

- Cole, Fay Cooper. "The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao," *Field Museum of Natural History, Publication* 170 (1913).
- Eggen, Fred. "The Ethnological Cultures and Their Archaeological Background" in *Archaeology of Eastern United States* (Ed. James E. Griffin) 1952.
- _____. "Social Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Comparison," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 36, No. 5, Part 1 (1954).
- Fansler, Dean S. *Filipino Popular Tales*. New York: American Folklore Society, 1921.
- Fox, Enriqueta (translator). "Bisayan Accounts of Early Bornean Settlements in the Philippines Recorded by Father Santaren." Translated from the Spanish by Enriqueta Fox. *Transcript No. 4*. Philippine Studies Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.
- Fox, Robert B. "Religion and Society among the Tagbanuwa of Palawan Island, Philippines." Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1954.
- Harrison, Tom. "Outside Influences on the Culture of the Kelabits of North Central Borneo," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (1949).
- Hassell, E. L. "The Sri-Vijayan and Majapahit Empires and the Theory of Their Political Association with the Philippine Islands," *Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (1953).
- Kroeber, A. L. "The History of Philippine Civilization as Reflected in Religious Nomenclature," *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, No. 19, Part 2 (1918).
- Roth, Henry Ling. *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*. London: Truslow and Hanson, 1896.
- Sapir, E. *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method* (1916). Reprinted, 1949, in Mandelbaum's *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir*...
- Solheim, W. G. "Preliminary Report on Archaeological Fieldwork in San Narciso, Tayabas, P. I.," *The University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1951).
- Tangco, M. "The Christian Peoples of the Philippines," *Natural and Applied Science Bulletin*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (1951). Quezon City, Philippines.
- Zaide, G. F. *History of the Filipino People*. Manila, 1947.

ETHNIC STRATIFICATION AND INTEGRATION IN COTABATO¹

CHESTER L. HUNT

Cotabato, the largest province in the Philippines, has attracted a highly heterogeneous population due to extensive immigration in the period immediately before and after World War II. The earlier inhabitants were mostly Moros (Filipinos of Moslem faith) together with a sprinkling of Chinese traders and a few thousand mountain tribesmen usually known as "pagans". The current push toward the south has brought in Christian Filipinos from all parts of the country and has also slightly increased the Chinese population so that, at the present time, the Moros are probably outnumbered by other residents.

This article is based on a survey of the area made by the author in May and June of 1955. The survey concentrated on the "poblacion" of Cotabato which is the capital of the province. Cotabato has attracted only a few of the mountain peoples, but has a considerable representation of the other three groups and seemed an ideal spot to study their interaction in a semi-urban setting. Research was conducted largely through the aid of informants with the use of such quantitative material as was available. It represents a preliminary inquiry which might well be followed by research utilizing the sampling method.

Cotabato was for many years a part of the Sultanate of Maguindanao; the province was never completely subjugated by the Spaniards and the Moro datus are a potent governmental force to this day. The American regime, through cooperation with Datu Piang and other Moro leaders, was able to bring about a reasonable degree of peace and by 1914, Christian settlers had begun to settle in the area in sporadic waves of migration which were greatly accelerated after World War II.

The following table gives an approximation of the present situation.

Table I.—Ethno-Religious groups of Cotabato*

Christian (All Churches)	230,470
Moslem	155,162
Pagan and no religion reported	39,631
Chinese (Does not include mestizos or those who have become Filipino citizens)	1,735
European and American	56

* Based on unpublished data of the 1948 census obtained from the Bureau of Census and Statistics, Manila.

¹ This article is based on a survey of Cotabato made by the author in April and May, 1953, while he was a Fulbright professor in Sociology at the University of the Philippines. Research publication was facilitated by a grant for clerical assistance from the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines. It represents one phase of the UNESCO sponsored research in the field of social tension. This treatise is an elaboration and revision of an article entitled, "Cotabato, Melting Pot of the Philippines", which was published in pamphlet form by the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines in December 1954.

Census enumeration is a difficult task and the figures probably represent more of an estimate than an exact count, but they give some idea of the relative proportion of various groups. The mixture of religious and nationality labels is used because they indicate social categories. Chinese may be included in either the Moslem or the Christian enumeration, but are still regarded as a distinct group. The majority of both Moslems and Christians are Filipino nationals, but this religious demarcation also indicates sharp cultural differences.

For many years, practically the only groups in the area were Moros, various mountain tribes and the Chinese. The Moros and most of the mountain tribes have the same range of physical traits as other Filipinos, but follow distinctive cultural patterns. The Moros were reputedly converted to Islam by the missionary efforts of an Arab trader, Sariph Kabungsuwan, who arrived in the area in the latter part of the Fifteenth Century.² Since that time, they have been characterized by a social structure in which various sultans and their subordinate datus formed the government, with the Koran as the basis of the legal system. This society developed great military prowess and seemed destined to rule the Philippines until the arrival of the Spaniards forced them back to Mindanao and Sulu.

The mountain tribesmen of the area, the Tirurays, Bilaans, Manobos and Bagobos,³ adhere to various types of animism and have not been greatly influenced by either Moslem or Christian culture. Their agriculture, until recently, has been mostly of the "kaingin"⁴ type, and they were unable to hold their own in a military sense, with the Moros. They were regarded by the Moros as an inferior group and frequently subjected to raids, slavery, seizure of their lands and various other types of exploitation. Some trading relationships were maintained with the Moros and occasional intermarriage took place between their women and Moro men. As a survival technique, they gradually retreated to the hill country where they could maintain their culture in comparative peace. Christian missionaries found them responsive to an appeal to adopt the institutional forms of Christianity and both Catholics and Protestants have made some converts. The tribesmen still form the most backward group in terms of social power, but have begun to improve agricultural practices and mission training has enabled a few to get advanced education fitting them for white collar jobs. The settlement of Christian migrants leads to land quarrels with both the mountain tribes and the Moros and the files of the local papers carry occasional stories of incidents of this type.⁵

Chinese traders antedated the Spaniards and will occasionally be found even in remote barrios where Christian settlers still have not penetrated. The scattered nature of the Chinese settlement, together with a predominance of males, has led to a considerable degree of intermarriage with the result that the Chinese were partially absorbed into the Moro populace and such prominent families as the Sinsuats, Piangs, Matalangs and others have

² Millan, Simeon F., "Cotabato Guidebook," Goodwill Press.

³ For information about the mountain tribes the author is indebted to Professor H. Otley Beyer and to unpublished manuscripts by Grace Wood, Fulbright Anthropology grantee, in the files at the University of the Philippines.

⁴ "Kaingin" refers to the practice of clearing land for agriculture by burning stretches of forest land, which are usually abandoned after one or two plantings.

⁵ "The Mindanao Cross," March 8, 1952.

some Chinese ancestry. As in other parts of the Philippines, the Chinese form a commercial middle class and the recent increase in activity in the area has been accompanied by a proportionate increase of Chinese migrants, mostly coming from other parts of the Philippines rather than direct from the Chinese mainland. The town of Cotabato itself represents two streams of Chinese migrants, the Amoy and the Cantonese. Christian settlers in Cotabato consist mainly of Zamboanguenos and Visayans, with scattered settlements of Ilocanos and a sprinkling of Tagalogs, Pangasinans and Pangangos. Christian settlers have a numerical majority at the present time, but are handicapped by their relatively short residence in the area and, to some extent, are separated by the regional rivalries.

Mindanao is often viewed as an outlet for the population in the crowded areas of central Luzon but a study of sex ratios and language usage in the Visayas and in Mindanao would suggest that most of the immigrants are coming from the nearby Visayan Islands. The following table portrays the situation.

