

relation to their ecology. A final suggestion for study is, what effect, if any, does a sedentary life have on people who were formerly nomadic?

In the body of this paper many tentative suggestions regarding further re-

search have already been made. It is hoped that these suggestions along with those proposed above may be of help to the future researcher in his investigation into the culture of the Samal of Sulu.

## *Intergroup Relations Among the Taosug, Samal and Badjaw of Sulu*

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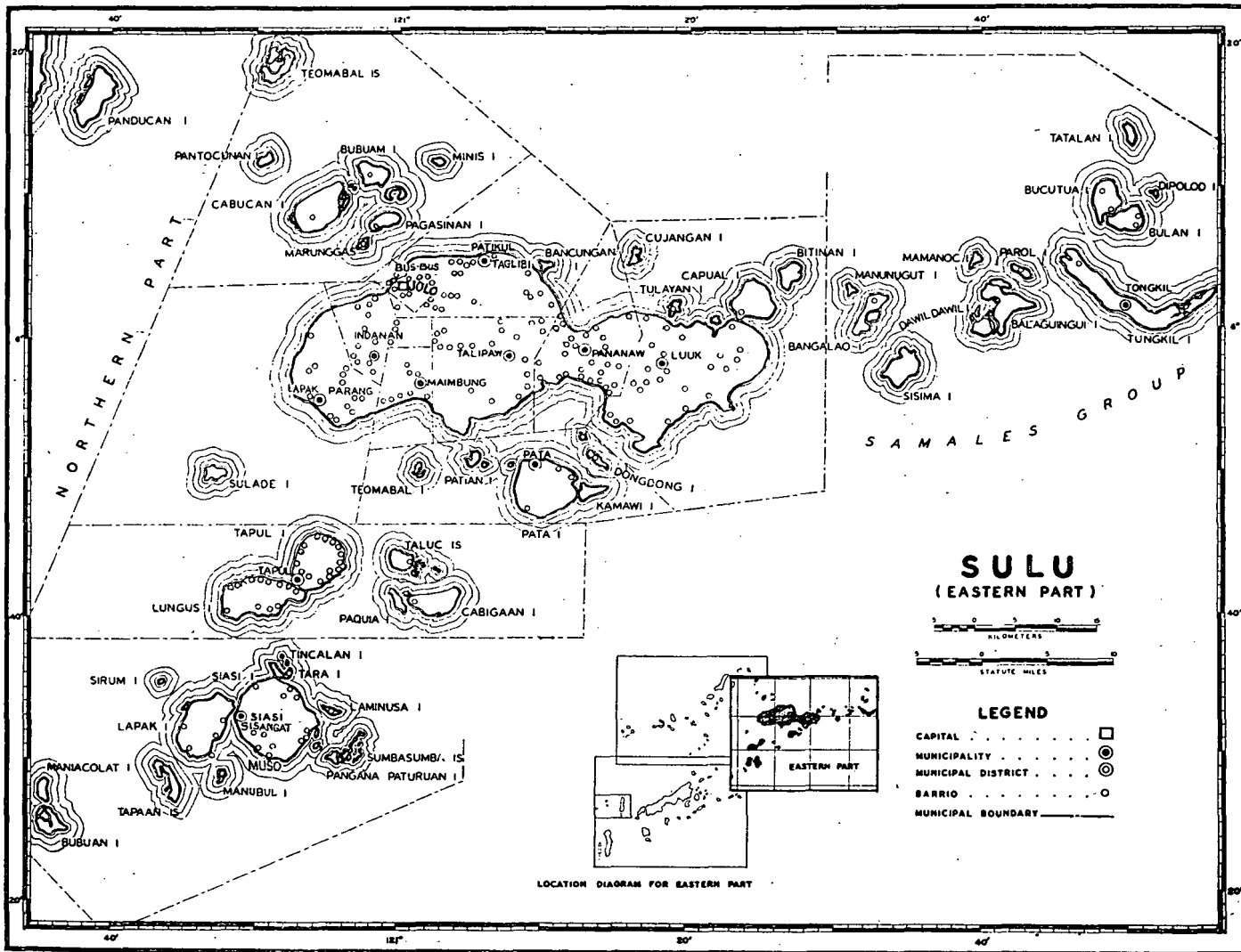
THIS IS A REPORT of field work in progress among the groups of the Sulu archipelago in the southern Philippines, begun in April, 1962. During the initial trip to the area, from April 4 through June 1, 1962, each of the major market areas was visited, and data collected throughout the archipelago. From June 15 through September 2, 1962, I stayed in Jolo town on the island of Jolo, and while not actively engaged in full-time research, did add some data to my files. A third period, July through December, 1963 will be spent in the Siasi area studying the relationship and interaction of three homogenous communities—one Taosug, and one each of first-class and second-class Samal (see map).

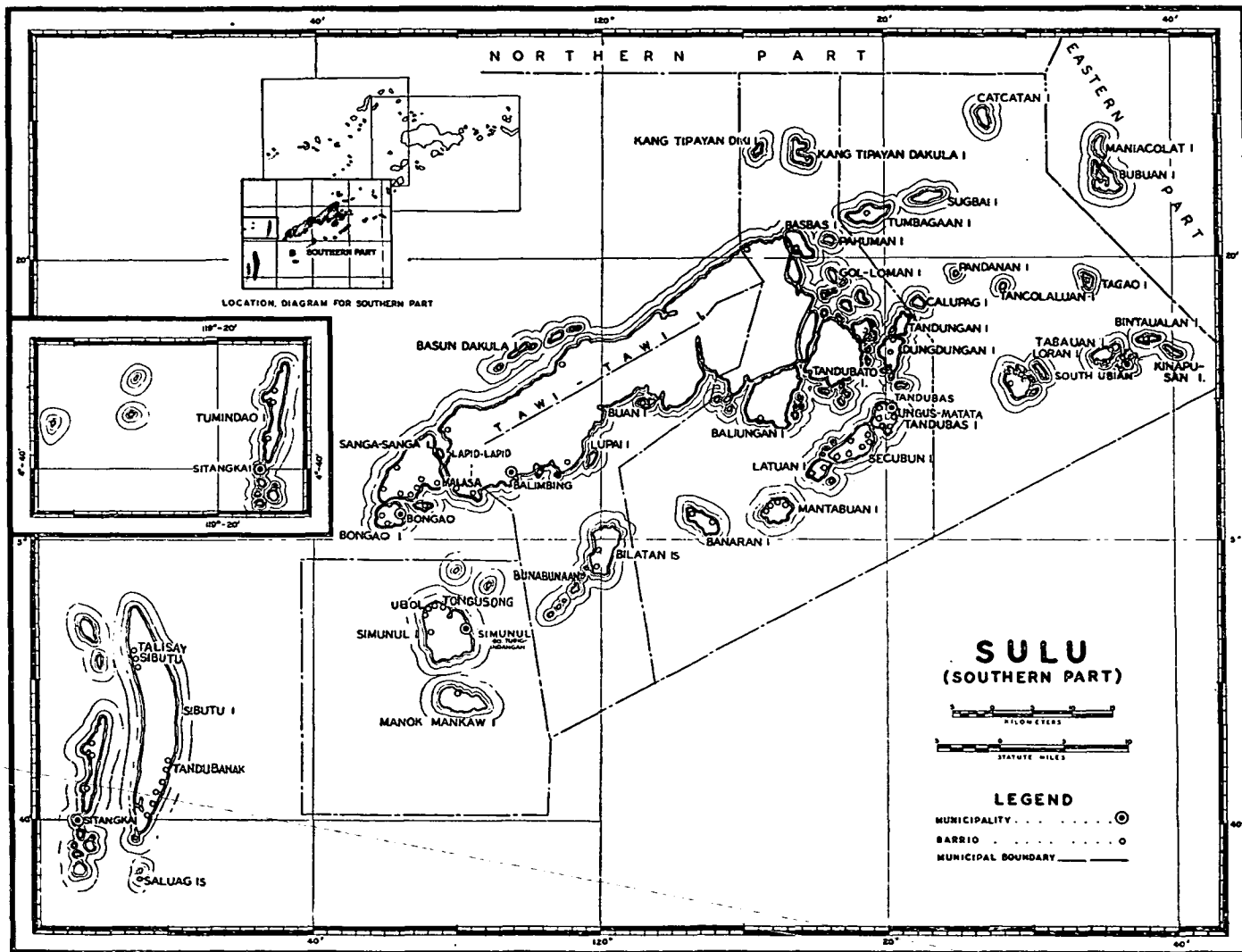
The Sulu Archipelago is a group of some 500 islands extending in a north-east-southwest direction from the eastern tip of Mindanao to the northwest coast of North Borneo. The islands comprise a political unit, the Province of Sulu of the Republic of the Philippines, with settlements scattered over a wide area from Jolo island in the North to the settlement of Sitangkai in the southern part of the chain; the island of Cagayan de Sulu in the Northwest to the Turtle Islands in the Southwest, within sight of the North Borneo city of Sandakan.

