses for such activities most of the time except during weddings where the groom's family bears the expenses. *Kanggiginawi* is extended to a Maranaw family on the following occasions: during banquets, enthronements, political campaigns or weddings, when one member decides to go to Hajj or leaves for study abroad, when one member dies, or when settling disputes (Adiong 1989: 75).

Adat contains provisions for people's participation, while the Holy Qur'an explicitly requires community participation in the government

(Buat 1977: 90). *Mushawara* refers to the participation of agama members in community leaders' discussion. It is usually initiated by the pulok and held in the mosque or torogan of the sultan. However, only married members can avail of this opportunity. The unmarried, having no obligatory duties in the agama, are barred from public discussion (Tawagon 1987: 111). As earlier discussed, titled as well as influential non-titled personalities like kalalagan or *moanganen* (wise men or women) partake in public discussions (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 64). In village assemblies, either the rule of majority or *kaiopakatan / kiaoparikan* (decision of those who assembled holds) or the *muafakat*—consensus of the people (Buat 1977: 90) holds. Any *da kaopakati* or unpopular decision “is often annulled upon protest” by Maranaws (Saber and Tamano 1985-1986: 64).

The trial by jury mode is another avenue of participation as the agama justice system is pluralized by different perspectives and not just by those of high ranking Maranaw officials. With respect to the selection of sultan heir, the community participates in his confirmation. Selection and election are done by a kin group of agama leaders or through respective leaders (Tawagon 1987: 112).

Disomangcop listed down the eight concepts/principles, *walo-a paribasa-an a iginakot ko taritib ago igma*,¹² that govern the social relationships of the Maranaw and perceivably reinforce and reflect dimensions of people's participation:

- *katetebanga* (communal reciprocity)
- *kapamagogopa* (mutual support)
- *kapamagawida* (mutual assistance)
- *kasesela-i* (giving due recognition)
- *kapoporowa* (held in high esteem, prestige)
- *kapamagadata* (giving due respect)
- *kapamagongowa* (giving due importance, being valued)
- *kapamagipata* (mutual security and protection) (1991: 81)

and described them as follows:

katetebanga, *kapamagogopa* and *kapamagawida* are similar as communal reciprocal relationships; the distinction is the context. *Katetebanga* is demonstrated on occasions like marriage, birth, death, investiture, and settlement of disputes....takes the form of mutual aid or services rendered by relatives and kinsmen to the person in need; the other two, are more specific. The first, during planting and harvest season; the last, when carrying the

load or burden of a relative, friend or anybody not only physically but also psychologically such as solving personal problems and other crises (Disomangcop 1991: 81).

- *kapamagogopa* (mutual support) *kasesela-i* (giving due recognition), *kapoporowa-i* (held in high esteem, prestige) are closely related to the maintenance and enhancement of one's authority, prestige and social standing in the community. Maranao is social title conscious. They have *malai-maratabat* (high pride) when not properly acknowledged (Disomangcop 1991: 81).
- *kaseselai* is a precept practiced among sultans and datos and takes place when a person would like to make decision without prior permission from some elders or kinsmen, the decision benefits the community; accepted as *sela* (recognition, honor) and *adat* (respect) are manifestation that *o-ongowan iran so datu* (giving importance and value to their datu) (Disomangcop 1991: 82).
- *kapamagipata* (mutual security and protection) provides mutual protection and security to one's family, neighbors and the whole community. Members of the community are duty-bound to help protect, secure, and promote peace and order in the community (Disomangcop 1991: 83).

Social mechanisms reflective of participatory values are *kandadawaga* or a show of hospitality of a neighbor through sharing cooked or uncooked food, clothes and other objects; *kabebentela* or a show of concern of Maranaw through visiting an ill, hospitalized or depressed neighbor and bringing him/her food or cash (Disomangcop 1991: 84); and *kanggiginawa-i* (friendship, brotherhood, alliance) which is a peace and order mechanism (Disomangcop 1991: 81). The latter is the "pillar of community relations (*dolon-dolonan ko kapag inged*)" that permeates all levels of social interactions, relationship-building, and alliance formation (Disomangcop 1991: 84; Briones 1985: 62).

There are rather mystical sanctions for violating these principles. Disomangcop (1991) identified those as a *paninta* (built-in curses), fury, wrath and curses from unseen supernatural powers of *gapen* (black magic), *na-as* (bad luck), *congkor* (destruction, downfall), and *begaw* (disease due to curse).

People participation manifests in defending the sultanate institution. Buat noted that "it is incumbent upon the people to protect and defend the

office and person of the Sultan. An affront to his person would amount to an insult of his *maratabat* based on the Islamic principle that provides that every loyal subject or citizen must defend the *Amir* (prince or ruler), he being the guardian over all his subjects" (1977: 89).

Transparency and Accountability

Community members have a way of showing their disaffection for their leaders. First is through the system of *katotolaka*. It refers to the practice of abandoning or severing ties between and among relatives in an agama, signifying withdrawal of support of members for their leaders. This usually happens when agama members have grievances against their leaders and officials (Sumaguina 1988: 114). The abandoning member may choose to join another agama and go back to its *agam piito-a datu* (mother agama) in time. Second is by impeachment which is applicable to a Maranaw Sultan. In this respect, community members may bring to the attention of the pulok their impeachment petition. The impeachment of sultan has two outcomes: the sultan is denied his Adat rights and shares (Tawagon 1987: 112);¹³ and selection, confirmation and assumption of his replacement follow.

As regards the administration of justice, Adat and Shariah exact accountability from datus in instances when and where they fail to meet their obligations. One mechanism is by imposing penalties, fines or damages. Buat noted two possible instances of its utilization: first, is when datus fail to surrender the offender and deliver his/her person to the jurisdiction of the offended datu; and second, when a more powerful datu objects to their decisions on matters concerning elopement, seduction, and abduction of women (1977: 90).

Analysis of Traditional Maranaw Governance System (TMGS): Patterns, Issues and Concerns

Overall View of TMGS

As observed, TMGS operates within the bounds of Adat and Shariah or the Qur'anic law. These two important sources of authority (at least ideally) symmetrically balance the orientation of a Maranaw. Adat being inward-oriented puts emphasis on ancestry and family; the Shariah, outward-oriented, promotes the interest of Islamic community. These situations generally explain why the most important structures in TMGS are the family and kinsgroup of *totonganaya*, and the community of Maranaw Muslims of the agama and their respective Sultanates.

Consequently, TMGS consciously fosters respect for ancestry, blood ties, and the Islamic tradition. This reflects best in the traditional Maranaw justice administration where genealogy, third party (usually party relatives), mediation, and amicable settlement result in a successful conflict and dispute settlement. Likewise, TMGS promotes awareness among Maranaw individuals of the exigencies in life and prepares them for future life challenges. Traditional Maranaw education prepares an adolescent for economic and cultural survival.

