

The Formation of Migrant Muslim Communities in Metro Manila

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ABSTRACT. The paper examines the formation of migrant Muslim communities in Metro Manila set against the Philippine government's changing policies toward the Muslim Filipinos in Mindanao at the turn of the twenty-first century. The Muslim Filipinos' migration to Metro Manila has been steered by kin and ethnic relations and religious tolerance. This, in turn, resulted in ethnic and economic stratifications in and among the migrant Muslim communities in Metro Manila. The paper analyzes these communities and the dynamics that structure Muslim Filipinos' spatial movements in and around Metro Manila.

KEYWORDS. Muslim Filipinos migration Metro Manila communities

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the formation of Muslim communities in Metro Manila¹ in relation to the changing government policies toward Muslim Filipinos in Mindanao at the turn of the twenty-first century. It typifies and analyzes the various communities that have emerged in the area and the dynamics that structure Muslim Filipinos' spatial movements.

Muslims in the Philippines, also known as *Moros*,² are part of thirteen ethnolinguistic groups, each with a home region in parts of Mindanao and Sulu described as the Muslim South. These areas have 3.5-4.0 million Muslim inhabitants, making up nearly 5-10 percent of the total national population.³

The formation of migrant Muslim Filipino communities outside Mindanao has deep historical roots that became more pronounced with the armed conflict in Mindanao and Sulu in the late 1960s. One of the important consequences of the conflict was the displacement of the population from the affected areas; displaced Muslims settled not only in various cities in the Philippines but also in parts of neighboring countries like Malaysia and Indonesia. In the late 1980s, more than twenty-seven Muslim communities outside the Muslim South had been counted.⁴ Among these communities, greater population concentration was observed in communities located in Metro Manila (Miyamoto 1990, 183). Today there are nearly eighty mosques scattered within the metropolis. The Muslim population at present is officially at nearly 60,000, but it may be no fewer than 120,000 in reality (2000 Census of the Philippines).⁵

Of the numerous researches on the Philippine Muslims, most cover the Muslim South.⁶ These studies were made during the 1980s, after the outward movement of the Muslim population became noticeable by the late 1970s. A few studies dealt with their migratory movements to Sabah, Malaysia.⁷ In Manila, academic attention was drawn to the topic of their migration after some members of the Muslim population had made the front pages. Matuan (1983) conducted a migration study using the pushand-pull theory, and Helen Kadil (1986) and Lee (1987) did policy studies on Muslim urban-poor groups. Hassan (1983) discusses how three hubsbarangay (the smallest political unit in the Philippines), mosque, and market-interrelatedly construct Muslims' everyday lives in Quiapo district. Ben Kadil (1985) provides an overview of the beginning and growth of two Muslim communities in this capital city and brings several factors (missionary, governmental, and migration) that contributed to their development from 1964 to 1984. Yet these works have not shed light on transformations in terms of spatial and social mobility of these people subsequent to their migration to Manila.

The main transformation can be seen in the changing form of communities. Hassan used the term "Muslim enclave" to refer to the Muslim presence in Quiapo, while Ben Kadil called it the "Muslim community" and defines it as "a group having interests [in] religion in common and living in a particular locality" (1985, 30). Adding to this, a new class of communities—"communities without propinquity"—has emerged since the late 1980s.⁸ This tells us that the clustering of people is no longer necessarily linked to their residences but to certain common interests. With this complex evolution of communities, in this study I refer to a social group of Muslims with one or more mosques as a "Muslim community." Here, a mosque refers to a place of worship for believers in Islam where they hold regular prayers as well as congregational prayers on Fridays.

Such definition was made based on the theory of Kinneman that the community "exists among those who enjoy certain institutional associations and who recognize their dependence upon a common center for goods and services" (1947, 12), which in turn was influenced by the theory of Sanderson and Polson that the community "is a form of associations, a pattern of behavior, of psychic interaction between the people and between their institutions within a local area" (1939, 50). I also subscribe to Suttles' (1972) concept of communities as social constructions, not as natural communities that emerged on their own. This requires both subjective and objective views to recognize a group as a community. Hence, while it is generally called "Muslim community" or "Muslim area" by both the Muslims and non-Muslims, it does not always have a geographical or administrative boundary. Although there are some non-Muslims in the community (i.e., extended families of couples in interreligious marriages), it is predominantly composed of Muslim members, and is immersed in Islamic subculture. Thus people share recognition that the community is constructing a social space different from the surrounding Christian environment.

This paper has three sections. The first section will review the establishment and development of Muslim communities in Manila from the American colonial period onward in an environment marked by successive changes in governmental policies and international currents. The second section will analyze the characteristics and distribution of various Muslim communities that have evolved in the metropolis. The third and last section will examine spatial development pattern of the communities, which resulted in ethnic and economic stratification of the migrants. By doing so, this study seeks not only to present both the historical transition and the spatial extension of the Muslim communities in Manila but also to contribute to understanding the expansion of the Muslim Filipino landscape.

The data used in this paper were culled from several rounds of fieldwork conducted between May and September 2002, and between October 2003 and March 2004. I visited thirty-eight mosques, and in each I conducted one or two interviews with administrators and founders of mosques, and/or pioneer settlers (or their families) by using open-ended questionnaires.⁹

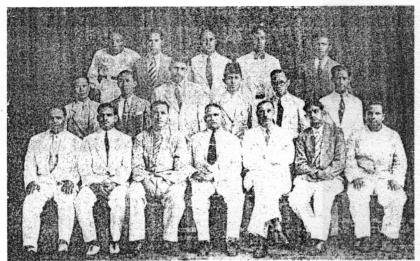


Fig 1. Members of the Muslim Association of the Philippines in 1933. Source: Muslim Association of the Philippines 1956.

MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN MANILA IN VARIOUS HISTORICAL PHASES

The beginning of Muslim communities in Manila

During the Spanish colonial period (1571-1898), Muslims in Manila were mainly composed of foreign nationals such as Turks, Arabs, Persians, Indians, and Indonesians engaging in retail trade, wholesale, night watch, peddling, and the like (Bernad 1974, 19). In the early American period of the 1910s, the children of Muslim aristocrats and leaders were brought to Manila and Washington to attain higher education under the *pensionado* system—a "civilization policy" toward the Moros (Gowing 1983, 45). This was implemented so that the Muslim youngsters could eventually act as intermediaries between their societies and the colonial government (Jubair 1999, 78). In 1918 some thirty-four Muslim scholars were studying in Manila (Hassan 1983, 3). Yet their number was far lower than those of Muslim commercial migrants.