The area has long been regarded by northern Filipinos as part of "Moroland" since the area has a strong nominally Muslim affiliation, and had, until the American occupation, a high degree of political autonomy under a Sultanate.

But this is a misleading term since there are three distinct ethnic groups in the area as well as approximately six thousand Christians, mostly immigrants or children of immigrants from the north; several thousand Chinese, or peoples of a Chinese-tribal mixture. The term "Moro" takes into account the three main cultural-linguistic groups: the Taosug, the Samal, and the Badjaw—the groups with which this investigation is primarily concerned. According to Najeeb Saleeby,<sup>1</sup> the Taosug are the indigenous population, who were welded into a political unit early in the 14th century, and were converted to Islam at the same time. Late in the 14th century, the Samal began migrating from Johore in great numbers into the archipelago, but instead of overwhelming the indigenous population, apparently assumed a subordinate status to the Taosug. The origin of the

<sup>1</sup> Najeeb Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Bureau of Science Division of Ethnology Publications, Vol. 4, Part 2, 1908).





Badjaw is unknown, but the hypothesis is tendered that they were either an earlier or later migration of Samal, who kept to their boats, and maintained a migratory way of life.

There are no accurate population figures. The latest census figures (1960) are doubtful. The listings, however, are as follows: (after Arce, 1963):

<i>Group</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Muslim .....	95
Taosug .....	56
Samal .....	39
Christian .....	2
Badjaw .....	2
Foreigners (mostly Chinese) .....	1

TOTAL 100

The climate of the archipelago is tropical, but the islands are out of the monsoon belt, and thus escape the heavy seasonal rains which strike the rest of the Philippines. The temperature remains constant the year around, with a wider range of variation occurring during a twenty-four hour period than during the period from March to July, with rainfall daily, usually in the afternoons, and of short duration.

The main occupation of the islands is fishing although a good number of Taosug are engaged in farming small plots of coconut, cassava, hemp or upland rice. Scattered throughout the islands are a few large, foreign-owned coconut plantations, but it is the smaller, individually owned coconut plantation which supplies the impetus for the "trade" in copra with Borneo, an activity, long practiced by the peoples of Sulu, but frowned upon by the Philippine government.

### Scope of Investigation

There is a widespread impression that the Badjaw are an outcaste group among the peoples of the Sulu Archipelago.

There is as well the added belief that the Taosug dominate the Badjaw and Samal. The question under investigation is twofold: (1) the concrete expressions of this hierarchical relationship; and (2) whether or not the relationship changes when the percentage of each group in the local total population changes. In other words, how secure is the individual in identifying with a certain group, and does group identity change when the make-up of the population changes?

It is assumed that:

- (1) the Taosug, Samal, and Badjaw represent distinct cultural-linguistic groups in their own eyes;
- (2) the groups are ranked by themselves as inferior and superior;
- (3) this distinction and ranking is a patterning for economic, social, and religious interaction.

Operating under these assumptions, the following hypotheses were formulated:

- a. Where the Taosug are the largest group (Jolo and vicinity) intergroup relations will tend to be super-ordinate—subordinate rather than coordinate, the ranking, in descending order of prestige, being Taosug, Samal, and Badjaw.
- b. Where the population is more evenly distributed (as Siasi is presumed to be) the Taosug-Samal relations will tend to be more coordinate, but the Badjaw will remain the lowest group, always in a subordinate position.
- c. Where the Samal outnumber the Taosug and Badjaw (as in Bongao), the Samal-Taosug relations will tend to be coordinate and even super-ordinate—subordinate favoring the Samal, but the Badjaw will remain subordinate to both.

Throughout this paper, the following definitions of terminology will apply:

- a. Group affiliation: the group (Taosug, Samal, or Badjaw) to which the respondent claims he belongs.
- b. Numerical strength of respondent's group in locality: the relative strength of the group as perceived by the respondent.
- c. Group affiliation of partner: as perceived by respondent.
- d. Activities, relationships, choices: in particular, economic activities, ritual relationships, marriage partner choices, friendship relationships, leadership choices for various situations, and religious affiliation.
- e. Superordinate-subordinate: a relationship in which one partner is recognized as dictating the terms of the relationship, with authority to enforce his will or unilaterally to terminate the relationship.
- f. Coordinate: decisions reached by mutual agreement, the relationship to be terminated by joint decision; marriage is taken as a coordinate relationship.

## Methodology

A schedule (see Appendix A) was constructed after some time in the field and provided a base from which to work with informants. Included in the schedule is an attribute scale composed of nine characteristics which respondents were asked to rate as applicable to their own and other groups. Respondents were also asked to complete a modified Bogardus social distance chart on which were placed six groups—Taosug, Samal, Badjaw, American, Chinese, Bisaya—and four relationships—marriage partner, neighbor, business partner, and gov-

ernment official (explained as government official on the lower level with whom respondent might have occasion to deal). The respondent was asked to rate the desirability of relationship with each group: good, does not matter, and bad.

The schedule was translated into both Taosug and Siamal (Siamal is the language; Samal, the people), and given through interpreters in the appropriate language. In Jolo, Taosug was used in all interviews, including those with Badjaw, while in the South, the interpreter obtained the information in the Taosug, Siamal, and Badjaw dialects. The schedule was administered to a total of 44 informants in the three major market areas: Jolo town, Siasi town, and Bongao town. Thirteen Taosug, thirteen Badjaw, and eighteen Samal were interviewed. Interviews of some depth were obtained from approximately half of the informants to whom the schedule was administered. In addition, depth interviews were obtained from religious leaders in each community, political leaders and headmen, and non-affiliated informants in the various group-areas—priests, Christian Filipino residents, and others.

(Table IV shows occupational groupings of respondents broken down according to group.)

## Criteria for Group Differentiation

A set of eight criteria by which group differentiation might be determined was constructed; (1) language, (2) physical factors and social definitions, (3) economic activity, (4) political structure, (5) literacy and education, (6) social interaction (including marriage), (7) religion, and (8) own group and other group image. Each is discussed below.

### Language

Each group—Taosug, Samal, and Badjaw—has its own dialect. They are, on the whole, mutually unintelligible. Actually Taosug is the *lingua franca* throughout the whole area, and all men of both the Samal and Badjaw groups speak Taosug if they have contact with Taosug. The Taosug will not speak either Siamal or Badjaw, feeling it is beneath them. The only exception to this is in Sitangkai where a large Badjaw community is settled, and where the few Taosug government officials do speak the local dialect. In Bongao, where the Samal predominate, Siamal is heard more frequently, but with the influx of Taosug immigrants, Taosug is increasingly becoming the language of daily life outside of the house. The Chinese shopkeepers throughout the area are relatively fluent in both Taosug and Siamal, but only a few Chinese in Bongao find it profitable to learn a few words of Badjaw in order to better implement their trade in salted fish which is barter goods for the Badjaw. Tagalog, the national language, is rarely heard, since it is not intensively taught in school until the high school level. Earlier schooling is taught in the local dialect (grades 1-3), while English is used from grade four on. Intonation patterns of the languages are different, and a Samal speaking Taosug can readily be detected. One informant told me that when he went to Jolo from the south it was pointed out to him by his Taosug contemporaries that he spoke Taosug like a Samal, and this was the basis for much not-quite-good-natured mockery. He then concentrated on learning the Taosug intonation pattern, and now he can pass for a Taosug, at least as far as language is concerned.

### Physical Factors and Social Definitions

Throughout the archipelago, the notion of distinction between the groups refers, among other differences, to one in inherited physical characteristics. There is a strong feeling on the part of the Taosug reinforced by oral tradition that they are somehow marked by a distinct Arabic origin. Standard stereotypes prevail but it is virtually impossible to differentiate between the Taosug and Samal. However, one may easily make the distinction between the Badjaw and the other groups. As a physical type, the Badjaw appear quite distinct. Instead of the broad nose and flatter face of the Taosug and Samal, the Badjaw are longer and thinner-faced, with high cheekbones, and a high bridged, thinner nose. One distinguishing characteristic is the distinctive walk of the Badjaw, apparently caused by underdeveloped leg muscles, resulting from crouching in the stern of the *lipa* (boat) while underway. This factor coupled with the extreme shyness of manner sets off the Badjaw from the other groups.