Table 2.—Sex Ratio for persons 10 Years of Age and Over 1948*

Visayan Provinces		Mindanao Provinces	
Cebu	92.4	Davao	118.7
Capiz	91.4	Bukidnon	113.5
Iloilo	92.8	Cotabato	106.1
Bohol	91.6		

On the assumption that in the Philippines the male is the mobile sex a low sex ratio indicates out migration and a high sex ratio (more males than females) indicates in migration. Not only do the respective sex ratios of the western Visayas and the Mindanao provinces bear out this hypothesis but the idea of a predominantly Visayan migration is strengthened by the data on those speaking Bisaya-Cebuano as a "mother tongue." It will be recalled that the western Visayan areas generally had a low sex ratio. This fact is now clarified when the distribution of this language group is analyzed. It is found that there are more people who speak Bisaya-Cebuano in all of Mindanao than there are in Cebu province itself! By totalling the figures for the 9 provinces of Mindanao proper the number of residents for that island who speak Bisaya-Cebuano was found to be 1,483,721. However, in Cebu province there are only 1,095,121 people whose "mother tongue" is Bisaya-Cebuano.

The ties with Mohammedan countries are indicated by the presence of two groups, Arabs and Indonesians. Arab traders and missionaries have visited the section for years. The Arab derives prestige from his ability to read the Koran in the original language and is usually both a peddler of religious articles and one who teaches informal classes of boys to read, but not to translate, the Arabic script. The Arabs have never come in large numbers, but there are a few Arab peddlers in most areas and a wider contact is maintained via annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

The Indonesian is usually a laborer who enters the country illegally and may plan to return to his homeland after a short stay. Exact figures on Indonesian migration are impossible to get, but some indication of their

* Calculated from Journal of Philippine Statistics, Vol. V, Table 9, Page 16.

number is given by a story in the Mindanao Cross which quotes NBI (National Bureau of Investigation) agents as finding 1,800 in barrios of Gian municipality; 2,500 in the isles of Baiut and Sarangasit and several hundred others in the coastal towns of Cotabato and Davao.⁶ The proximity of Mindanao and Indonesia, together with a common Moslem culture, gives rise to fears that this area might be considered a Moslem "irridenta" and eventually be a point of friction between the two nations. On the other hands, the migration of Christian Filipinos is changing the local culture and the Indonesians will undoubtedly be busy with affairs closer to home in the foreseeable future.

Governmental power and military invasions brought in numbers of Spaniards and Americans, a few of whom have settled in the country and developed plantations. Neither group was ever numerous enough to be an important element of the population, but both played a major role in the development of agricultural resources and American teachers were influential in the school system even after the inauguration of the Commonwealth. At the present, American clergy are predominant in the missions conducted by Catholic and Protestant churches.

ECOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

While many groups are represented in the province, their contacts are limited by a pattern of migration in which the Christian settlers tended to move into barrios which were occupied primarily by members of their own regional groups with different barrios being occupied primarily by Ilongos, Cebuanos, Boholanos, Ilocanos, etc. This segregation is less marked in the case of Tagalogs and Pampangos who are heavily represented in governmental and professional positions and thus have more of a tendency to be concentrated in the poblacions.

The town of Cotabato itself represents a cosmopolitan mixture, but even here, some degree of segregation is noticeable. The earliest group of Christian Filipinos here were the Zamboanguenos who are concentrated close by the riverfront along the west side of the town. A chapel dedicated to their patron saint is in the center of this area. Other Christian settlers appear to be less concentrated and are scattered throughout the better residential areas. The Chinese usually occupy flats located above stores in the business district, while the majority of the Moros live in the outskirts, usually close by the river.

ECONOMIC RULES

Economic relationships bring members of the various groups into contact, but usually in a definitely structured pattern. Farm labor is provided by mountain tribesmen, Moros, and to some extent, by Christian Filipinos. Small independent farmers are usually Christians while the big landlords are Moro datus, Chinese mestizos, Spaniards and Americans along with Christian Filipinos. Agricultural processing is usually in the hands of the Chinese, although some Moros work as buyers of palay. Chinese control most other business, but Christian Filipinos predominate in barbershops, drug stores and local agencies for national concerns. Professional activity and government employment is also mainly confined to Christians. Most fishermen are Moros and they also form a large proportion of the stevedores. When Moros enter business, it is usually as operators of goldsmith shops

or restaurants and lodging houses catering to their own group. A few Moros have entered the transportation business, especially river transport between Dulawan and Cotabato.

Some idea of the occupational distribution may be gained from an analysis of the school teaching personnel furnished by the provincial academic supervisor. Of 1600 educators, 1546 are Christian Filipinos; the Bagobos and Manobos accounted for one each, the Tirurays for fifteen and the Moros for thirty-seven including one district supervisor, one academic supervisor and three principals.

The compilers of the Cotabato Guidebook prepared a Who's Who in the province in conjunction with correspondents in the various municipalities. The list evidently did not include many Chinese but appears to be fairly representative of other groups. The following table gives the picture.

Table 3—Birthplace and Occupation of Those Listed in Cotabato

Occupation	Who's Who *						
	Ilocanos	Mindanao Christians	Visayans	Chinese	Cotabato Moros	Pangasinans	Central Luzon Scattered Provinces
Farmer	8	10	12		10	12	4
Government Official	9	4	32		24	6	11
Business	2	3	12	10	6	3	5
Teacher	7	2	10		2	4	5
Lawyer	4	1	5		1	1	10
Doctor	2	7			1	3	8
Others	9		9		2		10
Total	41	27	80	10	46	29	53

* Compiled from Cotabato Yearbook op. cit., pp. 321-366

Another sample indicating lines of economic activity may be obtained from a list of business and professional men in the municipalities of Cotabato and Dulawan. These are selected because Cotabato is the capital city and Dulawan is a municipality in which Moros have displayed an unusual amount of business activity. Ethnic origin was obtained by checking names with Cotabato and Dulawan residents.

The economic stratification reflects traditional lines of endeavor with agriculture shared between Moros and Christians; the Christians predominant in governmental and professional work and the Chinese holding a commanding position in business. The Moro upper class is beginning to enter business and the professions and has retained control of fairly large landholdings. Economic competition is most apparent between Christians and Chinese in the business field and between Moros and Christians in agriculture. The rather sharp cultural differences separating Moros and Christians, together with the relative lack of direct competition between Moros and Chinese, have served to modify the bitterness of anti-Chinese feeling which is present in most Christian Filipino communities. The mountain tribesmen were originally the most economically backward group in Cotabato and have only begun to manifest the progress may be expected to accompany increased educational opportunity.

Table 4—Ethnic Origin of Professionals and Businessmen in Cotabato *

Occupation **	Moro	Chinese mestizo	Chinese	Christian
Lawyers	1	1		38
Physicians	1	2		10
Dentists		1		10
Engineers		1	1	25
Pharmacists		1		13
Other professionals (Excluding teachers)			1	37
Business proprietors	6	11	108	144

* Table based on directories in Cotabato Yearbook, pp. 121-130.

** In analyzing these figures, it should be borne in mind that many of the Christian businessmen are proprietors of very small concerns. Beauty parlors, barber shops, drug stores and dressmaking shops account for forty-five of the 144 establishments operated by Christians in Cotabato. It is also possible that my informants may not have been able to identify all the Chinese mestizos and that some of these were listed as either Christian or Chinese.

Table 5—Ethnic Status of Professionals and Businessmen in Dulawan *

Occupation	Moro	Chinese mestizo	Chinese	Christian
Businessmen	8	8	38	17
Lawyers				3
Physicians				2

* Cotabato Yearbook, pp. 155-157.

J. O. Masa,⁷ a Philippine sociologist, who has lived in the area summarizes Moro-Christian economic tensions as follows: "The critical point of friction between the Muslims and the Christians as of today, is in relation to land distribution. From the viewpoints of the Muslims in Cotabato, there is a prevailing belief that the lands in the province including the uncultivated areas, are theirs by right of being the original settlers in Mindanao and the hundreds of years of occupation since the time of their ancestors. So for others to claim the lands even under the auspices of a governmental policy, would smack of violation of this "right." This explains the fact that especially in earlier years, a number of Christian settlers were stealthily liquidated by Moro claimants in spite of the Christians' acquisition of the land through government permission.

"The datu system of land tenure has contributed in no small measure to whatever resistance there is to the Christian ownership of some of the lands. Private property, as understood by the Christians, does not exist in the minds of the lower class of Moros as a rule; under the datu system, property is held by the clan over which the datu presides. The squatter problem for which complaints by Christian immigrants have developed into an issue, is the Moslems' counterattack against the widening accumulation of land ownership by the Christian settlers although in some cases nowadays, it is a means of extorting money in return for the land from which they are loathe to part. The payment helps to satisfy their desire for money which our present money economy has brought upon them. In some cases,

⁷ J. O. Masa—Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review. Vol. XIX. March 1954, pp. 73-76.

when a Christian buys a piece of land directly from a Moro, that is not the only payment he makes, for sooner or later, relatives of the seller would come one after the other and demand payment for the same claim on the land, until sometimes the buyer becomes desperate and entirely abandons the land for his safety and peace of mind."

