Migration and Mosques: The Evolution and Transformation of Muslim Communities in Manila, the Philippines

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Mission of the Afrasian Centre for Peace and Development Studies

Poverty and other issues associated with development are commonly found in many Asian and African countries. These problems are interwoven with ethnic, religious and political issues, and often lead to incessant conflicts with violence. In order to find an appropriate framework for conflict resolution, we need to develop a perspective which will fully take into account the wisdom of relevant disciplines such as economics, politics and international relations, as well as that fostered in area studies. Building on the following expertise and networks that have been accumulated in Ryukoku University in the past (listed below), the Centre organises research projects to tackle new and emerging issues in the age of globalisation. We aim to disseminate the results of our research internationally, through academic publications and engagement in public discourse.

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Migration and Mosques: The Evolution and Transformation of Muslim Communities in Manila, the Philippines

Akiko Watanabe

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Introduction

1. Background

This paper addresses the evolution and transformation of Muslim communities in Metro Manila in the context of political and social changes in the Philippines. The purpose is to typologically frame the features and dynamics of these communities in Metro Manila to gain a better understanding.¹

The vast majority of Filipinos are Christians, who have a commanding presence in Metro Manila on the northern island of Luzon, the center of influence of the country. Muslims (generally referred to as Moro), who comprise five to ten percent of the total population, belong to thirteen ethnolinguistic groups and reside in the southern Philippines, including Mindanao Island, Sulu Archipelago and the southern part of Palawan Island (referred together as the Mindanao Region).² Under these circumstances, Muslims have constantly been considered as problematic people in relation to issues such as the national integration of the Philippines and maintaining peace and order. This view has been dominant, in particular since the Muslim secessionist movement escalated in response to the imposition of martial law in 1972.³

One of the important consequences of the conflict in the Mindanao Region was the displacement of Muslims from their home regions. Their migration from the southern Philippines to other national and transnational locations peaked in the 1970s, and by the late 1980s twenty-seven Muslim communities were found in Luzon and in the Visayas Islands in the central Philippines (Miyamoto 1990:184).

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¹ This paper is a revised version of the article published in Kasarinlan 22 (2) in 2007. Based on advice from professors and colleagues, more focus is put upon various dimensions of mosques’ role in this paper.

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³ The paper is based on the primary research carried out from April 2002 to April 2003 in preparation of the author’s pre-doctoral thesis to the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University, which was submitted in June 2003, and the supplementary fieldwork from August 2003 to March 2004.

² To be more precise, it consists of the three major ethnolinguistic groups, the Maguindanao, Maranao, and Tausug; and minor groups, Sama, Iranun and Yakan. The term Moro was originally used by Spaniards, borrowing the term they used to refer to Muslims in Iberia (“Moors” in English). It continued to be used during the American colonial period.

³ In 1972 the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) was formed. It concluded a cease-fire agreement with the Philippine government in 1996. But a number of splinter groups, such as the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and MNLF Reformist Group continue their own movements to win secession and independence from the Philippines.
Manila was the major destination for these migrants. The Muslim population as of CY2000 was officially nearly 60,000, but it may be greater than 120,000 in reality (National Statistics Office 2001). In the southern Philippines, there are large settlements of Muslims for each ethnolinguistic group, an example being the Tausug on the Sulu Islands. In contrast, Muslims who have moved to Metro Manila have gathered together, regardless of ethnic origin, and formed communities in various areas in Metro Manila. For these ethnolinguistically diverse Muslim communities to integrate their members, mosques serve as the symbols of their communities and center of their daily lives.

2. Overview of Preceding Works

Although the real situation for Muslims has changed over time, as explained above, preceding works on the Philippine Muslims, as pointed out by Kawashima (1999), has concentrated on their society in the Mindanao Region. Also, it is limited to ethnographic or anthropological studies of the various ethnolinguistic groups, represented by Saleeby (1903, 1908), Mednick (1965), Kiefer (1969), or focuses heavily on the secession and independence movement in the work of George (1980), Che Man (1990), Tan (1993) and McKenna (1998). In relation to Muslims in other regions from anthropological and ethnographical points, only the research of Bahrain and Rachagan (1984) and Tsurumi (1986) discuss the migration of Philippine Muslims to the state of Sabah in Malaysia.

With the migration of the Muslim population to Manila becoming more visible in the 1970s, studies on Manila Muslims started to come out in the 1980s. Included in these studies are a study that analyzes the phenomenon of Muslims moving into Manila with the “push/pull” factor (Matuan 1985), and a study that regards Muslims as urban poor, making policy proposals based on this (H. Kadil 1986; Lee 1987). The work of Hassan (1983), focuses on the “Muslim enclave” in Quiapo describing the residential area, the market place, and the mosque that serve as the hub for social networks of Muslim migrants, along with a work by B. Kadil (1985) discussing the economic, political and religious factors found in the beginning and growth of Muslim communities between 1964 to 1984. These studies contribute differing viewpoints on the Muslims than the earlier ones limited to studies of Muslims in southern Philippines, but they are far from being sufficiently exhaustive to fully cover the process of evolution and transformation of the Muslim communities within Manila.

3. The Diversification of Muslim Communities in Manila

In comparison to the 1980s when previous research was conducted, there is a marked difference in the current situation where the form of communities is undergoing diversification. Hassan describes Quiapo as a “Muslim enclave” (1983: 8), and B. Kadil defines “Muslim community” as “a group having interests [in] religion in common and living in a particular locality” (1985: 30). This indicates

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4 The number 120,000 was quoted by Director Metalicop Domado, the head of Bureau of Cultural Affairs in the Office on Muslim Affairs (OMA), (Interviewed on July 27, 2002).
5 Concerning overview studies on Philippine Muslims, see, Hayase (1986), Kawashima (1999), and Ishii (2001) among others.
that at the time, the concept of “community” needed to partake of both notions of locality and commonality. Since the late 1980s, however, a new kind of community appeared that resisted this understanding. Although there are reports from other parts of the world, studies of immigrant societies in Toronto and a number of cities in the United States confirm the existence of “communities without propinquity” (Stanger-Ross 2006) or “communities without locality” (Zelinsky and Lee 1998). This is in keeping with the research of Yamamoto, who, following a historical overview of the Nikkei (Japanese American) communities in the United States, concludes by stating that “a situation is quite often seen where disengagement of locality and commonality occurs in a community” (Yamamoto 1997: 11). As will be discussed later, since the late 1980s the same phenomenon is found in Manila.

In view of the changes mentioned above, in this paper the term “Muslim community” is basically used to describe an “organically-bound” Muslim social group centered around the presence of a mosque. The definition includes what has conventionally been called a “Muslim enclave.” This definition follows its precedent in the concept of “community” set forth by Kinneman and his study of communities in the “immigrant society” of the United States, which “exists among those who enjoy certain institutional associations and who recognize their dependence upon a common center for goods and services” (Kinneman 1947: 12). It also falls in line with the study of Egyptian communities in Canada done by Katakura, who observes that “they (communities) do not have a spatial meaning in the sense of forming communities, but describe a group of people with a common tradition and shared social ties” (Katakura 1999: 824), in other words a community is defined as a group of “organically-bound” people as mentioned above. Although one finds non-Muslims (for example, in-laws on inter-religious marriage couples) living in Muslim communities in Manila as defined here, the majority of the residents are Muslim and have given birth to a sub-culture at variance with the dominant Christian culture of the host society. For this reason there is a clear consciousness that they have composed a social space at variance with that of the surrounding Christians. This consciousness is shared with people both inside and outside of the Muslim communities.

4. The Mosque

Whether a social group or local society, it is the mosque that gives visibility and symbolizes the existence of a Muslim community. There is a close mutual relationship between the evolution of a Muslim community and the building of a mosque. Usually, when a certain number of Muslims reside in a certain area or location, they decide to build a mosque. Conversely, when a mosque has been established, it becomes the center for the evolution and facilitation of growth for a Muslim community. In extreme examples, even if there are no Muslims in an area, the government or some other agency may construct a mosque or Islamic facility, thereby leading to the “sudden” formation of a community.

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6 The importance of religious facilities in the evolution of a community has been historically documented among other ethnic and religious minorities in Manila. Studies of Sikh temples of Indian immigrants (Fabella 1954; Pabla 1986; Rye 1993), Jewish synagogues (Griese 1954), and Buddhist temples as well as Catholic churches of Chinese immigrants (Sycip 1954; Amyot 1960; Alip 1974) record such histories. Most of these facilities were established during the American period.
Including examples like these, this paper attempts to explain a community’s realization through the activities of the various actors involved with founding mosques.

Here, I would like to glance briefly at what defines a mosque and how the Philippine government deals with these facilities. According to Islamic teaching, the mosque is the place to perform salat (five regular prayers a day). Etymologically, the word is the anglicized form of the Arabic word masjid, meaning a “place for prostration” (Sugimura and Shimizu 2002: 378). Generally, a mosque is associated with an architectural style featuring a characteristic domed roof, and it refers most of the time to a building that is used specifically for salat. This is the case in Manila as well, with the exception that there are rooms and corners in buildings that are considered to be mosques. In order for a place to be recognized as a mosque, it must first have “enough space for salat and a mihrab (arched niche) must be located as a representation of the qibla (the direction of salat)” (ibid). After these physical requirements are satisfied, the usual requirements for a mosque to be recognized in the Philippines are that an imam (religious leader) is present and the jama’a (attendants at regular prayers) should number more than five, and for the Friday noon services there should be more than 40 persons in the jama’a. For a facility to be approved officially as a mosque by government administrations, the organization responsible for its supervision and management must be registered as a religious corporation with the Securities and Exchange Commission, and also with the Office on Muslim Affairs under the Office of the President. It is also required that before starting the construction of a mosque, building permits be acquired from both the barangay (the smallest local administrative government) with jurisdiction over the land on which the mosque is to be erected, and the city or municipality. But there are few cases when these rules were complied with during the construction of a mosque. This may be the reason why in July 2002 when this fieldwork was conducted, the official government figures for Metro Manila showed the number of registered mosques to be 32, but unregistered facilities actually totaled over 80.

5. Comparison with Muslim Communities in Bangkok

To put the research presented here in context, a brief comparison with Muslim communities in

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7 Interview with Metalicop Domado, OMA, July 27, 2002. The number of worshipers required for Friday Worship services vary from four, twelve, or forty, depending on the Islamic theological school (Nagata 2002: 325).

8 The Office on Muslim Affairs (OMA) was created in 1987 (Executive Order No. 122-A). The OMA provides social services and economic assistance to Muslim communities and cooperative unions, arrangements for Hajj pilgrims, administration of mosques and madrasah (Islamic schools), Qur’an reading competition to choose participants to international Qur’an reading events, and other programs concerning Philippine Muslims. With the aim to grasp their number, OMA requires all mosques in the country to register with it. The OMA has in the past distributed sadaqa (donations) from the Middle Eastern embassies and individuals to each mosque during Ramadan.

9 Among the mosque administrators, some did not register because they had misgivings about being put under government surveillance. One reason they gave was to avoid police investigation in the case of trouble involving Muslims. During the survey, if the location of an unregistered mosque became known the author made it a point to visit it. Out of the 38 mosques visited, 32 were registered and 6 unregistered. In 2006 the number of OMA recognized mosques increased to 69 in Metro Manila.
Bangkok can be made. The situation there is similar to the Philippines in that the religious majority – 95 percent of the Thai population is Buddhist – vastly outnumber the Muslims, leaving them a political and economic minority. The southern region, which is adjacent to Malaysia, is home to many Malay Muslims, and as seen by the operation of secessionist groups there, Muslims have often been considered as a problem related to national integration (Che Man 1990; Liow 2006). Although sharing similar conditions with the Philippines, Bangkok has communities formed by descendents of Iranian, Arab, Indian, and Indonesians who came from “outside” of the country for trading since the 17th century, and also of Cham migrants from Cambodia. The ethnic groups have different histories of migration and forming geographically separated communities (Yokoyama 1994: 165; Kimura and Matsumoto 2005; Fukuda 2006: 290).

In the particular case of Malay Muslim communities, these were formed by the descendents of prisoners brought to Bangkok in the 19th century during Thai military expeditions. There has been no large-scale migration to Bangkok such as that seen among Philippine Muslims triggered by the secessionist movement and subsequent conflict in Mindanao. Also, 73 percent of the mosques in Bangkok were built by Malays and their history can be traced to a much earlier period than the secessionist movement. Another characteristic is that the communities in Bangkok were established according to ethnic background, such as Iranian, Indian and Malay Muslim, quite unlike Manila where most communities are made up of Philippine Muslims, with some having a combination of several ethnolinguistic groups and others being composed of people with just a few ethnolinguistic backgrounds.\(^\text{10}\)

The differences seen in these two situations are due to historical forces, national policy, and international political and economic trends that have greatly influenced their formation. As seen in the case of Muslim communities in Bangkok, exploring the politico-economic backgrounds in which Muslim communities have evolved and dispersed in Manila and how Muslim migrants established mosques will give us an important clue for learning how, in modern society, religious minorities have consolidated their own life world surrounded by others who do not share the same beliefs.