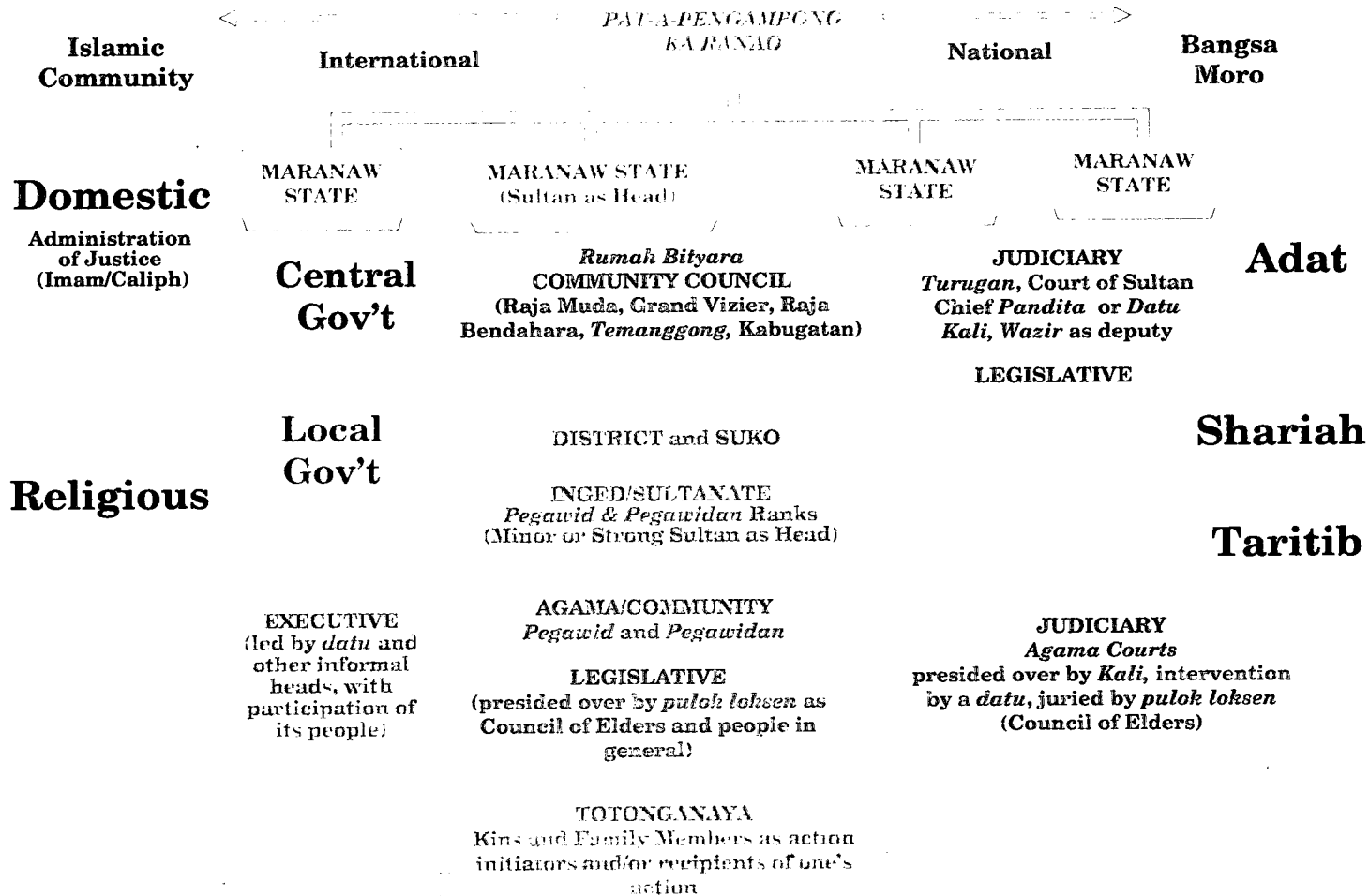
TMGS is a complicated system that traditionally supports the interests of two different entities: the domestic concerns of Maranaw themselves and the religious and spiritual needs of the global Islamic community, most especially. Figure 2 shows the very intricately elaborate design of Maranaw governance, its overall governance structure similar to the Philippine government. In the absence of Maranaw laws, TMGS will certainly have a shaky foundation.

Rights, duties, and obligations of Maranaws are customarily handed down from one generation to another. Institutions of Maranaw governance are responsible for this. The central government, the agama, and the totonganaya are sanctioned by Maranaw laws to dispense, conduct or perform them. Generational transmission of core governance values becomes possible. Interestingly, these core values discourage selfishness among Maranaw individuals. Serving the interest and needs of the family, relatives, community and of the Islamic nation—generally, of the greater number of people—is the most evident recurring theme of Maranaw governance core values such as leadership, accountability and transparency, gender sensitivity, and participation and support system. In doing so, Maranaw identity as an ethnolinguistic group is definitively enriched and clearly distinguished.

Authors of Philippine history books refer to sultan, datu and raja as leaders in a traditional government. This piece of information assumes that leadership and decisionmaking processes are necessarily authoritative and unilinear. This does not hold in the case of Maranaw.

As opposed to the depiction of traditional leaders in books, leaders in Maranaw society are not necessarily political entities. In fact, they are important personalities in different aspects of governance. Among others, they can be the uztadz in the aspect of education, party relative in justice administration, imam in religion. Certain rights they enjoy and obligations they perform are largely inherited from their ancestors.

Figure 2. Structure of Traditional Maranaw Governance



Framework by: Nolasco, Liberty I. 2004.

Basic source of data with modifications: Madale and Chieng 1994; Sumaguina 1988.

Leadership positions are therefore hereditary and one's leadership must somehow be ascribed. The foregoing implies that Maranaws have a collective preference for elite class of leaders (classes of pidtayan, dumatus and others) whose ancestral lineage can generally be traced to a royalty, nobility, or to a person of authority in a specific governance aspect.