The development of Cotabato is often regarded as a solution for tension elsewhere in the Philippines but this move seems destined to lead to more tension within the province. Cotabato province is considered under-populated and government programs encourage a rapid influx of Christian Filipinos. Such a migration brings about a competition for land not only between individuals but also between representatives of different social systems. The Moros live primarily in a barter economy while the Christian Filipinos have adapted to a monetary culture. The Moro thinks of land as belonging to the clan while to the Christian it is a matter of individual ownership. The Moro bases his claims on an unwritten tradition while the Christian relies on legal documents. When conflict arises, the Christian resorts to courts of law and the Moro to guerrilla attacks. It is a situation which seems certain to bring the Moros into conflict with the police power of the state unless they can find a more satisfactory place in the expanding economy of the area.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Ordinarily, a relatively uneducated group might be expected to be handicapped in a democratic type of government, but this tendency is modified in Moro-Christian communities by the power of the datu system. The datu is a combination landlord, political leader, jurist, religious functionary and nobleman. His prestige rests on his claim to "royal blood", his wealth and his talents as a leader. In earlier days, he might have been compared to the feudal nobility in Europe before the rise of strong national states. Theoretically, the datu's power was limited by his allegiance to the sultan, but the sultan's position was dependent primarily upon his skill in political intrigue and few sultans in Maguindanao ever attained anything approximating absolute rule. Men still exist in various areas who use the title of sultan, but the office is often contested by other claimants and the sultan usually obtains little respect outside of his immediate locality.

While the sultans appear to be little more than relics of a bygone age, the datu system is still vigorous. Indeed, it may be argued that a democratic system, temporarily at least, enhances the datu's power. This is because his followers form a natural bloc of voters who may be manipulated in a way which gives the datu a claim on political patronage and other governmental favors. The various datos do not have sharply defined territorial limits and their followers may vary from none to a thousand or more; the result is a struggle for power, which in earlier times, led to armed conflict and today, furnishes the basis for constantly shifting political alliances. For a long time, the Piangs were the most powerful family, now they appear to have been displaced by the Sinsuats whose members in 1953 included two mayors, the governor and the congressman. No single datu however, has a large enough group of followers to place him in an unquestioned position and the building of a political machine is an endless task. The Moslem candidates cannot afford to an-

agonize the Christians, but have a disproportionate advantage because of the lack of cohesive blocs in the Christian community. There is a feeling among many Christians that only a Mohammedan official can maintain a degree of peace and order among the Moros. That the feeling is not universal is indicated by the recent action of President Mag-saysay in appointing a Christian as governor of Sulu, an area in which the proportion of Moros is even heavier than in Cotabato. Moros had held the Sulu governorship since the end of the war and had not succeeded in establishing a satisfactory degree of peace and order. It is at least arguable that the Moro officials' prestige among his followers may be offset by the jealousy of rival datos.

The distribution of personnel in the national, provincial and municipal offices indicates the strength and weakness of the Moro political position.⁸ The highest locally elected national officer is a congressman who is a Moro, but out of a couple of hundred national employees residing in the province, only six are Moro. In the provincial roster, Moros have several important positions including the governor, one member of the provincial board, eight of the twenty-three deputy governors, the chief deputy assessor and the deputy provincial warden. In minor posts, there are only eight Moro employees as compared to over 150 Christians. Seven of the twenty municipal mayors are Moros along with a fair representation on the various municipal councils. Even in municipalities where the mayor is Moro, the majority of municipal officials are Christian.

In summary, Moros and Christian share the top elective and appointive offices and political alliances cross ethnic lines. In the lower echelons, Moros have little participation because of a lack of men with technical training. Chinese play the usual role of providing funds for campaigns while seldom holding political office. Thus, political activity involves all elements of the population with the number of Moro jobholders limited by their lack of educational qualifications.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

In Cotabato, the terms "Christian" and "Moslem" have more a cultural than a distinctly religious significance. One may be classified as "Christian" who has never been baptized in any church and one may be considered a "Moslem" even though he never enters the door of a mosque. Clothing is usually a better means of group identification than attendance at religious services. The Moro woman is customarily clad in colorful, loose fitting garments, frequently wearing a skirt (malong) which has no means of support and has to be held in place by hand; although when engaged in manual work, she may knot it around the waist. The male may wear a skirt and a turban or flowing pantaloons or he may wear Western type garb except for a distinctive headgear, the "kuppiya" which, except for its bright color, bears some resemblance to the headgear worn by enlisted men in the U. S. Army. The Hadje, one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, wears a distinctive white turban.

The two groups have different types of tabus which make considerable difference in their social behavior. The orthodox Moslem may not

⁸ Since teachers are considered separately, they are not included in these figures. Statistics were obtained by analyzing lists of office holders with the aid of Cotabato informants.

drink alcoholic beverages, eat pork, or engage in ballroom type dancing. During the month of Ramadan usually about the middle of May till the middle of June, he refrains from either eating or drinking between sunrise and sunset and the most orthodox of the faithful will not even swallow their saliva during the daytime hours. An impressionistic judgment would indicate that the tabu on alcohol is the one most frequently violated.

Tabus relating to dietary habits do not arouse any great amount of inter-group conflict, but a radically different approach to the family creates a sharp social cleavage. Although Philippine law outlaws both divorce and polygamy, these are sanctioned in the Moslem mores, and the national government has made the usual law inapplicable to the Islamic community. The Moros do not usually register their marriages in the municipal offices and divorce is arranged between the parties involved, with the datu making the property settlement in cases of disagreement. The rate of divorce and plural marriage is impossible to estimate and, although they are probably the exception rather than the rule, every community has some conspicuous examples. The author met several municipal officials who maintained multiple wives, usually in separate establishments. The Cotabato Guidebook⁹ lists a man, described as a prosperous abaca planter, who has ten wives and fifteen children. The case of the sultan of Tumbao, an area fifteen kilometers from Cotabato, may be used as an example of the family life of a Moslem dignitary. The Sultan, now about sixty years of age, has been married nine times; two of his wives now live with him, three died and four were divorced. He had twenty children of whom eleven are living.¹⁰

Educated Moros are rather sensitive about this divergence from the usual Philippine Mores and claim that polygamy is not favored by the more progressive group; however, it is a favorite topic for discussion and vigorous criticism of the practice is rare. The story is often repeated that Mohammed introduced the practice in order to provide husbands for women whose actual or potential mates had been killed in war. Another favorite type of defense is the statement that the "querida" (mistress) system among Christian Filipinos is really a form of polygamy without the safeguards provided by Islamic institutions.

Although general culture differences between Moros and Christians are important, it is also true that specific religious practices accentuate the separation. The principal holy day of the Moslems is Friday as contrasted to the Christian Sunday. With Christians, the time of greatest religious fervor is the Lenten season in the spring; while the Moslems, the corresponding period is the fast month of Ramadan in May and June. Each religious group has the string of religious holidays which seldom overlap. Catholics are predominant among the Christian group and other churches feature pipe organ, religious images and paintings. The mosque, Moslem place of worship, forbids statues and paintings and music is not used in the service. Arabic occupies an even more important place in the Moslem ritual than Latin in the Catholic.

⁹ Ibid., p. 326.

¹⁰ Statement based on personal visit to the Sultan's house.

The outside observer finds a seeming paradox in the religious fanaticism of many of the Moros contrasted to the loosely structured and extremely decentralized nature of their religious institutions. There is no formal organization which unites the various mosques; no provision for supervision of religious practices, no local Moslem institutions of higher education, no regimented type of religious instruction and no systematic method of financing Islamic institutions. The imams or priests are not necessarily connected with a mosque and their prestige depends upon their reputation as religious teachers. Not only is formal religious organization conspicuous by its absence, but only a small percentage of the faithful attend group services with any degree of regularity.