Between the Taosug and Samal, no such distinction exists. Instead a much subtler one prevails. I cannot think of any better terms than "carriage" or "bearing" to describe this difference, but what it amounts to is this: the Taosug is, generally speaking, a fiercely proud, uncompromising, at times, even arrogant individual, and these particular qualities show in his face; the Samal quite simply does not possess this arrogance of manner, but is, instead, deferential in face to face relationships with the other groups (Badjaw excepted). Nowhere was this point brought home more forcefully to me than when I was teaching classes composed of both Taosug and Samal in the college in Jolo. After a

few weeks of dealing with the students, the difference was strikingly obvious. This is one basis on which the Taosug and Samal are differentiated. Such personal behavior is of extreme importance in maintaining distinct lines between the groups in such heterogeneous communities as Jolo and Siasi.

*Clothing:* While the clothing by an individual may be one index to group identity, the distinctions found between the three groups in Sulu are not so marked as, for example, those found in the Indian-Ladino differentiation of Central America. Rather, what marks the differences in Sulu is not clothing *per se*, but degree of cleanliness of the clothing. (see Table III). The typical Taosug response is illustrated by the following:

The Samals are always dirty, not so dirty as the Badjaw, but dirty anyway. Even in the Gimba (interior) a Taosug will invite you in, even if he has nothing to give. Even if they have only one pair of clothes, the Taosug is always neat and clean, not dirty like the Badjaw. It is our pride.

With the exception of the elite, all women wear, most of the time, a wrap-around sarong type of garment, called a *patadjong* which is simply a tube of cloth wrapped around the body and knotted, sometimes above the breasts, sometimes about the waist, although the Taosug women will usually wear a loose fitting jacket to complete the outfit.

Older and rural Taosug men wear loose fitting trousers and either an inexpensive factory-made polo shirt or, rarely, a snug-fitting jacket. Samal and Badjaw fishermen usually go bare chested, and wear either short pants or the *patadjong* gathered between the legs and knotted in front. Younger people, both Taosug and Samal, have adopted western style clothing, and the standard

outfit for young men is tailored trousers, a polo shirt, and factory-made shoes, either of leather, plastic, or rubber. For young women, skirts and blouses, western style dresses, and extremely high heeled shoes. These descriptions refer to the more urban areas. In the outlying districts, the dress is the same as that for adults from the time the children begin to wear any clothes at all. Samal women from the outlying areas who come into market to barter fish are usually distinguished by an often very dirty rag which they wrap loosely about the top of the head. This, too, is characteristic of both men and women among the Badjaw, and the common term of derision for the Badjaw is "rag-head." In the market areas, white turbans are seen on Taosug men on occasion, but much more frequently seen is the *jiddah* cap. If white, it is a mark of distinction, since ostensibly it means that the wearer has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. There are a good number of these floating about, and one feels that perhaps such distinction as is given has been usurped rather than earned.

One distinguishing characteristic of the Taosug male is his weapon. Older men carry a *barong* or *kris*, sometimes with handles of ivory and inlaid worked gold, but more often with carved mother of pearl handles. Neither the Samal or the Badjaw carry weapons, although the working *barong* which each male adult owns could certainly be used as one if the need arose.

Whatever western clothing the Badjaw may own will consist of perhaps one pair of short trousers and a western style shirt, almost always dirty. The Samal, dependent on economic factors, will more closely approximate either the Taosug or Badjaw with regard to clothing.

*Quality, Location and Type of Housing.*

As might be expected, the quality, location, and type of housing of the Taosug is markedly better than that of the Samal and Badjaw, at least in the market areas, but the distinction is again one of degree. No such problem exists with reference to the Badjaw. They are people who live in boats, and only in boats.

The Badjaw are those people in the South who live in their boats. They never live on land. Sometimes it is said that the Badjaw don't feel too good when they are on land and they have to go back to the boats right away (Jolo).

The Badjaw are people who live in their *vintas*. Always they take everything with them when they go. They never stay in one place for a long time. They move all the time. (Siasi)

The pala'u are people in boats. They wander every place and they don't settle in one place to live (Bongao).

People call us Pala'u, but that is crazy. Pala'u is the name of the house on the lipa. We are not called Pala'uni when people call us that, they are calling us house. We call ourselves Sama (Bongao at Sanga Sanga).

The community at Sisangat is thought to be Badjaw who have left their boats and set up housekeeping in pile houses over the water. However, these people are seen by the Taosug in Siasi as being "second-class Samals" and refer to themselves as Samal. For purposes of this discussion they will be classed as Samal. (see below.)

Differences in housing between the Taosug and Samal are not so clearly marked as between the Badjaw and other groups. In the market centers—Jolo, Siasi, and Bongao—the Philippine plaza pattern prevails. Usually a church sits on the plaza, perhaps a school, shops, and at times, the houses of the elite. Moving

away from the plaza, one finds houses belonging to Christians and Taosug-Chinese elite. Construction is similar, usually manufactured board, and either galvanized tin, or shingle roofing, generally unpainted. Construction quality degenerates the farther away from the plaza that the house is located. At the farthest points house construction is generally a variation on the Southern Asian stilt house, with woven bamboo siding, bamboo flooring, and bamboo or banana frond roofing. Generally speaking, in Jolo, the Taosug who are permanent residents will live farther away from the water than the Samal. The one exception is the area known as Chinese Pier, which is constructed entirely over the water, and in which Taosug are the dominant group, living in finished board houses of the type described above. Generally these houses will have two rooms and a hearth outside, but one room houses are not uncommon, and much larger ones can also be found—these usually belonging to the suddenly affluent smugglers.

Jolo is broken into sub-districts known as *barrios*, and although each barrio is in fact heterogeneous for at least three of the groups—Christian, Chinese, Taosug, Samal—each barrio does have a dominant group. In Siasi town which is a much smaller area, the Taosug live on one side of the quay, the Samal on the other, with the Chinese shopkeepers and Christians living about the plaza. The outlying districts of Siasi are much more homogeneous in makeup, and when one knows locality of residence, it is generally possible to determine group identification.

Bongao is similar to Siasi in housing arrangement, and has surrounding homogeneous communities. The Samal in Bongao are much more affluent than in the north, and live in houses similar



in construction to the Taosug, with manufactured siding, although many times, the flooring will be bamboo strips, and roofing will be frond material. Outlying communities in Bongao are homogeneous in makeup and group identity and generally have similar residences.

### Economic Activity and Occupational Groupings

The following discussion sets up some arbitrary boundaries. These are simply for the sake of convenience, to describe the occupational roles and economic activities as perceived by each group.

#### 1. Occupational Groupings

- a. *Fishing*. It is fair to say that the major economic activity of the Sulu archipelago is fishing. All Badjaw engage in this activity, and a majority of Samal are fishermen. What fishing the Taosug do is a supplement to farming, or some other occupation, and one may not consider them as actively engaged in the occupation of fishing for subsistence or profit.
- b. *Farming*. The majority of the Taosug are farmers, deriving a living from either sharecropping upland rice, cassava, hemp or coconut, or farming the same items on individually owned plots. In the southern areas, the Samal, especially around Bongao, split their activity between farming and fishing. To own a piece of land, and become a farmer is very much desired by the Badjaw, but, to my knowledge, such occurrence of ownership is extremely rare, perhaps non-existent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that the Badjaw do not work with the land at all; rather, that he will rarely own land. He may request permission from someone on shore in close proximity to his boathouse community to use a plot of land for gardening, for which he may pay by giving the owner a share of the goods he produces there.

- c. *Trading*. (By trading is meant here primarily the role of middleman in the exchange of goods.) Obviously some trading activities available to the Suluanos are extremely lucrative, such as the copra exchange for contraband goods in North Borneo—cigarettes, jewelry, liquor, etc. This requires capital and political connections, and is thus open only to the Taosug and Chinese. I would include in this category those middlemen who buy in wholesale lot both fish and produce, and make a slight profit by splitting the goods into smaller lots and selling to stall holders in the market place, or sometimes acting directly as retail sellers. This kind of market activity bears strong resemblance to that described by Dewey in the Javanese market economy,<sup>3</sup> although the size of the market is considerably smaller in Sulu than Java, and the amount of goods which go through daily does not reach the proportions of the Javanese market. These activities are handled exclusively by the Chinese or Taosug throughout the archipelago. Retail stalls in the market place are largely in the hands of Taosug, although the larger dry goods and hard goods are, by and large, controlled by Chinese. Many Samal retailers are found in the fish market, more in Siasi and Bongao than in Jolo. Hard goods, dry goods, and produce in Bongao are in the hands of the Taosug-Chinese and Chinese-Samal, generally the latter. One outlying district of Bongao, Tong Sina, is a homogeneous Taosug community, and the main economic activity is trading in *balinao*—

<sup>3</sup> Alice Dewey, *Peasant Marketing in Java* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1962).

small, sardine-like, fish which are packed in brine for shipment to the northern Philippines.