6. Summary of the Fieldwork and Synopsis of the Paper

The data used for this paper was gathered during one year of fieldwork in Metro Manila, from April 2002 to April 2003, and an additional follow-up period of eight months from August 2003 to March 2004. Four months in 2002 (August to December) were used for a general survey covering a large area of Metro Manila. The survey was conducted using the Office on Muslim Affairs registration list to visit 38 of the 80 or more mosques in Metro Manila and interview their administrators. Along with this general survey, I resided in one particular Muslim community for participant observation and interviews.\(^\text{11}\) During this period I was able to confirm that when Muslims migrated to Manila with its

\(^{10}\) Recently in Bangkok, however, it is becoming difficult to distinguish communities along ethnic criteria due to intermarriage between Muslims of different ethnic communities (Murakami 2003: 82).

\(^{11}\) This was made possible with a grant from the Heiwa Nakajima Foundation, Japanese Exchange Student
dominant Christian population, their decision to live in a specific community was not only based on indices of family and relatives, but also whether or not a mosque existed in the area. In other words, a majority of Muslims see the importance of the mosque for their religious and everyday lives. In Manila, in particular, mosques are perceived as an entity that gives visibility to the presence of Muslims, as mentioned above.

Topics discussed in this paper are organized in three sections; Section (1) discusses the evolution of Muslim communities from the American colonization period (1898-1941) to the martial law period (1972-1986), Section (2) depicts the characteristics and transformation process of Muslim communities, which have been diversifying since the end of the martial law period. This is done by classifying types of communities with its focus on the mosques, and in Section (3) the dynamics found in the expansion of Muslim communities are analyzed in order to elucidate the multifarious roles played by mosques.

I. The Emergence of Muslim Communities in Manila

1. The Pre-World War II Situation

The links between Muslims and the Manila region can be traced back to the sixteenth century. At the time there were chiefdoms in the present Manila area with datus (chiefs) including Raja Sulaiman, Raja Matanda and Lakandula, who had blood ties with the Sultan of Brunei (Majul 1990: 80; Casiño 1977: 5-6). With the Spanish colonization starting in the latter half of the 16th century, the Muslims in the Manila area disappeared, and did not reappear on stage until the period of American colonization (1898–1946).

The U.S. government justifying its attempt at “civilizing” the Filipino people under the name of “benevolent assimilation,” concentrated its efforts into raising the country’s level of education. In the Moro Province, not only was a public education system introduced, but in 1903 a scholarship program called pensionado was established that enabled the children of notable Muslims, such as sultans and datus, to obtain scholarship grants to receive higher education in Manila or in the United States. This was based on the expectation that young people receiving an American higher education would eventually become mediators between the United States, the colonial government and local societies (Jubair 1999: 78). In 1918, there were thirty-four scholarship students from Mindanao and the Sulu Islands in Manila studying at the University of the Philippines, Philippine Normal School (now the Philippine Normal University) and Manila High School (Hassan 1983: 3).

Scholarships. During fieldwork, the author was a Visiting Research Fellow of the Third World Studies Center (TWSC), the University of the Philippines.

Officially, the Martial Law Period is 1972-1981. But this political condition actually continued until the fall of President Marcos in 1986. For this reason, the “period of martial law” in this paper refers to the period between 1972 and 1986.
In terms of population, according to the national census of 1903, the total population of Manila was 219,929 of which 95 were Muslims, but by 1918 the statistics showed that the number of Muslims had increased to 14,215 with an overwhelming number of men (12,981) compared to women (1,234), accounting for slightly less than 5 percent of the total 285,306 (United States Bureau of the Census 1908; 1920-21). The highest concentration was found in the commercial area of Binondo, where one third of the population was Muslim numbering 5,248 (ibid.). From this data it is possible to conjecture that in prewar Manila most Muslims were either receiving education or involved in commerce, and were either single or had left their families back in their home regions.

In the 1910s the situation in Manila was similar to Bangkok where diverse Muslims populations were living. Not only were Philippine Muslims residing in the city, but also Turks, Arabs, Persians, Indians and Indonesians had moved in, and most were occupied as retailers, wholesalers, night watchmen, and vendors (Bernad 1974: 19). In 1926 this situation led Indian Muslims, who were working as retailers and vendors in Manila, mostly from Punjab, to establish the Society of the Indian Muslims. The purpose of this society was to purchase a parcel of land in Manila to build a mosque, and to procure a burial area within the cemetery located in northern Manila for Muslims who had died in the city. In an attempt to arouse a sense of fellowship between Muslims of different backgrounds by sharing information between the groups, an English newspaper for Muslims was published (Qureishi 1956: 105).

In the early 1930s the Society of the Indian Muslims underwent a major change. Philippine Muslim students, who had received the pensionado scholarships, began participating in the society’s activities, increasing the membership to around one hundred. Furthermore, the society’s secretary at the time, Noor Mohammad, married a woman from the Sulu region, leading to a strengthening of ties with Muslim congressional members and other influential Muslims. In the background of the society’s enthusiasm in accepting the participation of Muslim politicians was the need for non-Filipino Muslims to receive economic and legal protection, and in turn notable Philippine Muslims were willing to play the role of “protectors.” For example, during celebrations following Ramadan, Congressman Ombra Amilbangsa (term of office 1934 – 1957) and his wife Prince Dayang Dayang Hajj Piandao a direct descendant of the Sultan of Sulu, invited all the Muslims in Manila to their home in Malate (Qureishi 1956: 106). In line with the participation of Philippine Muslim congressional members and young students who would become the active bearers of the cause for Mindanao, in the first half of the 1930s the Society of the Indian Muslims was renamed the Muslim Association of the Philippines, marking

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13 Criticisms have been raised about the inaccuracies of the 1918 national census. Also, the nomenclature used is not “Muslim” or “Moslem,” but “Mohammedan.”
14 In B. Kadil (1985), Hassan (1983), and Miyamoto (1990; 1994), the association is referred to as the Manila Muslim Association, but Qureishi (1956) who had been involved with the association since 1926 and served as its accountant in the 1950s, referred to it as the Society of the Indian Muslims. The author will comply with this latter name here.
15 Interview with Ismael Khan, Jr., March 5, 2004. Khan is the son of Ismael Khan who served on the executive board of the Muslim Association of the Philippines in the early 1950s.
16 Qureishi (1956) does not give details of how the marriage was arranged.
17 In 1916 the Philippine legislature was reorganized, resulting in the first elected Muslim congressmen.
the organization’s Philippinization and its “politicization” (McKenna 1998: 135). At that time, donations from the members were gathered and a parcel of land purchased on Echague Street in the Quiapo district of Manila, on which a small prayer room and a dormitory for temporary visitors were built (B. Kadi 1985: 71). This was the first and only religious facility built in Manila during the colonial period. In addition, they were able to secure a section of the Manila North Cemetery. Though the society did not succeed in constructing a mosque, the renaming of the organization attests to the role the Muslim Association of the Philippines played in establishing relations with Philippine Muslims and Muslims from outside of the Philippines so as to create a sense of solidarity (Figure 1).

Following these developments, however, the inception of the Second World War turned Manila into a battle ground, and to escape the fires of war, Indian Muslims not only fled to various parts of the Philippines, but with the emergence of the independence movement in India, thousands of Indian Muslim residents returned to their homeland (Rye 1993: 717). Another development that caused a decrease in the number of Muslims was the enactment of the law on Naturalization of Retail Trade in 1954 that limited retail trade to those having Philippine citizenship. The enactment was intended to block the market monopoly by Chinese merchants, but it affected many non-Filipino Muslims causing them to leave the country, although some did become Philippine citizens (Agpalo 1962). As the international and domestic situations changed between the mid 1940s and 1950s, it is understandable that the Muslim population in Manila decreased significantly, but it was not long before another wave of Muslim internal migration would reach the metropolis.

2. Developments in the Post-World War II Period

With the loss of momentum in the postwar regional reconstruction efforts, the widespread diffusion of the media helped to attract the interest of people to the rapidly developing Manila. This drew a large number of people from rural areas to move to the capital in search of employment and economic opportunity. Among the Muslims, the early 1950s saw a visible increase of merchants. Many of these merchants were Maranao from Lanao Province, who first settled near the harbor in Tondo along Zaragoza Street (Matuan 1991: 85). Also, at the beginning of the 1950s, about forty Muslim families lived in an area of Malate near the Manila Zoo, formerly called Corta Bitarte (Miyamoto 1994: 126). Divisoria, the famous wholesale market for everyday goods and clothes, and the San Andres Bukid and Sampaloc middle and lower income residential areas were the destinations of many of these merchants (Miyamoto 1994: 182). They often lived next door to Christians, and were occupied in businesses dealing in antiques, pearls, precious metals and cloth. But during this time no mosque was built in the area and their efforts seemed to have been concentrated on earning a living. In this way, most Muslim merchants went to Manila seasonally or for short periods to work as migrant workers

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18 Qureishi (1956) does not state clearly when the Society of the Indian Muslims was renamed as the Muslim Association of the Philippines, but the new name appears in a photograph taken in October 1933, indicating that the renaming was shortly before this time.

19 According to Matuan (1991: 85), there were some Maranaos who took up residence in Manila before the Japanese occupation (1941-1945).
and left their families at home. Only when their work environment improved or their business had become successful were they able to call their families and relatives to Manila.\textsuperscript{20}

It was not for personal motives alone that Muslims left their homelands and moved to Manila, so it is necessary to understand the phenomenon within a larger context. An important political influence behind the Muslim migration is the government’s resettlement policy for southern Philippines. In a phenomenon described by Tsurumi as a “billiard ball effect,” the demographics shows that when the large number of Christian settlers moved into Mindanao it forced the Muslims out (Tsurumi 1986: 64). In 1946, the year the Republic of the Philippines attained independence, the government began the agricultural colonization project in the southern Philippines, which was initially introduced in the 1910s under American rule.\textsuperscript{21} A number of agricultural colonies were opened in Mindanao, and as a result, the number of Muslims accounting for 76 percent of the population at the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, diminished to 23 percent in 1960; a complete reversal in the ratio with Christians (Pelzer 1948: 129; Che Man 1990: 25). In regions where large numbers of Christians entered, escalation of land and resource exploitations grew at the hands of the new settlers, with a portion of the powerful Muslims taking advantage of the situation, along with foreign agricultural enterprises, to take over tracts of rich Mindanao land. One problem was that the ordinary Muslims lacked information on legislation, such as the land registration law of 1902 and the public land law of 1905, resulting in settlers registering land under the new laws and forcing Muslim families that had lived on the land for generations to leave.\textsuperscript{22} This caused many disputes over land rights in the settlement areas, with large numbers of Muslims, who had lost their lands, moving into urban locations in Mindanao and forming slum areas.

With Muslims being politically and economically marginalized, social unrest rose in Mindanao. In answer to this situation, with the effort of congress members of Muslim and other indigenous peoples, the Commission on National Integration (CNI) was established in 1957. The Commission’s purpose was to “civilize” Muslims and other cultural minorities and integrate them into mainstream society, and to allow them to enjoy the same benefits granted to the Christians living in the low lands (Commission on National Integration 1973: 19).\textsuperscript{23} One of the main methods to accomplish this was to

\textsuperscript{20} Regarding San Andres Bukid area at the time, in an interview (August 18, 2002) the grandchild of a man who had settled around the area stated a mosque had already been established there around the middle of the 1960s, but the author could not confirm the claim.

\textsuperscript{21} During the period of American colonization, poor farmers from central Luzon were resettled in Mindanao agricultural lands to alleviate discontent. At that time, a handful of large landowners and Catholic orders were exploiting tenant farmers in central Luzon region, triggering repeated uprisings. Policies to allow tenant farmers to own their land were implemented by the colonial government. Resettlement for agricultural reclamation to areas of Mindanao with low population density was one way to fulfill policy. In the process demarcated settlement areas often forced Muslims to relocate. This also served the purpose of geographically cutting off and dispersing Muslims resisting the government, and incorporating Mindanao into the Philippine national body. There were also people who entered the region independently without the support of the government (Che Man 1990:25).

\textsuperscript{22} There are still many claims that this was the case (Rodil 1994; Gasper 2000), but a study confirmed that Muslims were also given land (Carbon 2002).

\textsuperscript{23} The CNI put into action many other programs. For example the development of communities and political measures for the “national cultural minorities,” providing land for landless farmers and helping these farmers use
set up a scholarship program. Muslim and other cultural minority students receiving the scholarship moved to Manila to enroll in universities or vocational training schools. In 1958, a year after its establishment, there were 109 scholarship students, and by 1972 a total number of 3,559 had been accepted into the program (*ibid.*: 20).