Moslem services in the town of Cotabato bear out these observations. The town, which has about two thousand Moro residents and which attracts hundreds of visitors from surrounding barrios, has two mosques, one of which can accommodate about a hundred worshippers and the other, about three hundred. On Friday noon, the principal service, the mosque is crowded by worshippers with women outnumbering the men and the old being present in greater numbers than the young or the middle-aged. The men fill the interior of the mosque with women squatting in the courtyard. The service is entirely in Arabic consisting of traditional prayers and a sermon which is a recitation of some part of the Koran. Each worshipper has a prayer rug and prostrates himself at intervals when the imam calls out, "Allah Akbar" (God is Great).

No special provision is made for government or business employees to have free time to attend the service and Moro market vendors in the vicinity carry on business as usual while the service is in process. The worshippers give every evidence of piety, but they cannot comprise more than fifteen percent of the Moros in town at the time. Leading datos do not seem to feel that their position demands regular attendance at public services.

Islamic religion is so nearly coterminous with Moro culture that it does not require a highly organized institutional framework. Its genius is apparently traditional rather than rational and centered in the family rather than the congregation.

Christianity in the area is represented primarily by churches of the Roman Catholic and Christian Missionary Alliance persuasion. Catholic activities are carried on by the Oblate Fathers, a missionary order. Worshippers, however, are mostly Christian migrants and the priests report that they have made only one Moro convert in seven years' time. Moro students attend the Catholic schools, but this seldom leads to conversion.

The institutional features of Islam appear to resemble Protestant practices in so many ways that one might expect the Protestant group to have greater success. The two groups share a more democratic type of structure, a clergy which is less clearly set off from the rest of the community, an abhorrence of images and a devotion to the sacred book (Bible or Koran). In actual practice though, the Christian Missionary Alliance has had no more success among the Moros than the Catholics. The Moslems appear impervious to any type of Christian approach.

The response of educated Moros to contact with Christian institutions is often one of increased devotion to Islamic tenets. This may be said

to be a type of "Nativistic" reaction which often occurs when two groups with sharply differing cultures come into contact. The initial shock and feeling of inferiority, when the individual finds the validity of his institutions sharply challenged, is likely to be replaced by a defense mechanism which seeks to justify the traditional faith. Educated Moros are embarrassed by charges that Islam was spread by the sword and that its attitude toward women is socially backward. Rather than become converts to Christianity they tend to attempt a "modernization" of the practices most open to criticism, while in conversation with outsiders, they seek to rationalize Moslem beliefs and stress alleged inconsistencies in the Christian churches.

One example of this tendency may be seen in the case of a young Moro datu who spent six years at Siliman University (a Protestant school) studying liberal arts and law. He picked up eagerly the usual Protestant criticisms of Catholicism, especially those related to the presence of images in the churches and the alleged neglect of the sacred book (Bible). While these charges might form the basis of a joint Moslem-Protestant attack on the church most popular among the Christian settlers, they did not tend to make him a Protestant convert and were simply ammunition for verbal attacks against Christianity. The religious teachings which made the most impression on him were some letters he chanced to receive from a Moslem missionary in the United States which charged that Christian historians had given a biased account of Moslem development. Moros educated in Catholic schools usually acquire a friendlier attitude toward Catholic practices without any lessening of their loyalty to Islam.

Most of the work of both Catholic and Protestant missions in the area is with the mountain tribesmen, the Chinese and the Christian Filipinos who have migrated from other areas. A small number of Moro students, mostly from upper class families, attend religiously sponsored schools but even to this type of approach the typical Moro response is rather hesitant. Perhaps the most influential work among the Moros was done by a Protestant missionary Dr. Frank C. Laubach in the neighboring province of Lanao. Laubach built a "House of Prayer" open to Moslem and Christian alike and gave up any attempt at proselytism. He made a sympathetic study of Moro culture and began his mass literacy movement among this group. Unfortunately for the Mindanao area Laubach's success in this endeavor made him a world figure and called him away from Mindanao. Missionaries presently in the area do not appear to be following this approach and their impact on the Moro group is limited.

Another aspect of this reaction is the enthusiastic reception which occasional visiting Mohammedan dignitaries receive in Moro communities. Recent years have seen occasional visits from diplomatic officials who come to the area on official business, but were pressed to make speeches on Islamic topics. The Moros tend to regard other Islamic areas as being more highly developed since their religious organization is more definitely structured. This is an attitude which contrasts sharply with that of Christian Filipinos who tend to look at the Philippines as an advanced Christian nation while regarding the rest of Asia as comparatively backward.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that in the last three years, women's dress has taken a turn away from Western influence and toward

the Mohammedan pattern. This is indicated by the tendency to cover the head with a scarf which is credited to a visiting Moslem dignitary who denounced the manner in which local Moros exposed their faces to masculine eyes. Examination of religious techniques. Chinese and mountain tribesmen are susceptible to conversion by Christian missionaries, but other cultural differences limit the effect of conversion as a mechanism of assimilation.

Other indications of an upper class participation in a Moslem "revival" include the building of new mosques, the encouragement of formally organized Mohammedan schools and the effort to initiate Moslem fraternal orders of a type somewhat similar to organizations prevalent among Christians.

The mountain tribes are customarily listed as "pagans" since they follow various types of animistic religious cults which are outside of either Islam or Christianity. Moslems have usually regarded them as an inferior group and made little effort to secure converts. Both Catholic and Protestant missions have operated in the areas inhabited by tribes and their success in securing converts has been about proportional to the effort expended. The mountain tribes respond readily to missionary appeals but have a tendency to retain the old beliefs along with the new; while their lowly social position and traditional isolation prevent religious conversion from leading to assimilation in the larger Christian community.

Next to the mountain tribes, the Chinese are the group who appear most amenable to conversion by other religious groups. Traditional patterns of religious behavior appear to depend upon personal loyalty and family observances and no organized Buddhist temple has operated in Cotabato communities. In periods before large scale Christian migration, the Chinese often intermarried with the Moros and sometimes accepted the faith of Islam. Some of the Chinese mestizos became prominent in the Mohammedan community and at least one is reputed to have died on the pilgrimage to Mecca. In recent years the swing is toward Christianity.

Mixed motives are usually present in religious conversion and the Chinese are often accused of making a religious change to facilitate social acceptance. This charge seems more creditable because the Chinese are reluctant to ascribe to any religion an absolute monopoly of the means of salvation and thus are more tolerant and less dogmatic than other groups. The town of Cotabato is estimated to have a Chinese and Chinese-mestizo population of about 2,500 and, while large numbers of Chinese have received Christian baptism, the number who maintain an active relationship to Christian churches is rather small. The Oblate fathers estimate that about thirty Chinese have been reasonably faithful in their religious obligations and the Christian Missionary Alliance reports an attendance of twenty to forty at its Chinese services. Both groups have been helped by the presence of exiled Chinese clerics from Communist China; a Chinese priest was attached to the Oblate fathers at the time of the study and a Chinese pastor had been working with the Christian Missionary Alliance group. Some citizens of Chinese ancestry have become ardent churchmen. In general, they appear to be ready to accept conversion when this is thought to facilitate relationships with the Christian community, but they often maintain only a nominal relationship to the church organization.

Religious differences accentuate lines of social cleavage between Moros and other Filipinos and there appears to be little tendency toward mass conversion in either direction. Rather than being weakened by contact with Christianity, the Islamic institutions appear to be stimulated to a

EDUCATION SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION

Different attitudes toward education serve to perpetuate community divisions, while the common pressure toward the acquisition of Western culture tends to bring together students from different groups. Each group maintains its own educational system, but no group is able to perpetuate its members to stay entirely within the confines of its own institutions. Formal indigenous schools are almost completely absent among the mountain tribes, who train the young through learning within the family. Insofar as these tribes come within the orbit of the dominant culture, their children find their place either in schools operated by missionaries in public institutions largely staffed by Christian teachers.

The Moros are nearly in the same position although this is modified by respect for Islamic culture. Traditional Moro schooling was confined to wandering immams who held informal classes in which students learned to read, but not to interpret, Arabic script. This schooling produced Moslems who could participate in the services in the mosque and this was considered to be the principal aim of education. Recently, efforts have been made to systematize and broaden this type of education.