- d. *Shopkeeping.* Shops, as opposed to market stalls, handling both subsistence items—salt, kerosene, flour, etc.—and luxury goods, dry goods, and hard goods are exclusively in the hands of the Chinese-mestizos throughout the archipelago. Some specialty shops—barbershops, tailorshops, etc., are in the hand of Taosug, but generally services are either Chinese-mestizos or Filipino-Christian.
- e. *Sari-sari Stores, and Coffee Stalls.* Scattered around the market place, and in areas away from the main market, not more than twenty or thirty yards apart in Jolo, are makeshift stalls which are Taosug operated and which deal in cigarettes, by the pack or stick, rice cakes, coffee, sweets, canned milk, matches, and perhaps tinned meats. These businesses operate on the slightest margin of profit, and the the same sort of situation is repeated in every community throughout the archipelago. Generally, the operators are Taosug, but if the community is far enough from the main market, Samal women may perform this service, provided there are no interested Taosug in the community.
- f. *Government employees.* One may say that the bureaucracy in Sulu is exclusively Taosug. Local and provincial offices are staffed with Taosug, although as a concession to a Samal headman who controls a large number of votes, an educated Samal may be given a position in some office. National government offices are held largely by Filipinos who are sent from the North.
- Taosug kinship is bilateral and the great body of kindred rightfully, according to the system, expect their more affluent kinsmen to share the wealth and use political power to secure jobs as well as favors for those less fortunate.
- g. *School.* There is one school for Badjaw which is run by the priests at Bongao. The teacher there is a Christian woman from the Visayas. Rumor has it that there is a Badjaw who has completed the required education and is now qualified to teach but he could not be located.<sup>4</sup>
- h. *Professionals.* By and large, the professions of law, medicine, dentistry, etc. are open to Taosug in Sulu. It appears that there it is possible for a Samal to attain some professions, but then he enters a new kind of closed system, in which group affiliation is suppressed and status is attained by suppression of group identity and primary identification with the professional group, rather than the ethnic group.
- i. *Others.* Taosug in Jolo work on the docks are *cargadores*, and many of them operate pedicabs. By and large, Taosug do not enter into domestic service, but whatever wage labor is available is usually absorbed by the Taosug labor force, this in the warehouses, construction industry, inter-island transport, and wage labor on the two or three large foreign-owned coconut and rubber and pepper plantations in the archipelago. Samal are relatively unsuccessful in wage

<sup>4</sup> While it is true that there are many Samal teachers, and not a few Samal working in supervisory offices throughout the archipelago, such people will tend to identify with the Taosug, so that the stereotypes remain consistent even though reality does not fit such stereotypes.

labor, and they are generally considered undependable. In Bongao, the Badjaw will on occasion work as cargadores to obtain some cash, but this is infrequent. It was, however, unheard of twenty-five years ago.

## 2. Subsistence, Surplus and Profit.

Of the three groups, only the Badjaw may be said to operate on the subsistence level. Groups of them, however, operate from time to time on a cash economy. Badjaw fish for subsistence, bartering their surplus for cassava, kerosene, matches, and occasional pieces of cloth. This is done by street barter, and there is no regular buyer for fresh fish. Salted fish go to the Chinese, who will supply the Badjaw with items of necessity, and occasionally, enter into cash transactions with them. (see Table VII) Almost the same percentage of Badjaw as Samal would go to the Chinese shopkeepers for money if it were needed badly. However, since the Badjaw comprise such a small percentage of the population, they are not a significant factor in the area's economy.

The Samal do play a large role in the economy of Sulu. (I speak here only of movement of goods). As one informant put it:

Without the Samal there would be no market place. The Samal are the fishermen of Sulu. Taosug are not good fishermen, and it is necessary for the Samal to supply the market place with fish if the people are to live normally here.

In the Bongao area, the Samal enjoy a more affluent position than in the north in Siasi and Jolo. Probably the main reason for this is that the Chinese have intermarried to a great extent with the Samal, and this eases the credit exchange situation a good deal. The Chinese buy

larger catches, salted fish and the *balinao* for export north. The fishing banks of Sulu are extremely abundant, so much so, that they have attracted large fishing fleets from the North which will in time cut out the small fishermen to a great extent, if not altogether.

Since the market places in each area are managed by Taosug or Chinese mestizos, the Samal, who desires to sell his fish in one transaction rather than pay stall tax, must sell to Taosug buyers. This is the only place in the fish market cycle where the Taosug operate in strength. The profit realized is small, but usually greater for the middleman than for the Samal fisherman, since his product is a highly perishable one. Actual profits are not high in the fish market economy, and the greater realization of profit is on the *daing* (salted dried fish) and *balinao* sales to the Chinese. Even here the Samal fishermen is kept to a small margin of profit since the Chinese buyer is the only one to whom he can sell.

Produce seems strictly the province of the Taosug, except in Bongao where the incidence of Samal farmers is much higher than in the north. But, here, too, the margin of profit is small since produce must move fast to avoid spoilage.

The paths of quickest economic mobility and heaviest profit are closed to the Samal—that of “trading” on the North Borneo run. Taosug realize that this is the easiest way to high economic and consequently high social status, and as such, it is closed to all except Taosug and their Chinese financiers.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Again here is the stereotype in operation. In the South, a number of Samal have gone into the “buy and sell” business, either independently, but more frequently with backing of Chinese merchants. Many of these people deal directly with the Chinese, or else sail directly to Visayas and Luzon ports where they transact business with buyers who would rather do business with the less fierce, less feared Samal.

In the area of the small sari-sari store (a small store which handles a variety of everything) the Samal seem as unsuccessful here as they are in the wage-labor market. This is probably due in part to the group image, and in part to work patterns. Not every Samal fishes daily, rather they go out as necessary. If there is food available, then he may well not work until it becomes a vital necessity. When I mentioned the fact that there were two Taosug families in Sisangat who were operating sari-sari stores, one informant commented:

The reason there are Taosug moving into Sisangat is because there is money to be made in sari-sari stores there. No Samal would ever open a sari-sari store. Because they will accumulate a few pesos, then sit around until it is gone, and then maybe two days after the food is gone, they will move out and go to work again. But you will never find a Samal engaged in business that is not connected with fishing.

One informant, who manages a large foreign owned pepper and rubber plantation on Tawi-Tawi told me that Samal were undependable wage laborers. They would show up for two or three days, but then after they were paid and had accumulated a few pesos, they would disappear, and he would be left without workers. He no longer hires Samal.

### Political Structure

The *datu* system is still in operation in Sulu, in spite of concerted government efforts to break it. Briefly, it is the continuation of the old political structure sultanate at one level below the sultan. Three sultans are still found in Sulu, but their main function is to direct the *agama* or religious courts which enforce moslem law. The *datu* is a hereditary office, and those in Sulu today trace their power back to the old court nobility of the Sultanate. A *datu* will have

under him a number of *panglima*, or headmen, of communities, or of groups of people. The important thing to remember about the *datu* system is that a *datu* does not control territory, but people. Panglimas who are attached to a *datu* may be from any group, and while the system is no longer as powerful as it once was, in combination with the powerful kinship ties, it does exercise a certain amount of control over the political affairs of the archipelago. What this means as far as intergroup relations is that the Taosug are firmly entrenched in positions of ultimate authority, and dictate regional policy through the *datu* system to the Samal and Badjaw as well as the Taosug.

### Literacy and Education

The second world war and the Japanese occupation of the archipelago interrupted what had been a smoothly functioning educational system run and staffed by Americans and American-trained Filipinos. Taosug and Samal thirty-five years old and older have a knowledge of English, which they learned during a compulsory six years of schooling. What happened during the war and with the coming of Philippine independence was a partial breakdown of the educational system in the area. In 1949, Oblate missionaries began opening a series of schools throughout the archipelago. Today there are high schools in Jolo, Siasi, Bongao and other areas. In addition they have a large grammar school in Jolo, and three colleges, one in Jolo, one at Siasi, and one in Bongao. The latter two are two-year colleges which offer the teaching certificate. The college in Jolo is a four-year school; last year's enrollment totaled over one thousand full-time students.

Provincial grammar schools are located in communities large enough to warrant

them, and they operate fairly efficiently in the southern part of the archipelago. Discipline is a grave problem, and at the high school level makes teaching extremely difficult. One student, supplementing other informants, commented on a classroom situation at a public school:

Over there, the boys will oppress the teacher. They carry knives and the teachers are afraid of them. You never learn anything there because the teachers let them do what they want.

