

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### **Background of the Study**

The Maranaos constitute the largest among the Muslim ethnic groups in the Philippines (George, 1980). They are heavily concentrated in Lanao del Sur while a number of them are scattered in the nearby provinces of Lanao del Norte, Zamboanga del Sur, and Cotabato (Isidro and Saber, 1968).

Among the Muslim minorities, the three principal ethno-linguistic groups are the Tausugs, the Maranaos and the Maguindanaos. These three major groups have distinctive characteristics. The Tausugs are reputed as maritime people and as formidable fighters; the Maranaos are visible in entrepreneurial activities; the Maguindanaos of Cotabato are known to be adept in the intricacies of land holdings and land management. Some writers (Isidro and Saber, 1968; Plagata and Aquino, 1976) have reported that the traditional occupations of the Maranaos include fishing, farming, trading and handicrafts. Recent literature (Saber, 1974; Lacar, 1989) point out that the Maranaos are becoming more visible among their fellow Muslim counterparts in commercial activities in the major towns and cities in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

It is also worth noting that among the three groups, the Tausugs appear to be the least developed economically (NCSO, 1980; NEDA, 1985). Historians have indicated that Sulu, which is the home place of the Tausugs had once been the center of extensive commercial relations with the outside world even before the coming of Islam. Today, the same literature indicates that the Maranaos and Maguindanaos are the most competitive groups among the rest of the Muslim communities. For example, George (1980) points out that the Maranaos and Maguindanaos are most attracted to the professions and white collar jobs. In his study of ethnic stratification and integration in Cotabato, Hunt (1974) had noted that the Moro upper class has started to enter into business and the professional occupations.

In terms of family income, the Maranaos are more economically advanced than their Muslim brethren (NEDA, 1985). This fact is

remarkable considering that the Maranaos were the last to be Islamized and used to be the most isolated among the Muslims. They were also the last to surrender to American authorities and the least affected by modern Western civilization because of their relative historical and geographical isolation (Tawagon, 1985).

### **The Stratification System of Traditional Maranao Society**

The Maranaos are a rank-conscious people who will do everything to protect the maratabat (pride) attached to their titles and ranks (Tawano, 1979). Charles Warriner (1975) argues that 'social classes' cannot be used in describing the Maranao social structure. One also needs to recognize the ranking of descent lines according to such status categories as pegawiden (highest prestige class, carried, supported, super ordinate) and the pegawid (carrier, supporter, subordinate).

Throughout the Lanao Sultanate (pengampong), the inged (towns) are divided into this rank system with defined functions, rights and obligations. Those who do not have any claim to the rank titles of the above are called "oripon", commoners or chattel slaves (baniaga) (Baradas, 1977; Keifer, 1972). Lanao has 15 Royal Houses (Pegawiden sa Ranao) and 28 pegawid (township) which carries out legislative or policy-making functions and safeguard the taritib (Tawagon, 1985).

Intermarriage is also allowed in both descent titles so that claims to ranks are bilaterally reckoned.

On the whole, the Muslim society is divided into three classes in such functional categories as the aristocrats (Datu, Sultan), the commoners who comprise the bulk of traditional Muslim society living as sailors, fishermen, farmers and artisans, and slaves who are either bond slaves and kidnapped or captured slaves (Majul, 1978). There are indications that the traditional social structure has declined. In Sulu which has a population of 400,000, about one or two percent are of the aristocracy (datu estate), ten percent are chattel slaves (baniaga) and the rest are commoners or people without ascribed status (Keifer, 1972).

This traditional socio-political structure is still evident even with the decline of the datus' and sultans power and prestige due to the installation of a bureaucratic political structure. The preserving and guarding of the family genealogy (salsila) as a legacy in reckoning one's nobility (bangsa) is a proof to this observation. The maratabat (a deep sense of self-respect among the Maranaos) is also a form of a socio-psychological mechanism that preserves the values of the aristocrat family.

Given all the intricacies of the stratification system of the Maranao society, the family and the socio-political structure determine largely the social status of the individual. Some scholars even claim that Maranao society is characterized by a half-open and half-closed type since individual position is already determined by birth, yet one may change his social status by using various approved societal channels like marriage.

### **Social Mobility Issues**

The study of social mobility, being an integral part of social stratification, is scarcely a chartered subject in Philippine scholarly research. In the 1960s and 1970s, findings on social mobility done by the National Demographic Survey (1968 and 1973) indicated that there was an increasing mobility between farm and manual occupations. Likewise, the non-manual occupations were becoming closed (Lauby, 1976). Bacol (1971) also noted the very little intergenerational mobility among farmers despite the relative openness of the middle class.

Among Muslim societies, the field of social mobility remains unexplored despite an impressive number of studies done in other areas of life. For example, Van Vactor (1980) noted that the Maranaos have been one of the most intensively studied among the Muslim groups in the Philippines yet no research has been done to examine the nature of social ascent among them. Recent studies on Maranao society suggest that substantial changes are sweeping the conservative and ascriptive nature of Muslim society, particularly, the Maranaos (Lacar, 1987; 1988; 1991). It would be interesting to find out whether the general mobility trends in the 1960s and 1970s have remained or have been substantially altered with the passing of time especially as the trend applies to the Maranaos.

