

Exploring the Indigenous Local Governance of Manobo Tribes in Mindanao

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Assessment of the indigenous system of governance with special attention to the Manobo tribes in Mindanao in response to the call for improvement of the present governance system in both local and national levels of the Philippines is the focus of this article. Manobo or Manuvu tribes have been generally referred to as "river people." They comprise various tribes that are considered lumad found in Mindanao. The Manobo tribes had their own indigenous systems and practices in governance which survived even the coming of the colonizers. The author regards these practices as contributions in the context of leadership, participatory mechanisms, conflict resolution and transparency and accountability. The center of governance was the Datu, the peacemaker, arbiter, judge and leader. He was chosen based on a defined set of criteria that were strictly followed. The relevance of and adherence to the customary laws of the Manobo despite the absence of a written constitution is at the heart of their unity and evidences of transparency and accountability.

Introduction

The search for indigenous systems and practices in local governance is timely because the 1991 Local Government Code (LGC) is being reviewed for appropriate amendments after twelve years of implementation; but beyond the LGC, an exploration of or revisit to the indigenous past is worth taking, especially at this juncture in history when it seems to have lost connection with the way our ancestors governed their constituents, linked with the environment and utilized resources. Through people's immersion in the governance systems and practices of indigenous peoples, the important traditions and values that can put them on track again and pick up as a nation can be rediscovered. There is no perfect formula in governance. What is important is the openness to learn from various disciplines and experiences, and a commitment to tread paths less traveled or even marginalized.

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Against this perspective the study explores the indigenous local governance systems and practices of the Manobo tribe in Mindanao using secondary documents or published researches on the subject. It starts with a description of the tribe's general characteristics as a people, their location, size, brief history and social organization. In this context, the study identifies governance areas, namely: patterns of leadership, administration of justice, rulemaking, delivery of services, internal security and defense, external relations, fiscal administration, and property and human rights. From these, major observations are posited. Finally, the contributions of the Manobos to the discourse on governance, particularly at the local level are culled and analyzed.

Description of the Manobo Tribe

Manobo or Manuvu¹ tribes have been generally referred to as "river people." The term "Manobo" is the hispanized form with four derivations: (i) "person" or "people"; (ii) "Mansuba" from man (person or people) and suba (river); (iii) "Banobo," the name of the creek that presently flows to Pulangi River about two kilometers below (sic) Cotabato City; and (iv) "man" meaning "first, aboriginal" and "tuvu" meaning "grow or growth" (CCP Encyclopedia of Arts 1994: 120).

A look at their general characteristics, location, size, brief history, and social organization provides insights on their background as an indigenous people.

General Characteristics

According to the Cultural Center of the Philippines *Encyclopedia of Arts* (1994: 120), Ethnolinguist Richard Elkins (1996) coined the term "Proto-Manobo" to designate this stock of "aboriginal non-Negritoid people of Mindanao." The same document also states that the "Manobo belong to the original stock of proto-Philippine or proto-Austronesian people who came from south China thousands of years ago, earlier than the Ifugao and other terrace-building peoples of northern Luzon," and the first Manobo settlers lived in northern Mindanao, particularly Camiguin, Cagayan, and some areas of Bukidnon and Misamis Oriental (CCP Encyclopedia of Arts 1994: 120). The Manobo encompasses various tribes that are considered *lumad* (native) found in Mindanao areas, such as Agusan del Sur and Norte, Davao, and Cotabato. Other Manobo tribes include the Higaonon of Agusan and Misamis Oriental; Talaandig of Bukidnon; Matigsalug of Bukidnon and Davao del Sur; Umayammon of

Agusan and Bukidnon; Dibabawon of Agusan and Davao; Banwaon of Agusan and Misamis Oriental; Talaingod of Davao del Norte; Tagakaolo of Davao Sur; Ubo of South Cotabato; and Mangguangan of Davao del Norte and Sur, and Cotabato (ADB 2002: 4). Manobo languages, which are varied, belong to the Philippine subfamily of Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian in the old literature) (CCP Encyclopedia of Arts 1994: 120).

Location and Size

Based on the study of NCCP-PACT in 1988, the whole Manobo population totaled 250,000 (cited in CCP Encyclopedia of Arts 1994: 120). Arakan Valley in Mindanao, for instance, is now sporadically populated by several Manobo subtribes: the Tinananon, Kulamanon, Ilianon, Pulangion and Matigsalug, who intermarried with the Tagabawa, Diangan and other subtribes from the neighboring mountains of Cotabato, Davao or Bukidnon (Kaliwat Theater Collective Inc. 1996: 16).

Most people of the tribe, however, can be found in the river valleys, hillsides, plateaus, and interiors of Agusan, Bukidnon, Cotabato, Davao, Misamis Oriental, and Surigao del Sur, while the subgroup Manuvu inhabits a contiguous area along southern Bukidnon, northeastern Cotabato, and northwestern Davao. The Ilianon, Livunganen-Arumanen, and Kirintekan are in Northern Cotabato, whereas the Tigwa/Tigwahanons are concentrated in Lindagay and scattered all over the town of San Fernando, Bukidnon, close to the border of Davao del Norte. The term *tigwa* is said to have been "derived from *guwa* (scattered) or the Tigwa River, whose banks they inhabit." In the case of western Bukidnon, Manobo inhabits the southwestern quarter of the province (CCP Encyclopedia of Arts 1994: 120).

Brief History

As gleaned from the documentation of William H. Olson (1967: 8) and CCP Encyclopedia of Arts (1994: 120), the history of the pre-Spanish Manobo is closely linked with the introduction of Islam in Mindanao in the 14th century. During this period, a Muslim missionary named Sharif Kabungsuwan arrived from Johore to convert the people. Narratives from oral tradition attributed the origin of Manobo tribes to two brothers: Tabunaway and Mamalu.

The CCP Encyclopedia of Arts (1994: 121) is helpful. "They lived by a creek Banobo which flowed into the Mindanao river near the present site

of Cotabato City. Tabunaway rejected Islam but advised his younger brother to submit to conversion. Tabunaway and his followers fled up the Pulangi River to the interior, and at a certain stop, they decided to part ways. Tabunaway and his group who went to Livungan became the Livunganen, while others became the Kirinteken, Mulitaan, Kulamanen, and Tenenenen. The Kulamanen split into the Pulangian and Metidsalug/Matigsalug. Branches of the Tenenenen were the Keretanen, Lundugbatneg, and Rangiranen. A group stayed along the river in Lanuan and built an *ilian* (fort) and so became the Ilianon. Those who went to the *Divava* (downriver) became the Dibabawon, some of whom branched into the Kidapawanen. But because all these groups retained their indigenous beliefs and practices, they retained the name of their original site, Banobo, which eventually became Manobo. On the other hand, Mamalu's descendants became the Maguindanao."