What the parochial schools have done is to provide the same sort of situation with regard to education as existed before the war.<sup>6</sup> The priests are well-received and are outside the system. They provide a neutral area where group distinctions are de-emphasized, and discipline enforced.

Over ninety per cent of the enrollment in the parochial schools is Muslim. In the south, Samals make up the largest percentage, while in the north, Taosug are the majority at the high school, and comprise about sixty per cent of the college population.

There was no chance to check levels of aspiration of each group, but they seem to follow the Filipino pattern wherein education as a means of obtaining a degree is highly valued. According to the priests, the Samal have a slight edge on the Taosug as far as adjustment to the rather strict discipline of a parochial school, and many show real achievement motivation, and work diligently at their studies. This fact is realized by many of the educated Taosug who bemoan the almost opposite attitudes which prevail among many of the

Taosug group. The following statements are an indication of this awareness. Both are from teachers (Taosug) who teach in the public schools in and around Jolo. The second, a more reactionary statement, is not typical but it does illustrate an extreme example of this awareness by the Taosug.

(1) Taosugs do not try to improve themselves. They think they are the nobility, the privileged people, so they do not try to gain betterment. The Samals are different. Now you find many of them who are teachers, who want to get an education and to help their people. They try very hard. When they get an education, they are better than the Taosug.

(2) The Taosug must regain their former place. It is true that the nobility has degenerated but if a true orthodox renaissance can be started, true Islam will be enforced and the Taosug will regain their rightful place.

As far as the Badjaw are concerned, the government seems to have given up hope of educating them. However, the priests have built a school at Sanga Sanga and hired a teacher who has had notable success with the boat community there. Because of this, some of the boat-dwellers have constructed pile houses, giving as the reason for doing so that one must live in a house if the children go to school. In Jolo, one informant (Christian) is sending to school a Badjaw child who approached her one day and asked her if she would help him go to school. As far as she knows, he is the only Badjaw child in school in Jolo. The priests considered construction of a school on the outskirts of Jolo for the purpose of Badjaw education, but the Taosug who lived in the area fought the move, maintaining that they didn't want the Badjaw in the vicinity. The project was abandoned.

<sup>6</sup> The term parochial is here used to mean simply Catholic-operated schools. In Sulu, there are no religious obligations placed upon Muslim students, and the "parishes" in the various communities do not contribute to the support of the school system which is independent of parish activity. In fact, the island of Sibutu, which has a flourishing school has no parish at all.

## Social Interaction Including Marriage

1. *Friendship.* Friendship ties do not appear to cross group lines in the case of Samal and Taosug. (see Table VII). All respondents answered that their closest friends were from their own group. A few indicated that such friendship was different from that with people in their own group. The traders and sari-sari store operators maintained that they were friendly with everyone, but added in every case that when one was in business it was necessary to be friendly in order to keep business going.

All three groups defined a friend as one who would help you in time of need. The Samal and Badjaw indicated that such help was economic-based, and while this was an important factor in the Taosug concept of a friend, the primary criterion for defining friendship among the Taosug was the willingness to help fight one's battles.

The Taosug maintained that it was impossible to be friends with the Badjaw. There was no common meeting ground, and besides how can one be friends with people who move about all the time? In the south, the relationships between the Samal and the Badjaw were, on the whole, better, at least from the viewpoint of the Samal.

Yes, we are friends with the Badjaw. We call them *'gai*. I know many Badjaw. Sometimes, some of them come to us for help, and we help them. But we do not have Taosug friends. If you want to die in bed it is good to stay away from the Taosug because they have hot blood, and friendship with them is a troublesome thing. (Samal, outlying district Bongao.)

On the other hand, the Badjaw did not share this view. While the Samal in Bongao may have thought themselves friends with the Badjaw, many Badjaw

considered themselves alone, and drawing friends from only their own group, the distinction between true friendship and economic-based ties was not clearly defined.

No, we are not friends with the people in Tubig-Sallang (outlying community of Bongao opposite Badjaw settlement). They do not treat us like friends. They will cheat us. We have no friends but our own people and the school teacher here is our friend. But that is all (Badjaw).

Much the same sentiment was expressed in the north. One Badjaw respondent, when asked to name his friends, replied:

Maybe I could call the man who buys my fish a friend, but I do not think so. I do not have friends. It is better for a man to be alone with his family. That way, there is no trouble. Yes, it is better for a man to be alone. Our ways are different from other people (Badjaw, Jolo).

A Samal in the Siasi area expressed much the same sentiments about friendship with the Taosug.

You cannot trust the Taosug to be friends. If they do not like what you do, then maybe they will kill you. It is not good to be friends with Taosug. They are too hot-blooded. They are too brave, and they make trouble. In Jolo, the only people in the jails are Taosug (Samal, Siasi).

Taosug felt that friendship with the Samal was undesirable because the Samal were different from them and one could not deal on a friendship basis with people one could not understand.

How can you be friends with people who are not the same mind with you? With Taosug you always know where you stand. If a Taosug hates you, it is better for you to watch out. But you never know what a Samal is thinking; you never know where you stand with a Samal. Samals are not brave, anyway. How can you be friends with a man who will not fight for you? (Taosug, Jolo).

Sometimes we are friendly with the Samal. But you cannot count on them. Sometimes they promise they will do something, but then they do not. Friends are people who keep their promises (Taosug, Bongao).

2. *Marriage.* Marriage, by and large, is ideally group endogamous. All respondents had married within their own group. Yet most of them knew of some cases of inter-marriage between Samal and Badjaw, and between Samal and Taosug. While such intermarriage was a fact, it was generally felt that it was undesirable; however, should it be "one's fate" to marry outside the group, one was powerless to stop it.

In such cases of intermarriage, it may be taken as the general rule that the groom will come from the higher-ranked group: a Taosug man will take a Samal woman; a Samal man will take a Badjaw bride. Rarely however will Taosug intermarriage bypass the Samal group; only in Bongao was it found that a Taosug man had taken a Badjaw bride. People from her community felt that such a step was disastrous, and that she would only be unhappy in such a union. They predicted that the marriage would not last, and that she would return home soon.

Marriage between Samal and Badjaw in the Bongao area is more frequent. Various informants told me of a total of 14 cases. In all instances, the woman was Badjaw, the man Samal.

In Siasi, there was no indication of intermarriage between Samal and Badjaw, but respondents advised me of a number of marriages between Samal and Taosug. No exact number could be obtained, but the answer was usually "many".

Samal seem to be more philosophical about the subject of intermarriage with

Taosug and Badjaw. While they deny the fact in Siasi that there are marriages between Samal and Badjaw—"nobody wants to; they are different; they are pagan"—they do not deny the possibility. Such intermarriage between Badjaw and Samal would not be a cause of trouble. Intermarriage with the Taosug might bring trouble unless the man is Taosug and the woman Samal. "But if such were fate, well..."

Many of the Taosug are more emphatic in their denial of any intermarriage between Taosug and Samal, especially in Jolo. And marriage with a Badjaw is unthinkable, as the following respondents indicate:

There are no marriages between [Samal and Taosug]. (Both shake their heads and look disdainful). B. says 'I can think of maybe only two cases.' Between Samal and Badjaw they do not know. They do not concern themselves with such matters. Those people are pagans. [I mention the movie about the Taosug princess marrying the Badjaw pearl fisherman.] Both make a wry face. B. says 'You know, we were going to sue those people, but we could not. At the beginning of the picture, there was the sentence about all persons in the story were fictitious and any resemblance coincidental. But it made people here very unhappy. There would never be such a thing. A Taosug woman would never marry a Badjaw.'

On the other hand, another Taosug replied in a markedly different manner about intermarriage between Samal and Taosug:

Yes, there is much intermarriage. There are Siasi and Samal fishermen in this area. Everybody who was not born on this island, and who came from the south is Samal. Even (a high political official) and (another politician) have Samal blood. I think the (second man's) wife has Samal blood, too. There is much intermarriage. The old ways are changing (Taosug, Jolo).

## Religion

Arce estimates the Muslim population of the archipelago at ninety-five per cent.<sup>7</sup> While this may effectively embrace all those who answer "Muslim" when asked about religious affiliation, it does not make the distinctions which the groups themselves make in discussing religion. As one educated Taosug said: "There are Muslims and there are Muslims."

Most Taosug are Muslim. In Jolo, there are two main mosques and two Imams, one Singapore educated, the other Cairo trained. The Cairo faction is a more modern oriented group, while the Singapore faction tends to be more conservative, even reactionary, in its attitudes. There are mosques in every community of size throughout the island of Jolo. There are five mosques in Siasi town, and the communities surrounding Siasi all have some sort of makeshift mosque, as do the communities further south in and around Bongao.