It should here be clarified that most of the students who received the scholarship were Muslim, because at the time the upland areas, where many of the ethnic minorities lived did not have high schools for the children to attend. Although the political situation differs, this policy followed closely the policies of the colonial government under the United States before WWII to facilitate assimilation by creating the pensionado scholarships. In Manila, Muslim students, in the same way as the merchants, sought out relatives and lived with them. Although some did return to their homes after graduation, many stayed to help their relatives, find employment in the government, or start their own businesses. Some found Christian spouses and settled down in Manila. In other words, Muslims residing in Manila right after WWII were mostly CNI scholarship students, small scale farmers from Mindanao who sought labor jobs during the off season, or merchants traveling seasonally between Manila and Mindanao.

In 1949, the House Representative Ombra Amilbangsa (mentioned above) from Sulu and three other influential Muslims took the initiative in organizing the re-establishment of the Muslim Association of the Philippines. The purpose of the Association was to carry on the legacy of its prewar forerunner, hosting four national conferences to unite all Muslims in the Philippines. In Manila the Association continued to be active in trying to construct a mosque, but the road to this goal was full of obstacles with problems such as defaults on the loan after purchasing land, or the bankruptcy of the real estate company (B. Kadil 1985: 72). It was not until 1964 when the Islamic Center was built in San Miguel district that their dream was realized. This process will be discussed in the next section.

II. Characteristics and Transformation of Muslim Communities and Changes in Mosques

The establishment of the Islamic Center in 1964 acted as a catalyst for a number of mosques to be built in Manila. As seen in Figure 1, a boom of mosque construction continued from the end of the 1980s to mid 1990s. The greatest cause for this was the increase in the number of Muslims, who

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24 The Muslim Association of the Philippines used pre-WWII networks to invite Islam missionaries to give lectures and fostered solidarity among Muslims by holding national Muslim conferences in Manila, Lanao, Cotabato and Jolo from 1956 to 1958 (B. Kadil 1985: 73). Hosting the conferences generated donations for education and scholarship programs and repairing mosques in southern Philippines. The Filipino Muslim Educational Board was established thereby. This made it possible for over one thousand Muslim students to go to the then United Arab Republic to study at Al-Azhar University in Cairo, etc. from the late-1950s (Majul 1988: 901). The Association started publishing the *Crescent Review*, the first monthly magazine for Muslims in 1957, which reached a circulation of 650 at its peak. In 1961 however, the Educational Board’s funding was depleted and the scholarship program and magazine were discontinued (B. Kadil 1985: 74).
mainly, because of the continued conflict in Mindanao, were forced to flee to Manila, or bring their families if they were already residing in the capital. As a result, Muslims, who had tended to be temporary residents, began to adopt long term or permanent residential arrangements, and this narrowed the gender ratio as well.

Also, in the late 1980s, *jama’a tabligh*, the Islamic missionary movement based in Pakistan, started activities in the Philippines emerging in the form of building mosques that may have been a factor in the increase in the number of mosques in Manila. Although it may be an indirect reason related to the increase in the number of mosques, Article 8 of the 1973 Constitution stipulated that all charitable facilities, including mosques, were to be exempt from taxation. It is unclear, however, how many Muslim leaders were actually aware of the implications of this constitutional legislation. Catholic churches were already recognized as religious facilities previous to the 1973 Constitution, and this was the first time that facilities of other religions were recognized under the Constitution.

As already stated in the introduction of this paper, in Manila, there is a mutual relation between the construction of a mosque and the evolution of a Muslim community. After a sizable population settles permanently in a particular area or district, it is quite normal for plans for building a mosque to be laid. After a mosque is established this in turn facilitates the evolution of a Muslim community around it.

To understand the various types of communities possessing a mosque better, it is useful here to return to the concept of a community, including discussions by Katakura (1999), who positions “locality” and “commonality” in a relative way, or to Zelinsky and Lee (1998), who study various forms of communities and Suzuki’s categorization into “comprehensive communities” and “restrictive communities” (1986). Using Suzuki’s categorization, communities without propinquity/locality belong to “restrictive communities”. Here too, the Muslim communities in Manila are distinguished into “residential” and “non-residential” ones—the former equivalent to “comprehensive communities” and the latter “restrictive communities”.\(^{25}\) Compared to the non-residential, a residential community possesses a

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\(^{25}\) In his study of urbanization in local cities in Japan, Suzuki defines “comprehensive” communities as, (1)
higher degree of locality and comprehensiveness. In addition community’s formative pattern are accounted for by distinguishing residential communities further into “primary communities” and “secondary communities.” The reason for making this distinction is explained later. Because non-residential communities are oriented towards economic activities, here they are referred to as “job-centered communities.” In the following discussion of this section a few actual communities are introduced to illustrate the formative processes of the various types mentioned. In doing so more detailed consideration are given to the preceding linkages between these types to understand the transformation of Muslim communities in Manila better.

1. The Evolution of Primary Communities

During the period between the mid 1960s and the early 1970s, there were three attempts to establish Islamic centers containing madrasah, libraries, hospitals and dormitories, around a mosque. Of the three, two were initiated by Muslim organizations, but as the conflict in southern Philippines grew intense, and martial law was proclaimed by President Ferdinand Marcos (term of office: 1964-1986), the leadership of these organizations disappeared from Manila, and so, after the construction of the mosque and madrasah the remaining projects stagnated. The other Islamic center was initiated by the Philippine government, and most of the planned construction was realized. Since by nature a facility complex requires large funding, of special note here is that all three projects were funded by donations from other Muslim nations. This funding was made possible by influential Philippine Muslims or aleem (Muslim intellectuals), who once studied in the Middle East, thanks to the scholarship programs of Muslim nations in the mid 1950s, and gained influence after their return home. These people were able to solicit and receive funding for the construction of Islamic centers in Manila, because they appealed to fellow Muslims in their former host nations about how Philippine Muslims had been marginalized in Philippine society. Meanwhile, the existence of these facilities became known to the Muslims in the southern Philippines, bringing an awareness that the foundations for social, economic and spiritual life in Manila were in place.

As seen above, “primary communities” refers to communities formed where a complex of Islamic facilities was established relatively early after the World War II with economic assistance form other Muslim countries and where Muslims eventually migrating from the South first chose to establish their homes. Primary communities came into existence under the initiative of organizations led by influential Muslims, or were established by the Philippine government itself. As an example of the members of the group living in proximity to each other, (2) within an area having borders that are relatively well recognized, (3) containing institutions and organizations that function and answer to needs and demands of the members, (4) enabling the members to acquire within the area all or almost all things necessary for their lives, (5) which maintains a consciousness of “we” or “us” between members giving them a sense of “participation,” and nurturing their own unique life-style, culture, etc. (6) that with these conditions a synthetic and systematic “living” entity takes on reality as a community. A “limited” community takes one of the elements from (2) to (5) above and emphasizes it. The community tends to (1) limit the group within a particular area or region, (2) include all livelihood functions, such as a work camp or prison, (3) only provide sense of fellowship, found in academia, (4) focus on neighbor relation, residential organizations, grass-root movements, or local politics (1986:136-137).
former, the Islamic Center, mentioned above, and the Salam Mosque Compound will be introduced, and for the latter case Maharlika Village will be examined.

Case 1: The Islamic Center - a primary community led by a Muslim organization

Barangay 645 San Miguel, Manila, commonly referred to as the Islamic Center, is located directly in front of Maracañang Palace. On Carlos Palanca Street (formerly Echague Street mentioned above) running parallel with the Pasig River, one finds the only entrance to the Islamic Center. From the two-meter wide entrance gate a cement paved road extends into the compound that is densely lined with houses until it turns to the left. It then continues on until another corner that bends to the right from where a brick mosque becomes visible. A wall surrounds the entire 1.6 hectare area where, in 2002, about 32,000 Muslims lived. The major ethnic group is Maranao at 60%, with 20% being Maguindanao and Iranun who are originally from western Mindanao, and the remaining 20 percent is from Tausug, Yakan and Sama from the Sulu region. There are almost no Christian residents.

At the time of its purchase, the property of the Islamic Center had buildings used by the Chinese school. It was purchased in 1964 by the Muslim Association of the Philippines. Maranao senator Domocao Alonto was the chairperson of the association at that time. A building that had been the Chinese school was repaired and refurbished to become the first mosque in Manila (Manila Mosque) by the hands of Muslims residing in the capital. A Sama man was called to be the imam. The reason was that the vice chairperson of the association, Ombra Amilbangsa, was a Sama datu, and because a large number of people from Sulu had made their stay into the area. Until the mid-1970s when other mosques were constructed, this mosque was the only place in Manila where Friday congregation prayers were held. From the end of the 1970s to early 1980s, donations were received from the residents in the Islamic Center and other Philippine Muslims, and with the addition of a large gift of 2.5 million pesos (at the time 1 USD=6.8 PhP) from the Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia in Manila, the mosque underwent major rebuilding with the addition of a dome, and was renamed the Manila Grand Mosque (Matuan 1985: 106). With the enforcement of martial law in 1972, the Muslim Association of the Philippines, which had been managing the Islamic Center, ceased its activities. Administration and management of the Center was taken over the following year, in 1973, by the newly established Philippine Islamic Cultural Foundation (PICFI), which continued in this capacity until 1980 when the Center itself was raised to the administrative status of barangay. The responsibility of PICFI was restricted to the management and maintenance of the mosque and the adjoining madrasah.

Originally, there were no plans to have residential housing on the Islamic Center compound. The old school buildings were remodeled into dormitories for temporary residence, but the majority of the people who utilized the facility were single men, such as laborers staying for short periods, seasonal merchants and students. But with the social unrest in Mindanao from the end of the 1960s and the deterioration of “peace and order,” families fleeing the devastation caused by conflict moved to Manila and started to live in San Miguel. Between 1978 and 1982, about 200 to 250 two and three-story buildings were built within the Islamic Center, and by the end of 1982 the population of the
area rose to approximately fifty thousand (B. Kadił 1985: 78). Compared to the period between 1972 and 1976, when military conflict was most intense in Mindanao, the number of migrants was higher in this later period.

As a result of the large influx of refugees from the regions where fighting was heavy, the Islamic Center began to turn into a slum. Frequent fires, crowded living and generally poor sanitary conditions caused many to move out in search of a better living environment, or greater opportunities for their businesses. A location that many relocatees went to was Maharlika Village in Taguig City and its environs. Also, after a fire, temporary evacuation space was secured in Dasmariñas in Cavite Province, the Salam Mosque Compound in Quezon City and Las Piñas.\(^{26}\)

The ethnic representation changed over time in the Islamic Center, and one reason for the varying composition can be attributed to the ethnic background of the leadership. At the time of establishment the chairperson was Ombra Amilbangsa accounting for the large number of Sulu residents. After Amilbangsa lost out in a political dispute and retired on medical grounds, Senator Domocao Alonto (term of service 1955-61) a Maranao took over in 1964, followed in 1972 by Maguindanao Senator Salipada Pendatun (term of service 1969-72), then in 1976 by Judge Mama Busran a Maranao, and in 1978 by Lininding Pangandaman a former ambassador to Saudi Arabia who was also Maranao, as Chairperson of the Center (Matuan 1985: 105). With each new appointment larger numbers of Maranao and Maguindanao residents moved in. And as the PICFI, Barangay Council and the neighboring Raja Sulaiman Market Association president became monopolized by Maranao, the population also became dominated by the Maranao. Another reason, which may be true of the Muslim migrants in Manila as whole, was the fact that in the mid 1970s many from the Sulu region became involved with barter trade or were employed in factories in Sabah, Malaysia (discussed below). Attracted by the comparatively higher wages in Sabah, the geographical closeness to Sulu, and emotional proximity as they had traditional local and blood ties, many chose to go there instead of Manila. These are some of the reasons why the ethnic composition among Muslims in Manila shifted towards the Maranao, Maguindanao and Iranun, whose home region was Mindanao in comparison to the Tausug, Sama and Yakan of the Sulu region.\(^{27}\)

At present, residents of the Islamic Center commute long distances to their various workplaces throughout Metro Manila, which are \textit{iksibit} (stalls in shopping malls), open air stalls, factories, construction sites, or sites where they worked as security personnel. Until the early 1980s Muslims were able to live in close proximity to their working places; their workplaces, mosques and homes were all in walking distance from one another. As part of the appeasement policy in 1973, Muslims were given more economic opportunities in order to attract them away from participation in the

\(^{26}\) Interview with Manila Grand Mosque administrator Dianca Macoy, August 18, 2002.

\(^{27}\) One can assume too that empathy existed towards the Moro secessionist and independence movement among the Muslims. During the survey, the author learned from a Tausug student in Manila, with a CNI scholarship received in the early 1970s, who went back his home region at the request of his uncle and joined the MNLF when it was formed in 1972.
secession and independence movement. One policy was to allow tariff free barter trade between Sabah State, Malaysia, and Zamboanga and Jolo in Mindanao. This made it possible for Muslims to bring into the Philippines food/sundries and clothing to sell in Manila and make their living. Many of these small scale merchants opened businesses in the Raja Sulaiman Market close to the Islamic Center. In 1983, however, trouble arose with the Manila municipality over business permits and the market was closed. Also, during Corazon Aquino’s presidency (1986-1992) barter trade itself was virtually forced to cease. The reason for this was that Aquino expanded the jurisdiction of the South Philippines Development Authority (SPDA), established in 1975, which not only placed stricter administrative measures on the private barter trade market, but also permitted larger non-Muslim businesses to participate.