The case, however, is different when Maranaw leaders are assigned their ranks. This involves much stringent requirements and processes. Leadership ranks are achieved. This explains why sultans may or may not have the same status as the others; why religious leaders are called by different titles. The different criteria of assigning ranks to a Maranaw leader are shown below:

- Wise, intelligent and discreet
- Of good morals and with high standards of morality
- Knowledgeable of customs, traditions, and practices
- Able to perform rites (especially religious) and other traditional customs
- Religious and devout
- Influential and can command respect authority (especially in dispute settlement)
- Physically able and strong
- Of good economic standing
- Generous and can provide for the needs of the people
- Articulate

Overall, the TMGS exhibits dual nature of leadership. This arrangement ideally works to the advantage of the Maranaw governance structures. Owing perhaps to the ascriptive nature of leadership, the TMGS bears with it an imprint of Maranaw cultural heritage and the accumulated prestige achieved over time by the great ancestors of Maranaw leaders. And owing to the achieved status of leadership, the functionality and popular acceptance of TMGS can then be ascertained. The functionality of TMGS is operationalized in a setting where leaders could enjoy high esteem and reputation for their discreet and timely judgment, extraordinary public service, good conduct, and perceived selflessness. On the other hand, underlying popular acceptance is the leaders' people-orientedness, genuine concern for the plights of their people, and ability to influence people to undertake action.

With respect to participation and support system, TMGS is not inferior. These cover four areas of concern: social (e.g., illness of neighbor), economic (e.g., lack of financial means), political such as

decisionmaking process, and religious, particularly celebration of events. They are observed also by different entities in different governance spheres: family members in households, neighbors in communities and village, and the collectivity in a Maranaw state.

Participation in Maranaw society is either representational or direct. The former is a prototype of representative democracy, the latter, of village democracy (Buat 1977). As for representative democracy, Maranaw leaders are given by their people an upperhand in decisionmaking processes. Decisions in this environment of participation are those that either emerged from public consultation or were arrived at by leaders' discretion. Consultative participation is evident at the village level, through village assemblies for instance. Central government also has avenue for consultative participation, and one example is in the selection of the Sultanate successor. Direct participation refers to the direct involvement of Maranaws in the affairs of their state and different tiers of governance. This is reflected in the festivities and rites in which they participated, in the confirmation of their leaders, and when they exact accountability. Direct participation of Maranaws in the social sphere of governance is governed by principles of social relations known as *walo-a paribasa-an a iginakot ko taritib ago igma*.

Not everyone however can participate in this respect. Datum shows, for instance, that unmarried individuals are not allowed in public consultation or village assemblies, but can however participate in other undertakings, especially in social gatherings and economic activities. There are certain expectations that a Maranaw has to fulfill to be eligible to participate in other governance aspects.

Participation and built-in support system serve the many and diverse ends or purposes of Maranaws. From the data, the following can be said to be participation purposes:

- Forge and strengthen alliance
- Mutual aid and assistance (reciprocity is the mechanism)
- Enhance one's family's social standing
- Follow and honor societal norms
- Preservation/strengthening of customs and traditions
- Meet society's goals and expectations
- Promote peace and order (also, conflict avoidance and prevention)
- Exchange of views
- Arrive at consensual decisions
- Empower people and make them part of the process

In the Philippine setting, Muslim women are generally thought of as a disempowered class. The reasons branch out to different streams, but common among the claims are their passivity and restricted rights to enjoy certain things in their society. In fact, these are indeed happening among Maranaw women. They do not inherit as much as men normally do. Traditionally, they are discouraged from going to formal schooling and become economically mobile.

In view of the Maranaw values system, one would take note of the conscious attempt of its society for gender equality. Both men and women are to fulfill religious obligations and social functions, at times accounting for their physical or biological differences. Despite the fact that Maranaw men head their homes, they share household decisionmaking power with women. For instance, women do the rearing and household chores, while men do the marketing of household needs and work to provide for the family. The disadvantage of women in this respect is their limited economic mobility. Unlike men, their functions are generally within the confines of their home. Yet, Maranaw society rewards both husband and wife with high esteem and better opinion upon fulfilling their family obligations.

Another interesting feature of Maranaw gender relations is the extent of influence and authority exerted by men and women in traditional government structures. It was established earlier that elite class of men occupies sensitive posts in the sultanate offices. They initiate and facilitate community assemblies and decisionmaking processes. They lead religious gatherings and activities. They are powerholders in all aspects of governance in a Maranaw society; nevertheless, its governance permits the *bai-a-labi* to override decisions of the male leaders, overturn royalty decisions, and influence outcomes of events in the sultanate. As the most exalted queen, the *bai-a-labi* is considerably the most influential entity in TMGS. The prestige, rights, functions as well as privileges accorded her by Maranaw laws potentially even out the perceivably excess power and authority vested among its male leaders, and strategically give the women a means by which they can channel their influence to community affairs.

Lastly, it can be said that transparency and accountability of actors in Maranaw governance—the nature and degree of their participation, as well as penalties and reinforcements for their actions—are sanctioned in *Adat* and *Qur'an*. It should also be noted in TMGS, Maranaws do and give so much than what they are bound to receive as pecuniary gains in the end.

Issues and Concerns

The traditional Maranaw governance system has faced serious challenges of disintegration through time. This is due to internal inconsistencies naturally occurring in TMGS and the disequilibrium brought about by some external factors that successfully permeated it.

TMGS is illustrated by conflicting decisions for dispute settlement in totonganaya and agama. Unsettled parties break up their kinship ties and leave a deeper sense of conflict (Sumaguina 1988): either a perpetual family feud or conflict between kins, or conflict between communities.

Islamic beliefs and traditional health practices run in conflict with each other. Islam prohibits the use of magic, sorcery and witchcraft, but these are the very tools used by traditional healers to provide services. It is also a part of the education of Maranaw children. For a time, these unacceptable practices were banned by religious leaders in Maranaw (Saber and Madale 1975).

There was a time when decisions formed in the agama courts were easily enforceable. Datu and other community leaders would just have to exert power and authority over their people. However, their power and authority weakened over the years. In the present setup of the agama justice system, enforcement of court decisions is contingent upon conformity of all parties (Buat 1977: 89).

Datus explicitly enjoy a certain degree of autonomy from sultans. They are in charge of tribal and local government relations while the sultan leads the government; however, the proximity of datus to sultanate subjects has made them powerful enough as to defy sultans and the corresponding provisions of Adat (Buat 1977: 89).

One source of disequilibrium is the integration of FIPA to Maranaw governance system. Sumaguina noted that Maranaws have developed a trichotomous local authority system wherein the formal component competes with or enfeebles the traditional ones. Oftentimes in the past barangay authority system conflicted with TMGS causing disaffection of Maranaw towards their local leaders. Traditional local leaders, on the other hand, have already been engaged in graft and corrupt practices in the former setting. As a result, barangay development projects experienced lags in implementation (Sumaguina 1988).

Long before colonizers came to the Philippines, Maranaw local governance units were already subdivided based on their historic, cultural

and genealogical contexts. In the present setting, Philippine government subdivides them on the bases of their location and resource availability. Maranaw states are not exempt from this. Warriner noted the implications of this considerably new but formal arrangement.

Where an agama exists as a village, a polling place may exist in that territory and will be identified by the name of the agama: Each person who claims membership... believes he has a right to vote there, no matter where he lives. Thus on election day, there is much traveling around (Warriner 1975: 78).