When the Spaniards came, they attempted to convert the Manobos who resisted and fought the colonizers. "In 1648 a rebellion that caused the death of many Spaniards was led by a Manobo chieftain named Dabao, a historical figure who became a hero of legends recounting his fantastic feats as a giant" (CCP Encyclopedia of Arts 1994: 121). From 1877 to 1896, the missionaries and military troops exerted all efforts to subdue the Manobos and Christianize them but eventually gave up and withdrew from the hinterlands because the tribes constantly engaged them in warfare.

Significant changes in the Manobos' way of life, however, took place during the American colonial period. Intertribal wars among the Manobo were quelled by the Philippine Constabulary and American officers, while the civil government persuaded the people through their *datus* to settle permanently in villages and send their children to school (CCP Encyclopedia of Arts 1994: 121). From 1950s onwards, alterations have occurred in the Manobo tribes including the coming of non-tribal groups to the Manobo occupied areas.

Social Organization

A review of various studies on the social organization of the Manobo illustrates that close family ties and kinship-bound social structures govern their social conduct (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 67; CCP Encyclopedia of Arts 1994: 124; Manuel 2000: 316; and Olson 1967: 8). Reciprocity or *upakat* is the basis of intervillage relationship where "village members, usually belonging to a kinship group or groups allied by marriage, expect assistance from each other in matters of subsistence

labor, defense, and support in crises" (CCP Encyclopedia of Arts 1994: 124). Consistent with their kinship-bound character, "the community structure is a neighborhood of scattered households composed mainly of extended families, and the area of the village is measured by the distance that the *agong* (native instrument) can be heard. It usually contains fifty to sixty homes, with a population of three to four hundred" (Olson 1967: 8).

Based on the typology of ethnic communities in the Philippines by F. Landa Jocano (1998), most of the Manobo in Mindanao belong to the *Banwa* type of social organization.² Derived from the Manuvu word, the term *banwa* means "domain." They live in territorially defined domains or districts composed of several settlements.

The findings of the CCP Encyclopedia of Arts (1994: 124) on the traditional social structure of Manobo are insightful. Four classes have been identified: "the *bagani*, the *baylan*, commoner and slave." Their respective roles are illustrative of the nature of their social organization: "The *bagani* class defended the community and went to battle. The *baylan* is a female or male priest and healer. The commoners were farmers; and the slaves who have been seized in raids belonged to the ruler and were usually given away as part of the bridewealth. Village members could also become enslaved if they could not pay the penalty for a crime they had committed, such as thievery, destruction of property, adultery, or verbal offense. Slaves, however, could win their freedom through diligence in the fulfillment of their duties, faithfulness to their master, or payment of their debt through servitude. Slaves who were treated like members of the family although still in servitude were *bilew*, and it was considered an insult if they were referred to as slaves. One who did so was committing *tempela*, ridiculing someone for their low status or "physical handicap."

In the study of Northern Cotabato Manobos by Olson (1967: 8), a slightly different perspective was presented. The classes in Manobo society were categorized as: "the people of royal blood, the *shamans* who are called *walians* (religious leaders), the warriors, the commoners, and the slaves. The rulers come from the people of royal blood; the *walians* conduct the religious services; the warriors are picked men to do the killing; the commoners do the farming; and the slaves work on the land of the royalty." Accounts indicate that the *datu*, being the ruling chief has slaves in his house over whom he has absolute control, including the power to kill or free them from a life of servitude (Olson 1967: 8-9).

Manobo Governance Institutions and Systems

The Manobo tribes had their own indigenous governance systems and practices which guided their way of life even before the coming of the Spanish colonizers. This is gleaned from the preliminary appraisal conducted on leadership as an overarching element of governance³ and the different areas of governance, such as: (i) administration of justice; (ii) rulemaking; (iii) delivery of services; (iv) internal security and defense; (v) external relations; (vi) fiscal administration; and (vii) property and human rights. Below are highlights of the findings.

Leadership

Leader. In the traditional Manobo society, the center of governance was the datu. He was "the arbiter, the judge, the provider, the peacekeeper, and important religious performer, the sage, the spokesperson and the ambassador of goodwill." His sphere of influence or domain of authority "may only be one *kalibung kut Manobo* (cluster of houses) or one *inged* (territorial district), or the entire subtribal or tribal territory" (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 67). According to Olson (1967: 8), each village is led by a datu "who has absolute authority in the village but delegates responsibility to other leaders under him."

The studies of Garvan (1931) and CCP Encyclopedia of Arts (1994), however, revealed that the datu system or authority "did not seem to exist among some Manobo groups," such as the Agusan Manobo who until 1910 "did not have a title for chief" or village head.

Other studies, nonetheless, affirmed the existence of the datu authority system (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996; and Olson 1967). The datu came from the *bahani/bagani*⁴ class who had a very prestigious social status in the Manobo society. According to Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. (1996: 8), *bahanis* were mostly men whose "status were (sic) achieved through the demonstration of formidable courage and ability in fighting, and every member of the village knew and respected their local *bahani*." While some stories were told of women warriors in the past, many of them stayed behind to protect their children and look for food, and very few actually participated in direct fighting (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996).

Source of Authority. The whole political organization of Manobo land as described by Garvan (1931: 140) including their "systems of government, social control, and administration of justice, is essentially

patriarchal so that the chieftainship is really a nominal one." He further stated:

The very entity of a clan springs from the kinship of its individual members, and, as in a family, the stronger or older brother might be selected on a given occasion to represent, defend or otherwise uphold the family, so in a Manobo clan or sect the stronger or the wiser member is recognized as chief. However, he cannot claim to any legal authority nor use any coercion unless it is sanctioned by the more influential members of the clan, is approved by public opinion, and is in conformity with customary law and tribal practices for there is no people that I know of that is so tenacious and so jealous of ancient usages as the Manobos of eastern Mindanao (1931: 140).

This observation was likewise noted by CCP Encyclopedia of Arts (1994: 123), which indicated that "the position of chieftainship can be passed on to a datu's offspring, as long as the person has the qualifications necessary for the position." The same source also pointed out "Young village members who show promise can be chosen and trained to be chiefs, gradually earning the status of *datu bai* (female datu) as they prove their ability to settle disputes, which involves three factors: speaking, negotiating a settlement, and providing the settlement themselves." A datu can be replaced, depending on the evaluation and decision of the people, but a baylan cannot be replaced because it is believed that there is a spirit in him planted by *Magbabaya*⁵ (Gatmaytan 1994).

Further evidence provided by Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. (1994: 69-70) affirmed this selection process. Their study shows: "A man (usually the favorite or eldest son) may be chosen to be a datu by his father who is also a datu. The chosen, however, can only become a 'real' datu if he has proven himself worthy of the title. In other words, he should possess and exhibit the qualities required. Only the community and *Manama* (God) can enthrone a datu and this is usually done after careful assessment of the chosen one through time."