Religion is an extremely important index of identification among the groups. It is the main distinction between Badjaw and the other groups. Badjaw in They have no mosque, since they are the eyes of the other groups are pagan. migratory group; it is impossible to build a mosque on a boat. But when the Badjaw desert their boats and take to stationery dwellings, and build a mosque, they are no longer Badjaw, but become, instead, a kind of Samal—admittedly, a second-class Samal, but Samal nonetheless. This is what appears to have happened in the outlying district of Siasi, known as Sisangat. They have built a mosque, and the community now has three imams. They are no longer pagan, hence no longer Badjaw. They no longer live in boats,

hence, no longer Badjaw. They are Muslim, since they have a mosque, and do not live in boats.

Admittedly this is a circular argument, but it is the distinction which is heard consistently throughout the archipelago when people discuss the Badjaw. The Badjaw, themselves, profess no religion. Their folklore tells of their loss of religion, and why they are now godless wanderers.

Many years ago, the sultan of Johore decided to marry, but he desired the most beautiful woman in his kingdom. He sent trusted aides to search out the beautiful women, and they brought him women from throughout the country but none would suit him. Finally, he himself saw a beautiful woman walking in his garden, and it was his sister. It is forbidden to marry one's sister, but the sultan was so filled with desire that he was determined that he would marry her. He sent for the imam, who refused, and fled the country. Then he sent for another imam and the same thing happened. Finally, he told the third imam that he would behead him if the marriage was not performed. The imam hesitated but finally agreed on the condition that it would be performed in the middle of the ocean, for to marry one's sister on land was against Allah's will. The sultan agreed, and called together all his people and told them they must build a bridge of boats far into the sea, for he was to be married in the middle of the ocean. This they did, and the sultan arrived with the imam and his sister. Just as the imam began to chant the marriage rites, a great wind arose, and scattered the boats far and wide. The sultan, and his sister, and the imam were swept into the sea and drowned. The boats were carried far to the east, and finally they arrived in the Sulu islands. But they had no sultan and no imam, and this is why they belong to no kingdom and have no religion.

<sup>7</sup> Wilfredo Arce, "Social Organization of the Muslim Peoples of Sulu," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (April, 1963) pp. 242-266.



With regard to differentiation between the Islam of the Samal and Taosug, Eslao says: "I am afraid that the similarity in religion among the Taosug and the Samal which is often referred to by outsiders or the people themselves does not go much beyond a common label for different interpretations and practices."<sup>8</sup> While both the Samal and Taosug identify with the common body of Islam, as Eslao notes, the form which the religion takes is highly varied. Educated Muslims in Jolo regard the Samal Muslims in the south as less pure in practice than the Taosug. Even within one community, there are a variety of differences. Gonzalez found a number of different forms of the same ritual on the small island of Manubul.<sup>9</sup>

The image persists: there are Taosug, who are Muslim, there are first-class Samal who are almost first-class Muslims; and finally, there are second-class Samal, who are second-class Muslim as well. The basis for the difference between the two would be the degree of folk-religion which remained and was assimilated into the Islamic ritual. This is a recognized fact on the part of the Taosug and many of the Samal. One hears comments like "Oh, those people over there, they are not true Muslim. They still have *anting-anting* (objects which have supernatural power over elements—a protective force which shields the individual from the elements; also an aid to sorcery)." Sisangat, which is perceived as second-class Samal and second-class Muslim, has both a mosque and a *larang-larang*—a platform built away from the community, and

<sup>8</sup> Nena Eslao, "The Sibling Axis of Manubul Social Organization" (Unpublished manuscript, The Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila, 1963).

<sup>9</sup> Mary Gonzales, "Life Crisis and Ritual", (Unpublished manuscript, The Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila, 1963).

decorated with fresh branches, on which food and tobacco are kept at all times for the use of a powerful *saitan* (spirit) who comes sometimes once in ten years, seeking revenge against the community, killing many people by eating their livers.

One sees strips of white cloth, *panjih*, tied on trees along the shore, indicating a forbidden area where spirits, good or bad, are present. Food offerings are made at these places. During the cholera epidemic, when the government inoculated all people in the area, the people came for their shots, but many Samal, and many less educated Taosug still wore the strips of cloth about the neck and wrist for protection.

Knowledge of such folk beliefs and practices is extremely painful to both the educated Samal and Taosug. But it is on the presence or absence of such practices within a community, that religious distinctions are made.

### The Group Image

While this final criterion for group differentiation—that of self-and other-group image—will necessarily include, at least in part, all of the other criteria, it serves to draw these all together into some sort of perceived and applied whole. In other words, what we are talking about in this paper are the stereotypes which each group has of itself, and those which it has of the other groups.

(Table III shows the breakdown of responses by a group to the characteristics—applicability section of the schedule. Responses are supplemented by information obtained in depth interviews with the respondents and with other informants.)

The first image of Sulu is that perceived by the outsiders—the Northern

Filipinos—who still refer to the peoples of Sulu as simply “Moros.” This image breaks down into three parts in Sulu proper—the Taosug, Samal, and Badjaw. Yet within these three groups, there exist smaller perceived sub-groups.

Within the Taosug, one may distinguish the Taosug—those people who live in the market centers, and along the shore. Then there are the Taogimba—the inland people.

Within the Samal group, one may distinguish the Samal higan—the shore dwellers, who are fishermen and the Samal gimba—the farmers who live further inland, and depend upon farming as a source of subsistence. A third group, mentioned by a number of my informants, is the Samal talong—supposedly a *kaingin* (slash and burn farming) group on the island of Tawi-Tawi.

Within the Badjaw group, there are no perceived sub-groups. But the Badjaw are known by a variety of names: Samal laud; Pagan; Pala'u, Luwa'an, Badjaw, and Samal Pala'u.

### 1. THE BADJAW VIEW:

a. *The self-image.* The Badjaw seems to see himself as belonging to an outcaste group. He knows that he is despised by the Taosug. That he is dirty, and has no religion, or if he has, it is his own, and he is not part of the great community of Islam. Among his own he is generous and friendly; he can ill afford not to be together for it is his way of life to be together with his own.

“We are called Sama.”

“Why is that?”

“Because we are together, and that is what Sama means.”

If he has no food, he will go to a neighboring boat, and he will expect

to be fed; in turn, it is his duty to do the same for his neighbor. He is not proud, but humble, and any show of violence is a shocking thing to him. If he has a dispute with a neighbor, he will not fight, but instead, if the trouble is deep enough, he will move away. For above all things, he is no trouble-maker. He desires to be left alone, and his attitude toward strangers who come to his place is one of wary indifference. Strangers usually mean trouble to him, and he is prepared to move. He feels that he asks little, and receives less than is his due. He would like to leave his boat, but he is afraid he would be involved in the usual trouble of those people, if he were to move into a community of housedwellers. He envies the land dwellers, for they are not tied to the sea, and they may send their children to school. For him, there is no such chance; it is not his fate.

b. *The other groups.* The Taosug and the Samal are the people who do him violence. He is cheated by both of them, but the Taosug will kill him as well as steal what little he has. He is extremely afraid of the Taosug. They are the people who spit at him in the streets, and whose children taunt him as he tries to barter his fish. They are proud and selfish and make trouble for him all the time.

From the Samal, he expects better treatment. But even the Samal, although they will not do him violence, will cheat him when he barter for cassava or coconut and bananas.

They are outsiders to his group, and to many of them, his group does not exist as a social reality but only as an object of ridicule and derision.

## 2. THE SAMAL VIEW:

a. *The self-image.* The Samal, by and large, think rather well of themselves as a group. They consider themselves more religious than either the Taosug or the Badjaw, and they see themselves as the most honest, friendliest, and most generous of the three groups. While it is true that they see themselves as a bit dirtier than the Taosug, this is because they spend their time working hard, and are less well-off than the Taosug.

They are not men of violence, and certainly are less a group of troublemakers than are the Taosug, but they are prouder and braver than the Badjaw.

b. *The other groups.* To the Samal, the Badjaw are pagan and primitive uneducated peoples. They are people with whom to barter produce, and at times, from whom to take a wife. By and large, they are in-offensive people, and cause no trouble to anyone.

But the Taosug are cruel. All the people in jails in the archipelago are Taosug. They bear a grudge, and even their children are troublemakers.

We don't like to live with Taosug. When a Taosug moves into a community, bad blood starts, even with the children. When our children fight with each other, it does not matter. But if our children fight with the Taosug children, then the parents enter into the trouble, and there is trouble for everyone.