In some cases many of the residents of the particular barrio are not members of the *agama*...and are not subject to the authority of agama...and cannot commit the *agama* to work on the project... (Warriner 1975: 80).

Inconsistency of some public policies and programs with local practices and values system of Maranaws is to be expected. Both governance systems operate on different sets of expectations and values systems. For instance, the family planning program of the Philippine government aims to limit fertility and the number of children in the family, and promote the use of various population control methods. Maranaws militate against the program and the manner by which they are being exposed to the program. Accordingly, their culture and laws teach them to put a high premium on life, marriage, and a big family (Guro 1985).

Just as any other Muslim group, Maranaws are also historic victims of poor public policies which eventuated in their displacements from their homeland. This partly explains why Maranaws are scattered homeless in different parts of the country. First incidence of displacement was when Spain used Mindanao lands for defense to fight battles with Muslims (Dumarpa 1984). Americans later on used these lands for resettlement of in-migrants in Mindanao, in the hope of depopulating Luzon in the early years of the 20th century (Dumarpa 1984). The succeeding years witnessed Maranaws' continuous displacement due to insurgency situations in Mindanao, development aggression, and unchecked environmental degradation in Lanao and its contiguous areas.

Disequilibrium results in acculturation of Maranaws. Traditionally, Maranaw leaders are chosen on the bases of their social class, lineage, wealth, strength, wisdom and character. Their power is based on the number of people they could command or influence. With the introduction of FIPA, selection of Maranaw leaders has considerably changed. Leaders are elected or voted to power. The standards and criteria set by Adat and Qur'an have been replaced by Western concepts of democracy (Saber and

Tamano 1985-1986). In this regard, agama has fast become one area of social and political control by the contemporary Maranaw leader (Mednick 1975). An elected mayor can outrank all other traditional authorities in different agamas, and end up with political powers as great as those enjoyed by the premier sultan. Restructured powerlines and authority configuration have ignored descent group relationships and regional ties (Mednick 1975), resulting in divided loyalty and allegiance of Maranaw leaders and individuals; bringing about conflicts, sometimes resulting in anarchy or violence (Buat 1977: 81-82).

A mayor will be called in to mediate a dispute in a situation where he would normally have no traditional authority.... A sultan-mayor, being responsible primarily to provincial authorities during his term of office, can ignore the older ways if they do not reinforce his overall political status.... Competition for supporters has become more important than ever in the *agama* and *totonganaya*; so that, traditional powers encourage some to organize their relatives and bargain for their votes, again increasing the tendency towards fragmentation—fostering... hence factionalism (Mednick 1975: 84-87).

The introduction of formal structures of power affects other areas of TMGS. Land, believed to be Allah's own, becomes a major tool for domination, and source of social inequality and uneven power distribution. As a matter of fact, Maranaw leaders have accumulated more lands in the past years. Disomangcop commented:

Ideally, the concept of land ownership among the Maranaw must operate within the framework of the Islamic principle of private landownership. In practice, however landownership in Maranao society is more or less concentrated in the hands of the rich elite—the sultans, datus and other royal families (1991: 48).

Acculturation has nevertheless produced favorable outcomes. First is in terms of liberalism in some aspects of decisionmaking, as regards education of Maranaw women, for example.

Before, there was little mobility for ordinary Maranaw women. They dropped out from school to give way for an early marriage in which they had no control over. They were even prohibited from working. Nowadays, they are encouraged to contribute to socioeconomic upliftment [sic].... They are encouraged to finish education, engage in office work and to undertake other commitment outside the home (Umpa 1972: 6).

On the other hand, Sarip observed that women already have "powerful but informal power in decisionmaking processes" (1985-1986: 77). The other changes with regard to Maranaw gender relations are noted,

The decision-making patterns of the Maranaw family were a mutual consent between husband and wife. Everything that involves money had to be decided by both the husband and the wife. Only the widowed respondents had to make decisions by themselves. Besides all these, having higher income is not a guarantee for greater participation in decision-making.... Some changes in the decision-making patterns related to the marriage of their children are now being made. For instance, the daughter had no say before. Today, though the parents still arrange for the wedding, they have to ask their daughter's consent (Sarip 1985-1986: 78).

Second is the expansion of economic and education opportunities of Maranaws. Acculturation has helped expose Maranaws to people and institutions who introduced them to crucial business techniques, work opportunities, and freedom to a certain extent. It also facilitated the construction of important infrastructure in Maranaw states, like roads and institutions of learning. According to Saber and Tamano:

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

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

Likewise, the establishment of private logging and lumber enterprises in Kolambugan, Lanao, and in Anakan, Agusan attracted Maranao labor migration to these Christian towns.... The pre-war establishment of Japanese abaca plantations in Davao similarly attracted labor immigrants from most of the communities on the Southern shores of Lake Lanao.... Many among labor immigrants of humble origins (slave class) found freedom in their assimilation into Christian communities by entering into exogamous marriages with Christian females....

This export item (mat weaving materials) to non-Maranao communities induce[s] the peddling of large quantities of mats to permit the extensive travel of peddlers from Marawi, Ramain-Ditsaan, Taraka, Marantao, and Molundo. But these peddlers often discover profitable business in other communities like the buy-and-sell of sari-sari articles on the sidewalk pavements of commercial streets and market places. This peddling class of

Maranao spend considerable period of temporary residence in commercial towns for them to learn diverse dialects and customs of other ethnic groups who are more advanced in their adaptation of western traits.

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

The looks and the ideas of the outside world are brought into the senses of Maranaw through the movie houses. Even rural folks make special trips to Marawi and Iligan cities for purposes of recreation, and in effect the movies have a fundamental educational and acculturational influence upon the audience. The diffusion through the movies of clothing styles and languages... [is] noticeable in the total accultural experience of many Maranao. Like American children, Maranao youngsters imitate what they see through western pictures of the Indians and cowboys.... (1985-1986: 46-51).

Despite these changes, B. Tawano (2003) claimed that, until now, many Maranaws lack access to educational services. Moreover, there are a lot of misconceptions about the Maranaw culture and the Muslim culture, in general, with which the present formal educational system still has to fully contend.

The Maranaw Traditional Governance System: Trends, Lessons and Challenges for Public Administration

The TMGS, needless to say, is an intricate and highly sophisticated system, comparable to the formal governance systems to which many have been accustomed and introduced for examining. It owes its formation and existence to Hindu, Chinese and Malay culture which introduced the concept of clan and of Islam for the notion of unbounded spiritual community. It has its central and local governance structures whose functions, processes, and actors all find relevance, form or identity, and continuity from Adat and Qur'an. In essence, TMGS places importance on family, relatives, and society and community. It however has a concept of nation, to which its central government relates, the Bangsa Moro. Lastly, it strengthens its links with other Islamic nations and becomes part of the global Islamic community.