Can women be chosen as datu? Except for the narrative of one western Bukidnon Manobo about a female datu or *bae* (woman leader) being installed, no other information supports this account. In fact, Garvan (1931: 140) stated:

Women play no part in the control of public affairs. There are no female chiefs. Women are domestic chattels relegated to the house and to the farm. There is common saying that women have no tribunal—that is, are not fitted to take part in public discussions—the reference being to the town hall of the Spanish regime. Yet I know of one woman, Sinapi by name, who travels around like a chief and through her influence arbitrates questions that the more influential men of the region are unable to settle. She lives on the

Simulao River, just above the settlement of San Isidro, and is without a doubt the individual of most influence on the upper Simulao and Bahadian. In the Jesuit letters mention is made of one Pinkai who had great weight among her fellow tribesmen of the Argawan River.

The Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. (1996: 78-79), on the other hand, has interesting findings about the bae. Usually, they were wives of Datus [and] also had to prove themselves worthy of respect and capable of dispensing her community functions with intelligence, leadership, and sympathy. Functions of the bae, however, "may be assumed by the second wife (or the third wife if the second wife died, etc.) if she proves to be capable of following the footsteps of her predecessor." Apart from the datu's wife, other women who are respected in the community and possess the qualities of a leader may also be called a bae.

The bae mediates minor social disputes often arising from the proliferation of gossip, morality issues between young men and women and other issues which the affected parties think need not concern the datu. The bae also give [sic] advises [sic] on personal problems (love, sex) of young men and women and married and unmarried women. Along with the elders in the community, the bae gives out advice on moral values (e.g., discipline, industriousness, diligence) to whoever seeks them or to whoever the community thinks needs them. More importantly, the bae is often responsible for managing the economic activities (especially farming) of the community—from the division of labor to cross-sharing. Like fireflies to light, the women often gather around the bae in her house during the more relaxed hours to talk often about farming or gardening, family life, and the women's problems. In the distant past, women used to gather social activity called *Agawake* to sing, dance, chant and tell stories. The activity is always led by the bae. The bae also facilitates women's discussions on community development projects and community problems which need the participation and voice of the women (1996:78-79).

Qualities of the Leader. Foremost among the qualities of a leader among the Manobo is bravery. As emphasized by Garvan (1931: 141), "the chieftainship naturally falls to one who has attained the rank of bagani—that is, to one who has killed a certain number of persons." Elaborating further, he related:

The general character of the warrior chief is, among all the tribes of Agusan Valley, that of a warrior who has to his credit an average of five deaths. As such deaths are attributed primarily to the special protection of divinities, called *Tagbusau*, who delight in the shedding of blood, the chief is regarded in the light of a priest in all that concerns war in somewhat the same way as the *bailan* or ordinary priest, under the protection of his familiars or tutelary spirits, is expected to officiate in all religious matter. To the

priestly office of the warrior chief is added that of magician to the extent that he can safeguard himself and his friend with magic means against the evil designs of his enemies. Finally, in a country where there is no supremely constituted authority with sufficient force to remedy grievances, but only personal valor and the lance and the bolo to appeal to, it may be expected that in the majority of cases the warrior will assume a fourth prerogative, namely, of a chief. Thus the warrior chief will be considered heir in his warlike character of warrior, in his magic character as medicine man, and finally in his political character as chief.

The interview of Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. (1996: 70) with Apo Lakandon Akil, a respected elder and artist in Tumanding⁶ is revealing. "A person cannot just claim to be a datu, rather the people choose him to be a datu. When a person is chosen, this means, he possesses the necessary qualities to be a leader—sympathetic, loving, trustworthy, and honest. We can depend on him to provide solutions to our problems." In the same interview, Datu Mangadta Sugkawan of Kinawayan⁷ explained: "A datu is chosen because of his character and Manama's will. He should have the ability to attend to the needs and problems of his people. He should be capable of settling disputes. If there is no harvest, he should find a solution." Meanwhile, Datu Makapukaw of Suba,⁸ Tago, Surigao del Sur shared that they had manigaon or elders, the datu or chieftain and the baylan or priest/priestess who govern and serve as community leaders. He further elaborated: "The datu serves as the political leader, and he is chosen and installed by the people of the community because of his abilities in leadership, settling disputes and his integrity, so that even the son of a non-lumad can become one if he is deserving and meets all the qualifications" (Gatmaytan 1994: 1).

The CCP Encyclopedia of Arts (1994: 128) documentation emphasized "wisdom, knowledge of traditional lore and mythology, eloquence, skill in euphemistic language, fairness in judging or arbitrating disputes, and possession of some wealth and property that the person must be willing to share with the whole community," as the necessary qualifications for leadership position.

Additional information from the Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. (1996: 70) showed that "the datu must also have convincing power, usually demonstrated by clarity of thought and the ability to articulate and argue." Being merciful, intelligent, keen, helpful, friendly, sociable and economically stable makes him eligible for the position. His being economically stable is very important to answer most of the needs of the community.

Meanwhile, an Asian Development Bank (ADB) study (2002: 42) confirmed that the datu should possess goodness and strength of character, be able to help the community in development plans, and services, generate respect and trust from the group, and look after the peace in the community. Similarly mentioned was the datu's power as inherited but a selection process was in place to identify an individual worthy of the position among offspring and close relatives. This study claimed that the bae or wife of the datu is also respected and has important leadership functions.

Roles and Functions. The datu had to perform his roles and functions in: community economics, settling of disputes, intratribal and intertribal relations, rituals, marriages, and social activities. They were often priests, healers and diviners themselves. The rituals which they were expected to undertake include declaring the opening of the clearing and planting season, praying over the harvest, marrying couples, and invoking gods, goddesses and spirits during calamities (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 72).

Legislation and Policymaking

In the Banwa social organization, the political leadership of the datu is supported by elaborate custom law and supernatural sanctions (Jocano 1998: 157). Jocano wrote that customary practices are legitimized by a body of legal norms called *addat*, which literally means "respect that is due to the customs and the village authorities."

As cited in Jocano (1998: 157), E. Arsenio Manuel notes:

The strength of the society [the Manuvu] is found in its custom law. This is known as *Batasan*, that is, custom law. I do not know of any society that does not have a body of laws. But in Manuvu society, there is an adjunct to the custom law which makes the latter operate with more than common efficiency. This is called *addat*, the respect that is due to the custom and village authorities. Without *addat*, the custom law will just be mere bones of the social skeleton.

A council of elders composed of wise, old men and women supports the datu in rulemaking. He solicits advice in the conduct of his leadership and governance from this group. In the case of problems affecting two or more villages or the entire territory, decisions are often made by a group of two, three or more datus from within the territory (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 76).