It is interesting to note that the first Muslim association in Manila was founded by minority Punjab Muslim merchants. The Society of Indian Muslims, established in 1926, was organized to build a mosque in the city and secure a graveyard for Muslims in Manila. A group of

Table 1.	Transition of	f Muslim population in M	Aanila (by se	x)	
Year	Muslim Population	Percentage to Manila Population (%)	Muslim Male	Muslim Female	(Metropolitan) Manila Population
1903	95	0.04	n/a	n/a	219,929
1918	14,215	4.98	12,981	1,234	285,306
1939	2,120	0.34	n/a	n/a	623,492
1948	1,077	0.05	n/a	n/a	983,906
1960	551	0.05	361	190	1,138,611
1970	830	0.06	430	400	1,330,788
1980	1,062	0.02	n/a	n/a	5,924,563
1990	24,640	0.31	12,918	11,722	7,907,386
1995°	45,176	0.48	(0.23%)	(0.24%)	9,411,697
2000	58,859	0.60	29,652	29,207	9,880,152

Sources: 1905. Census of the Philippine Islands; 1920-21. Census of the Philippine Islands; Census of the Philippines: 1939; Census of the Philippines 1948; Census of the Philippines 1960: Census of the Philippines 1970; Census of the Philippines 1980; Census of the Philippines 1990; Census of the Philippines 1995; Report on the 2000 Philippine Human Development Index.

^aNumbers of Muslims by sex in 1995 are only stated in percentage to the total Metro Manila population.

foreign Muslims made a breakthrough when its chief member married a local woman in Sulu. The alignments between foreign merchant Muslims and Filipino Muslims extended to Manila; Muslim legislators from Mindanao became socioeconomic and legal benefactors of their fellow Muslims.¹⁰ This can be seen during the annual gatherings of Eidal Fitr (Islam's festival of breaking fast, signaling the end of Ramadan) in the early 1930s. The Muslims staying in Manila were invited to the house of the wife of Congressman Ombra Amilbangsa from Sulu, in Manila's Malate district (Qureishi 1956, 106). It was around this time that the society was renamed Muslim Association of the Philippines (MAP). Although its supreme goal of building a mosque in Manila did not come true, the society's network was at least passed on to the Muslim Filipinos' association that was established after the Second World War (Qureishi 1956, 105).

In terms of demography before the war, the 1903 Census indicates that the Muslim population in Manila was merely 95, given the total city population of 219,929. In the 1918 Census, it grew to 14,215 out of 285,306 (12,981 male and 1,234 female)11 (Census of the Philippine Islands 1920-21).

Muslims in Manila at that time were mainly merchants and scholars; they were mostly males who either left a spouse behind in their homeland or arrived in Manila young and unmarried. Most of them were residing in the commercial areas of Binondo, San Nicolas,

and Santa Cruz where *Parian* Chinese merchants had lived since the Spanish period. Thus it is conceivable that the Muslim merchants had economic ties with Chinese businessmen, or enjoyed the agglomeration effect in an established commercial zone.

After hitting a peak of 14,000 in 1918, the Muslim population in the city declined until 1960 (Census of the Philippines 1960). Kadil (1985, 8) attributes this decrease to global wars from 1914 to 1945. Yet, the phenomenon was far more complex. The people in this period witnessed the independence movement in India in the mid-1940s that led thousands of Indians to go back to their motherland (Rye 1993, 717). Also, the naturalization of retail trade in 1950 by the Philippine government triggered many foreign Muslim merchants in Manila to shift their commercial field, leave the country, or become naturalized citizens of the Philippines (Agpalo 1962). These factors could have ushered the decline of the foreign Muslim population. The growth of domestic Muslim population in Manila was simultaneously observed.

In the early 1950s, the government resumed some colonization projects in Mindanao, which began in the 1920s. This was followed by large numbers of voluntary Christian migrants.¹² The impact of migration and colonization was so great that the demographic ratio of Christians overwhelmed that of the Muslims, resulting in "land grabbing" by the settlers as well as by some local Muslim strongmen (Che Man 1990, 25). The marginalization of the Muslims gradually heightened tension between the settlers and the Muslims. In 1957 the Commission on National Integration (CNI) was established to ease the social unrest in Mindanao and to bring the Muslim Filipinos into the mainstream. One of the major services done by CNI was the scholarship program for the Muslim youth and other indigenous peoples (CNI 1973, 19). While it started with 109 students in the first year, the number of recipients eventually grew to 3,559 in 1973, mostly Muslims(Abubakar 2000, 20).

Meanwhile, many Muslims started to do businesses in Manila as they saw little economic development in Mindanao and in view of the deteriorating peace and order in the region. As of the early 1950s, there were forty Tausug¹³ and Maranao¹⁴ families in Corta Vitarte in Malate (Miyamoto 1994, 126). Others resided on Zaragoza Street in pier-side Tondo, in wholesale commercial area Divisoria, and in lower-middleclass residential areas such as San Andres and Sampaloc (Matuan 1993, 85; Miyamoto 1994, 182). They lived alongside Christians and engaged in trade, dealing antiques, pearls, jewelries, and fabrics. They, however, devoted themselves to breadwinning and did not take action toward establishing a mosque. These people were, after all, seasonal merchants or sojourners. The creation of a mosque was left to the aforementioned elite-led organization, the Muslim Association of the Philippines.

In 1949 the Muslim Association of the Philippines was reorganized by some Tausug dignitaries with Congressman Amilbangsa as president (Qureishi 1956, 105). This was later joined by other ethnic group leaders. The association succeeded in holding four National Muslim Conferences from 1956 to 1958 in cities like Zamboanga, Cotabato, Marawi and Manila (Kadil 1985, 73). Yet the road to the establishment of the mosque was quite long. For more than ten years, the association suffered a debt default and a bankruptcy of a real estate agency to which it had made a down payment, but eventually succeeded in building the first mosque in Manila in 1964 (Kadil 1985, 77). This has become a cornerstone for the emergence of a Muslim community in the capital city.

The expansion of Muslim communities in Metro Manila

One of the reasons for President Marcos's declaration of martial law in 1972 was to suppress Muslim uprisings in Mindanao. Shortly afterward, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) was created to establish a separate state or "Bangsamoro (Moro National) Republic" and spread the secessionist movement by recruiting fellow Muslim. To deal with this, the government launched massive military actions in Mindanao–turning thousands of Muslims into refugees–while enacting a number of laws that tried to draw away Muslim supporters from the movement. Between 1973 and 1976, nearly eighty Muslim-related laws were enacted.