This commercial condition made it difficult for small scale Muslim merchants to compete and forced them to seek employment elsewhere. Some found temporary employment that provided only for their day-to-day needs, and others even fell to peddling illicit drugs. The narrow streets of the Center became a site for drug dealing, and fire arms were brought onto the premises. This led to the Center’s bad reputation that it was a place that even the police could not enter due to its dangerousness (Lee 1987: 3), and actual shootings occurred often. Many Muslims, feeling that the area was no longer a place to raise their children, moved to other locations.28 The continuous move-outs from the Islamic Center resulted in the establishment of 12 new “secondary” communities including Dasmariñas and Las Piñas as mentioned above by former residents of the Center. As for the Islamic Center itself, with the growth of its population, it was made Barangay 645 in 1980 and receives annual budgeting from the Department of the Interior and Local Government. The present Captain of the Barangay Council is a Maranao woman who has held the position since 1995, and she is charged with maintaining security such as mediating in disputes between barangay residents, and implementing health and welfare projects for the area. Management of the mosque and madrasah is still undertaken by the PICFI, with which the Barangay Council holds regular negotiations concerning the use of the zakat (obligatory donations).

**Case 2: Salam Mosque Compound - a primary community led by a Muslim organization**

The Salam Mosque Compound is located in Quezon City to the northeast of Metro Manila, and covers one purok (district) in Barangay Culiat. The number of residents in the Salam Mosque Compound in 2002 was 6,300 with an additional 3,000 temporary residents, who were either in the process of looking for employment in Manila or waiting for their permits to work abroad. The residents are involved in various occupations, ranging from civil servants, entrepreneurs, recruiters for migrant laborers, drivers and shop owners in the nearby market. Most people can commute to work with one or two jeepneys (the popular means of public transportation) rides. The ethnolinguistic composition in the Compound is mainly Maranao, Maguindanao and Tausug, each representing 30 percent of the

residents, with the remaining 10 percent comprising Iranun, Yakan, Sama, Balik-Islam (converts to Islam) and their non-Muslim relatives. This complicated ethnic mosaic has its origin in the community’s formative history.

The Salam Mosque Compound began with the purchase of land for an Islamic facility complex in 1971 by the Islamic Directorate of the Philippines, with funds donated from the Libyan government. The Islamic Directorate of the Philippines was established at the request of Libya so it could avoid contact with the Muslim Association of the Philippines, because the Association came under criticism as being an “apparatus to expand the influence” of certain Muslim politicians. The new Directorate not only included politicians, but also lawyers, academics and other professions and Muslim leaders from various ethnic groups. But with the imposition of martial law the following year the Directorate was disbanded. The mosque and madrasah on the Compound were finally established in 1979 at the initiative of the Ministry of Muslim Affairs, the forerunner of the Office on Muslim Affairs. This Ministry also promoted and encouraged new residents to move in and the Muslim population increased gradually. At the time a vast majority of residents were the Maranao, with Tausug, Maguindanao and Yakan comprising the remaining minority. In 1988, the headquarter of a Christian restorationist religious organization in the neighboring area began to make land purchases and threatened the community’s very existence. In the process the Maranao agreed to leave and moved to the Payatas in Quezon City. At present a Muslim community has been formed there, in which about one hundred families, mostly Maranao, reside.\(^{29}\) Also, others that agreed to move according to the terms of purchase either relocated to the Islamic Center, to Maharlika Village (see below), or to the other Muslim communities in Manila. On the other hand, those who remained were mostly Tausug who continued to resist the encroachment on their area. But in time the Christian organization made an appeal to Quezon City, which sent armed enforcements to forcefully evacuate the resistors causing a clash and resulting in a number of casualties on the Muslim side. As this incident was reported on television and in the newspapers, the situation of the compound became known to the Muslims in the country.\(^{30}\) Accordingly, in order to protect fellow Muslims, or in response to calls by resistance forces that as Muslims they would be able to acquire land cheaply, Muslims gathered \textit{en masse} from all over Manila and other areas. The Muslims overcame ethnolinguistic differences to gain solidarity and were able to arrange with the Islam World League based in Saudi Arabia for financial support to take the issue to court, and they continued street demonstrations with student associations and leftist groups. These activities proved effective in protecting the land ownership of the Compound. On the other hand discord between the various ethnic leaders emerged over rights to the mosque and governance of the Compound.

In 1990, the Salam Mosque and Madrasah Advisory Council, Inc. (SMMAC), a governing organization for the Compound was established. The present chairperson is Hadji Nur, a Tausug who proved his leadership abilities during the protest activities. The SMMAC is an umbrella organization

\(^{29}\) According to the interview with Datu Ismael Bani, August 27, 2002, the funds for the Payatas land and mosque were provided by Quezon City from the Christian organization.

of seven *tribo* (ethnolinguistic groups) in the compound, with each having an elder’s council of their own. Council members are usually chosen for having lived in the Compound for a long time, based on whether they have gone on the *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), or have sufficient economic means. The council representatives are not only responsible for making arrangements and performing the ceremonies for weddings and funerals, but must mediate any disputes arising within their ethnic group or between other neighborhoods. When a dispute occurs between ethnic groups the representatives of the groups hold talks to solve the problem, but in cases where a solution is not reached the SMMAC chairperson is called on to act as the mediator. The SMMAC chairperson serves as the chairperson of the Compound’s *purok* council for Barangay Culiat. The *purok* chairperson is appointed by the Barangay Council Head, and serves in the role of keeping relations with the Barangay Council and the Salam Mosque Compound. The positions of ethnic council representatives and *purok* chairperson are performed without monetary remuneration, but these officers may receive gifts at times after solving a dispute or overseeing a wedding. It is considered a high honor to be chosen for these positions.

The Salam Mosque located at the center of the Compound has received a large amount of donations from Arab countries, but it is still under construction. Plagued by prevalent embezzlement of donations the centrifugal attraction of the Salam Mosque has weakened. This resulted in the construction of four separate mosques in 1991, 2001, 2002, and 2003, leading to further tensions among the mosque administrators. For the ordinary resident, however, the decision to choose which mosque to pray at is made on distance from home, or the ethnic background of the co-*jama’a*. On weekends at the *madrasah* building next to the Salam Mosque, classes for reading and writing Arabic and Islamic morality are taught, but once a year it becomes a health clinic and medical doctors sent by Quezon City to perform circumcisions for young boys. In front of the *madrasah* building there is an open space that contains a basketball court that at times serves as an area for wedding receptions or other communal activities. Some meat shops around the area sell *halal* meat prepared in accordance to the method prescribed by Islam, and restaurants that do not use pork to satisfy the needs of Muslims. With a mosque, *madrasah*, multipurpose space, *halal* shops and restaurants, and other facilities, the residents within the Compound are provided with the necessary spatial requirements to live their lives as Muslims. It is possible for Muslims in the Compound to live their lives surrounded by other Muslims without being troubled by the prejudices and uncomfortable gazes they would receive elsewhere from non-Muslims.

Problems do still arise, however, because there are many Muslims involved in the illegal trade of firearms and illicit drugs, and whenever there is a bombing or suspicion of terrorist activities, police will enter the Compound and take men into custody without warrants. In the case of bombings, the occurrence is usually credited to the MILF that continues to struggle for secession and independence, or the Abu Sayyaf an extremist group, which attracts a majority of its recruits from the Tausug in the Sulu region and Yakan from Basilan Island. This causes suspicion to be placed on the many residents in the compound having these ethnic backgrounds. Fearing the frequent police raids many have moved to other locations in Manila or even to regions in the southern Philippines. As a result, with people relocating due to the problems with the property or to land given to them by Muslims in the military,
two “secondary” communities have originated from the Salam Mosque Compound.

The two primary communities examined above were established systematically from the late 1960s through the 1970s for the purpose of constructing Islamic facility complexes. These communities were composed of Muslim residents from a number of different ethnolinguistic groups and various economic classes. Not only did the formation of these communities attract the interest of the media, they became well known in southern Philippines through Mindanao-Manila migrants, and for those having no relatives or acquaintances they became the first place of residence. The development of these communities under the direct initiative of Muslim organizations has tended towards stagnation, because many of their leaders disappeared from Manila as the conflict in southern Philippines intensified, or with the enforcement of martial law the administrative and managerial organizations themselves were forced to cease activities and at times disband altogether. During this time Maharlika Village, which was developed under the initiative of the Philippine government, started to attract attention.

Case 3: Maharlika Village - a primary community initiated by the Government

In September 1972, martial law was declared by the Marcos regime making the possession of arms illegal, and the Muslim secessionist movements in the southern Philippines were suppressed. This in turn gave birth to a large number of refugees. As a countermeasure the president in his effort to distance Muslims from the movement, and also to deflect accusations of genocide against Muslims from the governments of Muslim nations, set forth an appeasement policy. Maharlika Village in Manila is one example.

The construction of Maharlika Village, located in Taguig City within Metro Manila, was started soon after the proclamation of martial law on January 3, 1973, in answer to the petitions of influential Muslims in Manila. Built on a 33.9 hectare section taken from a tract of land originally reserved for the Bonifacio military facilities, its purpose was to form a solely Muslim community. Placed in charge of the project was the future governor of Metro Manila and Minister of Human Settlements, Imelda Marcos. Maharlika Village was established with all the infrastructure necessary for the community, including a mosque, madrasah building, housing, student dormitories, meeting halls, sports facilities, a cemetery, roads, electricity and plumbing (Philippine Muslim Information Center 1974a: 39). The nine hundred residential houses were of two types built with different economic classes in mind, the

31 Between 1973 and 1977, over eighty acts of legislation concerning Muslims were passed as part of the appeasement policy. Some of these were the establishment of the Ministry of Muslim Affairs under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, creation of the South Philippines Development Authority (SPDA), economic aid for Muslim refugees from areas of armed conflict, founding of an Islamic bank and the hiring of Muslim bank employees, initiatives to facilitate barter trade in the Sulu Islands and Zamboanga City, the enactment and application of Muslim personal laws that clearly reflect the customs and legal code of the Muslims, founding of the Institute of Islamic Studies in the University of the Philippines, recognizing the use of Arabic in schools located in areas with a Muslim majority, and establishing official holidays during Islamic celebrations. The appeasement policy covered the broad areas of politics, economics, society and culture (Philippine Muslim Information Center 1974b: 12-14, Domaub 1981: 43-52).
“economic housing” and a lower cost “social housing” (Matuan 1985:110-111). The occupants were randomly allocated in order to avoid concentrations of particular ethnolinguistic groups and to foster social exchanges between the different groups. For example, with a Maranao family living next to a Maguidanao family then a Tausug family and so on.\textsuperscript{32} What the government attempted to accomplish by providing the village with good infrastructure, was the establishment of a model community where Philippine Muslims, regardless of ethnic background or economic class, could live together in harmony. But many Muslim intellectuals expressed mixed feelings of doubt. They suspected that the project was nothing more than propaganda aimed at the international community, in particular the Middle East Arab countries that were members of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (B. Kadi\textsuperscript{1} 1985: 61).

Their fears gradually became real. Maharlika Village was placed under the administration of the National Housing Authority (NHA) and became a self-supporting project with revenue gained from housing loans, apartment rent, cemetery fees and elementary school tuition. Although the NHA sold housing to Muslims, granting twenty-five year loans, with the eligibility for the loans requiring the borrower to have an annual income of over ten thousand Philippine pesos (Miyamoto 1994: 132).\textsuperscript{33} For this reason, the people who benefited from the project were the civil servants in the Marcos government ministries, and the affluent upper class, but not the large number of poverty-stricken Muslims migrating from Mindanao. For several years after its establishment, Maharlika Village was a quiet residential area, and received high praise from its residents as a model Muslim community. This situation, however, only lasted until the 1980s when people from other areas in Metro Manila started to enter the Village and set up residence along its streets. With the political upheaval and installation of the new Aquino government in 1986, all policies set forward by the former Marcos government were put to a stop, and the NHA budget suffered a large cut. This caused facilities throughout Maharlika Village to fall into ruin.\textsuperscript{34} As if to aggravate the situation further, after the final peace agreement was made with the MNLF in 1996 the government, instead of charging the leadership with treason against the nation, granted them amnesty and provided housing for them in Maharlika Village.\textsuperscript{35} This was done by pushing aside protests from the residents of Maharlika Village who had requested that these leaders not be allowed to live there because they were “people prone to violence.” The situation worsened in 1998 when Manila City relocated the victims of a fire in the Islamic Center to the single student’s dormitories in the Village. Although the intention was only to provide temporary homes for the afflicted, the large number of people who came in exceeded the capacity of the buildings, and the surrounding area turned into a slum. With the inflow of a large low-income population and the

\textsuperscript{32} Interview with Almahil Bih, April 26, and September 7, 2002. Bih, a Tausug, was employed in the National Housing Authority, Maharlika Village Branch Office (1976-2002), and served as the \textit{imam} of the Blue Mosque from 1976 for almost twenty years.