Since the whole system is patriarchal, coercion is not applied unless it is sanctioned by the more influential members, approved through consensus by the people, and in accordance with traditional custom (Garvan 1931: 22). According to Garvan:

The authority of the elder people is respected as long as they are physically and mentally able to participate in public gatherings. Those who have distinguished themselves by personal prowess always command a following, but they have a greater influence in time of trouble than in time of peace.

Perfect equality reigns among the members of the clan, except in those (sic) one respect that the recognized warriors are entitled to use of a red head kerchief, jacket, and pantaloons, each of these articles, beginning with the first being added as the number of people whom the warrior has killed is increased.

Administration of Justice

The Manobo “recognizes a set of customary rules, and any departure from them is resented by himself and by his relatives. Customary law is based on the intense conservation of the Manobo, fostered by the priests and strengthened by a system of religious injunctions and interdictions. Anyone who violates taboos or interdictions becomes liable to all evil consequences that may follow” (Garvan 1931: 25). Specifically, he elucidates:

Nearly all violation of rights are considered as civil and not criminal wrongs and upon due compensation are condoned. Failure on the part of the offender to make this compensation leads the aggrieved man and his relatives to take justice into their own hands. The guilty one in nearly every case is allowed a fair and impartial hearing in the presence of his own relatives. The matter is argued out, witnesses are called, and the offender’s own relatives generally exert their influence to make him yield with good will, hence feast follows nearly every case of successful arbitration.

One of the fundamental customs of the Manobo is to regard payment of one’s debt as duty and often performed sacredly in a sacrifice. Another fundamental custom is the right of revenge. Revenge is a sacred duty that is bequeathed from generation to generation, and from it results the long and terrible feuds that have devastated Manobo land (Garvan 1931: 25).

As the center of governance and conflict resolution in the Ata Manobo communities, the datu was in charge of resolving common issues like murder, theft, and unpaid debts (ADB 2002: 42). In settling disputes, he

judges who is right and who is wrong, and ensures that the wrong is justly corrected and the *tamok* (damages) immediately paid (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 67).

Often, to strengthen his words of judgment, or to support the wrongdoer who may not be able to immediately afford the *tamok*, the *datu* himself would offer to provide some part of the payment. He would also persuade other members of the community to help raise the *tamok* so that the dispute will immediately be settled and no space shall be provided for the disputing parties to reconsider their positions and push the fight further, possibly harming more people than was originally necessary (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 71).

Datu Makapukaw of Surigao del Sur (Gatmaytan 1994: 1) describes conflict resolution:

In accordance with the *husadan* or judgment of a case, the guilty or responsible party must pay a fine called *manggad* in properties, and those who refuse to pay could be killed. When the case involves killing, the spilling of blood, or the abduction of someone's wife, which are serious cases, we have *oyagaan* where the party responsible gives a pig to the aggrieved party, who kills the pig so that the latter's anger is displaced, and so the pig's blood pays for the blood of the victim, and there will be no more need or want to take revenge.

Delivery of Services

According to Datu Sugkawan, in cases of economic difficulties (e.g., poor harvest), the *datu* should be able to provide coping mechanisms for the people to survive. The *datu* is expected to share a part of his harvest or other forms of material wealth and encourages the more privileged ones to do the same. "In some cases, he would give out some of his lands for the needy to cultivate or, when the needy is in the worst economic situation, he could let them stay in his house temporarily. During harvest and hunting seasons, it is the *datu's* responsibility to pray over the harvests, hunt, and divide the food among the members of the community" (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 71).

A *datu* with surplus can tide over at least temporarily tight food shortages, and if he had organizational skills, could lead people to produce surplus. Hunger and security are therefore treads in the social fabric of the Manuvu and have made some people aware of the greater whole (Manuel 2000: 345).

Internal Security and Defense

While the datu and the village bahanis are expected to be organized and prepared for external aggressive attack, no military organization has existed in Manobo land. Vendettas and debts are the most usual causes of war. There is usually no formal declaration of war. In fact, the greatest secrecy is generally observed, and in urgent cases the body of ambushers proceeds at once to kill the first one of the enemy that happens to pass their lurking place (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 71; Garvan 1931: 24).

Garvan (1931: 24-25) graphically describes war, defense, and conflict resolution in the Manobo tribe:

The usual times for undertaking an expedition are during the rice harvest and after a death. The preparation consists of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the enemy's house and of its environment. Everything being ready, the warriors assemble, a sacrifice is made, omens are taken, and the band starts out at such an hour as will enable them to reach the vicinity of the enemy about nightfall. From the last stopping point, few warriors make a final reconnaissance in the gloom of the night, release the enemy's traps, and return. The whole band, numbering anywhere from 10 to 100, advance and, surrounding the house, await the dawn, for it is at the first blush of the morning that sleep is supposed to be heaviest. Moreover, there is then sufficient light to enable the party to make the attack. Hence the peep of dawn is almost always the hour of attack. Each warrior gets credit for the number of people whom he kills, and is entitled to the slaves that he may capture. The warrior chief opens the breasts of one or more of the headmen of the slain, inserts a potion of their charm collars into the openings, and consumes the heart and liver in honor of their war spirits.

Ambush is also a very ordinary method of warfare. Several warriors station themselves in a selected position near the trail and await their enemy. Whenever there is open rupture between two parties, it is customary for each of them to erect a high house in a place remote and inaccessible, and to surround it with such obstacles as will make it more dangerous. In this house, with their immediate relatives and with such warriors as desire to take their part; they bide their time in a state of constant watch and ward. On all occasions, when there is any apprehension of danger, arms are worn. During meals, even of festive occasions, a Manobo eats with his left hands, holding his right in readiness for an attack. The guests at a feast are seated in such a way that an attack may be easily guarded against. Various other laws of intercourse, such as those governing the passing of person behind another and method of unsheating [sic] a bolo, regulate the dealings of man with man and clan with clan.

When both parties to a feud are tired, either of fighting constantly or of taking refuge in flight, a peacemaking may be brought about through the good services of friendly and influential tribesmen. On the appointed day, the parties meet, balance up their blood debts and other obligations and decide on a term within which to pay them. As an evidence of their sincere desire to preserve peace and to make mutual restitution, a piece of green rattan is cut by the leaders, and a little beeswax, both operations being symbolic of the fate that will befall the one that breaks his plighted word.

External Relations

The relations with other tribes were mainly opened due to intermarriages. In some ways, "matrilocacy has linked one territory to another, forging intratribal unity and expanding not only the web of kinship but also the scope of authority of several known datu" (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 12). Moreover, their being clannish did not prevent them from recognizing and respecting the leadership of other datu outside their own territories.

Based on Kaliwat Theater Collective's research (1996: 71), the datu in the olden times had also acted as a mediator between two disputing datu from other villages and concluded peace pacts. "While responsible for upholding peace and order within the territory, the datu also ensures that peaceful relations with other territories, tribes and subtribes are maintained. It is thus that the datu is expected to take initiatives in befriending datu of other territories and receiving visitors. He also arranges alliances between villages" (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 72).