In 1974 the government carried out a project that created a "model" Muslim community in the suburb of Taguig (now part of Metropolitan Manila) in Rizal Province. The site was named Maharlika Village, meaning the village of "the nobles" or "freeman." In Quiapo, an area near Malacañang Palace, the Golden Mosque was built by the government in 1976, with contributions from Christian officials and Muslim countries (Jubair 1999, 178). An interesting fact is that these establishments were put up by the Philippine government through donations from Libya, which supported the Moro secessionist movement.¹⁵ This was made through a diplomatic meeting between Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi and former Philippine First Lady Imelda Marcos during one of her foreign visits (Domaub 1981).

Table 2. N	umber of	mosques i	n Metro I	Manila, 19	71-2002		
Year	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2002
Number	2	7	10	14	21	33	38

Helen Kadil (1986, 92) points out that the two major reasons for the migrants to come to Manila were the need to seek better economic opportunities and the problematic peace and order in these waraffected territories. Some of the areas in Mindanao were devastated by the military attacks and had not been rehabilitated.¹⁶ There were, however, new factors drawing Muslim migrants to Manila since the mid-1980s. In response to the oil boom in the Middle East and the long-term domestic unemployment problem, the Philippine government started exporting labor to some members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries-initially construction laborers, then domestic workers. Only 12.3 percent of total overseas contract workers (OCW) were destined for the Middle East in 1975, but this increased to 85.1 percent in 1983 Philippine Overseas Employment Administration 1984, 32). While there may be a lack of official data on the number of Muslim overseas laborers, it is assumed that mostly Muslim men and women, along with Christian Filipinos, have been working in the Middle East. Among the Middle East countries, Saudi Arabia has always been their main destination. A number of Muslims have departed for the Middle East and succeeded in setting up a migration chain. Some have founded recruiting businesses in Manila, which served as centers for all official paper work and making arrangements with the international airport.

In 1990, during the Aquino administration (1987-92), the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao was created. The total cease-fire agreement was finally signed between the MNLF and the government in 1996 under the Ramos administration (1992-98). Nevertheless, these steps were not enough to stem the exodus. Continuous economic stagnation, regional armed conflict, and *rido* (deadly family or clan feuds) in Mindanao discouraged many Muslims from returning to their home regions. The barter trade was virtually abolished in 1987, which placed Muslim traders in a difficult situation. The activities of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) breakaway group, Moro Islamic Liberation Front, and the newly formed Abu Sayyaf Group had aggravated the security situation in Mindanao. This eventually led to the operation of "All-out War" in April 2000 as declared by President

Estrada (1998-2001), resulting in 50,000 displaced people and devastation of land in various regions. In time, many Muslims have started families in Manila or brought their children and other family members here.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND FORMATION OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN MANILA

The increasing presence of Muslim migrants in Manila has been tied to the growth in the number of mosques in the area. Sincet he establishment of the mosque in the Islamic Center in 1964, a number of other mosques have also been established throughout Manila. Table 1shows that there was a mosque-construction rush from the 1980s to the mid-1990s. There are now approximately thirty Muslim communities built around mosques in the capital city.

For a better understanding of these communities, I used Suzuki's (1986) categorization, which divides communities into the Comprehensive Communities and the Restrictive Communities.¹⁷ The Muslim communities in Manila can be classified into residential and nonresidential ones. Suzuki's categorization, however, does not consider the temporal aspect. Thus, I further classify the residential communities into two: base communities and offshoot communities. I call the nonresidential communities job-centered communities because of their being economicoriented. In this section, I will explore historical relations among these communities to understand the formation of Muslim communities in Manila by giving two to three examples each, with references to their context and specific conditions.

Base communities: Muslim communities in the early stage

Three areas attempted to establish an Islamic center from the mid-1960s to the 1970s. The areas are equipped with a mosque, a *madaris* (Arabic school; plural: *madrasah*) building, a library, a hospital, a dormitory, and others. Two of them ended up establishing only a mosque and a madaris because of the deterioration of the peace and order in Mindanao and the declaration of martial law. Still, they turned out to be havens for Muslim refugees from southern Philippines. In constructing complexes, great amounts of money were needed. Although one of the three building projects was initiated by the Philippine government, all three were funded by Middle East Muslim countries. The funds were generated mainly by Muslim leaders and the *ulama* (Muslim intellectuals) who had studied in the Middle East in the late 1950s.

The existence of these communities eventually became known to Muslims in Mindanao. Hence, in their initial stage of migration the migrants tend to stay in base communities. This subtle migration pattern is expected, since people feel safer with their relatives or even with fellow Muslims in an ocean of Christians. These communities, therefore, tend to be heavily populated with Muslims and consisted of various ethnic groups. This is one of the prominent characteristics of base Muslim communities in Metro Manila, which has not been observed in communities in the home provinces.

In this study I call the Islamic Center, Maharlika Village, and Salam Mosque Compound "base communities." These are the oldest Muslim enclaves in Manila marked by ethnic variety. They are established through institutions (government or association) with financial assistance from Middle East Muslim countries. They continue to serve as the initial entry point for many incoming migrants. Two of them are Muslim association-led communities, while the other is a Philippine governmentled community.

Association-led Islamic Center

The Islamic Center is located in San Miguel District. The Pasig River runs nearby and the presidential palace is within walking distance. The 3.2hectare land was originally the site of a Chinese school with three buildings. In 1964 it was purchased through installment loans by MAP, which was then headed by Salipada Pendatun, a senator from Maguindanao,¹⁸ with the financial support of the United Arab Republic (Hassan 1983, 54). They named the land "Islamic Center." Its residential part was intended only for Muslim students, and the transients engaged in seasonal businesses. These were mostly male, Tausugs being the majority. Two of the three buildings were used for residence, while the other was renovated as a mosque, which was named the Manila Mosque. The expenses for the construction of the mosque's restroom and washroom were shouldered by the occupants (Kadil 1986, 58). The first congregation prayer in the Manila Mosque was held in 1964.

The dominance of Maranao began when then Senator Domocao Alonto, a pro-Marcos politician, became the president of MAP in 1959 (Kawashima 1993, 122-23). MAP took control of the Islamic Center. This did not change even after the MAP leaders went underground following the declaration of martial law. A new organization, called Philippine Islamic Cultural Foundation Inc., was formed in 1973 by a group of Maranao political leaders based in Manila to manage the center and the mosque. In the mid-1970s, a bigger mosque with a dome was constructed through a donation of Php 2.5 million (USD 368,000 at that time) by the Saudi Arabian government. Thereafter, the mosque was renamed Grand Manila Mosque.