Unlike other TGS, TMGS is not a closed system. It has been very open to changes and external influence except in instances when these considerably dissipate its foundational strength, alter authority configuration, and disrupt structural functionality. Colonization of the Philippines, redounding to Maranaw acculturation brought about non-negligible changes in TMGS. FIPA has been integrated to the once traditional structures of power and authority of Maranaws. Nowadays, formal governance components make up Maranaw governance system. Local and national government offices are contained in their communities. Maranaws now recognize elected and appointed local (political) leaders, modern and western educational system, health service delivery, and the aspect of factoring in liberalism in their decisionmaking (see Figure 3).

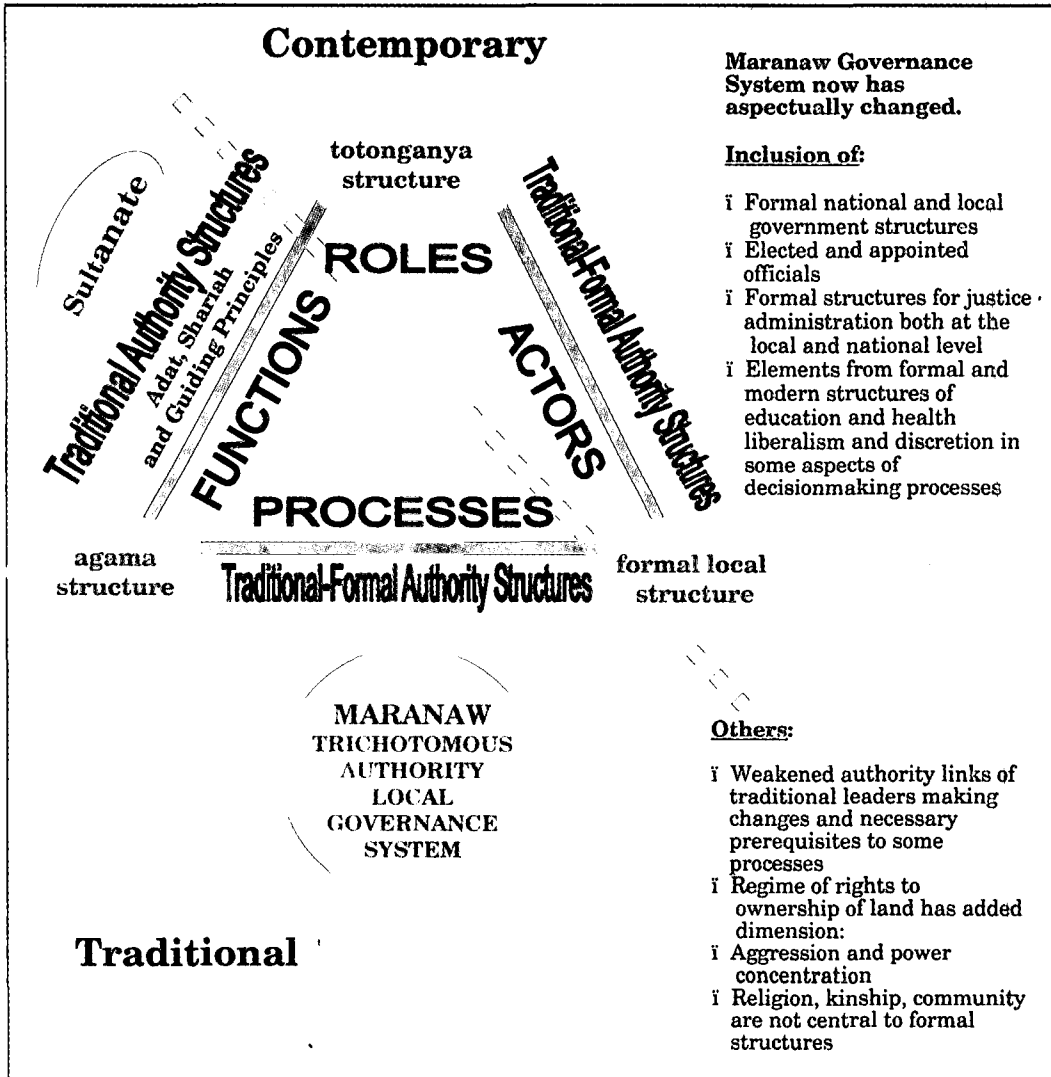
Yet, Maranaw acculturation has caused institutional weakening. Leaders use their powers and authority to control resources and dominate other people or institutions. Processes have to be altered, especially in justice administration, to address specific concerns. Formal institutions overlook the values that Maranaws place on their religion, kinship system, family, and community.

In this light, Philippine Public Administration has to position itself at the forefront of advocacy for the deeper sensitization of the formal public institutions to the plights, needs and relevance of extant traditional institutions of governance in this country. This rather exploratory study has indeed discovered that TMGS can provide many useful and practical insights from which public administrators, scholars and practitioners can benefit.

First, traditional culture has traditional governance structure that cannot be limited or contained geographically and physically. The bases of territorial subdivisions are cultural and historical. Evidence of cultural alterations in the governance structure results in their political stress, affecting the Maranaws' way of life.

Second, Maranaw governance institutions are replete with good points for reexamination of the FIPA in the country, especially in the administration of justice. Their justice system operates along the principle of camaraderie, preservation of ancestral lines, and fostering links with the Islamic community. Harsh punitive measures are only adopted for grave offenses. It is historically and culturally founded, so that it runs consistent with its values system. It would also be good to explore possible formal integration of the Maranaw and formal justice system to efface each other's weaknesses, and likewise complement each other's functional strengths. According to Sumaguina (1988), the former

Figure 3. Trends in Maranaw Governance System



Framework by: Nolasco, Liberty I. 2004.

Basic Source of Data with modifications: Madale and Chieng 1994; Sumaguina 1988.

lacks coercive powers and breaks down in cases of non-settlement of disputes. The latter, on the other hand, is rather inefficient, very technical and expensive, but has some coercive powers to impose sanctions. Buat noted:

The Agama court of the Muslim, while not without its shortcomings, can play a very important role in our legal system, if it were given some form of recognition by legalization. As a

rule, disputes settled before this native court are final and binding on the parties, thus relieving our government court from petty cases and disputes (1977: 82).

Examining traditional institutions of governance will already correct misconceptions about IPs, and help in developing useful governance models for possible application of formal public institutions. The principles of leadership and democracy, and the regimes of land ownership recognized in TMGS are also worth noting.