Datu Depensa, a Manobo from Surigao del Sur⁹ writes that when there is a problem within their community, all the datu meet together in council to conduct *husadan* or judgment of a case, to settle the problem. If the problems involve other lumad communities, all the datu of the involved communities meet to settle the issue.

The datu from different communities have co-equal status, although we recognize that some of them are better at certain matters than others, and they may sometimes meet in the *dungaan* which is the council of datu in a given area in order to address issues which affect them all. A datu from one community cannot interfere in the affairs of another community, because he would be outside his area of jurisdiction and so fail to recognize the status of the datu there, unless he is asked by the datu of the latter for his assistance. The *tampuda* is an intertribal or community agreement done a long time ago to cut off any more misunderstanding or

conflict, particularly killings between the different communities for revenge.

According to Garvan (1931: 24-25) he had witnessed until 1910 this kind of intertribal and analogous relations in the Manobo land:

Intertribal relations between pagan and Manobos and Christianized Manobos, and between the former and Bisayas were comparatively pacific during my residence in the Agusan Valley. Between Manobos and other mountain tribes, excepting Mangguangans, the relations were, with casual exception, rather friendly, due, no doubt, to the lessons learned by the Manobos in their struggles with Mandayas, Banubons, and Debabaons up to the advent of the missionaries about 1877. The Manobos are inferior to the tribes mentioned in tribal cohesion and in intellect. Their dealings, however, with Mangguangans who are undoubtedly their physical and intellectual inferiors, present a different aspect. With the Mandayas and Debabaons, they have helped reduce the one extensive Mangguangan tribe to the remnant that it is today. In general, Manobos are afraid of the aggressiveness of their neighbors (excluding the Mangguangans), and their neighbors fear their instability and hot-headedness; hence both sides pursue the prudent policy of avoidance.

Apart from entering into peace pacts with datos from other tribes, the Manobos had commercial relations with the Bisayas through bartering of goods. This trading, however, was characterized by "absolutely inadequate values both in buying and selling commodities, use of false weights and measures, defraudation in accounts, demands of unspeakably high usury, wheedling by the *pudnak* or friendship system, advancing of merchandise at exorbitant rates, especially just before the rice harvest, and the system of commutation by which an article not contracted for was accepted in payment though at a paltry price. These were the main features of the system. It may be said that the resultant and final gain by the Bisayas amounted to between 500 and 1,000 percent" (Garvan 1931: 24). When the Manobos learned about the stupendous gain, they deliberately delayed their payments. Hence, the commercial relations resulted in frequent bickering, quarrels, and ill-will.

Fiscal Administration

None of the reviewed literature provides specific reference to a taxation system or fiscal procedures. However, the Manobo people are encouraged to contribute material goods, such as rice, animals, and other articles which are used to pay for tamok during dispute settlement. The datu is entitled to a payment for his services in settling disputes. "In the Manobo tradition, these payments significantly strengthen the datu's

capability to settle disputes as he is often the first one to offer part of his wealth for the tamok" (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 72).

The internal commerce of the Manobos consisted of simple exchanges and there was no circulating medium. Instead, slaves were the units of exchange (valued at 15 to 30 pesos each), as well as pigs and plates, but with the exception of the first, these units were not constant in value. Among the measures used were the: *gantang*, a cylindrical wooden vessel with a capacity of 10 to 15 liters; the *kaban*, which contains 25 *gantang*; the yard, measured from the end of the thumb to the middle of the sternum, the span, the fathom, the finger, and the finger joint (Garvan 1931: 24).

Property and Human Rights

The testimonies of two Manobos from Surigao del Sur impart relevant insights on their concept of property rights. According to Mentong Astodilyo:¹⁰ "This land belongs to the lumad, because we have succeeded our ancestors, who were the first people to live here, and from whom we received this land, the names they gave the places there, the *yubas* or fallow fields, and the *mam-on* trees they planted there as monuments or boundaries." Similarly, Oday Suarez¹¹ asserted: "We own this land, because we received them from our ancestors, who were the first people here as shown by the names they gave the places in our territory, the *yubas* or fallow areas and the *mam-on* trees they planted here."

According to Garvan (1931: 24-25), property rights among the Manobo are "understood and rigidly upheld, so much so that there seems to be the conception of a gift as such." For example, large tracts of lands are considered property of a clan, but settlement on the land including the rights of a clansman is extended to a friend or ally, except those of fishing. He likewise stated:

Slavery is a recognized institution, but since the diminution of intertribal and interclan wars the number of slaves had diminished. Slaves were originally obtained by capture and then passed from one hand to hand in making marriage payments. It sometimes occurs, in an exigency, that a man delivers a child, even his own, into captivity. The slave is generally not ill-treated but has to try to do all the work that is assigned to him. He has no rights of any kind, possesses no property except a threadbare suit, and is usually not allowed to marry. However, he receives a sufficiency of food and seems to be contented with his lot (1931: 25).

Manobo Governance Values System and Practices

Reflecting on the findings and major observations, this study posits that scholars and practitioners of Public Administration can benefit from several governance practices of the Manobo Tribes in Mindanao, which may be termed as their major contributions. This study looks at their contributions in the context of leadership, participatory mechanisms, conflict resolution and transparency, and accountability. The academic community, government organizations, nongovernment organizations, and the indigenous peoples themselves may find this initial discourse worth sustaining and inviting further study.

Leadership

Adherence to Merit System, Selection Process and Reward System. It can be noted from the findings and observations that the Manobo tribes in Mindanao strictly adhered to a defined a set of criteria and selection process in choosing their datu as the chief of the land. The criteria revolved around: (i) personal attributes, (ii) skills and experience, (iii) knowledge of traditions and customary laws, and (iv) material or resource capability. In the actual selection, the prospective datu passes through two levels of screening, first, by the Council of Elders, and second, by the community members. It is important to highlight here that while the position of a datu is open to all, one has to pass two levels of screening, and though being a son of a former or present datu could be a passage to datuship, one has to prove his worth which is measured according to the required qualifications; thus, anyone aiming to be chosen as datu should undergo training and exemplify good deeds throughout his life. Certainly, this is a far cry from the present times where elective positions can easily be occupied by showbiz or media personalities or children of former/incumbent politicians whose only qualification is their capacity to entertain or blood relations. It is worth noting here too that articulateness or speaking prowess was an important criterion in the olden times, especially in disputes settlement or mobilization of community support. In this age of modern governance, there are presidential, vice-presidential, and senatorial aspirants who can barely speak without the aid of a script.