\textsuperscript{33} During the Marcos presidency, national housing projects were placed under the administration of the NHA. Four large re-settlement areas were laid out in Manila suburbs as measures to deal with the poor urban classes under the NHA that arranged 25-year loans for the residents.

\textsuperscript{34} Interview with Bih, April 29, 2002.

\textsuperscript{35} As part of the government’s agreement with the MNLF in 1996, MNLF soldiers were to be accepted into the national police and armed forces. These former resistance soldiers were trained in Manila as part of the integration project, and thus they were called “Integrates.”
superannuation of the infrastructure, the crime rate and public disorder increased leading to a general decline in the standard of living.

Some Maranao, who could not qualify for loans when the Maharlika Village project was initiated, petitioned the Office of the President and were granted permission to build houses on other land reserved for Fort Bonifacio west of the Village, which became the Bandara-Inged community (Miyamoto 1990: 189). Similarly, Muslims started to move into other areas around the project, and the Muslim residential area surrounding Maharlika Village continued to expand. With the population increase, the project area, Bandara-Inged area and Sitio Imelda area were combined in the late 1980s to form Barangay Maharlika Village. In 2002, the barangay population reached approximately 12,000, with 80 percent of the residents being Muslim. Ethnolinguistically, in the 1970s the majority were Tausug and Sama, but with the construction of apartment buildings in 1996, and the Islamic Center fires in 1983 and 1998, a sizable Maranao and Maguindanao population moved in to balance the population ratio with the Tausug. The Maranao, however, seem to have a stronger sense of political unity. Until the late 1980s the position of the Maharlika Village Barangay Council chairperson had been held by people with Tausug background, but since then the office has been dominated by a succession of Maranao leaders.

As a result of the increased population and diffusion of residential areas, in and around Barangay Maharlika Village there are today ten mosques, and accordingly one finds residential areas distinguishable by the ethnolinguistic groups that occupy them. As examples of this, the management and jama’a of the Masjid Bandara-Inged is completely Manarao. The Blue Mosque is said to be run by the Tausug. As its name implies the Kalagan Mosque is the possession of the Kalagan who migrated from the Davao region, and those sharing the same background gather from all over Manila for Friday prayer. Formerly called the Maguindanao Mosque in reflection of the ethnic composition of its jama’a, it was renamed recently as the Green Mosque, because with the original name it was difficult to gather donations from sources outside of the country. Another feature of the community is that many of the residents within the Maharlika Village project area are specialized professionals, such as lawyers, academics, medical doctors, ambassadors from Muslim nations, wealthy business owners and millionaires. In comparison, many of those living outside of the project area are small vendors, factory and construction workers, security personnel, and the overseas laborers. Reflecting the economic conditions of the latter, the mosques in their area are smaller in scale and simpler in construction. From this situation found in the various mosques, it is safe to say that within Barangay Maharlika Village stratification and division among Muslims is increasing in terms of social classes and ethnolinguistics features.

Returning the focus to the Blue Mosque, since it is a religious facility its administration has been moved from the NHA to the Office on Muslim Affairs, which now appoints the mosque’s management. The same is true for the Golden Mosque in Quiapo, also built under the direction of the government in

36 See Miyamoto (1990) for further reference.
1976. The reasons for the Philippine government’s provision for the administration and maintenance of these mosques, is on one hand to facilitate the integration of its Muslim population into the national fabric, but on the other hand is an effort to emphasize domestically and to the international community that its policies give respect to Muslim societies and culture within its borders.

Compared with Muslim organization-led primary communities, this primary community established under the government’s appeasement policy initiatives is the embodiment of the Philippine government’s stance towards Muslims. In summary, the Maharlika Village project served as an impetus for wealthy Muslims to move into the area, in turn attracting common Muslims to Manila. It can be stated that the realization of this particular community became a turning point in the growth and dispersion of Muslim communities in Metro Manila.

2. The Evolution and Expansion of Secondary Communities

The expansion of Muslim communities in Manila is also linked to the expansion of Metro Manila itself. Executive Order 824 of 1976 ordered the five cities and twelve towns in the neighboring region of Manila City to be incorporated, creating the present Metro Manila. As a result of the increase of migration from rural areas to Manila, its population grew from 3.97 million in 1970 to reach 10.5 million in 2000 (National Statistics Office 2001). The sudden swell of the municipality’s population and its pressure on the housing environment can help one to understand the deteriorating conditions.

In order to solve the problems created by the increase of slums and squatters, thinly populated areas within Metro Manila and its outskirts were designated for resettlement projects, and at the same time residential areas for middle and upper class citizens were set aside in the suburbs. This led to the building of shopping malls, and public and commercial market places in the various districts of the capital. The Muslims have also been included in this flow of events. They too, spread their plastic sheets on roadsides and sidewalks near the malls to peddle their goods, or were able to become tenants in these malls and participate in small-scale commercial trade. As their workplaces became increasingly dispersed so too did the areas where they chose to live, and their communities experienced changes following the rise and decline in economic opportunities available in the areas.

By the middle of the 1980s, the obstacles faced by Muslim migrant forerunners to Manila were not so overwhelming, as information had increased and the networks of people had grown extensive.

The situation in the southern Philippines was continually unsettled because the secessionist Muslim force had split into several groups, and their relationship with the government was constantly changing from negotiating peace, to all out armed conflict. In 1990 the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) was created, and in 1996 the negotiations between the MNLF and government led to an agreement and a ceasefire. Things changed again in 2000, when President Joseph Estrada declared his “all-out war” policy against the anti-government Muslim forces. This political shift

37 A reason for this was the value of real estate in Manila. Political instability during the Aquino presidency caused a sharp decline in land prices, allowing large corporate monopolization of cheap real estate. In the early 1990s, this land was used for urban development and large residential areas. (Koike 2001: 165).
produced 50,000 refugees whose children were unable to receive school education. The long period of conflict has been costly for Mindanao, as almost no businesses have invested in the region. The El Niño phenomenon in 2001 brought about a damaging drought for agriculture in the southern Philippines. The ARMM has received foreign aid to start up large-scale development projects that have been continuing, but 73.8 percent of the region’s population lives under the poverty line, pointing to the fact that the majority of Philippine Muslims have not been able to escape from social and economic distress (National Statistical Coordination Board 2002).

Within the context of dire economic conditions in the Philippines, the Muslims followed along with the general policy set forth in the mid 1970s by the government to promote the export of labor, and many took employment opportunities opened to them overseas, in particular, in Middle East nations. At the beginning of the 1970s the rapid increase in the demand for oil in Saudi Arabia triggered a construction rush that increased the need for civil engineers and construction workers. Plagued by a chronic high unemployment rate, the Philippine government made efforts to facilitate the migration of Filipino men, including Muslims, for employment in destination abroad. In the Middle East, many countries were benefiting from their newly acquired infrastructures and the resulting rise in the standard of living, which in turn increased the demand for domestic helpers from abroad. This caused a change in the accepted social norms of Philippine Muslims who considered it “inappropriate for women to work outside of the home,” and in its stead new notions emphasizing the honor of “working in Saudi Arabia, the birthplace of Islam, for the sake of the family” with the opportunity to “learn about Islam where it originated,” and the hope that “the opportunity to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca” would arise, became the justification for Muslim women to join the increasing number of Filipinas leaving their homeland to work. Most women used Manila as their point of departure to their various destinations in the Middle East, but there were some who chose to remain. Others were married in Manila and after bearing children returned to their places of employment, often repeatedly. There were those able to make arrangements to have their families move to Manila to live with them. In this way, it is clear that an increasing number of Philippine Muslims left the southern Philippines to establish a place to live for a certain period of time in the Metro Manila area, hoping to enjoy a peaceful life to raise their children without worry, and search for economic betterment.

With the expansion of Metro Manila and the increased movement of Muslims between the districts within it, the Muslim communities of the capital became diversified in character. Of the various community types seen to emerge in the late 1980s, there were those that can be categorized as “secondary communities.” The following discussion will concern two communities, the Parañaque Reclamation Area where a mosque was built to acquire land for housing, and the B.F. Homes where a legal court case was filed in order to allow the construction of a mosque.

38 For recent developments see, Ishii (2005).
Case 4: Parañaque Reclamation Area - a secondary community initiated by jama’a

Roxas Boulevard runs parallel to the shore of Manila Bay, extending north to Malabon City known for its lively wholesale market, and to the south leading to Cavite Province. The traffic along this road is heavy with long distance buses and trucks, and vendors busy themselves selling food and everyday sundries to waiting passengers and drivers. The Parañaque Reclamation Area is located along Roxas Boulevard on the sea side. Muslims started to live in this area from 1992. Around 1990, near the public market on Roxas Boulevard there was a group of Maranaos who had left the Islamic Center. They lived in the streets and sold their merchandise at their open air vending stands. Just north of this area in Baclaran, Datu Guinar Mao, a Maranao involved in *tabligh* (the Islamic missionary movement), felt it was his calling to provide for the group of compatriots an environment allowing them to live as Muslims. In 1992 he led the group to the reclaimed grass covered land where they began living. They built their houses with lumber and galvanized iron sheets. Eventually, other Maranaos living in Metro Manila or Mao’s friends with their families and relatives from the Maranao homeland of Lanao started to move in and their numbers grew. Also, Balik-Islam who had married Maranao joined the community. There are two types of Balik-Islam, those who had converted before they married, and those who became Muslims after their marriage. It was the work of the Balik-Islam that made it possible for the building of the Parañaque Grand Mosque on the reclamation site. The construction cost was provided for by the Islamic Studies for Call and Guidance (ISCAG), an Islamic missionary organization composed of Saudi Arabsians and Balik-Islam.

According to Nuh Caparino the present vice-chairperson of ISCAG, their Philippine branch office located in the Manila suburbs was built in the late 1980s. On the compound there is a medical center, educational facility, family apartments and a single men’s dormitory. The ISCAG, which has its headquarters in Saudi Arabia, supports missionary activities throughout the world. Its activities in the Philippines started when a Saudi Arabian contacted Caparino, a Balik-Islam who converted in Saudi Arabia. The central activity of the organization is to establish mosques where there are Muslims that do not have one to attend. In addition its work involves services such as finding an *imam* if a community does not have one, building a *madrasah* building and sending an *ustaz* (teacher) if needed, building Islamic facility complexes in various regions, providing medical care, and generally helping with funding and human resources “to nurture good Muslims.” Above all, its mission is to nourish a “correct” understanding of Islam, not only among non-Muslims but also among Muslims as well. For this they distribute pamphlets and make speeches at street events.

The construction of the mosque on the Parañaque Reclamation Area was part of its activities, and the ISCAG also took the initiative in the management of the *madrasah*. Every Sunday the ISCAG sends in

39 The following historical account is from an interview with Datu Guinar Mao, August 12, 2002.
40 Interview with Nuh Caparino December 28, 2002.
41 The condition set by ISCAG for building a mosque is that the land must be purchased first. In the past the ISCAG provided capital for a mosque before the residents had purchased the land and a dispute arose between the organization and the government.
turn four Balik-Islam *ustazah* (female teachers) to teach Arabic to the Maranao children who attend the classes. In order to attract the children to the *madrasah* with every class it provides *merienda* (snacks) for those who attend. The expenses for this are defrayed evenly between the ISCAG and the Parañaque Grand Mosque Foundation. The Muslim residents of Parañaque Reclamation Area make up the membership of this foundation.

The Maranao residents no doubt welcomed the construction of the mosque, but the municipality of Parañaque did not look upon it with favor. Originally, the Philippine Estate Authority had reserved the reclaimed land for development. Although efforts were made to chase the illegal inhabitants who had been living there without permission off the land, the Muslim side showed their resolve to resist eviction by claiming it their sacred duty to protect the mosque at any cost. Tensions continued between the city and the Maranao from 1995 to around 2000. Some Muslims in Arab nations supported them financially. With local elections coming up, Joey Marquez, the mayor of Parañaque at the time, acknowledged the right to use the land on which the mosque stood. As of 2002, however, the issue of land rights concerning the residential area of the Parañaque Muslim community was still pending with the Philippine Estate Authority.42

In 1992, the Muslim population on the Parañaque Reclamation Area was about one thousand, but this number has grown to five hundred families or about three thousand. Except for one Pakistani, all of the residents are either Maranao or Balik-Islam. Most of these inhabitants are occupied with vending businesses in the area along Roxas Boulevard across the waterway.

**Case 5: B. F. Homes - a *jama’a* initiated secondary community**

B. F. Homes Parañaque, developed by the B. F. Homes Properties, is a commercial residential area covering a considerable proportion of Parañaque City that offers housing for private ownership. Development of this residential area catering to middle and upper class homeowners was started in 1977 and constitutes one *barangay*. At present, B.F. Homes contains 13,000 households, of which only thirty are Muslim. These Muslim households are not concentrated in a particular area, and because their number is proportionately small they are unable to establish a *purok* within the *barangay*.