The population in the Islamic Center became dominated by familybased households due to the conflict in Mindanao. According to Kadil (1985, 78), nearly 50,000 people lived in the area by the end of 1982. A big fire occurred in 1983, and the 3,000 victims were given alternative dwellings in Maharlika Village. Others were sent to a resettlement site in the distant suburb-Dasmariñas, Cavite-creating an offshoot community.¹⁹ In 2002, the inhabitants of the Islamic Center approximately numbered 32,000, including sojourners. Many of them were engaged in retail sales of accessories, jewelries, and clothes in shopping malls. Others made a living as sidewalk vendors, factory workers, construction laborers, and security officers in nearby places. In terms of ethnic grouping, nearly 60 percent are Maranaos, 20 percent are Maguindanaos and Iranuns,²⁰ and the rest are either Tausug, Samal,²¹ and Yakan.²² Having Maranaos as successive administrators of the Islamic Center has attracted more Maranaos from the province, who in turn invited their families and relatives, resulting in the dominance of Maranaos in the community. Since 1980, the Islamic Center has been an independent barangay (Barangay 645) with a Maranao chairwoman and seven other Maranao councilmembers.

Government-led Maharlika Village

In January 1973, only a few months after the declaration of martial law, the Maharlika Village project was promulgated by Proclamation 1217. This was initiated by Mrs. Marcos who later became Metro Manila governor as well as minister of Human Settlement. With funds donated by the Libyan government, the project accomplished the building of a mosque, a madaris, a multipurpose building, a student dormitory, a clinic, a graveyard, and 900 housing units exclusively for Muslim families (*Salam* 1974, 38). Muslims from different ethnic groups were assigned neighboring houses to prevent those from the same ethnic group from keeping to themselves. Thereby the residents were ethnically diverse, composed of Maranao, Maguindanao, Tausug, Iranun, Samal, Kalagan,²³ *Balik*-Islam (converts to Islam; literally those who came back to the fold), and other groups. It was ironic, however, that the Muslims who

benefited from the project were not refugees or students, but those with stable incomes and were supportive of the regime. Thus many Muslim intellectuals believed that this was propaganda for OIC countries (Kadil 1985, 61). The complex fell into disrepair after President Aquino took over the presidency in 1986 and cut the budget for the management of Maharlika Village. Furthermore, starting 1998 the dormitory building has become an evacuation center for fire victims of the Islamic Center, and ex-MNLF rebels were given amnesty and housing in Maharlika Village after the final peace agreement with the government in the same year.

Meanwhile, other people who flocked to the area but were rejected from the project had squatted in nearby areas or bought small houses in the peripheries of Maharlika Village in the late 1970s. Like "Bandara Inged" ("urban village" in Maranao), several communities surrounding the Maharlika Village were established. Today there are ten mosques in Taguig: one in the Maharlika proper and the other nine in the surrounding communities. One can observe ethnic segregation there. For example, the Blue Mosque in Maharlika proper is said to belong to the Tausugs. The administrators and *jama'a* (regular worshipper) in Masjid Bandara Inged are all Maranaos. The Kalagan Mosque was set up for the Kalagans, those who came from the suburbs in Davao province. There was a mosque called Maguindanao Mosque, but they renamed it Green Mosque because it would be difficult to obtain donations from overseas if a mosque seemed to belong to a particular ethnic group; donors are careful enough to make sure that their charities are not used to advance personal interests.

Owing to population growth, the Maharlika Village proper, Bandara Inged, and Sitio Imelda became a barangay in the late 1980s. As of 2002, it had 12,000 residents, of which nearly 80 percent were Muslims.²⁴ As in the case of the Islamic Center, there were Tausugs and Samals in the 1970s, but the population ratio reversed due to the influx of Maranao and Maguindanao. The previously Tausug-held position of barangay chairman was occupied by a Maranao.

Association-led Salam Mosque Compound

There is one community where the Tausug has retained leadership. The Salam Mosque Compound in Quezon City is situated in the northeastern part of Metro Manila. Today, this 4.9-hectare land comprises a *purok* (a precinct within a barangay) in Barangay Culiat. In 2002, it has 6,300 residents and nearly 3,000 transients.²⁵ Their livelihoods range from

being government employees to sidewalk vendors. The population is mostly composed of three ethnic groups: Maranao, Maguindanao, and Tausug; the rest consists of Iranun, Yakan, Samal, and Balik-Islam. This diverse ethnic structure is the fruit of the community's history.

The establishment of this community was funded by the Libyan government in 1971, which intended to establish a "true" Islamic center—different from the one in San Miguel that turned into a refugee camp. The Libyan delegate did not get in touch with MAP as it had become a sort of machinery to promote or preserve Muslim politicians' sociopolitical positions (Che Man 1990, 123). The delegate requested different Muslim leaders with various backgrounds to form a new organization. The Islamic Directorate of the Philippines (IDP) was thus formed, and it bought a parcel of land in the same year. However, it did not come into full operation, since the declaration of martial law made these leaders focus on their political roles. The land was abandoned.

In 1979, the head of the Ministry of Muslim Affairs, a Balik-Islam, learned about this vacant land. He put up a mosque and a madaris using the budget allocated to the ministry. He allowed his fellow converts to live in the area and maintain the two establishments. Other Muslim leaders were called over and and persuaded to encourage Muslim refugees to stay there temporarily. The number has gradually grown to around fifty families, with Maranaos being majority; the rest included Tausugs, Yakans, and Maguindanaos.

The community's existence was threatened as the residents found out that the land was sold to an adjacent religious institution. Some families of various ethnic groups left the area and resettled to other areas in Metro Manila. Some Maguindanaos went to Baseco where they had kin; some Maranaos went to Payatas and there established a new community.²⁶ Other groups, mostly Tausugs, remained until there were only twelve families left, claiming that the land was wagaf (oblation property), thus exempt from sale and purchase. The resistance escalated into a violent conflict between the Tausugs and the demolition team backed by the city government. The clash resulted in heavy casualties and the death of a foreign Muslim student. With this incident, the existence of the community became known to large numbers of Muslims in and out of Manila. It brought hundreds of Muslims into the area, some coming in aid of the resistance, others to gain property of their own. Eventually, the dispute was settled in 1997 at the Supreme Court, which declared the purchase null and void.

In the midst of that controversy the community named the mosque "Salam Mosque," hoping the environment would be marked by "peace." The external dispute may be over, but internal disputes persist, as can be seen in the political, economic, and social dimensions of everyday life among different ethnic groups.