In 1950, a formal Mohammedan school was set up in Cotabato, housed in a residence donated by a local datu and headed by a Moslem missionary, at by the Egyptian government. In addition to learning to read the Koran in Arabic, the students are taught to understand the language. Courses are also included in mathematics and in Mohammedan history with Egyptian textbooks as the basis of instruction. Currently, three Moro teachers have been added to the staff and about two hundred students attend classes. The school is not recognized by the government and Moros desirous of obtaining a secular type of education must attend other schools. The teachers would like to expand this system into a government recognized school which also offers the subjects prized by the Westernized type of society, but the limited wealth and education of the Moro community makes this unlikely in the near future.

The school is financed by tuition fees and contributions from the Moro community. In spite of its religious nature, the opposition to formal school attendance has not been overcome and about nine-tenths of the students are male. The school attracts the bulk of its members from the less well-to-do among the community and only ten per cent of students are of "royal blood," i.e., related to some datu.

While the formal Mohammedan school may be a portent of future developments, the main factor which separates Moros educationally is an indifference to education for boys and a wide-spread hostility to education for girls. Exact statistics indicating the proportion of Mohammedan children in school are difficult to obtain because the census figures in 1948 were dubious validity and the population has grown rapidly since that time. A division superintendent of schools estimates that the proportion of children in school varies between twenty-eight percent and fifty-five

percent according to whether one accepts the minimum or the maximum estimate of the total population. While the shortage of school facilities is a principal cause of this poor showing, one would assume that the opposition of Moros to formal schooling is a contributing factor.

Although the total proportion of Moro school attendance is difficult to estimate, the figures leave no doubt as to the educational limitations of Moro girls who constitute only a tiny fraction of the total school population.

Table 6—Maguindanao (Moro) Students in the Public Schools in Cotabato District, 1951-1952*

Primary (Grades I to IV)		
Boys	.....	653
Girls	.....	194
Intermediate (Grades V and VI)		
Boys	.....	217
Girls	.....	28
High School		
Boys	.....	165
Girls	.....	18

* Figures obtained from the office of the Division Superintendent.

In summary, one finds that many Moro children never enter school and the great majority of those who do enroll, end formal education before reaching the fifth grade. Girls are enrolled in small numbers in the primary grades and only an insignificant proportion reach high school. This picture would have to be modified in the case of upper class Moros whose children are more likely to be enrolled in the school and some of whom have gone on to college. Even among this group, there is still opposition to feminine education and it is not uncommon for girls of high status families to leave school after finishing the fourth grade. The government seeks to encourage education and about one hundred Moros a year from a total population of three quarters of a million are sent to college as government pensionados. This group, of course, comes into contact with Christian students, but the bulk of Moro young people either have no formal education or attend school only during the primary years.

The most impressive school building in Cotabato is occupied by the Chinese school which was began in 1924 with thirty pupils in the elementary school. It now enrolls 800 pupils and curriculum goes through high school. About one third of the students come from outside the town of Cotabato and a large proportion are mestizos of whom only about ten percent have some Moro ancestry. The changing proportion of mestizos in the various grades furnish an interesting commentary on the process of assimilation reflecting a constant decrease in the mestizo proportion as one goes up the academic ladder. Presumably, this reflects both an increasing rate of intermarriage among the younger child bearing group and a tendency for the mestizo children to shift to other schools as they climb the academic ladder.

Table 7—Proportion of Mestizos in the Chinese School*

Academic level	Pure Chinese	Mestizo
Kindergarten	35	65
Primary	50	50
Intermediate	70	30
High School	80	20

* Estimate furnished by Chen, Liesh Fu, principal of the Cotabato Chinese School.

The Chinese School does not charge tuition and is supported by contributions gathered from businessmen by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. It provides both a curriculum in Chinese language and culture and the standard course found in the public schools of the Philippines, thus imposing a heavy scholastic burden on the students.

While Filipinos tend to view education as a road to professional careers, the Chinese think of the school primarily as an agency which preserves Chinese culture in a foreign land. The goal of the Chinese is not a professional career, but success in business, the skills for which they think are best learned while working. One effect of this attitude is that a large number of Chinese students drop out before finishing high school and relatively few go on to college. The mestizos, a group more influenced by the values of the dominant Filipino culture, have some tendency to shift from business toward professional careers and they place less importance on the acquisition of Chinese culture. This ambivalence in cultural attitudes produces a tension between the goals of the mestizo student and the emphasis of the Chinese school which often results in a transfer to either the public school or a private Filipino institution.

The public schools, along with the Notre Dame schools which have been established in the province since the war, enroll primarily Christian students with a sprinkling of Moro students in the primary grades and a small minority of Chinese mestizo and Moro students in the upper divisions of both school setups. This promotes a measure of contact between different groups, but both Catholic and public school teachers say, the Moro students tend to group together in the school situation. Discipline is said to be difficult because of a tendency to "gang up" on the teachers who punish Moro students.

As in the case of religion, the schools also tend to divide along ethnic lines with Chinese students in a separate institution and Moro students, especially girls, not reached by formal education of any type. The trend, however, would seem to indicate a gradual increase in Moro school attendance by both sexes and some tendency for the Chinese-mestizo students to enroll in Filipino schools. Some elements of the Moro community would like to maintain their own schools but it is doubtful if they can furnish either the finances or the organizational skill required for this type of project. At present the school system tends to perpetuate ethnic divisions, but it may be expected to perform more of an assimilative function in the future.

LANGUAGE FACTORS IN ETHNIC DIVISION

Cotabato is one of the provinces in which no single language is spoken by a majority of the population. Many of the residents said that *Chabakano*,

a combination of Spanish and various Filipino dialects, is the tongue used by the older Christian residents, but it is unknown to many of the present settlers and is not listed by the census as one of the six major languages.

Table 8—Cotabato Languages *

Maguindanao (principal Moro dialect)	221,287	50%
English	93,946	21%
Tagalog	82,165	19%
Cebuano	51,348	12%
Hiligaynon	48,828	11%
Bila-an	32,669	7%

* Unpublished data obtained from Philippine Census Office. Some of the people speak more than one language which explains why the percentage figures exceed 100. Separate figures are not available on Chinese, but it may be assumed that, as a trading people, many of the Chinese are multi-lingual at least to a limited extent.

Another approach to language usage may be found by comparing the circulation of various periodicals. The only periodical regularly published in the province at the time of the study was *The Mindanao Cross*. This is put out by the Oblate fathers and has two sections, one featuring provincial news and the other devoted to religious articles. It is published in English and claims a circulation of 8,000.

Weekly periodicals are listed by the provincial news agency as follows:

Table 9—Cotabato Magazine Circulation *

Bisaya (Cebuano Fiction Weekly)	1340
Hiligaynon (Hiligaynon Fiction Weekly)	990
Free Press (English Language Weekly)	920
Bannawag (Ilocano Weekly)	670
Kislap (Tagalog Weekly)	660
Lidayway (Tagalog Weekly)	480
Bulaklak (Tagalog Weekly)	320
Song Movie (English Tagalog)	200

* Figures on circulation obtained from Cotabato Distributor.

Newspaper circulation seems to indicate that those interested in this type of media prefer English publication. Only about thirty copies a piece are sold of either the Spanish paper, *El Debate*, or the Tagalog paper, *Bagong Buhay*. Circulation of other papers is as follows:

Table 10—Cotabato Newspaper Circulation **

Manila Times	375
Manila Chronicle	140
Manila Daily Bulletin	100
Philippines Herald	80

** Figures from Cotabato Distributor.

Language differences accentuate social distance between the Moros and others and hinder cooperation between the various Christian groups. Since a comparatively small number of people speak either English or the national

language (Tagalog), one would assume that there is no *lingua franca* which is utilized by the less educated group. The Moros will only learn other languages as they attend school in greater numbers or have more intimate relationships with other groups; neither of these trends seems likely to have any great effect in the immediate future. Education may be expected to increase the knowledge of English and Tagalog, since English is the medium of instruction in the schools while Tagalog is a required subject in the grades and is the native language of a group influential in governmental circles. On the other hand, the magazine figures suggest that Cebuano and Hiligaynon (Visayan languages) are more widespread than the census statistics indicate. Since the heaviest migration comes from the Visayan areas, it is at least possible that these languages may become even more important in the future although it seems unlikely that any one tongue will become dominant for some time.