The reason the Taosug are so troublesome is because they carry out what their grandparents tell them. They will cheat anyone they can among the Samal and Badjaw. They are treacherous, and are not good friends. They are brave (in this instance, being brave means being a bully), and they are

always fighting. They are to be feared because they carry weapons, and do not hesitate to kill. It is in their blood.

## 3. THE TAOSUG VIEW:

a. *The self-image.* The Taosug consider themselves the superior group. While they admit that they are the chief troublemakers, this is done with a certain amount of pride by the less-educated Taosug. The educated Taosug admits this as well, but shifts the blame for this image to the Taogimba, and claim that the Taosug who are troublemakers come from the interior. They consider themselves the true Muslims of the area. The Taosug like to project the image to outsiders that they are extremely hospitable, generous and friendly. This is true, but it does not necessarily apply to Taosug treatment of the Samal or Badjaw. They consider themselves descendants of the old nobility, and still current in the body of folklore is the fact that the Samal were immigrants to Sulu, and the Taosug were the original peoples there. They consider themselves extremely proud and exceptionally brave, and they respect power and authority.

b. *The other groups.* Most Taosug don't consider the Badjaw at all. He is regarded as being beyond the scope of any but the lowest interaction—that of street level barter. To the Taosug, the Badjaw is a pagan, *luwaan* (literally, vomit), uncivilized, dirty, and cowardly.

The Samal are considered undependable, and without pride. The Taosug say that the Samal is beyond trust, and is greedy.

I have a Samal who comes here for water—sometimes he even comes to the house for water. One day I asked him to take me to Sisangat. He says, "How much will you give me?" I tell him, "What do you

think I am, crazy? I have three launches. Why should he take me to Sisangat." I was only testing him to see what he would say in exchange for the water which he gets all the time. "Well," he says, "We are very poor, we have no money. That is why we must always make money whenever we can. We must take advantage." (Siasi)

Samals are born liars. You can never trust them. When there is a contract with a Samal for fishing, don't expect it until you get it. (Bongao)

If you have a Samal friend, then you know they will go with you until you have no more money, then they will not go with you anymore. The Samals are greedy. They are always wanting something from you. They are always begging. It is not nice. It makes you mad. (Jolo)

It is probably this lack of pride which causes the attitude of disgust for the Samal. If the fierce pride of the Taosug is not in some way mirrored in an outgroup, then there is nothing but disdain for that group. The Samal image of cowardice, undependability, and lack of pride is the one seen by the Taosug.

### Conclusion

From the data which is in and thus far ordered, a few patterns are apparent. The Taosug, Samal and Badjaw do represent distinct cultural-linguistic groups in their own eyes. Each group sees itself as being distinctly different from the others. This, as would be expected, is most marked in the cases of the extreme groups—the Taosug and the Badjaw. The Samal, while seeing themselves as different from both the Badjaw and Taosug, when perceived by other groups offer a more segmented picture, and one suspects that such segmentation is measured by degree of similarity to either of the other two groups. I would venture to say (and

hope to gather conclusive evidence to bear out these points) that if one examined the Samal population closely, one would find, not only the distinction between first-class Samal and second-class Samal, but many more perceived groups within these two large ones. For instance, in an area such as Siasi where there are a number of distinct communities all perceived as Samal, this ranking pattern would be strong enough to classify these communities as not only closer to first or second-class Samal, but with distinct, perceived and assigned degrees of approximation.

That the groups rank themselves as inferior and superior and that such distinction and ranking is a patterning for various kinds of interaction seems also to be borne out. Here, again the distinctions are cleanest between the extreme groups. There is little doubt within either the Badjaw group or among the Taosug, that the Taosug are the superior group, and this Taosug expression of superiority is illustrated in economic and social interaction. The Samal may be relatively secure in their group image, and consider themselves a better "group" of people for a variety of reasons, but there is no denial of the fact that the Taosug are still regarded with not a little degree of fear and that the Taosug still exercise almost total control in the political sphere. While such control is retained with them, then their superior rank cannot be denied.

Regarding the present state of the hypotheses, it would appear that the statements regarding the Badjaw are correct. In Bongao, the Taosug-Samal relations do appear to be more coordinate, but this is simply because there are more Samal and fewer Taosug; however, the Taosug image as perceived by the Samal is one which would indicate

that individual face-to-face relations would differ little from those further north, with the Taosug in a definite superordinate position. Certainly, the relationships do not appear to have assumed a superordinate—subordinate character in favor of the Samal. Each group in Bongao is secure as a group in so far as the individual is secure in identifying with his own group. This is not the case further north.

In Siasi, the Taosug-Samal relationships do not have the coordinate nature that was postulated, unless they are weighed against such relationships in Jolo. There the situation seems such that the Samal as a group are perceived, but no individual feels secure in identifying with the group (See Table II). There are Samal in Jolo. I have talked with Samal in the market place, but those with whom I talked do not claim residence in Jolo. What I was (and am) interested in are residents of Jolo and Siasi who will claim identity with the Samal. During the entire time there—both during the initial stay and the secondary one as well—I heard of only one Samal who was actually an identifiable resident but for all practical purposes he was unapproachable.

This reluctance for the Samal to identify with his own group in Jolo is difficult to explain, except in terms of social mobility; and identification with the superior group. At present, I do not know how to tie it up except perhaps to suggest that even though the Taosug are feared, they are also admired by the Samal, who see in a process of emulation of the Taosug ways, mastery of the Taosug dialect, and non-identity with their own group a way to greater prestige. However, absorption into the Taosug group would seem to create more obligation and problems than it would give privileges—for instance, the

obligation of alliance with a vast body of kindred for retribution of a wrong done to a kinsman, this, provided, of course, the emulation was complete.

In Siasi, the absence of Badjaw respondents can be explained by two factors: (1) Siasi has no harbor, but only a quay which juts into a swift channel. There is no place in the immediate area where the Badjaw might congregate at night, and remain to dry their nets and repair their boats, etc., and (2) should the Badjaw abandon their boats and move into Sisangat, they lose the Badjaw identity, and become second-class Samal.

However, it does appear that in Bongao, the individual is secure in identifying with his group, and thus the group image is at the same time stronger, and yet relations between the groups less strained.

Table II shows the total average percentage of outgroup choices by a sample of all three groups, which gives indication of outgroup images (favorable or not) other than the local groups. Americans rate highest of any group on the average, though the Badjaw would not choose them as either marriage partner or neighbor. This was, I feel, not an indication of undesirability, but rather registered the incomprehensibility of such an occurrence. Respondents, when asked why, would reply, "It's too far to go" or "Why would an American want to live as we do?" (This was pre-Peace Corps).

Regarding mobility, theoretically, it would appear possible for a member of a lower ranked group to be assimilated into the next highest rank, and over a number of generations, mobility from lowest rank to highest rank could be accomplished. With the Badjaw, this occurs either by deserting the boat and

moving into a land community, with a mosque, such as Sisangat, or by intermarriage with the Samal.

What is important to note is that intermarriage is taking place at an increasingly greater rate. This seems to be particularly true in the Badjaw-Samal situation in Bongao, and the Taosug-Samal situation to the north. One Taosug informant in Bongao noted that the old order was breaking down so fast that "it wouldn't be long before there would be marriages between Taosug and Badjaw." Such remarks, however, occur rarely in the north.

Groups retain their identity, however, by the fact that whenever such intergroup marriages do occur, the groom will inevitably come from a higher ranked group: a Taosug may take a Samal bride, a Samal may take a Badjaw bride, but rarely, if ever, does the opposite situation occur. In such cases, the higher ranked parent will always be mentioned for identification purposes. For the children of the Samal mother who has married into the Taosug, and for the Badjaw mother who has married into the Samal, it is a step up into another ethnic group and social class.

Obviously there is not enough supportive data here yet to discuss at length the function of the parochial schools and the Chinese-Taosug and Chinese-Samal communities as agents of social mobility. It would appear, however, that the priests, with their discipline, have set up in each of the communities a fairly effective neutral area where normal group sanctions (which would serve to reinforce the superordinate-subordinate nature of relationships between groups) are suspended and/or replaced by rules which are brought into the cultural situation from an outside agent, one, however, which

is extremely well regarded. Possibly this would be a fruitful area of study in terms of reference groups, to see just how effective the priests would be in establishing patterns of behavior which would prove enduring over a long period of time. Such patterns might well be of so innovative a nature that they would change patterns of ranked-relationships, at least in the population centers where the schools are located. I am wary of pushing this sort of hypothesis too far, because of the system of two languages which prevails in the area (indeed, throughout the Philippines). Teaching experience there, and in the north (in Manila) has shown me that it is quite possible for the students to assimilate, at least superficial values and ideas in one language, and operate in contextual situations where the language is valid and desired, yet reverting to the value system of the other language whenever necessary. When discussing innovation and change, the idea of bilingualism, and coordinately bi-culturalism, must be kept in mind at all times.