Besides population growth, cultural differences among the residents account for the presence of four mosques inside the community. Each mosque was put up in 1991, 2001, 2002, and 2003. The mosques were built for two reasons. First, there was the controversy surrounding the Salam Mosque. Some Muslims observed that despite allegedly receiving millions of donations, the mosque remained unfinished. Building other places of worship seemed a practical solution. Second, the Tausugs monopolized the administrative committee of Salam Mosque.

While mosques in the base communities were built prior to the settlement of the residents, it was the other way around in the case of the offshoot communities. The clustering of Muslims led to the establishment of a mosque.

Offshoot communities

In 1976, Presidential Decree 824 allowed the creation of the Metropolitan Manila, comprising five cities and twelve municipalities. The population in Manila, which was 3.97 million in 1970, reached 105 million in 2000. Starting in the mid-1970s, slum dwellers and squatters were relocated to the outskirts, as the metropolis was undergoing redevelopment. Subdivisions targeting the middle and upper classes rose in many places in the metropolis. The expansion of residential areas was followed by the spread of commercial areas, thus increasing economic opportunities for Muslim merchants.

Parallel to this development, offshoot communities were formed mostly between the late 1980s and the 1990s by people who moved out of their previous communities due to overpopulation or the search for better economic opportunities. Since they usually transfer with or bring in their families and relatives to new environments, offshoot communities have smaller populations compared to base communities. The offshoot communities therefore lack ethnic variety. Since many residents of this class of communities are squatters, they always have problems with securing their settlements. Moreover, putting up a mosque and maintaining it would be quite difficult. Help from outside rarely comes. I will cite the case of a jama'a-led and self-sustaining community in Baseco and another jama'a-led but institution-supported community in Parañaque.

Jama'a-led Baseco

A community in Baseco (named after the now-defunct Bataan Shipyard and Engineering Corporation) lies in the Northern Pier of Manila. It was begun by a handful of members of two Muslim ethnic groups: Maguindanaos and Iranuns. These groups are linguistically similar and have close historical ties. In 1989, a Maguindanao named Dimasangkay left Cotabato City in Mindanao for Manila to find a job.²⁷ He learned about the Islamic Center from a fellow Muslim during his trip. While renting a room in the Islamic Center, he got acquainted with a non-Muslim friend who worked in Baseco. With his help, Dimasangkay got a job as shipyard worker and transferred to a shanty just outside the premises. He became the first Muslim laborer among the 3,000 workers there. Later on, when he became financially stable, he called his wife and other relatives from Cotabato City. With the increasing number of Muslims, a mosque was built of wood in 1995 and named "al-Shatie Mosque," meaning "seaside" in Arabic. It is managed by Al-Shatie Livelihood Association, which also aimed to unite Muslims living in Baseco. Dimasangkay became the association president and administrator of the mosque. When I visited in 2002, the mosque was in the form of a large tent because a fire destroyed the building in March that year.

The shipyard corporation went bankrupt in the mid-1990s. Still, people flooded into the Baseco compound to squat. The city government tried to remove them, but was met by strong resistance, organized by leftist nongovernment organizations (NGOs). In March 2002, nearly two-thirds of Baseco was reduced to ashes in a big fire. President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo visited the area and promised that she would order the Manila mayor to give the land to the fire victims for free.

Today, Baseco has nearly six thousand Muslims residents, 60 percent of which are Maguindanaos and Iranuns, with some Maranaos and Tausugs. There are also very small numbers of Sangils,²⁸ Yakans, and Balik-Islams. They were able to settle there from provinces in Mindanao or other parts of Manila mostly through family connections, attracted by job opportunities in the shipyard. Now that the corporation had shut down, the Muslims earn their living as sidewalk vendors, construction workers, or security officers within commuting distances.

Jama'a-led Parañaque Reclamation Area

As early as 1990, a group of Maranaos left the Islamic Center and started opening street stalls at a public market in Roxas Boulevard, Parañaque City. Seeing those people sleeping on the streets, a Maranao Tabligh, Datu Mao-who had been staying in Manila for Islamic missionary activities-encouraged them to stay in a vacant land on the opposite shore of Parañaque Reclamation Area.²⁹ Datu Mao regarded making fellow Maranaos live as "true Muslims" as his mission, and started to live with them in the reclamation area in 1992. Houses were built with plywood and galvanized iron. The colony's population grew as their relatives and friends from Lanao and Manila moved in. There were Balik-Islams, too, who married Maranaos. Through their intermediation, the Parañague Grand Mosque was established with funds from a missionary organization based in Saudi Arabia. One of the aims of this NGO, composed of some Arabs and Balik-Islams, was to establish a mosque where the Parañague Muslim population was concentrated.

The establishment of the mosque was welcomed by the Muslims, but not by the Parañaque City government as the land belonged to the Philippine Reclamation Authority (formerly Public Estates Authority). When the city government tried to evict these squatters, they resisted because "protecting a mosque is a mission of a Muslim." Here, the mosque stood as a symbol of Muslim resistance as in the case of the Salam Mosque Compound, and played a role as a galvanizing force for all Muslims. Datu Mao said that some Arab Muslims supported them financially. The tension between the two continued from 1995 to 2000. Coinciding with the local government election, the Muslims finally obtained the land-use permit only for the mosque from the city government. The Muslim community with a population of 3,000 is now negotiating for land-use permit for the residential area.

Until now, this Muslim community receives financial assistance from a charitable organization based in the Middle East for sustaining their mosque and educational support for hiring an *ustadz* (madaris teacher) or obtaining textbooks. It could be presumed that some Filipino Muslims knew that financial aid for mosque-related matters from the Middle East or Islamic institutions could be achieved by writing letters to embassies of those Muslim countries. Indeed, the Office on Muslim Affairs has been a conduit of *zakat* (alms or obligation charity) from several Muslim countries or individuals in the time of Eid-al-Fitr festival every year. The zakat would be distributed to respective registered mosques in the Philippines. These days, however, it has turned into aid in the form of food such as rice, chicken, and canned goods. This has some relation with the 9/11 bombings in the United States in 2001, causing many to hesitate in sending zakat money to avoid suspicion.

Emergence of job-centered communities

The communities that have emerged since the mid-1980s are jobcentered ones—clusters of people engaged in a specific occupation or livelihood. The communities I have described thus far show that Muslims in general have lived together based on similar or related livelihoods. On the other hand, there were instances where the gathering of Muslims in workplaces led to the establishment of mosques. As a result, new communities not based on propinquity were created. Here, two cases are introduced: a community in Ermita where a mosque was established mainly as an individual initiative, and a community in the Greenhills Shopping Center where it was put up by an organization.