COMMUNITY STRUCTURE OF ETHNIC GROUPS

Formal organization is difficult to perceive in the Christian community, somewhat more apparent among the Moros, and a major force in Chinese social structure. Christian Filipinos are drawn together by the Catholic church although relationships here are largely impersonal and auxiliary organizations which would encourage personal interaction are relatively undeveloped. As in other parts of the Philippines, the family is the only group relationship which deeply affects the bulk of the populace.

In addition to family loyalty, the Moros are bound together by the *datu* system. Moros are grouped under various *datos* and pay amounts of tribute, theoretically ten percent of the harvest, even if they own their own land. The *datu* settles quarrels within his group, acts as financial agent and tries to protect his followers against outsiders. They are drawn together by social events, principally weddings and funerals, and work together in tasks such as fishing and farming. The *datu* takes the lead in political campaigns and will act as religious guardian in arranging passage to Mecca or in the building of a mosque. The *datu* system is weakened by rivalries between conflicting leaders and the beginning of a tendency for Moros to obtain jobs in places, where it is difficult for the *datu* to control their economic activities, can be discerned.

Auxiliary religious organizations are even more rare among Moros than among Catholics, although the educated group has attempted to organize socio-religious fraternities. Lanao has several chapters of the Knights of Mohammed, Sulu boasts of a Sulu Islamic Union and Cotabato Moros recently started a Philippine Islamic Union. This group started off with considerable fanfare and collected a fair amount of money, but it was paralyzed by rivalry between different leaders and became moribund within a year after its creation. Formal organization is something outside the Moro cultural framework and it seems unlikely that groups of this type will be very effective in the immediate future.

The Chinese Chamber of Commerce is probably the most potent single organization in Cotabato. It provides recreation for men of all ages, settles commercial disputes, allocates fields of economic activity, supports the Chinese school and raises money for activities of all types including charitable drives. The next most conspicuous organization is the Cantonese Association sponsored by other elements of the Chinese community. While there

is a high degree of intermarriage among the Chinese, they are split between the Amoy and the Cantonese. The Cantonese comprise about fifteen percent of the Chinese population and are found mainly in tailoring, restaurants, hotels and grocery enterprises while the Amoy Chinese handle the larger retail establishments and act as agricultural middlemen and processors. The Cantonese are included in the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, but have their own Cantonese Association which acts as social club, transient lodging house and mutual aid society.

The rather tightly knit social structure of the Chinese community operates to maintain group morale and to discourage the assimilation of Chinese by the Christian community. While he maintains relationship with these groups, the Chinese man is assured both comradeship and economic aid; if he separates from them, he is on his own in an area which is rather unfriendly to members of his ethnic group.

CIVIC PARTICIPATION ACROSS ETHNIC LINES

Civic organizations active in parts of the province include Junior Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Masons, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Red Cross and Parent-Teacher Association. The P. T. A. is active in providing buildings and equipment for the schools and has a large membership, primarily Christian, but including a number from other groups. The Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary are mostly composed of Christians with a sprinkling of Chinese and mestizos, but only two or three Moros. The Masons have about seventy local members and a considerable number of men whose membership is still held in lodges elsewhere in the country. The local membership includes three Moros, six Chinese and mestizos and one Indian. The welfare groups, Scouts and Red Cross, have deliberately sought to include a cross section of the population and have obtained a nominal representation of prominent Moros on their governing boards; their active membership is predominantly Christian with some Chinese participation in the Scouts. The Boy Scouts have enlisted over a hundred Moro boys in the town of Cotabato and claim a few all-Moro troops in other towns. The Girl Scouts, as yet, have had little success in attracting Moro girls.

Labor unions in Cotabato are autocratically run, have little membership participation, appear to be stratified along ethnic lines and enroll only a small number of members. The town of Cotabato has two unions: the Consolidated Labor and Marine Association and the Consolidated Labor Union of the Philippines. The first has a Christian president and claims 400 members of whom about 125 are Christian and the remainder Moros. The Consolidated Labor Union, a new group in Cotabato, claims 500 nominal members of whom only 57 are Moros. Members of the first union are mostly stevedores while the second union concentrates on sawmills and rice mills.

Civic groups are not prominent features of Cotabato life, and, except for P. T. A., are completely absent in many communities. They offer some opportunity for interaction between Christians and a small number of Moros and Chinese. The small Chinese representation appears due to the indifference of this group to non-Chinese organizations and to some opposition to a large Chinese membership from other members. Moros do not appear to suffer from actual discrimination and their lack of participation

appears related to a social and educational level which is not conducive to this type of civic activity. At the present time, civic and economic organizations play only a limited role in the process of integrating ethnic groups, but their effectiveness in this respect should increase as a greater number of Moros acquire the cultural outlook which makes them at ease in formal organizations.

INTERMARRIAGE

Intermarriage is probably the best indication of the extent to which contiguous groups are being assimilated in a common culture. Sexual attraction operates across cultural barriers, but a formal marriage relationship involves some adjustment of group differences and the working out of an arrangement under which individuals from different cultures can reach an agreement on the respective roles of husband and wife and the training of the young generation. Intermarriage is thus both a spur to further assimilation and an indication that, to a considerable extent, the process of cultural integration has already taken place.

While intermarriage usually takes place whenever two groups are in territorial proximity, there are many factors which affect its extent. The most obvious is the degree to which the social structure has incorporated attitudes which expressly favor or limit this type of relationship. In the southern part of the United States, and the Union of South Africa potential mates are sharply discouraged by a general prejudice against intermarriage which is reinforced by legal prohibitions. Similarly, the caste society of India has strengthened social barriers by religiously sanctioned injunctions against marrying across caste lines. In the Philippines, there are many factors which make for ethnocentric bias discouraging marriage outside of the group; but there are no legal prohibitions and there is a long history of intermarriage between the different groups which have established themselves in the islands. Thus Philippine social attitudes, in general, operate to promote in-group marriage but intermixture is not prohibited and finds some degree of sanction in the historical practices of the country.

Another factor of major importance is an unbalanced sex ratio in a minority group with high status. Most foreign groups in the Philippines have been predominantly male and if their men were to find wives at all it must be with the local populace. This was true of the Spanish before the coming of the Americans and remains true with the Chinese to this day. To a much lesser extent, the same factor operates with Christian migrants to Cotabato but the disproportion is smaller and it is easier to get a bride from an adjacent province than from a distant country.

Differences in social and economic status also operate to promote or discourage exogamy. Here the question becomes one of the relative advantage which both parties may find in this type of marriage. With foreign groups which have a low ratio of females, the native girl is often the only potential bride available. On her part, she may be repelled by cultural differences but also attracted by the superior economic status which males of the foreign group often possess. The matter is not wholly economic and to societies which are experiencing a rapid cultural change, the more advanced individuals find that they have become alienated from their own traditions and attracted to a social group which is considered to have more "advanced" standards. Conversely, the more socially mobile individuals

have acquired traits which make them more acceptable to members of other cultural groups.

Since proximity must be measured by social as well as geographical criteria, another factor is the extent to which individuals of different sexes have the chance to meet and to begin an acquaintance which may lead to marriage. Thus a society in which men and women from different backgrounds meet in educational, economic or social activities gives a greater chance for romance to cross ethnic lines. A related matter is the extent to which marriage partners are chosen by the entire family group as contrasted to free choice by the individual concerned. Unless exogamy is directed to family accepted standards of upward social mobility, the family influence usually exerted to keep marital choice within the bounds of the group. This factor is especially important in a changing society in which the parents are closer to the traditional standards of the group than are the children.

Applying this analysis to regional groups of Christian Filipinos, one finds them separated by language barriers and by minor differences in economic status and living habits. On the other hand, they share a common religious background, meet each other in school and work and may have developed a common language through the use of English or the predominant local vernacular. While the family control of marriage is strong, it is not complete and the individual usually has some choice in the selection of marriage partner. Under this milieu, one would expect a weakening of endogamous influence and a considerable proportion of marriage across regional lines. The figures for Cotabato municipality seem to bear out this theory. To secure this data, the author recorded the birth place of Christian Filipinos who married in the last half of 1952. Out of a total of 170, ninety marriages involved mates both in different provinces, while in thirty-seven marriages both parties were born in the same province and in 28 marriages the place of birth was not given. In this particular section at least, interregional marriage seems to be proceeding at a rapid rate.