This article discovered that the *bai-a-labi* exerts preponderant influence in the Maranaw polity and society. Public Administration scholars can perhaps reexamine other roles that it may play or may be strengthened in further uplifting the position of women in Philippine society, effectively promoting community development and desirable gender relations at the level of *agama* and *totonganaya*, and improving people's participation in their immediate community.

At the end of the study, one can only advise future researchers and scholars to deepen their understanding of IIPA. Such will give light to the problem of how FIPA can effectively go about the concerns of IIPA. As for TMGS, this study lacks data for the following governance aspects: transparency, accountability, gender sensitivity, economic services, fiscal administration, environmental services and security and defense.

Endnotes

¹ Benitez (1968) pointed to 1639 as the first attempt of the Spanish forces, led by Francisco de Atienza y Banes together with Father Pedro Agustin San Pedro, to annex Lanao. Unsuccessful, Spanish forces backed off and launched another unsuccessful expedition a year after, at that time headed by Bermudes de Castro. In 1895, after 250 years, Lanao fell in the hands of Spanish forces.

² Abbahil described the nature of *agama* in the following statement, "One community, one lord, one mosque. These are the key concepts behind the sociopolitical and religious structure of the Maranaw *agama*. Actually the word *agama* is from the Sanskrit meaning 'religion' but in Maranaw adaptation it has come to mean the primal community in which every Maranao has his rightful and natural place and in which he lives out his social and religious obligations" (1980: 86).

³ Arinto noted the following for Maranaw ancestral line: "Ancestral lines or 'conical clans' called *bangsa* define membership and are inherited bilaterally so each person belongs to a variety of lineages. Each lineage provides its descendants with membership in a particular office as well as other rights and duties in that *agama*" (1996: 107).

⁴ Saber and Tamano (1985-1986) referred to the former as intermediate collectivities that are temporary in nature, the latter as permanent house family collectivities.

⁵ Barra (1994) and Madale (2002) noted the adat was based on ancient Malay adat and the Indian law (from the Sri Vijaya period up to the Madjapahit period), the Islamic (Shariah) law, and later on Islam's Shariah law.

⁶ Adat refers to relationship among men, and different from the following: *Adat resam* (manners and customs) and *Adat istiadat* (customs and ceremonies), *Ibadat* (observance and practice of religious duties), and *Adab* (respect, courtesy and manners) (Buat 1987: 83). With respect to the *salsila*, Madale and Cheng (1994: 175) noted that it could also pertain to a type of Islamic-inspired literature reserved for the studying by *moangangun* (wise men or women). The other type is called the religious *quiza* or stories of a moral nature.

⁷ Specific examples of justice administration are documented by Arinto: "a traditional way of catching a thief among the Maranaws is the use of a coin submerged in a steaming pot of water. All the suspects are asked to dip their hands in the water to get the coin. One who refuses is branded the thief and compelled to return the item he stole to its owner. Another method is the use of Koran: each of the suspects is asked to swear before the Koran that he has not stolen the lost item. It is believed that a hardened thief who swears upon the Koran will be brought to destruction. Lanao courts use the Koran in court proceedings especially when witnesses are asked to swear to tell the truth. In some rural communities, an egg is used to punish the thief. When an item is lost, the owner takes an egg, recites magical verses over it, and heats it over fire. When the egg breaks, it is said that the thief is struck blind" (1996: 115).

⁸ Arinto cites: "A folk healer diagnoses the patient by pressing his fingers on the dead person's forehead or stomach while reciting magical verses" (1996: 119). With respect to *gagamoten*, Arinto wrote "... This specialist extracts poisons or *gamot* from plants or animals, including snake venom left on food offered to reptiles in dark isolated corners. The poisoned leftover food (*sama*) is secretly mixed with the food or drink of the intended victim who may consequently get sick or die" (1996: 119).

⁹ Harm or destruction includes the following phenomena: eclipse, typhoons and earthquakes, and the appearance of rainbow, thunder or lightning (Disoma 1990).

¹⁰ Saber and Tamano documented, "But Maranao limited the concept to local ownership. When a forest land claimed as a part of a *kakola* is opened up by an outsider, say of another Muslim (or Christian) group, the local group asserts its right of *kakola*" (1985-1986: 69).

¹¹ Foreign scholars like Gowing and McAmis (1974) described the Maranaw sultanate as "a federal system or organization whereby the component states are bound by an ancient order called *taritib* and *igma* (general consensus) handed down through generations from the founding fathers. Like a federal organization, it has no centralized source of power and authority; this is structurally described to be federal in character, recognizing the sovereignty of central authority not in terms of the authority of persons but rather the authority of laws. This central authority refers to the ancient unwritten order called *taritib* which was agreed upon by the founding fathers of the.... and which defines all levels of organization and relationships among the community as people and as territorial units. It also guides and directs in a precise scheme the whole system of relationships among the states" (Disomangcop 1991: 95). Incidentally, the Maranaw sultanate had a social structure containing freemen (called *Mantiris* in Sulu, Philippines), half slaves (by virtue of traditional rights of *datu* over his subjects), and *Banyaga* (absolute slaves) (Buat 1977: 88). Saber and Tamano (1985-1986) claimed that slavery in the Maranaw society has already been abolished.

¹² These sealed the taritib and igma (Disomangcop 1991).

¹³ Arinto dissented claiming: "A solotan or any titled datu holds office for life or for as long as he is able to discharge his duties. No titled datu, no matter how corrupt or cruel, can be forced to give up his crown, nor can be impeached. When a solotan does give up his crown, it takes a long time to choose a successor" (1996: 115-116).

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Glossary

Adat – Maranaw’s customary law based on ancient Malay “*adat*” and the Indian law (from the Sri Vijaya period up to the Madjapahit period), the Islamic (Shariah) law, and later on Islam’s Shariah Law. It is the foundation of authority of the Maranaw Sultanate. It refers to relationship among men, and different from the following: ***Adat resam*** (manners and customs) and ***Adat istiadat*** (customs and ceremonies), ***Ibadat*** (observance and practice of religious duties), and ***Adab*** (respect, courtesy and manners) (Buan 1987: 83).

Agama – A Maranaw adaptation of the Sanskrit word “*agama*” meaning religion. Agama is the smallest community formed from each *inged*, (see Soko/Suko).

In the *agama*, justice system is governed by the unwritten customary law, ***Kokoman a Taritib ago Igma*** contained in *adat*, and ***Kokoman a Kitab*** or the Qur’anic justice. Agama includes: mediation and resolution of conflict over the transfer of sultanateship to the legitimate successor, conflict among *agama* leaders in their programs for agama activities, lack of cooperation among the members of the *agama* in the implementation of projects and activities, functional disunity among the members of the *agama* due to divided political loyalty, conflict among *agama* members in particular religious bodies.