Individual-led Ermita

A Muslim community in the Ermita district of Manila was begun by a Tausug-Samal Hj. Sakalulan, who has now made the surrounding area famous for its money-changing business.³⁰ He had been a bar trader in Zamboanga and Sabah, but went bankrupt due to clients' failure to pay their debts. Turning over a new leaf, he migrated to Manila and stayed in Maharlika Village where he had distant relatives. He began a small money-changing business in this downtown center of Manila in the mid-1980s, as this area had been an entertainment district since the 1960s with a large number of foreign tourists. At that time, only Central Bank was authorized to engage in currency exchanges. Starting as a black-market sidewalk changer, he eventually became a tenant, and then a storeowner. His success enabled him to invite his family members to live in the city. There are now twenty-seven currency exchange stores under his management, and most of the employees are his relatives who commute every day from other communities.

Hj. Sakalulan became the most influential man among the Muslims of Ermita, and his success also gave rise to a mosque. He took the initiative in market cultivation and became a negotiator in the barangay, exercising powers of jurisdiction. As land price is expensive in Ermita, Hj Sakalulan rented a building suitable for a mosque at his own expense. Thereby he set up the Ermita Islamic Foundation Inc. in 1990. Majority of the jama'a are Tausugs and Samals, but there are

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also foreign Muslims, mostly Arabs, who engaged in OFW-recruiting business in the area. Thus, a mosque has become a sort of social node among the Muslims based in the Ermita district. This is suggested by the concentration of Middle Eastern goods shops and *halal* (approved by Islam) restaurants in the nearby area.

Association-led Greenhills Shopping Center

Muslims began engaging in business in Greenhills Shopping Center in 1987.³¹ It was started by ten Maranao traders who rented a stall and did retail sales called *eksibit*. They brought in their families, relatives, and fellow Maranaos until their stalls soared to three hundred. As of December 2002, 99 percent of the Muslims under contract with the owner of the shopping center are Maranaos; the Tausugs constitute the remaining one percent. The Greenhills Shopping Center has virtually become an exclusive province of the Maranaos. They live in various places in Manila, including the Islamic Center, Quiapo, Maharlika Village, and Pasig. They deal with such items as secondhand clothes and antiques from mainland China, precious stones and jewelry from Singapore and Japan, pirated VCD/DVDs, and imitations of branded items acquired through "Chinese" businessmen.³²

The Maranao tenants have long asked the owner to build a mosque in the area. They were first given a prayer room along the alley and eventually were allowed to build their own mosque in the parking area. This project probably started through donations from religious members and other well-off Muslim businessmen. The businessmen there belong to the Greenhills Muslim Traders Association, which now has 400 members. The association plays legal and social roles. It mediates conflict between the tenants and the owner of the shopping center, administers the mosque, and organizes cultural affairs such as staging a short play in the Maranao language. Although the Maranaos do not live in the area, these factors help them build a sense of attachment to the mosque and the community. This flexibility is unique to such migrant areas.

This kind of job-centered communities is generally seen in governmental offices, markets, and malls. For the shoppers, it is a "nonplace," a temporal space that has no meaning to them. For the Muslim merchants, however, it is a social space that has meaning. It is a "place" relevant relationally, historically, and identity-wise to these people (Augé 1995). People live in residential communities but commute to these workplaces. There are only few people, or none at all, during nighttime in these workplaces, and the members tend to be ethnically homogenous. The mosque has become a node for people making a living in them, and what can be observed there are not just relations based on the workplace but associations with family, relatives, friends, and cultural leaders.

MIGRATORY PATTERNS AND ETHNO-ECONOMIC STRATIFICATION

Several factors may explain the growth in the number of mosques as well as Muslim communities in the last three decades. From the perspective of political economy, the long-standing government policies toward Muslims and Mindanao may account for their growth. A view from demography may attribute it to the changing characteristics of the Muslim population, such as from transients to residents and from single males to families. The influence of Islamic revivalism in the late 1970s has also affected the establishment of mosques. Because there are many factors, it is hard to evaluate the degree to which they have stimulated the actual growth of Muslim migrants to Manila.³³

The spatial development of Muslim communities is unique compared to those of other ethnic or religious minorities in Manila. In Catholicdominated Manila, Indian communities with Sikh temples have been around since the 1920s (Fabella 1954; Pabla 1986; Rye 1993). Jewish communities with synagogues built during the American period (Griese 1954) and Chinese communities with temples as well as Catholic churches (Sycip 1957; Amyot 1960; Alip 1974) also abound.

The Chinese communities are comparable to Muslim communities in terms of population size and formation. While Chinatowns have sprawled or radiated outward, Muslim communities have emerged sporadically within Metro Manila, except for Maharlika Village and its surrounding communities. Two reasons can be cited to explain this phenomenon. First, the Muslim migrants went after shopping malls and department stores. They have engaged in businesses in these establishments or nearby sites such as overpasses. Second, there are some migrations that are caused by *rido* (family feud). Some migrants try to avoid getting involved in cycles of revenge between opposing families or clans. To blend into Manila's ten million population, they have to locate themselves in a place far away from other Muslim communities where opponent members might be residing.

Thus, there are several patterns among the emerging communities. Many offshoot communities are formed by people from base communities. An offshoot community further produces its own kind. At the same time, a job-centered community is created by occupational links to the other communities. The chain of migration and settlements formed are the realization of continuous and collective actions of the Muslims in their struggle for a better life.

There are some observable differences in their migratory patterns based on economic status. I will cite as examples the cases of professionals/office workers and sidewalk vendors. The professionals and office workers have a tendency to move out of their communities and form new communities, or buy houses in existing subdivisions that suit their social status or ensure their security. The sidewalk vendors, on the other hand, have less choices. Some rent rooms in communities, while others have to transfer to cheaper accommodations, or even squat in areas near markets and engage in business. In both cases, the inhabitants of Muslim communities transfer with their families or relatives.

An offshoot community often begins with a small number of relatives with similar objectives. Economic stratification takes place gradually when relatives with different economic backgrounds join in. There is sustained communication between offshoot and base communities. Some keep connections among themselves through networks of kinship, place of origin, ethnic group, friendship, fraternity, and brotherhood, among others.