Muslims first started to take up residence in B.F. Homes around 1980. The first to do so was a Maranao man, Datu Abdulratif Acop Saud. According to his nephew Oding Unos, who serves as the official *Imam* of a mosque, Saud moved from the town of Togaya in Lanao del Sur Province and settled in Cortada in Ermita of Manila City where he sold brassware made in Togaya.43 His business became successful and he brought his family. Later in the 1970s his relatives moved from Togaya to help in the business. Towards the end of the 1970s, however, business declined in Ermita and Saud started looking for another place to do business. At the time Cortada had a large Muslim population and

42 Interview with Datu Guinar Mao, August 12, 2002.
43 Interview with Oding Unos, February 13, 2003.
competition was severe. He decided on the B.F. Homes area with its affluent middle and upper income residents, and opened his business there. The items Saud sold were pots that he bought from China (eventually, his Chinese partner in China started to import these pots and Saud bought them directly from the importer). The business got underway, and again his relatives in Cortada started to move into Saud’s neighborhood. This is the reason why all thirty households of the Maranao community in B.F. Homes have family ties with each other, and most of these people are involved in businesses around Parañaque City. Some are engaged in professional occupations.

When these Maranao first moved to the area, their worship was conducted in private homes, but as their number increased it became difficult to accommodate the growing size of the jama’a. This gave rise among the Maranao residents to plans for a mosque to be built within B.F. Homes. In 1997, Bassari Masa, a student who had returned after studying in Pakistan, became the central figure in organizing the residents into an association called Jami-ah Al-Fath Al-Islamie (people of faith in Islam) that started putting into action the plans for a mosque. But a problem arose when the other inhabitants of Barangay B.F. Homes protested against this plan. As a rule, when a new religious facility is to be built, the plans must first be approved by the barangay where the religious group is registered. Then the matter is taken to the head of the local city or municipal authority. The Muslims were faced with resistance at the first barangay level. The objection raised by the other residents was that “if a mosque were to be built the Muslim population would increase, including those involved in criminal activities resulting in public security to deteriorate.” Masa arranged for negotiations where he expressed the counterargument that “there were those involved in crime among Christians too, and not all Muslims are necessarily bad.” These talks, however, were not successful in convincing the other barangay residents to permit the construction of the mosque, so a group including Masa eventually took the matter to court.

Court proceedings require time, but in the meanwhile the Maranao needed a place to serve as a mosque for their group to perform salat and conduct mosaoir (socializing and talks). For this they rented two adjoining rooms in a commercial facility outside of B.F. Homes. The facility was where Saud had his store, and the owner, being a long time acquaintance, gave special permission for the use of the rooms as a temporary mosque. Since 1998, this temporary arrangement called Masjid Jami’a has been maintained with the contributions from each of the households. At present, attendance at salat prayer services is about twenty people with approximately fifty people attending Friday prayer. But, because of the distance from the community’s residences they do not maintain a madrasah there.

Generally, these secondary communities are small and have very little ethnic diversity, as would be assumed from their evolutionary process. Unlike primary communities that have large organizational backing, these communities need to secure land for housing and construct, manage and maintain mosques through their own effort. Where the organization is well structured or has strong ties with outside supporters, the mosque gradually thrives, but, if the centrifugal force of the community weakens, so too does the mosque’s significance and one finds mosques that have changed into regular housing or where its members have a hard time paying for water and electricity bills. Also, the
conditions of community mosques are dependent on economic factors. Communities having a fairly large affluent membership tend to possess relatively more superb mosque facilities, such as air conditioners, but those communities with lower income members often have mosques in need of repair or improvement. It is, thus, within these secondary communities that economic and ethnic characteristics become clearly visible.

3. The Emergence of Spatially Distanced (Domicile/Workplace) Communities

The diversification seen among the various Muslim communities since the late 1980s gave rise to another type of community. This “job-centered community” consists of a group of people with similar occupations or ways of making a living. The communities that have been discussed above are basically places where Muslim residents are concentrated, and their workplace is relatively close to their domiciles. On the other hand, in places where Muslims congregate to make their living, eventually a movement emerges for the establishment of a mosque in the workplace, resulting in the formation of a new type of community that is not necessarily linked with their respective residential areas. The following examples describe how under the leadership of an individual, a mosque was built for the community in Ermita, and the successful establishment of a mosque by an organization in the Greenhills Shopping Center.

Case 6: Ermita - a job-centered community initiated by an individual

Facing Manila Bay, Ermita is located within a short distance of the international airport. It is a busy area, with hotels, ethnic restaurants, shopping malls, tourist attractions, and overseas employment recruiting agencies. Until the mid 1990s it was a thriving entertainment area for tourists. For this reason there is a heavy concentration of foreign currency exchange offices. On Ermita Street, you will find a white building, which is a mosque. The second floor is the men’s prayer area. At the entrance on the ground floor is a currency exchange booth and towards the back a store selling Middle Eastern food products. A corridor runs between these two areas with a bathing area for purification and beyond the door on the right a room that serves as a madrasah and women’s prayer area. This mosque was built in 1990. At that time the second floor was rented by the jama’a, but with their offerings and the contributions from Saudi Arabians who visited the mosque, it was eventually possible to purchase of the entire building. The person who first rented, managed and maintained the room for the mosque was Hadji Maulaha Sakalulan. He is known as the original pioneer of the money changer in the district. The following is Sakalulan’s account of his life and the establishment of the mosque.44

Sakalulan was born in 1940. His father was a Tausug and his mother was Sama. From 1975 to 1983 he was involved in the Sabah-Zamboanga barter trade, but suffered bankruptcy when he became unable to collect debts on loans to his clients.45 After losing his business, Sakalulan decided to move to

44 Interview with Hadji Maulaha Sakalulan, September 12, 2002.
45 The Executive Order No. 93, of 1973 de-regulated the barter trade, liberalizing tariffs, and ports of Zamboanga and Jolo, the capital of Sulu Province, were opened for trading. This Order targeted the Tausug who were central
Manila and start his life over. He first became a taxi driver picking up rides along Ermita Street. Many of his foreign customers asked him where they could exchange their money, so he began exchanging currencies for customers in his taxi. Soon this side business became profitable enough for him to quit driving taxi and open an exchange office, and the business grew to the point where he not only catered to the individual customer, but also started to deal in greater amounts of currency for trade companies. By taking advantage of the commercial opportunities of the area, he developed and maintained business relations with a growing number of both private and corporate suki (regular clients) that led to the success of his business. The majority of money changing stores found in Ermita are owned and managed by Sakalulan’s relatives or extended family members. Most of the employees working in his twenty-seven currency exchange shops commute from their homes. Although Muslims have a fairly visible presence in Ermita, they are still a minority. The Muslim population in Ermita is about six hundred during the daytime, but at night this number is reduced to a third. This reduced population accounts for the Muslims who run businesses or shops during the night.

When his business started to show promise, Sakalulan was able to arrange for his family and relatives to come from Zamboanga. As his life settled in Manila and he began enjoying a degree of economic stability, Sakalulan started considering plans to establish a mosque. Among the Muslims in Ermita, he had proven himself as the most capable by taking the initiative in developing a new business venture and taking on the role of negotiator between the Muslims and the Barangay authorities. He must have felt great pressure from those around him, and concerning the establishment of the mosque; Sakalulan says, “If I had not built it, nobody else would have done it.” Because of the high land prices in Ermita, Sakalulan rented the building that eventually became the mosque with his personal funds. In 1990, the Ermita Islamic Foundation, Inc. was registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission, in order to establish and manage the mosque, and a man related to him volunteered to become its imam. The majority of the jama’a are his Tausug and Sama relatives. Nearby, there is a mosque founded by Saudi Arabians running a recruiting agency. Although it is open to them, many Philippine Muslims find the Friday prayer service of the Arabs too long, and the sermons given in Arabic incomprehensible, so many have started to attend the Ermita Mosque. Ethnic characteristics become evident from the particular sets of values and attitudes towards time, which are seen in the differences and preferences of the jama’a attending these two mosques.

Case 7: The Greenhills Shopping Center - a job-centered community led by an organization

Located in San Juan City, the Greenhills Shopping Center is surrounded by an upper class residential area, where most of the residents are Christian. The Maranao have monopolized the Muslim business activities in this area.46 The first businesses started in around 1987, when about ten Maranao retail merchants rented temporary shops. The Shopping Center, owned by the Ortigas family, opened in 1972, but later started to suffer commercially. To rebuild its business operation the management

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46 The following is from an interview with Rex Dimakuta, the General Secretary of the Greenhills Muslim Business Club, January 5, 2003.
decided to set up temporary tenant space along with their permanent stores. They also set very low monthly rent rates to attract merchants. At the end of the 1980s, the rent for one shop space was 5,000 pesos per month, a small sum compared to the 40,000 pesos per month rent required now (100,000 pesos during the Christmas season, but still profitable for the merchant). The ten Maranao merchants mentioned above encouraged their families, relatives and other Maranao countrymen to join them, and the Maranao eventually came to occupy an overwhelming majority of tenants renting temporary shops. As of December 2002, Maranao Muslims run 99 percent of the approximately three hundred contracted shops in the Shopping Center. These shop owners commute from their homes in the Islamic Center, Maharlika Village, Pasig and other locations in Manila.

As of 2002, the merchandize sold at these shops includes RTWs (ready-to-wears, meaning second-hand clothes), Chinese antiques, precious stones and jewelry (especially pearls) from Singapore and Japan. Over 200 shops deal in jewelry, making the Greenhills Shopping Center very famous throughout the country. The demand for mobile phones originated in Manila around the year 2000, and within a few years they spread widely throughout the Philippines. The Shopping Center played a big part in this distribution process, because of its selection of cell-phone units at the most competitive prices. There are also less reputable items that the police have targeted on occasion, such as pirated VCDs and DVDs, counterfeit brand bags, perfume and sports shoes. These items are acquired through business routes with Chinese merchants. Now, Quiapo is considered a Muslim district, but it was in the past occupied by many Chinese. Many of the Chinese business contacts the Maranao have, were made there.

The Greenhills Muslim Business Club was first called the Maranao Trader’s Club when it was established in 1988, and in the following year the name was changed. Although the name’s emphasis was changed from “Maranao” to “Muslim” the majority of the members are Maranao. The present membership is about four hundred, but if shop attendants and family or relatives who are employed are included the total reaches six thousand. To join the Club, applicants must submit their personal resume and pay 300 pesos. The merit of joining the Club is that if a problem concerning an individual’s contract arises, the Club negotiates the matter for the contractor with the Shopping Center management. Since August of 2001, the management required that before a contract for a temporary store was signed it was necessary for a Muslim to have joined the Club.

The Club held negotiations with the owners, the Ortigas family, for permission to install a mosque within the Shopping Center, and in 1989 a place for salat was set up. This became the beginning of group worship. The first place that was arranged by the management for the worship was on the second floor of the central mall. But the mall building is constructed in a well-hole style so the second floor is open to the noise made by shoppers on the ground floor. Finding the atmosphere not conducive to worship, a month later a prayer room was set up outside on an inconspicuous part of the premises.

47 Later, the owners of Greenhills demanded that the Club stop selling pirated VCDs and DVDs, and these items have disappeared from the shops (as of 2006).
Although it is called a “masjid” it is a simple enclosed space with wood partitions. Desiring to build a more appropriate place of worship the Mosque Committee, a sub-organization of the Club, is collecting donations from the members and other worshippers. The mosque’s imam and majority of the jama’a are Maranao so the sermons delivered during Friday worship are in their language. Previous to 2002, a member who had received an Islamic education and a certified ustaz served as the imam, but a young Maranao named Ahmad who had studied Islamic theology in Pakistan took over the position. Ahmad was referred by a “brother” who was involved with a business in the Shopping Center, and was appointed as imam by the Club chairperson. Because the Shopping Center is closed during the night early morning prayers are not performed, but the other four regular daily prayer services are held in the mosque. The Club’s main activities include providing welfare service and a place for the religious practice of its members at the Greenhills Shopping Center, but it also sponsors cultural events, such as Manarao theatrical performances. 

As seen in the above cases, job-centered communities have generally formed in government and public facilities, markets or malls. For shoppers, it is a “non-place,” a temporary space that has no significance. For the Muslims, however, it is a social space that has meaning to them. It is a “place” relevant relationally, historically, and identity-wise to these people (Augé 1995). The members of these communities reside in primary or secondary communities and commute to their workplaces. Most mosques in these communities do not hold early morning prayers, because office and business hours in the morning are later than the prescribed time for prayer. Another characteristic is that with communities in marketplaces and shopping malls in particular, the members occupied in businesses there are usually comprised of networks of people related to each other and tend to be ethnically homogeneous. The mosques found in these communities offer to their members who make a living in the area a place to strengthen social and religious ties. These are not, however, simply horizontal relations based on sharing a common workplace, but are vertical relations that involve a leadership and form a sense of solidarity through family, relatives and friendships.