The other area of possible neutrality would be the Chinese community. In the south, the Chinese have intermarried with Samal; in the north, with Taosug. In both areas, the dominant culture pattern in cases of intermarriage, seems to be pretty evenly split—some retaining the Chinese, some the local group characteristics. Chinese movement in the area is exceptionally free, much less restricted than that of other parts of the Philippines and throughout Southeast Asia. Such acceptance of the Chinese on the part of the local population would tend to create channels of mobility for the Samals in the south, at any rate. Should intermarriage occur between Chinese-Samal, and Chinese-Taosug, the Samal element would be allowed a channel into the Taosug-Chinese area,

and hence into a position of marriage eligibility with elite Taosug, which has occurred and is likely to continue.

By and large, the Samal appear in many respects the most socially aggressive group. The increased desire for education, the intermarriage rate with the Taosug, the utilization of the natural areas for social mobility, all seem to point toward this.

What this may mean in terms of intergroup relations in the future it is difficult to say. It is entirely possible

that the Samal might assert themselves strongly and capture social, economic and political control in Sulu. On the other hand, the increasing awareness of Samal social aggressiveness on the part of the educated Taosug might well spark the Taosug renaissance which could take either the pathway of resurgent violence, or the same channels as are being used by the Samal. What it does mean at present is that Sulu is an area of ferment and change. What such change may bring is another matter.

## APPENDIX A

### Interview Schedule

(Given to all respondents in Taosug and Siamal-Taosug for Taosug informants, and Siamal for Samal and Badjaw informants).

1. Name
  2. Age
  3. Marital Status
  4. Number of Children
  5. Birthplace
  6. Group affiliation
  7. Education
  8. Where did you obtain your education
  9. Religious affiliation
- 
1. Occupation
  2. Spouse's occupation
  3. Is this your only occupation?
  4. Why did you choose this occupation?
  5. Would you prefer some other occupation? What? Why?
  6. Would anything prevent you from changing your occupation?
  7. In your occupation, does anyone help you, or are you alone? Who helps you? How do they help you? Why do they help you? When do they help you?
  8. Who buys your fish?
  9. Who owns the fishing equipment? Boat?
  10. If you needed money, to whom would you go?

1. Where is your spouse from?
  2. What group does she belong to?
  3. Do you know of any marriages between Taosug and Samal? Is the man Taosug or the woman Taosug?
  4. Do you know of any marriages between Taosug and Badjaw? Is the man Taosug or Badjaw?
  5. Do you know of any marriages between Samal and Badjaw? Is the man Samal or Badjaw?
- If definite trend noted, why?
1. Who are your best friends (by name)?
  2. What group?
  3. Do you have any friends in the other groups? Why or why not?
  1. Who were your wedding witnesses?
  2. Were they friends or relatives?
  3. Are you responsible for anyone in your group?
  4. Are you responsible for or to anyone in any group other than your own?
  5. Are you responsible to anyone in your group?

ATTRIBUTE SCALE: RATE IN ORDER OF APPLICATION:

1. applies most; 2. applies less; and 3. appliest least

1. Honest
2. Dirty
3. Friendly
4. Generous
5. Proud
6. Selfish
7. Troublemaker
8. Religious
9. Uncivilized

SOCIAL DISTANCE CHART. Series of groups and a number of relationships. Rate each one by number according to how you would feel about having one of them in each of the relationships.

1. Good                      2. Does not matter                      3. Bad

	Spouse	Neighbor	Business Partner	Gov't. Official
American				
Chinese				
Bisaya				
Samal				
Badjaw				
Taosug				



TABLE I  
FAVORABLE OUTGROUP CHOICES BY A SAMPLE OF TAOSUG,  
SAMAL AND BADJAW INFORMANTS (PERCENT)

Category of Outgroup Response	SPOUSE			NEIGHBOR			BUSINESS PARTNER			GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL		
	Tao	Sam	Bad	Tao	Sam	Bad	Tao	Sam	Bad	Tao	Sam	Bad
American	77	89	54	92	100	54	82	83	77	100	100	77
Chinese	46	39	31	61	29	31	92	83	77	46	16	31
Bisaya	38	44	23	46	50	54	23	39	100	31	39	77
Samal	15		46	54		77	30		31	8		54
Badjaw	8	11		23	85		54	44		—	11	
Taosug		17	—		22	—		11	—		22	23

TABLE II  
AVERAGE OF FAVORABLE OUTGROUP CHOICES (ALL CHOICES) RECEIVED  
BY SAMAL, BADJAW AND TAOSUG, BY PLACE (Percentages)

JOLO

	American	Chinese	Bisaya	Samal	Badjaw	Taosug
Samal						
Badjaw		50	25	50	75	
Taosug		81	56	31	31	6

SIASI

	American	Chinese	Bisaya	Samal	Badjaw	Taosug
Samal	81	55	71		22	33
Badjaw						
Taosug	90	80	36	20	24	

BONGAO

	American	Chinese	Bisaya	Samal	Badjaw	Taosug
Samal	100	25	—		44	—
Badjaw	70	47	68	45		8
Taosug	100	44	25	25	25	

TABLE III  
 SELF-IMAGE AND OUTGROUP IMAGE OF THE THREE GROUPS—  
 TAOSUG, SAMAL, AND BADJAW ACCORDING  
 TO LIST OF NINE CHARACTERISTICS  
 (Percentage of Respondents)

Seen by BADJAW	TAOSUG			SAMAL			BADJAW		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Honest			100	23	77		77	23	
Dirty			100	23	77		77	23	
Friendly		23	77	23	77		77		23
Generous			54		84		77		
Proud		100				100			100
Selfish		54		23	23	62			77
Trouble-makers		100				100			100
Religious			23	23	15	8	8	23	31
Uncivilized			23	—	—	—		23	

Seen by SAMAL	TAOSUG			SAMAL			BADJAW		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Honest		22	78	72	28		28	50	22
Dirty		39	56		61	39	94	6	
Friendly		22	77	89	11			72	28
Generous		50	39	83	17			33	67
Proud	100				100				100
Selfish	33	50	17		50	50	44	5	51
Trouble-makers	100				94	6		6	94
Religious	17	77		11	89				94
Uncivilized		39	50		50	39	89		

Seen by TAOSUG	TAOSUG			SAMAL			BADJAW		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Honest	15		77	70	15	15	15	61	8
Dirty			100		100		100		
Friendly	92		8	8	92			15	17
Generous	92	8		8	77				92
Proud	100				92				92
Selfish			100		92				92
Trouble-makers	100				100				100
Religious	92	8			100				92
Uncivilized			100		100		92		

KEY: 1—applies most  
 2—applies less  
 3—applies least

TABLE IV  
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPING

	Fisherman	Farmer	Professional	Business	Total
Taosug	3*	2	3	5	13
Samal	12	2	2	2	18
Badjaw	13				13
Total	28	4	5	7	44

\* Taosugs who called themselves fishermen also listed as secondary occupations farming and acting as fish-buyers in the market place. Two of the Taosug fishermen were found near Siasi, in Sisangat, and were recent arrivals in the community, after having left the gimba for safety from bandits.

TABLE V  
WORK FORCE  
RESPONSES TO QUESTION: WHO HELPS YOU IN YOUR WORK?

	No One	Nuclear Family	Nuclear Family and Kindred	Friends	Total
Taosug		7	6		13
Samal	1	8	8	1	18
Badjaw		6	7		13
Total	1	21	21	1	44

TABLE VI  
FRIENDSHIP TIES  
IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION: DO YOU HAVE FRIENDS AMONG OTHER GROUPS  
(In Percentages)

	Among Taosug	Among Samal	Among Badjaw
Taosug		23	0
Samal	50	33	33
Badjaw	15	77	61

TABLE VII  
CREDIT PATTERN  
IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION: DO YOU HAVE FRIENDS AMONG OTHER GROUPS? MONEY? (in percentages)

	Family	Taosug Friend	Samal Friend	Badjaw Friend	Chinese	Other	Total
Taosug	54	15			23	8	100
Samal	33		5		62		100
Badjaw	15			23	61		100

TABLE VIII  
GROUP AFFILIATION OF SPOUSE

	Same Group	Other Group	Total
Taosug	12	—	12
Samal	16	—	16
Badjaw	13	—	13
Total	41		41*