In offshoot communities where there is little ethnic variety, the following activities can be observed in the mosque. A meeting in the ethnic group's own language is held after the evening prayer, attended by regular prayer members, regarding neighborhood issues and livelihoodrelated affairs. One can also acquire job-related information from other members. Where there is no separate building for a madaris, Qur'anreading lessons for young people and adults in their language are held inside the mosque every week. Activities like this contribute to the preservation of their Muslim-ness as well as their ethnic identity through generations (madaris for children were not seen in job-centered communities). Moreover, it requires participation of the imam, bilal (the caller for prayer), and other administrative staff regularly contributing to the maintenance of the mosque. This contributes to the formation of certain social structures among the members, which are not necessarily the same as the traditional mechanism in their provinces, as the absence of datu (aristocrat) families.

In base communities where there is ethnic plurality, several mosques are put up by Muslims to gain recognition from respective

Community	Residential community	nunity				Job-centered community	imunity
	Base community			Offshoot community	nunity		
	Islamic Center	Salam Mosque Compound	Maharlika Village	Parañaque	BASECO	Greenhills Shopping Center	Ermita
Date established	1964	1261	1973	1997	1995	1988	0661
Factor of establishment	Association-led	Association-led	GovernmentaHed	Jama'a-led	Jama'a-led	Association-led	Individual-led
Financial source for building	Member	Libya	Libya	Member, Saudi Arabia- based NGO	Member	Member	Member
mosque Estimated population	32,000	9,300	12,000	3,000	2,000	6,000 (day)	300(night) 600(day)
Member's main ethnicity	Maranao Maguindanao	Maranao Maguindanao	Maranao Maguindanao	Maranao Balik-Islam	Iranun Maguindan	Maranao	Tausug Samal
	Tausug Balik-Islam	Tausug Samal Iranun Yakan Paiki-Isum	Tausug Samal Balik-Islam		ao Tausug		
Presence of Arabic school	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes (adult only)

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MIGRANT MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN MANILA

ethnic groups, usually by leaders who have enough power and money to mobilize their people. The presence and management of madaris depend on the cohesive power of the leader.

The madaris system is multilevel, as each mosque plays a subfocal point for certain members inside the community. There are also alternative practices because not all members pray in mosques. Some may choose to pray with other ethnic groups.

CONCLUSION

This paper attempts to examine how Muslims have established themselves as communities in a largely Christian society in Manila.

Although the Muslims in Manila have been trying to establish a mosque since the American colonial period, they have managed to put up only one in the 1960s. Owing to complex factors such as conflicts in Mindanao, socioeconomic involvement of the Middle East countries, and the accommodation policy toward the Muslims by the Philippine government, several Muslim communities in Metro Manila were established. In the course of events, the demographic structure of the Muslim society in Manila has been transformed from foreigners to Muslim Filipinos, from dominant elites to ordinary people, from short-staying to longer-staying migrants, and from a male-dominated to a family-oriented society.

The Muslim communities in Manila emerged in the late 1960s to the early 1970s, mainly due to changes in the political and economic situation in the country. There were not only top-down movements by the governments and certain elites which created base communities, but some can also be attributed to grassroots actions, organized beyond the borders of ethnicity and social status, and united as a minority. As a result, these various Muslim ethnic groups have been living side by side in contiguity with their livelihood since 1970s. Since the late 1980s, some have started to differentiate themselves according to their ethnic groups and economic status, causing further socioeconomic diversification among the people widespread in Manila. Others began to establish new kinds of communities like the "the community without propinquity," which are not necessarily attached to residence but due to the expansion of their occupational niches.

The mosque is not only a physical structure but also a symbolic instrument in the development of Muslim migrant communities. The mosques were established by the efforts of people in offshoot communities. Eventually, these drew people from other base communities.

In such expansions of Muslim settlement in Manila, it is inevitable to see the role of the Middle East countries and NGOs, which have been offering help in the establishment of these communities and the construction and maintenance of the mosques. They have politically supported the Muslim migrants in terms of helping them assert their identity and existence, and socially in terms of education, which can be seen in the presence of madaris.

From the migrants' point of view, their spatial movements can be generally attributed to cultural and religious factors (i.e., the necessity for halal foods, linguistic convenience) as well as socioeconomic factors (i.e., job opportunities, information sharing, and social security for the families and relatives). It is also caused by some defensive attitudes so that they would not be exposed to the Christian majority in Manila. This goes along with Fisher's (1985) subculture theory that the more urban the place is, the stronger and more intense the subculture is, thus bringing more co-ethnic population into the place. The Muslim communities in Metro Manila have evolved through the continuous practice of migration and settlement. Although Muslim Filipinos belong to several linguistic groups, their existence en masse represents an Islamic landscape in Manila.

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Notes

- Metro Manila is used in this paper to refer to an administrative region including the municipality of Pateros and to the cities of Caloocan, Las Piñas, Makati, Malabon, Mandaluyong, Manila, Marikina, Muntinlupa, Navotas, Parañaque, Pasay, Pasig, Quezon, San Juan, Taguig, and Valenzuela.
- 2. The term "Moro" was initially used by the Spaniards for the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula. When the Spaniards colonized the Philippines in the sixteenth century, they also applied the term to the indigenous peoples in southern Philippines (i.e., Mindanao) that practice Islam. The succeeding colonizer, the Americans, continued using the term. In the 1970s, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), a Muslim secessionist group, used the term in its effort to unite the Muslims in the Philippines that belong to the different ethnolinguistic groups. In using the colonizer's term the MNLF was emphasizing the claim that they share the same historical experience characterized by suffering.
- 3. Some Office on Muslim Affairs (OMA) officials doubt this data. They said that it was exaggerated in order to get more funds for OMA. According to an OMA "survey," in 1992 there are 660,300 Muslim in the Philippines.
- 4. According to Miyamoto (1990), Muslim communities were located in the following cities and municipalities: Aparri, Laoag, Benguet, Vigan, Tuguegarao, Santiago, San Fernando, Baguio, Dagupan, Angeles, Urdaneta, Olongapo, Dasmariñas, Lucena, Daet, Legaspi, San Jose (in Mindoro), Iloilo, Cebu, Dumaguete. The rest were placed within the vicinity of Metro Manila.
- 5. The unofficial figure was given by the chief of the Bureau of Settlement in the Office on Muslim Affairs, which was created under the Office of the President in 1987. He cited that the number included transients and those who did not want or were not interested to be registered in a census as some were skeptical of the government (interview by Akiko Watanabe, July 27, 2002).
- 6. Kawashima (1993) sums up that these studies can be divided into two major fields of interest: ethnographic/anthropologic studies on ethnolinguistic groups done by the likes of Saleeby during the first couple of decades of the 1900 and those done by Mednick and Kiefer in the 1960s, and the latter works on the secessionist movements in the 1980s and 1990s by George, Che Man, Tan, McKenna, and Jubair.
- 7. See works of Bahrin and Rachagan (1984) and Tsurumi (1986).
- 8. On this concept, see works of Zelinsky and Lee (1998) and Stanger-Ross (2006).
- 9. Thirty-two mosques in Metro Manila were registered with the OMA in 2002. In reality, there were nearly eighty mosques and prayer rooms in the metropolis. In this fieldwork, I have surveyed thirty-two "registered mosques" and six unregistered mosques that are well known. The qualification of a mosque by OMA is that it carries out all five daily prayers, has attendance of more than fifty persons on Friday congregational prayer, but it does not matter whether the whole building is owned or rented. On this point, it is different from the claim of Arab-returnee *imam* (religious leader) that the whole place should be aimed for a religious purpose.
- 10. The Philippine Legislature was created in 1916 as a preparation for the Filipinization of administrative bodies in the country. Muslim governors and congressmen were also appointed as representatives from Moro Special Province, and sent to Manila where they stayed for most of the year.