Aside from marriages in which both partners were Christian Filipinos there were sixteen mixed marriages and nine in which both partners were Chinese. The validity of this method of checking marriages is limited by two aspects of the local culture: many residents of Cotabato may have been married elsewhere and marriages involving Moros are usually not recorded. The sixteen mixed marriages may be classified as follows:

Table 11—Mixed Marriages *

Chinese-Moro	1
Christian Filipino-American	1
Moro-Christian Filipino	2
Chinese-Christian Filipino	7
Mestizos of different ancestry	5

* Figures from Cotabato municipal records.

These figures strengthen the general impression that the rate of intermarriage between Moros and Christian is low, although there may be a few cases of Christian-Moro marriages sanctioned by a Moslem ceremony and not recorded on the civil register. One would expect this to be more true of the Chinese-Moro marriage since the Chinese religious attitude does not demand any particular form of marriage ceremony.

In an earlier period when Chinese often outnumbered Christians, intermarriage between Chinese and Moros was a frequent occurrence. In many cases, the Chinese and their off-spring actually became a part of Moro society. Thus, some Chinese have taken Mohammedan names and became prominent in the life of the Moro community. The most famous example of Moslem acculturation is the late Datu Piang, a Chinese mestizo who became the leading datu in Cotabato.

The lure of Moro brides for Chinese men was prompted not only by a shortage of Chinese women, but also by the economic advantages which might allow from alliance with prominent Moro families. The Moros also gained economic advantage from a familiar alliance with Chinese business and since the Chinese often became Moslem and never proselyted, they were not regarded as a threat to Islam. The existence of a traditional bitterness between Moslem and Christian meant that the Chinese did not fill the role of scapegoat in popular prejudice, while the limited commercial interests of the Moros prevented them from regarding the Chinese as economic competitors.

Occasional Moro-Chinese unions still occur, but the trend now seems to be for both parties to intermarry to a greater extent with Christians. The Christian settlers now number as large a group as the Moros and marriage with Christians represents a step toward alliance with a group is dominant in the nation and rapidly becoming dominant in the area. The culture of the Christian Filipino represents a type of magnet with powerful attraction for either the Chinese or the Moro who has begun to cut loose from his group identification.

An example of this shift in marriage preference is found in the records of the Cotabato Sino-Mestizo Association. This is a group begun through the efforts of Jose Lim, a Chinese mestizo of Moro descent married to a Christian wife, who at one time was mayor of Cotabato. The aim of the association is to impress the community with the importance of the mestizo group as contrasted to that of the pure Chinese. It has never been a very active organization, but its membership roster affords a means of checking the type of cultural dynamics which leads to intermarriage. The mestizo group has a three-way pull between the Chinese, Christian and Moro community with some tendency toward a distinct status of its own. The family patterns of the group indicate quite definitely that affiliation with the Christian community has the greatest attraction.

The direction of intermarriage is indicated by the author's analysis of the membership of the Cotabato city portion of the association. Of fifty-one members, thirty-two had Moro-Chinese parents, but only four cases were noted in which the members themselves had married Moro brides. On the other hand, twenty-three had taken Christian brides, eight had married pure Chinese and fifteen had married within the mestizo group. Eighteen of the families had their children baptized as Christian, while only one family was rearing children in the Moslem faith. Families with children of school age were about equally divided between the public, Catholic and Chinese schools.

Table 12—Some Assimilative Tendencies of Male Members of Cotabato Sino-Mestizo Association

Parents of Member *	
Moro and Chinese	32
Christian and Chinese	7
Mestizo and Chinese	12
* Includes two marriages in which both parties were mestizo.	
Ethnic Group of Member's Wife	
Mora	4
Chinese	8
Christian	23
Mestiza	16
Education of Children *	
Public School	9
Catholic	11
Chinese	11
Christian Baptism of Member's Children	18

* Where children had attended more than one school they are listed under the last choice. Some of the children were transferred from the Chinese school after the first year. Data is on 51 male members of whom 31 had children in school at time of interview.

The mestizo groups in earlier days represented a mixture of Chinese and Moro, but now are definitely Chinese and Christian. The claims of the Chinese community are strong, but inter-marriage, membership in Christian churches and the enrollment of children in public and Catholic schools all indicate a gradual drift toward absorption by the Christian-Filipino community.

Like the Chinese, the Moros also show a rather definite trend toward Christian brides when they marry outside of the group. It is a pattern largely confined to upper class Moro men, but is widespread within that group. In 1953, the governor of Cotabato, the mayor and the provincial academic supervisor were all cases in point. Princess Bai Matabay Piang furnished the author with a list of forty prominent Cotabato Moros who have Christian wives. In some of these cases, the man had divorced a Mora wife and a few instances are known in which prominent datus have both Christian and Mora wives, maintaining them in separate households however.

Seeking motivation, one observes that the Christian woman often finds the Moro datu to be an educated, wealthy individual with political power and high local prestige. The Moro finds in the Christian wife a type of companionship which the uneducated, socially secluded Moro is seldom able to offer. In a few instances, this type of union has led to the conversion of the Moro to the Christian faith, but usually, his initial religious preference is bulwarked by the fact that his prestige depends upon his status in the Moslem community and would be threatened by an open break with Islam. Under these circumstances, the wife usually becomes religiously inactive while an effort is made to rear the children in the Moslem faith even though they may be educated in Christian schools.

At present, there is little evidence of Moslem apostasy, but how long identification with the Mohammedan community can survive this type of cultural strain is at least a moot question. On the other hand, an increase in the number of educated Moros would be expected to diminish the comparative social attractiveness of the Christian wife and perhaps slow down the rate of upper class intermarriage.

As far as can be ascertained, the lower class Moro has little tendency toward exogamy. His cultural background would clash with the greater independence and higher living standards of the Christian Filipina, who, although inhibited by Western standards, is far more emancipated than the Mora. Similarly, the Christian woman finds little that attracts her in the limited education and the low economic status of the average Moro while religious prejudice constitutes a major barrier for both groups.

Similar barriers exist between virtually all Moros and Christian men. Marriage with a lower class Mora offers no social advantages and runs counter to religious and cultural stereotypes while the upper class Mora is not likely to meet Christian men in her socio-economic level. In all social classes, the marriage of Moros is determined by family arrangements and the dowry or bride price makes a marriageable daughter an economic asset. Family pressure usually favors an in-group marriage, while the social seclusion of the girls limits the chance for the development of unsanctioned romance. A few educated Moros have taken Christian husbands, but their number is extremely small and usually the Moslem girl has no opportunity to meet men of any type outside of her immediate locality and even here, her activities are heavily chaperoned.

The marital choice of the pure Chinese is determined by many factors, the most important of which is a distorted sex ratio. The 1948 census found 1,134 Chinese males and only 601 Chinese females.¹¹

Observers in Cotabato municipality estimated that although numbers are larger, the current ratio is still about two to one. The Chinese girl has great prestige in the community and only the most successful men can afford the costs involved in a wedding which often involves sums running from three thousand to twenty thousand pesos including elaborate parties and gifts for the family. The Chinese woman tends to marry a successful Chinese merchant while the Chinese man is often forced to look for a wife outside of the group. To the extent that the Chinese man has become "Filipinized" he finds a greater affinity with the Christian Filipina than with the Mora and under current conditions he usually finds that identification with the Christian community is a greater business asset. Amalgamation thus tends to diminish the number of pure Chinese and works toward ultimate absorption by the Christian community.

CONCLUSION

While their physical proximity promotes contact, the social systems of the different ethnic groups are slanted toward segregation and stratification. The groups differ in language, dress, religion, family life, economic activities and attitudes toward education. All of them cherish endogamous attitudes which hinder inter-marriage.

¹¹ Unpublished data obtained from Bureau of the Census and Statistics.