Shared Leadership. The Council of Elders and community members play an important role in the selection and evaluation of a datu. The datu cannot adequately govern without their consensus in decisionmaking. The acceptability or consent of the community on the decision made by the datu and Council of Elders is also important; hence, from the start of his term of office, the datu is aware that he needs to invoke the consent of his

advisers and constituents. Maybe it is high time to bring back this system in our governance processes.

Transparency and Accountability

Evaluation of Datu's Performance. Both the council of elders and community members evaluate the datu's deeds. If found wanting, the datu can be removed by the council of elders with the consent of the community members. In other words, the datu is required to be transparent and accountable for his actions. There is a need to review this kind of processes, and if applicable has to be mainstreamed in local and national governance systems both for appointive and elective positions.

Customary Rules/Laws. For the Manobos, their customary rules/laws are their very soul and source of unity as a people. Even without prison, rules are strictly adhered to because they understand their relevance and meaning. A lot can be learned from the Manobos on how they value their laws not simply in the context of sanctions but of their deeper effects on their life despite the absence of a constitution.

Gender Sensitivity and Women's Role. Despite the inadequacy of available data regarding their assumption of the datu position, data indicate that the concept of a bae, woman leader was in existence in the olden times of the Manobo. What can be learned from this is the notion of a "woman leader" borne out of qualifications and community recognition. Thus, the term bae was imbued with respect and integrity. If the concept of bae is operational now, a three-term politician will probably think many times before pushing his wife/daughter/daughter-in-law (or themselves) to compete for his former position. Maybe it is time for women's groups to emphasize how ancestors have crafted women's leadership in the body politic or community affairs.

People's Participation

Council of Elders. As mentioned earlier, decisionmaking is a joint function of the datu and the council of elders. Even now, Manobo tribes still say their elders are as important as their datu/chiefdoms in crafting decisions for the community. While today they are called informal leaders (old/wise and respected community members), their role in decisionmaking is not institutionalized unlike in olden times. Thus, there are even occasions when politicians use them for their own political interests.

Community Pressure/Recall. Among the Manobos, the datu can be replaced/removed if he is seen as no longer worthy of his position or he has done bad deeds. A community consensus is invoked through a process of public assembly and deliberations. While the process of recall is now instituted in the Philippine constitution, the people then were aware of this right to recall, hence, only when the leaders committed transgressions did the Manobo consider recall.

Consensus-building. Key to Manobo unity was their adherence to a process of getting community consensus for major problems affecting their lives as a people. Despite knowing consensus, the nation today now seems to dwell on differences and forgets to look at how things could be done in a consensual manner.

Volunteerism in Resource-sharing. This was evident in the way the Manobo tribes raise payments for tamok, produce their goods through community effort or lusong and the manner in which the datu shares his resources with his constituents, especially in times of crisis.

Conflict Resolution

Cost-sharing in Peacemaking/Dispute Settlement. This was discussed in detail in the section on administration of justice. What this study would like to emphasize at this point is the notion of cost-sharing in peacemaking or dispute settlement. Among the Manobos, there was an assumption or understanding that "peace is the concern of all," thus everyone should contribute or pool resources in paying tamok or damages to ensure immediate settlement of conflict among aggrieved parties. Since Manobo society is kinship-bound, it is difficult to prolong conflict as many will be affected. This concept of cost-sharing in conflict resolution may be worth studying by peace groups in the country. At present, the conflict between the Communist Party of the Philippines-National Democratic Front-New People Army (CPP-NDF-NPA) or Muslim groups on one hand and government armed forces on the other are not seen in this light. Conflict is attributed to the warring groups while the community caught in the cross-fire is merely seen as victim. While the community may not be asked to contribute funds, there might be ways of involving them in assuming certain costs. Again, this aspect might be worth looking into.

Peace Pacts (Intratribal and Intertribal). This was part of the Manobo's way of life. Instead of engaging in continuing tribal wars, they found ways to initiate peace and alliances. Unlike the Kalinga tribe, not much had been written about the Manobo's way of peacemaking, yet

accounts show that as a people, they had actively promoted peace among their neighbors. A special study on the peacemaking processes and practice of the Manobo could enrich the growing literature on local peacemaking in the country.

Issues and Challenges

This preliminary exploration on the Manobo tribes' way of life, particularly their indigenous systems and practices of governance captured their past with the tribes' own lenses of their own people, and of those who had the good opportunity of living with them, traveling in the places where they lived, and in the process unravelling their unique experiences. Today, however, the Manobos of Mindanao are faced with issues and challenges threatening their very own existence as a people. Three of the major issues are discussed below.

Poverty

Among the Ata Manobo, the term *kaayo-ayo* is used to describe a poor individual. This means the person possesses only a set of clothes and has to live with others for his/her subsistence. According to the study of ADB (2002: 43-44): "As recently as 1983, the forest in the area was still intact. The datus interviewed said they were living in harmony with the forests, which produced all they needed. Then, a 25-year old logging concession was granted to the Alcantara company. The company has been in the area for 15 years. There was a steady depletion of forest areas and loss of biodiversity. Wild animals vanished and farmlands were taken over by the logging operations. *Naupaw ang lasang tungod sa logging sa Alcantara* (The forests turned bald due to the logging of the Alcantaras)."

Because of this, the tribe could no longer utilize the land efficiently as there is insufficient organic matter due to lack of forest litter. With this, "the cultivation of upland rice has become difficult because of the limited amount of planting materials and the soil has become too compact, making even sweet potato cultivation difficult" (ADB 2002: 43). Hence, the previously self-sufficient Manobo tribes are now living a life of hand-to-mouth existence, sometimes barely unable to eat three times a day.

This situation is further aggravated by lowland Christians who are said to oppress them by buying products cheaply and selling them at exorbitant prices, and introducing vices such as drinking and gambling (ADB 2002: 43).

Marginalization of their Indigenous Systems and Practices

One of the complaints of the Manobos is their inability to observe and follow their cultural beliefs or traditions. For instance, in the past they could work together even without money, through the *lusong* or cooperative work, but the introduction of the concept of hired labor did away with this. The practice of initiating rituals before opening the land is difficult, especially now that they use metal tools in clearing farmland (ADB 2002: 43).

There was also a change in the pattern of datu leadership. "With the introduction of the *barangay*¹² system, the datos were forced to adopt lowland forms of political governance. New leaders arose, mostly lowlanders who were the only ones capable of comprehending the new system. They were given authority over Manobo communities whose interests they could not carry because they knew very little, if at all, about Manobo ways and the Manobo worldview" (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 73).