- 11. This figure, though, is doubtful when compared to the 1903 and 1939 Census data. See table 1.
- 12. Between 1913 and 1917, seven agrarian colonies were established. Another resettlement program was administered by the Inter-island Migration Division of the Bureau of Labor from 1918 to 1939. In 1939, the National Land and Settlement Administration was established to encourage homesteaders in developing rich natural resources in Mindanao (Wernstedt and Simkins 1971, 88). These policies were enacted to counter the unrest of poor peasants in Central Luzon as well as to incorporate Mindanao into the Philippine state by increasing the number and ratio of Christian Filipinos in the area (Che Man 1990, 25).
- 13. Tausug refers to the major Islamized group in the Sulu archipelago. The Tausug's number and their political and religious institutions are behind this ethnic group's dominance in the archipelago. Their society is organized around a sultanate sustained through elections. The staff members of the incumbent sultan, including the datu, are the ones who choose the sultan's successor, although patrilineal succession is the ideal. Kinship ties are important and kindred extends to the second cousin. They are also involved in trade, and their language is the trade language in the Sulu archipelago.
- 14. Maranao, whose name means "people of the lake," is the largest Islamic ethnolinguistic group in the Philippines. Its traditional home is the area surrounding Lake Lanao. The Maranao language is one of the four languages classified under the Danao subgroup. A Maranao community is usually built around a mosque and *torogan*, the house of the most prominent family in the community. The Maranaos are also known for their intricate art forms in terms of architecture, weaving, woodcraft, textiles, and metalcraft. Their population is widely distributed throughout the Philippines.
- This included hosting of headquarters for MNLF in Tripoli and providing them with arms.
- 16. There is no study that deals with a chronological migration profile by ethnic group. Based on my interview, the secessionist movement has somewhat induced migration. While the Tausug-initiated MNLF was confronting the government in the 1970s, more Tausugs came to Manila. Maguindanaoans flocked to Manila with the rise of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. Maranaos constantly come to Manila, but their inflows have risen especially after the 1980s.
- 17. According to Suzuki (1986, 136-37), comprehensive communities (a) are in situation of communal lives, (b) operate within relatively recognized boundaries, (c) and have functioning agencies and associations that respond to the needs and demands of the members, (d) thus enabling members to spend most of their time to satisfy their life needs; (e) maintaining consciousnesses of "we-ness," senses of "participation," and unique lifestyle/culture from these life backgrounds; and (f) living combinations and systematic entities. Restrictive communities are those with any one of the following characteristics: (a) aspects of localities; (b) aspects of completeness in vital functions such as detention centers and training camps; (c) aspects of senses of communities, such as academic communities; or (d) aspects of association such as neighborhood, community organizations, and local politics.
- 18. The Islamic sociopolitical system of the Maguindanao's, one of the larger ethnic groups in the country, is organized around a sultanate. All of the three royal houses trace their roots to Sultan Kudarat and Sharif Kabunsuan, one of the earliest

Muslim missionaries. The Maguindanaos adhere to the *adat*, customary laws that govern every aspect of life. Their ways of living are lowland-based, and their arts include sophisticated weaving and metal works.

- Data were culled from a personal interview with a barangay councilor of Barangay Sultan Esmael in Dasmariñas, Cavite, December 28, 2002.
- 20. The Iranun group is found mainly in Maguindanao. Marine-oriented, this group depends significantly on fishing and long-distance marine trade in addition to rice cultivation for livelihood.
- 21. Samal is one of the four ethnic groups in the Sulu archipelago. Samal populations are found in noncontiguous areas in the said archipelago. Because the Samal ethnic group is in turn made up of diverse subgroups, ethnic identity is derived from belief in Islam, orientation to the sea, and the use of Siama (or Sinama) language, varieties of which are spoken by different subgroups.
- 22. The majority Muslim group in Basilan, Mindanao. Their language is Bahasa Yakan, which is written in the Malaya script. The Yakans are known for their elaborate dress design and intricate textile weaving.
- 23. The Kalagan ethnic group is composed of three subgroups: Tagakalao proper, Kagan, and Lao. They are mainly found in places between the coast and the B'laan country in Davao, Mindanao.
- 24. From an interview with the barangay chairman of Barangay Maharlika Village, July 2002.
- 25. The survey was done by the author from December 2002 to January 2003.
- 26. The mosque in Payatas, including the land, was set up by the Quezon City government, with funds supplied by this religious institution (Datu Ismael Bani, interview by Akiko Watanabe, August 27, 2002).
- 27. The following data were culled from a personal interview with Sultan Dimasangkay in Baseco, September 12, 2002.
- 28. The Sangil people, whose language is closely related to the Indonesian language, live in the Sangihe and Talaud island group and in the southern coast of Mindanao about Sarangani Bay.
- 29. Datu Guinar Mao, interview by Akiko Watanabe, August 12, 2002.
- 30. Hadji Maulaha Sakalulan, interview by Akiko Watanabe, September 12, 2002.
- Mr. Rex Dimakuta, secretary of the Greenhills Muslim Business Club, interview by Akiko Watanabe, January 5, 2003.
- 32. As of 2006, all the stalls of pirated CDs/DVDs were demolished.
- 33. Indirectly, there might also be the effect of the enactment of the 1973 Constitution, which exempts all religious institutions, including mosques, from tax collection. The mosque administrators are obliged to register not only with the OMA but also with the Securities and Exchange Commission as a religious institution with a certain number of officers and executives in order to attain tax exemption on donations and properties. However, it is doubtful whether Muslims knew this constitutional change. Until today, Muslims build mosques without permission from local governments.

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