Not only are the groups culturally separated, but recurrent economic disputes embitter relationships. The Chinese as the commercial middlemen suffer the prejudice which usually attaches to groups in this status. Moslems and Christian settlers are often involved in land disputes in which the Christians are regarded as invaders and the Moros as extortionists—a situation aggravated by incomplete land registration, which means that few people have legally established land titles. Christians and Moslems have a mutual low opinion of each other's morals since the Christian is regarded as an infidel who eats pork and worships images, while the Moslem is scorned as a polygamist and feared as a potential *juramentado* (one who runs amuck).

Current trends in the area show little change in economic or cultural stratification, but indicate the basis for close relationships between Christian Filipinos, Chinese mestizos and upper class Moros. The pure Chinese appear to be a diminishing group who still occupy a powerful economic and social position in the community. The upper class Moros are torn between Moro tradition and the attraction of Christian culture; functionally, they serve both as liaison agents with other groups and as leaders of the Moslem bloc. Lower class Moros are resistant to education, have little opportunities for intermarriage and show few signs of economic mobility. Religious demarcation appears permanent with indications of a modernization of Islamic religious institutions. Education, at present, tends to preserve ethnic differences, but there is evidence of an increasing tendency for children of all groups to be drawn into a common school experience. Lower class Moros may come into closer relationship with other groups as their educational and economic status is improved. Such an improvement will have to be a gradual process requiring several generations to accomplish.

While the three groups may be able to cooperate on a peaceful basis, only the Chinese show any indication of losing their identity and this is a long term process sharply resisted by community organization and strong ethnocentric sentiments.

Philippine governmental policy in the area has endeavored to take ethnic differences into consideration. The Moros have had free access to political activity and their education has been encouraged. In this fashion, the elite of the Moro community are gradually being incorporated as an integral part of the total Philippine society. On the other hand, the coercive power of government has not been used to achieve cultural monism. Special provisions have been made for the toleration of polygamy and divorce even though these conflict with the legal standards and customary practices of the Christian majority. Educational facilities have been expanded, but authorities rely upon persuasion more than compulsion and have been content to win a gradual acceptance by the indigenous groups.

Relations between Chinese and other groups show less tension in Cotabato than in other areas of the nation. This is probably due to the fact that aggressive impulses are directed to Moslem-Christian tensions, so that Chinese do not carry out their "scapegoat" role. While the Chinese are an influential commercial group, this pattern may be expected to change with the passage of time. The tendency toward amalgamation will probably decrease the size of the Chinese community about as rapidly as other elements become acculturated to commercial activity.

The schools play an important role in setting the tone for inter-group relations. This role simply requires the same consideration for Moslem viewpoints which are accorded to those of the Christian. Thus conciliation would be aided if the schools would stress the cultural achievements of the Moslem world and place less favorable aspects in the same perspective they give to the Inquisition in the development of Christianity. Unfortunately, most teachers do not have the type of preparation which is essential for an objective type of approach.

In general, the measures required for a reduction of social tensions are simply those needed for the general improvement of the total community. Cotabato already has a heritage of respect and toleration for differing viewpoints. It needs the development of essential public activities such as roads, malaria control and the provision of adequate amounts of safe water. As a pioneer area, it suffers from delay and sometimes injustice in the granting of land titles. The growing population brings constant pressure for expansion of school activities. Finally, a peaceful society requires a more effective means of maintaining peace and order than has yet been achieved.

Good ethnic relationship however depend not only on the progress of the total community but also on the continued application of wise government policies. In this area the Philippines will be tempted by many types of policies which might be highly unfortunate. Perhaps the most obvious danger is that growing tension between the Chinese and Christian Filipinos will lead to discriminatory legislation, even sharper than now existing, which will either completely paralyze the most active commercial group in the area or, best, lead to greatly increase friction between the Chinese and the rest of the populace. Cotabato is lacking in both capital and business enterprise and the economic restriction of the Chinese would be apt to retard the development of the entire province.

On the other hand a simple trust in the impartial enforcement of legal forms will result in the exploitation of the other groups by the Chinese and the Christian Filipinos. The Moros and the Mountain tribesmen are still so unfamiliar with the legal processes of an individualistic contractual type of society that they would soon lose out to more sophisticated groups. Government policy should involve the extension of social service without the effort to force the pace of assimilation beyond that desired by these groups. It should also adopt (and this is very difficult) a policy which protects the native landowner against legalistic chicanery and likewise protects the Christian settler against violence. This is asking for a type of administrative discernment and impartiality which it has not been possible to obtain in regard to Indians in the United States, but it may be that Filipino administrators can profit from the mistakes of other countries. It is also possible that the political power of the Moros and mountain tribesmen will protect them from the exploitation of groups whose culture is better adapted to the skills of the market and the courts.

Optimism in regard to improved ethnic relationship of course assumes that the Philippines will continue to follow the policy of tolerating cultural differences even to the extent of making exceptions to provisions of the basic law. Allowing the non-Christian groups to be exempt from the prohibition against polygamy and divorce represents a high degree of social wisdom. The

legal basis for this exception is due to expire in a few years and it is to be hoped that the Philippine government will be able at that time to resist nationalistic pressure for cultural uniformity and to continue to recognize the dangers of attempting to regiment peoples whose cultural ethos is drastically different from the majority group.

Cotabato has started out on the type of approach by which groups of different cultural backgrounds may be expected to live in harmony. The province is not a "melting pot" in which different groups are forced into a common mold, but a place in which peoples of different viewpoints live together in good will and tolerance. The present problems of inter-group relations are identical with the problems of community development. If the community forges ahead, inter-group tensions may be expected to diminish, but the failure to solve economic and governmental problems would aggravate ethnic irritations. Other areas of mixed population may observe the experience of Cotabato with profit and, if present trends continue this pioneer area may truly be a "land of promise."

Compliments

of

FELICIA SECURITIES, INC.

FELIX Z. TIONGCO
President

Manila

Philippines

Vol V - no. 1

SOME PROBLEMS OF MORO HISTORY AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

MELVIN MEDNICK

As students of Philippine culture and society focus their attention more closely on the island of Mindanao, a great many problems and questions concerning the Islamized inhabitants of the island achieve an almost preemptive significance. Certainly no history of the island, no description of its cultures, and no analysis of its societies can be made without reference to the people whose raiding, trading, and political organization were felt by almost every indigenous group in the southern Philippines.

Yet, despite their importance, the Moros are probably the least known major group on Mindanao. While there are numerous references to them in histories, legends, and travelers' reports, there is only one work which is a detailed description of a Moro group, Orosa's 1923 *The Sulu Archipelago and its People*. It is the purpose of this paper to summarize some of the scattered data concerning Moro society, sketch some problems and considerations concerning Moro studies, and suggest a few ways in which Moro studies may be related to more general problems in Mindanao and the Philippines.

Until 50 years ago, the Moros were the major cultural influence in the southern Philippines. Because of their geographic position, they were both the recipients and bearers of the great cultures of southeast and eastern Asia. The mouth of the Cotabato River and the Sulu archipelago early became important in Malaysian trade. Jolo, lying midway between Mindanao and Borneo, and the Celebes and Sulu Seas, was the gateway to the Philippines for ships coming out of the East Indies, and the gateway to the Spice Islands for ships going south from China. The mouth of the Cotabato River was also of strategic importance because it offered access to the interior of Mindanao and settlements here became trading centers.

As a result of these commercial contacts, the Moros themselves were extremely active in trade. Moro boats carried trade goods into the northern islands of the Philippines, as well as ranging as far west as the Persian Gulf and as far south as New Guinea. Moro traders penetrated the interior of various islands in the Philippines, and where they could, extended their political domination in order to achieve trade monopolies (cf. Christie, 1909). It is because of these contacts and their effects, not only on the Moros but on the people with whom they traded, that the Islamized areas of Mindanao become of interest to the cultural historian. Other parts of the Philippines were also affected by the great Asiatic civilizations, but these effects have been eliminated or submerged in the now Christian areas. The Islamized area, on the other hand, still retains these influences, in perhaps the sharpest form in which they occurred in the Philippines, and so makes at least this part of the mosaic of Philippine pre-history amenable to first-hand study.

The Moro area also holds interest for those concerned with indigenous Philippine society. Unlike any other non-Christian group in the islands.