Agpansiban/Kasaba – a method of punishment done through trial by ordeal adopted by the Alangan-Mangyan. The hand of the culprit is plunged into boiling water, in case of guilt, the heat would harm the arm and will lead to cardiac arrest.

Agpulong – A public discussion with the “*kuyay* acting as mediator; a mechanism for conflict resolution among the Alangan-Mangyan, whose main goal is to find a judgment through which normal social relations can be restored and reduce hostile behavior to a minimum. In principle, there is no interest in punishment,” but rather in restoring a condition of harmony and balance. Usually, a moderate solution is found with a reasonable compensation given to the aggrieved party. Regained peace is celebrated with a feast thrown by the offender and enjoyed by the community.

Bai-a-labi – Maranaw’s most exalted queen, the highest position for a Maranaw woman, and is accorded with community respect and vested extraordinary powers. Other titles for Maranaw woman are: ***potri maamor*** (princess), ***solotan a bai*** (kind queen), ***bai a dalomangcob*** (wise queen), and ***bai a cabogatan*** (queen).

Bangsa Moro – The *Bangsa Moro* concretizes the concept of Muslim nationhood. A group who is a *bangsa* member recognizes that Muslims, regardless of affiliation, belong to one race, one blood, ancestry, religion and state. The evolution of its concept can be traced from *merepeda sa posed* (part of a long umbilical cord); broadened to include geopolitical and sociopolitical dimensions of a Muslim nation, *dar-ul-Islam* (Community of Muslim brothers).

Chief Pandita – the most learned man in the community both in *Adat* and Shariah, with the rank of *Datu Kali*, who assists the Sultan in matters concerning justice administration.

Datu – wisest and richest Maranaw.

Grand Vizier – Chief Minister of the Maranaw Sultanate. (Buat 1977:87).

Igma/Ijma – the ordinances legislated by representative leaders in consultation with the community in certain assemblies. The representative leaders are Muslim jurists who sit in the *pulok-loksen/pelokelokesen*; When *Igma* is intergenerationally transmitted, it becomes a *taritib*.

Imam – Islam priest; Maranaw's local leaders. "For religious affairs, the *imam* (and *kali*) are seen as community leaders. They also mediate in disputes and conflicts. Informal leaders or those leaders who have no formal titles but have nobility clan-status themselves: the *datus* for civil affairs and *tuan* for religious matters. - See also *Kali*.

Jihad – Muslim's holy war. "a natural right to self-defense...when Muslim land and religion are threatened," (Madale and Cheng 1994:167).

Kabenar – the people's rights among the Maranaw based on *Adat* (*taritib*), *Igma*, and on *Shariah* and the *Sunnah* and *Hadith*. It is now codified into Muslim Personal Laws. The Maranaw places value on mutual respect (*kapamagadata*) for one another. This is largely because of the belief that its people come from a common ancestry, thus are living in a community of brethren or kin.

Kabugutan – the Prince-heir apparent of the Maranaw sultan, who is usually a civil leader and confirms decisions on behalf of the *Sultan*.

Kadatuan – Maranaw's nobility class.

Kali – Islam Judge.

Kandori – A form of thanksgiving given by the offender to the offended party after confession of guilt. *Kandori* may range from delivery of oratorical speeches, clarification of common lines of descent and damage compensation.

Kapagupakat – in Maranaw's justice system - a system of consensus, e.g. *Kitab* intends for the contending parties to enter into a compromise agreement or amicable settlement, through a system of consensus called *kapagupakat*, whenever possible. – See also **Kokoman A Kitabkapaninindigan**.

Kapamagipata – In Maranaw society, it means mutual security and protection to one's family, neighbors and the whole community. It includes protection and security of lives and properties of individuals and the whole community. Members of the community are duty-bound to help protect, secure and promote peace and order in the community.

Kapamagogopa – in Maranaw's social relations it means mutual support. It is a term for people's participation (equivalent to *bayanihan*) in the Maranaw agama community. All the people of the community are expected to help in whatever endeavor for the good of the community or on occasions such as weddings, enthronements, death, etc

Kapamamanikan – Maranaw's indirect way of accepting guilt of the offending party.

Kapangangawid – Maranaw's community system of assigning material as well as moral damages against the offending party. The community may also choose to adopt *totonganya* resolutions such as *kandori* offering, which in the agama is called *kapamamanikan*. – See also *kapamamanikan*.

Katatabanga/Katetebanga – a concept of helping one another. The Maranaw community or sultanate does not have a special entity that handles the creation or generation of resources like money. It is in the concept of *katatabanga/katetebanga* (helping one another) that this falls. Money is generated only when there is a need, and all financially able members of the community are expected to contribute. In most cases, the Sultan is expected to generate resources for his people.

Kaseselai – is a precept practiced among Maranaw sultans and datu and takes place when a person would like to make decision without prior permission from some elders or kinsmen, the decision benefits the community; accepted as *sela* (recognition, honor) and *adat* (respect), a

manifestation of *o-ongowan iran so datu* (giving importance and value to their data).

Katatabanga/Ketatabanga – a system of mutual aid and cooperation in Maranaw's *totonganaya*. It means communal reciprocity. *Katetebanga* is demonstrated on occasions like marriage, birth, death, investiture, and settlement of disputes....takes the form of mutual aid or services rendered by relatives and kinsmen to the person in need; the other two, are more specific. Similar to "*katetebanga, kapamagogopa and kapamagawida* as communal reciprocal relationships; the distinction is the context.

Kokoman – judicial function in Maranaw's justice system. They are performed by group of agama officers as well as non-title datus of known honesty and integrity. (Buat 1977:90). – See also **Kokoman A Kitab**.

Kokoman A Kambatabat-a or Kambetabata – Maranaw's method of resolving conflict through blood relations (Sumaguina 1998).

Kokoman A Kitab - the Qur'anic justice. Maranaw's justice system based on the *Shariah* Law, written in Qur'an. It is presided over by the *kali* (Islam judge). Cases are heard in the *agama* courts and conducted via *trial by ordeal* or *trial by jury*.

Kokoman A Taritib Ago Igma (also taribtib; from the Arabic words *tartib* meaning order and *ijma* meaning consensus) – unwritten customary law that governed the justice system in Maranaw's "agama" contained in *adat*, and *Kokoman a Kitab* or the Qur'anic justice (Barra 1994) It involves consensus-building among community members as mediated by the *sultan, datu, imam* (Islam priest), *kali* (Islam judge), political leaders and other community elders.

Kitab's intention is for the contending parties to enter into a compromise agreement or amicable settlement, through a system of consensus called *kapagupakat*, whenever possible The *taribtib* may gain precedence over *kitab* when conflict-mediation-by-community-leaders for a filed case is requested from the concerned *kali*.