The people's respect has been transferred to the *kapitan* (barangay captain) because he is more powerful than the datu. The kapitan could put to jail anybody even if he/she did not commit a crime (Antayan Baguio, Manobo leader in Tumanding).¹³

Poverty has also constrained the datu from fully exercising his traditional responsibilities and functions:

Before it was appropriate for me to settle disputes between married couples. But this function is impossible to dispense because we no longer have lands and enough animals to serve as tamok (Datu Carlos Guintingan of Lama-lama).¹⁴

With the new economic and political systems introduced by the Bisaya (migrant settlers), "many of the datos' traditional functions are lost, threatening to wipe away not only the datos' reason for being but also the foundations of the Manobo people's unity and identity." The datu, nonetheless, continues to exercise his important role, e.g., "to pass on tribal values," which sometimes endangers his life (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 80). Further research of Kaliwat also shows that the datos today have found it increasingly difficult to practice their own system of administering justice:

The tamok, for example, becomes impossible to raise as most Manobo families could barely afford to eat twice a day. Moreover, since the coming of the Bisaya (migrant settlers), traditional forms of administration of justice have been replaced with methods that pursued the lowland concept of justice that were [sic] incomprehensible to the Manobo. The datos have thus recently

found the need to ask the disputing parties whether they would like the case tried in the traditional manner or whether they would want it settled by the local government authorities. When the other party is a migrant settler, it is likely that the dispute would be reported to the barangay captain or the police.

Ancestral Domain

The right to ancestral lands is a contentious issue between the Manobos, Bisayas and other lowlanders including the government. According to Datu Ibabasok:¹⁵ "When the logging company arrived, they did not seek permission from our people, who were already here, nor even consulted with them, but went straight into surveying, cutting trees, and building roads." He asserted that they own their lands because their ancestors were the first to live in this place (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 80). According to the Manobos:

In the past, there were no barangay captains, only datos. When the Bisaya arrived, they asked for nothing except lands. And so we gave them lands, often as many as five hectares. But now, I ask why is it that we who own the lands are the ones being killed. It surprises me that when the Ilonggo kills the Manobo, there is no tamok, no one gets jailed. But if the Manobo kills an Ilonggo, he goes to jail. On top of it, he has to pay, to bail himself out. Just like Datu Ocuman who was killed because he stood up for their ancestral domain in Malivatuan. Then there was [sic] Paulino Pandi and Salimbag Paguyan who were jailed as a result of the pangayaw which ensued after. And they could only be released if they paid the bail. These men paid for crimes they did not commit (Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. 1996: 80).

Major Observations

These observations were gleaned from the findings gathered from available literature on the subject:

- Reciprocity or upakat was the basis of intervillage relationship in the Manobo tribe which was applied in their day-to-day interactions and applied as well in governing the constituents and resources. To get things done, they employed lusong (a term for cooperative effort) in production processes such as planting and harvest of grains. At present, remnants of upakat manifest in times of crisis, but the concept of hired labor had decimated lusong.
- While there was slavery in the social organization, it was not absolute as good deeds were rewarded. In some cases, the slaves

were able to move out from their social class. The concept of social mobility was in a sense operational unlike the caste system in India.

- Leaders or the datu were selected on the basis of a defined set of criteria, and this was strictly adhered to and observed. While the son of a datu may be proposed as replacement or holder of the leadership position, he had to undergo a screening process done by the council of elders and approved/sanctioned by the entire community. His acceptability among the council of elders and community members was an important requirement. In other words, being the son of a datu does not guarantee assumption of office, but rather the qualities required of a leader, e.g., knowledge of tradition, articulateness, negotiating skills in settling disputes, and capacity to provide resources for settlement of disputes or payment of tamok.
- The position of a datu was open to all members of the community besides the son(s) of a datu as long as he possessed the necessary qualifications.
- From selection to replacement or removal of the datu, the consensus of the entire community was invoked. This meant that the office of the datu was subject to continuing community evaluation, and when necessary he could be removed upon careful deliberation of the council of elders and the consent of the community.
- The Council of Elders served as advisers of the datu. This implied shared leadership as the datu could not solely decide about problems, especially those requiring tamok or peace pacts among tribal groups.
- In the administration of justice, the concept of tamok or payment of damages was an important consideration in the immediate settlement of disputes. It is also important to note that the aggrieved party can choose whether the family would like to settle for tamok or death of the aggressor/offender. Again, the participation of the datu, council of leaders and community members was essential in the dispensation of justice, especially the collective pooling of resources for payment of damages.
- Peacemaking was important to the Manobo tribes. Hence, the concept of contributing for the payment of damages was an accepted practice. The desire to settle disputes immediately was

primordial among the datu, council of elders and community members.

- There was a strict adherence to customary rules, and violations were considered taboo, frowned upon by the community, and subject to sanctions.
- Women could participate in community activities, and there was the concept of the bae or woman leader. However, there were no substantial data about their assumption of the position of a datu. Like the datu, a bae could only be called such if she had proven her worth for she was measured according to the qualities of a datu. While most of the bae came from the ranks of datu's wives, this was not exclusive to them as any woman possessing the necessary qualities could become a bae. Again, community acceptability and recognition were important factors.
- Intertribal relations revolved around two concerns: One was ensuring peace and alliances among the tribes, and the other was commercial relations through bartering of goods.
- The ability of the datu to provide the needs of his constituents was underscored. This is the reason why critical to his selection was his amount of resources or wealth which he was expected to partake with the community members in times of payment for tamok or dearth of food supply.
- There was no specific reference to a defined taxation system, but the concept of volunteerism in sharing of resources for payment of tamok was present.
- Concept of property rights was connected with the ownership of land by their ancestors, including the resources in their domain.
- At present, the Manobos find it difficult to practice their cultural beliefs, especially with the entry of Bisaya or migrant settlers and the introduction of modern forms of political system of governance such as the barangay council system, which in many ways created confusion and disruption in the lives of the Manobo tribes.

Endnotes

¹ Manobo or Manuvu refers to the same tribe. This study uses them interchangeably the way they were used by the sources/authors.

² In F. Landa Jocano's typology there is a Magani and Banwa type in Mindanao. Except for the Agusan Manobo which belong to the Magani type, most belong to the Banwa.

³ While leadership was identified as one of the cross-cutting themes in the discussion of indigenous local governance, the study saw the importance of discussing leadership first to situate or connect the different areas of governance. As mentioned in the introductory part of the section on Indigenous Governance Systems and Practices, it is an overarching theme, and will be discussed further in the sections on major observations and contributions to Public Administration.

⁴ F. Landa Jocano, E. Arsenio Manuel and John M. Garvan used bagani, while the Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc. used bahani. This study uses both bahani/bagani in the absence of data validation from sources/authors.

⁵ Based on the affidavit of Ricardo Salazar, known as Datu Depensa, 49 years of age, married, a Manobo residing in Mahawan, Maitom, Tandag, Surigao del Sur.

⁶ A village in Arakan Valley in North Cotabato, Mindanao.

⁷ A village in Arakan Valley in North Cotabato, Mindanao.

⁸ A Manobo interviewed by Gus Gatmaytan for "Voices of the Lumad," a publication by Legal Rights and Natural Resources Center-Kasama sa Kalikasan. Quezon City, 1994.