III. Observations and Discussion

1. The Dynamics of Muslim Communities

Figure 2 is a map of the Muslim communities that I had visited during this general survey in Metro

48 In 2005, Greenhills Shopping Center added several new mall buildings and the Ortigas family contributed 8 million pesos for mosque construction on the premises. In a real sense, it is not an independent building, but a portion of a mall building. A Muslim friend told the author about a rumor circulating about the owner of a nearby shopping mall approaching the chairperson of the Club and promising that if the Muslims brought their business to his mall he would build them a mosque. Hearing this, the Ortigas family, fearing the commercial loss, gave permission for the mosque to be built, and covered the cost for the mosque and water and electric maintenance bills. This story has not been verified. The construction of a mosque in the Shopping Center had become a controversial issue. Prior to the groundbreaking, the Christians living in this upper class area have protested the plan to put up a mosque in their neighborhood and voiced concern that the Shopping Center would become a criminals’ nest and that it was nonsense to build a mosque in a Christian community (“By the Way,” Philippine Star October 4, 2004.)
Manila. The arrow markings in the figure illustrate the migratory movement of the community’s pioneers and the main group of people making up the community. Shown this way, it is clear that people who had resided in primary communities, started many of the secondary communities. In addition, examples exist of secondary communities born from other secondary communities. There was also a community, situated in the Tondo area near the port, that disappeared completely due to the emigration of former residents to look for economic opportunities in inner cities. Meanwhile, the other form of secondary communities, non-residential job-centered communities, has emerged. The members commuting from different communities are linked together through a particular occupation that provides their livelihood. Often, the relatives and acquaintances hoping to find opportunities through the original members go to these communities directly from their home region. Nowadays, newcomers entering Metro Manila from other regions do not necessarily depend on familial or ethnic ties, but seek opportunities through those who share the same religious beliefs. The evolution of secondary and job-centered communities are influenced by macro changes in national government policies, the recent urban sprawl phenomenon of Metro Manila, and the particular situation of the Muslim individual’s decision to migrate in accordance to personal networks or socio-economic conditions.

Among those who move from their initial place of residence to other areas in Manila, the reason for doing so is often to find a place to live in accordance to their economic status. For this reason, distinctions between secondary communities are found along economic classes. An example is the differences in where business owners and small-scale vendors reside. The jewelry business owners and their relatives in the Greenhills Shopping Center moved from their first homes in the Islamic Center to a subdivision in Pasig City because they felt the area better reflected their economic status, or felt insecure living in poor Muslim neighborhoods with a rising crime rate. Within a year after moving to their new homes, these affluent Muslims had built an imposing three-story mosque. Street vendors and
unskilled laborers also move within the means of their livelihood. They find rooms sublet by their relatives in a Muslim community, moving from one community to another in search of inexpensive lodging and finally settle near marketplaces forming new communities, or simply move out to non-Muslim areas. The Parañaque Reclamation Area community is a typical case. Another characteristic found is constant relocation in search of less costly housing. Under the Metro Manila redevelopment projects, many Muslims were transferred to resettlement sites offered to them, but this was limited to those who owned a house in the previous residence.

To summarize, the general survey reveals the influence of ethnolinguistic groups and occupational classes on the movement of Muslims within Manila. Primary communities are comprised of people with a diverse array of occupations and ethnolinguistic backgrounds. In contrast, secondary communities still have members employed variously, but they come from a more limited number of ethnolinguistic groups. Job-centered communities are almost always ethnolinguistically homogeneous, and share a common specialized trade or particular business that contributes to the community membership’s overall uniformity. Movement within Manila still continues within the strong networks connecting family, relatives and homeland ties, but combined with these kin and local relations one finds specific occupational networks as well. Another characteristic of secondary communities is that after they are formed there is some tendency for the population to grow, but generally they are smaller in comparison to the original community they derive from.

2. The Diverse Roles of Mosques

In the introduction of this paper, this author outlined the importance of the mosque with its symbolic function for the Muslim community it serves, and its central importance in Muslim life. Therefore, it was stated that the establishment of a mosque could act as an index for observing the emergence of a Muslim community. In the following the various roles a community’s mosque will be considered together with relation to Middle Eastern nations, the Philippine government and Manila municipality, social conditions within the communities, the jama’a and Philippine history. The purpose is to show how well mosques reflect the experiences of Muslim communities as they try to accommodate domestic and international politico-economic trends, and the characteristics found among Philippine Muslims living in Manila.

Firstly, the Mosque represents an affinity with Middle Eastern Muslim nations. It is true that almost all mosques constructed in secondary communities are sponsored by the contributions from Philippine Muslim jama’a. Those in primary and some of the secondary communities, however, were built with the support of Middle East Muslim nations, namely Egypt, Libya, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the UAE. This support was raised through various channels that included, friendly relations between

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49 Changes in the economic and religious current among the Arab nations are evident. From the 1950s to the 1960s, scholarship students to Egypt and the construction of the Manila Grand Mosque were made possible through the assistance of President Nasser’s policies. Later, major mosques in Manila, the Blue Mosque in Maharlika, the Salam Mosque, and Golden Mosque were all paid for by Libya under Gaddafi in the 1970s, but
these countries and the Philippine government, earnest requests by Philippine Muslim former exchange students and workers who went to those countries, and appeals sent to the embassies of Arab nations from mosque administrators. In recent years the support is more often available from private organizations or sympathetic individuals than through government channels. This can be seen with funds provided by the Islamic missionary organization run by Saudi Arabian philanthropists for mosque construction in the Parañaque Reclamation Area. Mosques were instrumental in attracting Middle East oil money, and large sums of overseas capital have been invested in the Muslim communities of Manila.50 The links with Middle Eastern nations are not only economic. Occasions reported in the media, such as when the Prince of Saudi Arabia performed salat at mosques in the city during his visit to the Philippines, or special worship services held during activities protesting the participation of multi-national forces in the Gulf War, show how the mosque serves as a symbolic expression of the religious and political ties between Philippine Muslims, in particular Manila Muslims, with their fellow believers in Muslim nations.51

Secondly, mosques in Manila provide political leverage for gaining access to residential areas by landless Muslims who migrate from the southern Philippines. In the case of the Parañaque Reclamation Area, from a legal perspective the building of the mosque was the last and desperate means for Muslim squatters to win rights to residential property. This is similar to a situation reported by Abbahil regarding a mosque in Lanao Province, the homeland of the Maranao, where Islamic justification is used in relation to land on which a mosque is built. He states that the place where a mosque is built is considered to be an eternal “sacred place,” and theoretically the use of the land for any non-religious purpose cannot be recognized (Abbahil 1980: 99). Similar logic was used in the dispute with the armed resistance faction regarding the buying and selling of property in the Salam Mosque Compound by emphasizing that land acquired with waqf (religious endowment in Islam) was the possession of Allah and not alienable. In both cases the Islamic law employed to counter government institutions trying to evict the members from their residences and mosques, does not always coincide with Philippine law. No case using this strategy has been successful, and as Philippine citizens, Muslims too must comply with Philippine law. But to establish mosques and maintain them, various political strategies are adroitly brought into play, like gaining the sympathy of Arab nations that have influence over the government, taking advantage of elections and other political events to further their advantage, or holding street meetings. For the squatters and slum residents from the southern Philippines, the mosques act as anchorages for Muslims to secure places to live when the authorities try to ostracize them.

50 Since 9/11 in 2001, the activities of private civilians have slowed down.
Thirdly, the act of building, managing and maintaining a mosque is for the particular community a way to create and verify its leaders. It is not possible for one person to manage and maintain a mosque alone. Official and subordinate imams, bilal (those who call believers to worship) and a certain number of people who have responsibilities and manage the facility are required, and leadership to draw the jama’a together is needed. As in the case of Ermita, leadership and politico-economic power that takes in the opinions of group members and puts them into action is a necessity. There are times when disputes arise and solutions cannot be reached, leading to the need for building a new mosque in another location. Abbahil, describing the establishment of a mosque in Lanao, states that originally, only the sultan who was the chief of the community was able to build a mosque, but in recent years datus are building mosques (ibid.: 89-90). If an individual constructs a mosque and has the political and economic capability to manage and maintain it, confidence is gained from those around and the person’s leadership is recognized. This was the case with the Abdullah Mosque in Baclaran, Manila for which a certain Abdullah, a successful businessman, contributed 80 percent of the mosques construction cost. Abdullah who was not a member of the titled nobility, did not make his contribution to the Baclaran Mosque nearby, but donated part of his wealth made in Manila to the new mosque, which was named after him, giving him fame and guaranteeing him a powerful voice within the mosque’s administrative organization. Another example is found in the Salam Mosque Compound, where Manaraao dissatisfied with the management of Salam Mosque took it upon themselves to found a new mosque and create its management committee. Many of the Maranao men followed and joined the jama’a of the new mosque. Today, the chairperson of this committee is the representative of the community’s Maranao council. These examples illustrate how a mosque becomes the tool for producing and verifying the leadership of a community.

Fourthly, for Muslims, mosques constitute a place where information is exchanged and relationships are developed. In Manila, familial networks do not function as well as they do in home provinces. Therefore, one’s ethnolinguistic group and shared religion are more inclusive than kin relations. This being the case, men in particular do not attend worship services at their mosque simply to dispatch with religious duty, but they find the occasions valuable opportunities to exchange information or find things that are necessary for their everyday lives. It is not rare for a man to be introduced to his bride or available accommodation through the co-jama’a, or to find employment overseas as well as Manila. When out of work, some offer their services to the mosque and can receive temporary boarding and allowance. It is possible to find fellow members willing to lend or give money to start a business, or help with the funeral costs of a deceased member of one’s family. The relationships that lead to these dealings do not come about over a short time, but are the result of building trust through daily contact over a long period. The mosques in Manila serve to build relationships between fellow worshipers beyond familial or regional ties.

Fifthly, within the larger historical context, the founding of mosques in Manila after 1964 is understood by Muslims as acts of taking back what was previously theirs. Since the secession and independence movement, Philippine Muslims have gradually adopted a collective historical perspective. They perceive their present condition as a result of the arrival of the Spanish, who took
their land and marginalized them. Many of the imam interviewed during this survey, brought up the accounts of the 16th century figures Rajah Sulaiman and Lakandula and stressed that “Not only Manila but all of the Philippines belonged to the Muslims, but the Spanish came and stole it from them and made the inhabitants into Christians.” Some of these religious leaders see an analogy between their migration, and the Hijrah (sacred withdrawal) in the 7th century when Prophet Muhammad fled from Mecca to Medina. Muslim intellectuals recognize the Hijrah as the turning point when Islam transformed from a local belief to a universal religion. For the past thirty years, parts of the Manila cityscape have become Islamic in character with the growing visibility of mosques, and the imams claim this to be an Islamic “revival” that is measured by the number of Balik-Islam and mosques. These indicators, they say, point to the growth of the ummah (community or nation) in the Philippines under a non-Muslim government that has continued to oppress them. Statements such as these clearly show that the mosques act as a witness to Islamic “revival” in the Philippines for its Muslims.

Conclusion

In this paper, I attempted to empirically and historically grasp the spatial expansion of Muslim communities in Manila. In summary, the paper demonstrates the existence of Muslims in Manila during the period of American colonization. But with the intensification of the conflict in the southern Philippines and the politico-economic involvement of the Middle Eastern nations, the Philippine government embarked on an appeasement policy directed at its Muslim population, from the 1960s to 1970s. These factors led to evolution of the Muslim communities in several locations within the capital. In addition to merchants, students and political elite, composition of the Muslim population in Manila during the 1970s became socially diverse. Their periods of residence in Manila changed from seasonal and temporary to extended and permanent commitments. Initially, single men moved to Manila for education or employment, but as the conflict in Mindanao made life difficult, families fled to the city for safety, or entered in search of better economic conditions to improve their lives. Moreover, the communities changed into a society that included Muslim women searching for overseas employment. The 1970s saw the evolution of a number of Muslim communities composed of residents with diverse ethnolinguistic backgrounds, located in close proximity to workplaces. This was the birth of primary communities. After the 1980s, however, people started to split away and congregate in new locations according to their particular ethnolinguistic background, or economic conditions. These communities are identified as secondary communities. Also, the period saw the emergence of “job-centered communities” that were unrelated to their members’ residential local, but formed within specialized business or occupational niches. As described above, Muslim communities in Manila came into existence as Muslims made choices and took action utilizing not only ties to their home regions or relatives, but also the commonalities that they shared with people from the same religion and occupational relations at individual level.