Mbetabatas/Mbatabataa – A more rigid internal kinship group of the Maranaw, which is, composed of family collectivities that are permanent. It refers to "persons of consanguinal (blood) and conjugal connections (marriage) who live, eat and work together." It involves bilateral affinal connections up to the two sets of grandparents and their descendants.

Nakoda – Maranaw's Commander of the Royal Fleet.

Pamomolong – Maranaw’s traditional medicine man or woman.

Pasad – in Maranaw’s agama justice system, terms of alliance between interrelated agamas (Saber and Tamano 1995-1996:65). – See also **AGAMA**.

Pat-a-pengampong Ko Ranao – Maranaw four states composed of Mayabao, Masiu, Unayan and Balo-i. These are made up of sultanates of equal status with one another, governed principally by *taritib*. (Madale 2002). In cases of external threats, e.g. tribal wars, the Maranaw capitalizes on the *pengampong* or 4 principalities.

Pengampong/Pangampong – A term for a Maranaw state or principality (Abbahil 1980: 85). It is geographically subdivided into *sub-pengampong/sub-pangampong*. This division is aspectually sociocultural and mainly based on the notion of common ancestry or origin, territorial unity, and some valued traditions. Each *sub-pengampong/sub-pangampong* contains district, section or region called *soko/suko*.

Phamitiara – conciliator/mediator. In Maranaw’s method of resolving conflict, blood ties of contending parties are traced via the *salsila*, usually facilitated by a conciliator/mediator called *phamitiara* or by party relatives. If both parties are found to belong to the same bloodline, the offended party may be requested to refuse to accept the damages being paid by the offending party. The offending party is asked to visit the house of or any acceptable place to the offended party for the former to show humble confession of his/her guilt and offer the latter thanksgiving. – See also “*Kandori*”.

Posaka – a Maranaw’s communal land ownership. It recognizes the ownership rights of a community to ancestral lands, which the sultan or any state has no right to own or seize. The other two land ownership rights in Muslim Maranaw are: the right to stewardship of land (Maranaw people believe that land is *amanah* or property of *Allah* lent to them for their survival) and the right to its private ownership.

Pulok-loksen – Maranaw’s Council of Elders. It is the formal power holder in the *agama* because it bears civil and religious titles (Sumaguina 1988:65). As a group of civil leaders, the *pulok-loksen* gathers around people to discuss community activities and policy formulators/law legislators. It acts as the “guardian and enforcer of *adat* and customary rules.” Usually, the presiding officer of the *pulok* is the Sultan.

Qur’anic Law of Islam (especially the commandments known as *Hukum Shariah* Law). The *Adat* (Maranaw’s customary law) and the Qur’anic Law

of Islam are the forces behind the strengthening and tightening of Maranaw relational structures and processes. Both serve as the overarching frameworks for the justice system, delivery of services, external relations, security and defense, fiscal administration, human and property rights and the governance values such as transparency, accountability, gender sensitivity, leadership and people's participation of the Maranaw. – See also **Shariah Law**.

Raja Bendahara – Maranaw senior prince.

Raja Muda – the Maranaw crowned prince.

Rumah Bityara – Maranaw's Council of State. The central government of the Maranaw Sultanate has *Rumah Bityara* whose main functions are: give assent and concurrence in the promulgation of laws, declare war, ratify treaties, nominate the new **sultan**.

Shariah Law – the Shariah law; the canon law of Islam written in Holy Qur'an. It covers all ethical guidelines and doctrines of duties or a code of obligations of Muslims. Shariah finds form in valued traditions, opinions and consensual agreement. Ordinances of Shariah Law are drawn from the **Sunnah and Hadith** (traditions of Prophet Muhammad, founder of Islam), the *Ijma*, and the *Ijtihad* (opinions of Islamic jurists. – See also **Qur'anic Law of Islam**.

Soko/Suko – a division of a sub-*pengampong/pangampong*. A *suko/soko* has *pegawidan a ingodlinged* or the supported/superordinate/ruling Maranaw village/sultanate, and *pegawid a ingodlinged* or the supporting or the subordinate Maranaw village/sultanate. The first assumes leadership and the latter followership, which are complementary in an authority system governing the organization of the community

Sultan – The Sultan is the most revered *agama* leader. Each *agama* has one *sultan*. He is "the chief judge and the chief executive of the *agama*. He settles disputes, promotes peace and order, aids the needy *agama* members, performs traditional rites, assists entities in religious affairs, attends social and religious gatherings, provides financial assistance for the construction of mosques and determines the successful use of *Salisa, taritib*."

Sultanate League of Lanao – Confederacy by the Maranaw. This includes the *pengampong* sultans, the 15 *pegawidan* and the 28 *pegawid*.

Sultanate, Maranaw as a federal system or organization whereby the component states are bound by an ancient order called *taribtib* and *igma*

(general consensus) handed down through generations from the founding fathers. It has no centralized source of power and authority, recognizing the sovereignty of central authority not in terms of the authority of persons but rather the authority of laws. This central authority refers to the ancient unwritten order called *taritib*.

- The Sultanate maintains local government units which are administered by the *Datus*, Panglimas (governors) and *Maharajahs*.

Taritib/Taribtib/Tortib – literally means “ordered ways” which serves as Maranaw protocol for special occasions and the basis of relationship between communities and different kinship groups, especially with regard to their rank, prestige, and the rights and obligations. – See also *Igma/Ijma*.

Temanggong – Maranaw’s Chief of the Royal Guards.

Torogan – Maranaw’s communal big house.

Totonganaya – An authority structure whereupon the Maranaw kinship system is organized. Members in this structure are solidly organized and tied together by affinal kinships up to the fourth degree of consanguinity (*tenged makapat*), and whose bloodties remain unchanged and intact despite their physical distance from one another. It operates along the principles of *isa ka lokes* (who belong to a single family) or *isa ka tiyan* (a single body).

Trichotomous System of Authority – A basic characteristic of the Maranaw governance system composed of: **kinship authority system** (from pre-Islamic influences); **community authority system** (from Islamic influences; *Ummah* for the Islamic community) and **formal-legal authority system** (Western influences). Said authority systems are enclosed in three different structural governance spheres: the *totonganaya*, the community or *agama*, and the *barangays*, respectively. (Sumaguina 1988).

Turugan – the central government of the Maranaw Sultanate (Buat 1977:87). The *Turugan* has the *Rumah Bityara*.

Wakils – In Maranaw’s justice system- counsels of accused parties (Buat 1977:90). – See also **Agama; Kokoman A Taritib Ago Igma**.

Zakat – in Maranaw, an obligatory alms or tithe (computed at 1/40 of accumulated income) paid by Muslims into the treasury of the local mosque.