⁹ Based on the affidavit of Ricardo Salazar, known as Datu Depensa, 49 years of age, married, a Manobo residing in Mahawan, Maitom, Tandag, Surigao del Sur.

¹⁰ Taken from the affidavit of Mentong Astodilyo, estimated age 70 years old from Surigao del Sur.

¹¹ Taken from the affidavit of Oday Suarez, aged 50 years old from Surigao del Sur.

¹² Barangay is the smallest political and administrative unit in the Philippine local government structure.

¹³ A Manobo leader in Arakan Valley interviewed by the Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc.

¹⁴ A Manobo leader in Arakan Valley interviewed by the Kaliwat Theater Collective, Inc.

¹⁵ Based on the affidavit of Pablito Duazo, known as Datu Ibasok, 66 years old, married, a Manobo and living in Elbuan, Mampi, Lanuza, Surigao del Sur.

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*Appendix 1***Indigenous Local Governance of the Manobo Tribes in Mindanao**

<i>Governance Areas</i>	<i>Indicators</i>
Administration of Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Customary rules/laws (source of decisions) • Datu as chief mediator/negotiator • Council of elders served as advisers of the datu • Concept/practice of paying tamok (manggad to Manobo in Surigao del Sur) or damages to offended or aggrieved parties
Rulemaking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Addat (body of legal norms) legitimized customary practices • <i>Datu</i> as political leaders • Council of elders supports the data in decisionmaking • Consensual (consensus) approval of rules by community members
Delivery of Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Datu shares part of his harvests/resources with the people to cope with economic difficulties • Datu prays over harvests and hunts • Datu divides food among community members • Community pooling of resources to pay for tamok
Internal Security and Defense	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Datu and baganis/bahanis (warrior class) defend the community against attacks • Ambush as ordinary method of warfare • Peacemaking among warring tribes takes place when both parties are exhausted
External Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Datu and council of elders initiate peace pacts with neighboring tribal groups • Formation of/participation in tribal alliances • Commercial relations through bartering of goods with neighboring tribal groups and Bisaya (migrant settlers)
Fiscal Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No defined system of taxation • Voluntary contributions of community members for payment of tamok during disputes settlement
Property and Human Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concept of property is connected with ancestral lands and harmonious relationship with land, trees, rivers and various elements of ecology.

Appendix 2

**Governance Values System and Practices
of the Manobo Tribe and Indicators**

<i>Core Values</i>	<i>Indicators</i>
Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Datu as center of governance • Chieftainship is patriarchal • Source of authority: qualifications; selection by the Council of Elders; and recognition/acceptability by the community members • Datuship open to all community members as long as with necessary qualifications and passed screening process <p>Specific values:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shared leadership • Selection based on merit and selection process • Reward system for good deeds, e.g., occupation of office • Concept of a woman leader/bae or inclusion of women in community affairs
Transparency and Accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community evaluation of datu's deeds • Council of elders' evaluation of datu's deeds • Adherence of community members and leaders to customary rules
People's Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pooling of resources in payment of tamok for immediate dispute settlement • Involvement in consensus-building for decisions concerning community problems/affairs • Sharing of resources during economic difficulties • Concept of lusong or cooperative effort during production of goods/planting/harvests • Community participation in selection, removal/replacement and evaluation of datu's needs • Involvement in peace-pacts or peacemaking within the tribe and with other tribes through participation in deliberations or consensus-building
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concept of a woman leader/bae or inclusion of women in community activities • Community recognition of the role of the <i>Bae</i> • Bae selected based on their qualifications and community recognition—an earned title.

Glossary

Addat – In Manobo tribes, it means “*respect that is due to the customs and the village*”; a body of legal norms that legitimizes customary law

Agawake – Manobo’s social activity, i.e., singing, dancing, chanting and telling stories led by the *bae*.

Apo Lakandon Akil – a respected elder and artist in **Tumanding** (Manobo).

Bae – Manobo’s woman leader.

Bagani – In Manobo tribes, a class of people who defends the community and goes to battle.

Bai – Manobo’s female *datu*.

Bailan – Manobo’s ordinary priest.

Baylan – Manobo’s female or male priest and healer.

Bilew – slaves who are treated like members of the family although still in servitude.

Dabao – Manobo chieftain; historical figure who became a hero of legends recounting his fantastic feats as a giant.

Datu – the center of governance in the traditional Manobo society. He was “the arbiter, the judge, the provider, the peace-keeper, and important religious performer, the sage, the spokesperson and the ambassador of goodwill.”

Husadan – In the traditional Manobo society, a judgment of a case.

Inged – Manobo’s territorial district.

Kaayo-ayo – used to describe a poor Manobo individual who possesses only a set of clothes and has to live with others for his/her subsistence.

Kalibug Kut Manono – cluster of houses in the Manobo village.

Lusong – term for Manobo’s cooperative work.

Mam-on – trees planted as monuments or boundaries (Manobo).

Manam – God; can enthrone a Manobo *Datu*.

Manggad – In the Manobo society, fine paid by the guilty or responsible party.

Manobo or Manuvu – tribes referred to as “*river people*.” The term “*Manobo*” is the hispanized form but it has four derivations: (i) “person” or “people”; (ii) “*Mansuba*” from man (person or people) and *suba* (river); (iii) “*Banobo*,” the name of the creek that presently flows to Pulangi River about 2 km. below Cotabato City; and (iv) “man” meaning “first, aboriginal” and “*tuvu*” meaning “*grow, growth*”.

Matilocacy – (Manobo) links one territory to another, forging intra-tribal unity and expanding not only the web of kinship but also the scope of authority of several known *Datus*.”

Oyogaan – In the Manobo tribes, the party responsible for a crime gives a pig to the aggrieved party, who kills the pig so that the latter’s anger is displaced, and so the pig’s blood pays for the blood of the victim, and there will be no more need or wish to take revenge.

Pudnak – Manobo’s friendship system.

Shamans – people of royal blood in the Manobo society.

Tagbusau – In Manobo, they are divinities who delight in the shedding of blood.

Tamok – fine for crimes committed by a Manobo.

Tampuda – Manobo’s intertribal or community agreement done a long time ago to cut off any more misunderstanding or conflict, particularly killings between the different communities for revenge.

Tempela – In Manobo society, ridiculing someone for her/his low status or physical handicap.

Tigwa – from *guwa* scattered or the Tigwa River, whose banks the Manobo tribe inhabits.

Tumanding – a village in Arakan valley in North Cotabato, Mindanao.

Upakat – In Manobo society it means “reciprocity”; the basis of inter-village relationship where “village members, usually belonging to a kinship group or groups allied by marriage, expect assistance from each other in matters of subsistence labor, defense, and support in crises.”

Walian – Manobo’s religious leaders who conduct the religious services.