Before concluding, the author would like to raise a few issues for future research. One issue is the various social relations found within the communities, and especially the sub-communities found in the larger primary communities. Community cohesion is not the same between communities, and is
influenced by population size and density, and differences in the strength of kinship networks. An example can be found within the Salam Mosque Compound. In addition to the large Salam Mosque, four smaller mosques have come into being with sub-communities forming around each, within the larger community. There is a need to clarify whether or not these sub-communities will eventually encroach on the larger primary community’s solidarity. Another issue is the relationship with the society outside the community. In particular, Muslims have increasingly left these communities and come to live in Christian communities due to sharp rise of crime and public disorder that is interconnected with the deterioration of the political situation in the southern Philippines. It is necessary to understand the actual process of how external relations are formed. This process should be analyzed from the viewpoint of familial or kinship relations.
### Profiles of Primary Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Community</th>
<th>City/Township</th>
<th>Community Initiating Agent</th>
<th>Estimated Population (as of 2002)</th>
<th>Major Ethnolinguistic Group</th>
<th>Non-Muslim Households</th>
<th>Main Occupations of Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Center</td>
<td>Manila City</td>
<td>Muslim Association of the Philippines</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>Maranao 60%, Maguindanao 10%, Remainder Tausug, Yakan, Davaweño, Balik-Islam</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Public servants, self employed (temporary tenants of retail sales in malls), contract workers (factory, construction, security guard, watchman), madrasah teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quiapo</td>
<td>Manila City</td>
<td>Philippine Government of 500 households in barangay, 75% (350) are Muslim households</td>
<td>In decreasing order, Maranao, Maguindanao, Iranun, Tausug</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Self employed (barter trade, buy-and-sell of used clothes, pirated CD/DVDs, shop tenants, restaurants, hotels, travel agencies), street vendors selling above products</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharlika Village</td>
<td>Taguig City</td>
<td>Philippine Government</td>
<td>Over 1,200 households</td>
<td>Maranao, Maguindanao, Tausug (evenly balanced majority), remainder Yakan Sama, Iranun</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Public servants, ambassadors, embassy staff, bankers, company employees, business owners (various types)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahlika Village</td>
<td>Taguig City</td>
<td>Islamic Directorate of the Philippines</td>
<td>700-800 households</td>
<td>Maranao, Maguindanao, Tausug, Yakan, Iranun, Sama, Balik-Islam</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Public servants, business owners, recruiters, vendors at neighboring markets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Profiles of Secondary Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Community</th>
<th>City/Township</th>
<th>Community Initiating Agent</th>
<th>Estimated Population (as of 2002)</th>
<th>Major Ethnolinguistic Group</th>
<th>Non-Muslim Households</th>
<th>Main Occupations of Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bandara-Inged</td>
<td>Taguig City</td>
<td>Individual (sultan)</td>
<td>About 1,000 households</td>
<td>Maranao, Maguindanao, Tausug, Yakan</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Business owners, self employed (monthly contract shop tenants in malls), company employees, FX drivers, security guards, barangay officers, factory workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicutan</td>
<td>Taguig City</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>About 200 households</td>
<td>Almost all Maguindanao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Construction workers, recruiters, security guards, street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitio Imelda</td>
<td>Taguig City</td>
<td>Individual (imam)</td>
<td>Less than 100 households</td>
<td>Tausug, Sama, Yakan, Maranao, Maguindanao, Kalagan, Iranun</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Security guards, construction workers, office workers, business owners (barter trade)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicutan</td>
<td>Taguig City</td>
<td>Darul Nur Association</td>
<td>500 (Registered members of the association)</td>
<td>Tausug, Sama, Yakan, Maguindanao, Iranun, Maranao, Balik-Islam</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Public servants, self employed (buy-and-sell retail business, currency exchange), public school teachers, madrasah teachers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Surveys and interviews conducted by the author from August to December, 2002.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance from Residence to Workplace</th>
<th>Administrative Form</th>
<th>Secondary Community</th>
<th>Number of Mosques</th>
<th>Mosque Name(s)</th>
<th>Year First Mosque was Established</th>
<th>Financial Resource</th>
<th>Madrasah Facilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nearby and far Barangay</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Manila Grand Mosque</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Residents (merchants and students), politicians, Arabs</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby and far Purok</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Golden Mosque</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Majority from Libya Govt. Saudi Arabian Embassy, Marcos faction politicians and his relatives</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far Barangay</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Blue Mosque, Al-Rahman Mosque, IRM Mosque, Kalagan Mosque, Solaiman Mosque</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Egyptian and Libyan governments</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby and far Purok</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Salam Mosque, Masjid Al-Abrar, Masjid Al-Ikhlas, Rahma Mosque</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Libyan government Previously existed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby and far Purok</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Masjid Bandaran- inged (formerly, Al-Abrar Mosque)</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Community members</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby and far Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Green Mosque (formerly, Bangsa Maguindanao Muslim Green Mosque)</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Community members, donations from Middle Eastern Sources Previously existed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby and far Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dalawis Mosque (formerly, Rajah Sulaiman Mosque)</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Philippine Muslims, Arabs Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby and far Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Garden Mosque</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Community members No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Profiles of Secondary Communities (contd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Community</th>
<th>City/Township</th>
<th>Community Initiating Agent</th>
<th>Estimated Population (as of 2002)</th>
<th>Major Ethnolinguistic Group</th>
<th>Non-Muslim Households</th>
<th>Main Occupations of Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Andres Bukid</strong></td>
<td>Manila City</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Over 100 households</td>
<td>99% Maranao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Temporary shop tenants in malls (mobile phones and accessories, jewelry, precious stones, used clothes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Echague</strong></td>
<td>Manila City</td>
<td>Individual (hajji)</td>
<td>52 households</td>
<td>Maranao</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Street vendors, temporary shop tenants in malls, private body guards, business owners, public servants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baseco</strong></td>
<td>Manila City</td>
<td>Individual (hajji)</td>
<td>3,000 households</td>
<td>60% Maguindanao, in decreasing order, Iranun, Maranao, Tausug, Sangil, Yakan, Balik-Islam</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Security guards, construction workers, street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Malabon</strong></td>
<td>Malabon City</td>
<td>Individual (tabligh missionary)</td>
<td>40-50 households</td>
<td>Maranao, Maguindanao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Shop tenants in public market (with permits), relatives of the overseas workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reclamation Area</strong></td>
<td>Parañaque City</td>
<td>ISCAG (Islamic Call and Guidance)</td>
<td>500 households</td>
<td>Almost all Maranao</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BF Homes</strong></td>
<td>Parañaque City</td>
<td>Individual (datu)</td>
<td>Over 30 households</td>
<td>Maranao</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Business owners, temporary shop tenants in malls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Las Piñas</strong></td>
<td>Las Piñas City</td>
<td>Individuak</td>
<td>Over 100 households</td>
<td>Maranao, Maguindanao</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Business owners, temporary shop tenants in malls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alabang</strong></td>
<td>Muntenlupa City</td>
<td>Individual (descendent of a sultan)</td>
<td>65 households</td>
<td>Maranao (99%)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Street vendors, icksbit (tenants in malls), company employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baclaran</strong></td>
<td>Pasay City</td>
<td>Individual (datu)</td>
<td>About 300 households</td>
<td>Almost all Maranao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Business owners, street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cubao</strong></td>
<td>Quezon City</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>35 households</td>
<td>Maranao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Business owners, street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pasig</strong></td>
<td>Pasig City</td>
<td>Individual (hajji)</td>
<td>250 households</td>
<td>Maranao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Business owners, street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pasig</strong></td>
<td>Pasig City</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Over 50 households</td>
<td>Maranao, Maguindanao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Business owners, street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marikina</strong></td>
<td>Marikina City</td>
<td>Individual (datu)</td>
<td>Over 200 households</td>
<td>Maranao, Maguindanao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Business owners, street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manggahan</strong></td>
<td>Quezon City</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>300 households</td>
<td>Maranao, Maguindanao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Business owners, street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fairview</strong></td>
<td>Quezon City</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>300 households</td>
<td>Mostly Maranao, 5 Kolibugan households, 1 Maguindanao household</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Business owners, retail store, street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance from Residence to Workplace</td>
<td>Administrative Form</td>
<td>Secondary Community</td>
<td>Number of Mosques</td>
<td>Mosque Name(s)</td>
<td>Year First Mosque was Established</td>
<td>Financial Resource</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>Over 2 barangays</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Al Hoda Mosque</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Old warehouse building remodeled for residents. Building covers one purok</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>New Zamboanga Flea Market Mosque</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Al-Shatie Mosque</td>
<td>1995. Fire in March 2002 destroyed mosque, used temporal tent in 2002.</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>Jamiaut Malabon Al Islamia Mosque</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Personal capital of the above initiating individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Residents are squatters, but the mosque granted building permit by city govt.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Parañaque Grand Mosque</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>ISCAG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>n.a. (private residential development area)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Masjid Jama'a</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Las Piñas Grand Mosque</td>
<td>Early 1990s</td>
<td>Personal capital of the above initiating individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Masjid Abubacar</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Street vendors, other occupations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Baclaran Mosque, Abdullah Mosque</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>People living and working in Baclaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Murphy Cubao Mosque</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Masjid Firdaus</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Community members, Kuwaitis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Esguera Mosque</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Part of purok</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Marikina Mosque</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Manggaahan Islamic Center</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>N.A. (private residential development area)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Darussalam Islamic Center Mosque</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Profiles of Secondary Communities (contd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Community</th>
<th>City/Township</th>
<th>Community Initiating Agent</th>
<th>Estimated Population (as of 2002)</th>
<th>Major Ethnolinguistic Group</th>
<th>Non-Muslim Households</th>
<th>Main Occupations of Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagong Silang</td>
<td>Caloocan City</td>
<td>Caloocan City</td>
<td>Over 300 households, almost all relatives.</td>
<td>Almost all Maranao, 2 Maguindanao households, some Tausug with Maranao spouses</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Shop tenants in malls, city employees, street vendors, business owners, craftsmen (Islamic embroidery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novaliches</td>
<td>Novaliches</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Maranao</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Factory workers, construction workers, street vendors, public servants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payatas</td>
<td>Quezon City</td>
<td>Quezon City</td>
<td>80 - 100 households (about 1,000 residents)</td>
<td>Mostly Maranao, some Iranun, Maguindanao, Yakan, Tausug</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Security personnel, street vendors, recruiters for overseas employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caloocan</td>
<td>Caloocan City</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>36 households</td>
<td>Maranao, Balik-Islam</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Traveling merchants, street vendors, city employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garcia Heights</td>
<td>Quezon City</td>
<td>Individual (descendent of a Sultan)</td>
<td>Over 100 households</td>
<td>Mostly Maranao and Maguindanao, 1 Tausug household</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Security personnel, construction workers, street vendors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitol Hill</td>
<td>Quezon City</td>
<td>Individual (retired military professional)</td>
<td>8 households</td>
<td>Maranao, Maguindanao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Business owners, public servants (congress representatives, vice-mayor, a former director of Office of Muslim Affairs)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Profiles of Job-centered Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Community</th>
<th>City/Township</th>
<th>Community Initiating Agent</th>
<th>Estimated Population (as of 2002)</th>
<th>Major Ethnolinguistic Group</th>
<th>Non-Muslim Households</th>
<th>Main Occupations of Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ermita</td>
<td>Manila City</td>
<td>Individual (hajji)</td>
<td>Over 100 households</td>
<td>Tausug, Sama</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Currency exchange. About 20 currency exchange shops run by relatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAIA</td>
<td>Pasay City</td>
<td>NAIA Muslim Employee Association</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Maranao, Maguindanao, Tausug, Yakan, Balik-Islam, non-Filipino Muslims</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Airport, airlines employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenhills Shopping Center</td>
<td>Mandaluyong</td>
<td>Greenhills Maranao Club</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>Almost all Maranao</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Temporary and permanent tenants in malls, restaurant owners in malls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance from Residence to Workplace</td>
<td>Administrative Form</td>
<td>Secondary Community</td>
<td>Number of Mosques</td>
<td>Mosque Name(s)</td>
<td>Year First Mosque was Established</td>
<td>Financial Resource</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby and far</td>
<td>Parok</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bagong Silang Grand Mosque, Phase I Mosque</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>90% from Quiapo and Baguio Muslims. 10% zakat (obligatory donation) from Middle East via OMA during Ramadan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Part of barangay , squatters</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Novaliches Muslim Cultural Center</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby and far</td>
<td>Not clear</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Payatas White Mosque (formerly Kasanyangan)</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Reformist Christian religious organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Part of barangay</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Al-Jama-a Al Islamic Mosque</td>
<td>Between 1984 - 85</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby</td>
<td>Part of barangay</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lakandula Mosque</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Community initiating individual (emphasized he was solely responsible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby and far</td>
<td>N.A. (private residential development area)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Masjid Abdul-Aziz</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Community members, and jama'a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance from Residence to Workplace</th>
<th>Administrative Form</th>
<th>Secondary Community</th>
<th>Number of Mosques</th>
<th>Mosque Name(s)</th>
<th>Year First Mosque was Established</th>
<th>Financial Resource</th>
<th>Madrasah Facilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>N.A. (commercial area)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ermita Cultural Center</td>
<td>Around 1990</td>
<td>All from community members, part of maintenance upkeep with zakat from Arabs.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>N.A. (within airport building)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NAIA Mosque &amp; Cultural Center</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Manila International Airport Authority</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>N.A. (commercial area)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Greenhills Mosque</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Built by Greenhills Shopping Center, the Ortigas Family (owners).</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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