Earlier in this paper, the author mentioned that Maranaos in general are engaged in traditional occupations. However, observations and empirical studies indicate that the Maranaos are now visible in both private and public employment and gainful self-employment as doctors, dentists, engineers and other related professions.

It is in this background that this researcher has attempted to examine the occupational and educational mobility between the Maranao fathers and their children. One caution that should always be borne in mind is the context of studying social mobility in the Maranao society for not only is this society considered closed-knit and familistic (Saber and Madale, 1975; Lacar, 1991), but also the nature of stratification system is ascriptive based on one's nobility status.

How does one study objectively the pegawiden-pegawid dichotomy in the same way as a researcher measures social class? This highly methodological question needs answers and this researcher finds none that is adequate. In this study, the researcher focused mainly on the objective aspects of Maranao parent's and children's social standing using their educational and occupational attainment. Nevertheless, part of the analysis in this research examined how much premium Maranao children give to the lineage rank of their family in relation to their occupational attainment. This interest is based on the assumption that the desire to preserve or improve one's status could be reinforced by "keeping up" with the status demands of a fast and changing society like Iligan City. Career choices of children can be an instrument for status validation and, as such, carries a significant impact on the type of professions children are likely to take in their college years. Viewed differently, Maranao children whose family is without nobility (bangsa) may choose careers that compensate for their lack of bangsa. Simply put, both situations indicate what Davis (1953) noted regarding the problematic interplay of stratification and mobility and the family as the transmitter of status.

### **Statement of the Problem**

In general, this study attempted to examine the nature of occupational and educational mobility among Maranao children and the factors that influence mobility among Maranao offsprings. The specific questions the author tried to answer were the following:

1. What are the comparative occupational and educational profile of a cohort of Maranao parents and children? Is there a relationship between the occupation, income and education of Maranao parents and children?
2. What are the factors that have influenced the current occupational and educational attainment of Maranao children? To what extent do father's income, father's education, and father's occupation influence the current occupational, income, and educational attainment of Maranao children?
3. Do the following status variables of Maranao children affect their current occupational and educational attainment?

1. Age
2. Sex
3. First job

4. Income at First Job
5. Birth order
6. Degree obtained

4. Which of the following factors are considered by the children as most significant in the choice of their current occupation?

1. Lineage factors
2. Parental factors
3. Personal factors

### **Objectives of the Study**

1. To compare the occupational rank, educational attainment and income of Maranao fathers and children.

2. To determine whether there is a relationship between occupational rank, educational attainment, and income between Maranao fathers and their children.

3. To determine what are the factors that significantly affect the occupational and educational attainment of Maranao children.

a. To point out which factors significantly affect children's occupational and educational attainment, namely:

1. Paternal status factors: fathers' occupation, education, income
2. Personal status factors of children: age, sex, first job, income at first job, birth order, degree obtained

4. To determine the factors perceived by the Maranao children as having the best influence on their occupational choices.

## **Conceptual Framework**

Systems theory<sup>1</sup> assumes that major societal parts are interrelated with one another. Social system is composed of ideas, concepts or collective representations of how people view society in relation to its natural setting (Scaff, 1985).

One of the major assumptions of Blau and Duncan (1967) in their book American Occupational Structure is that "any structure consists of relations among parts, and the two crucial questions are how the parts are distinguished and the criterion for defining relation" (Blau & Duncan, 1967). Aside from viewing society as a system composed of parts, the systems unit of analysis could be viewed in two ways, namely: a) individual focus and its important relationship with other groups; and, b) institutional focus which zeroes in on a larger social system where all possible relationship could be examined (Scaff, 1985).

In this study the focus was mainly on individuals-the Maranao father and his children - and their relationships to the occupational and educational systems in terms of their occupation and the highest educational attainment.

The individual, as a member of society, is part of the complex social interaction taking place herein. His participation in the web of social relations determines his social status. The understanding of social status is one of the major components of social stratification.

One source of status is one's occupation. In modern society, occupation is one of the best indicators of social status for it combines in a single measure economic status and educational background (Kahl & Davis, 1955; Abrahamson, 1980).

The importance of occupation in studying social stratification is aptly described by Centers (1955) who stated that occupation is the most satisfactory single index of stratification. Moreover, in the modern industrial setting where one's status is determined largely by what one does and how one lives, one's occupation is very crucial. As suggested by Blau and

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<sup>1</sup>This perspective is taken from Emile Durkheim, one of the pioneers in structural functionalism theory. His various works and writings indicate this thinking. Unlike Parsons, the well-known figure of structural functionalism in the later years and who is known more as a theoretician, Durkheim's systems theory could be translated to research applications. See for instance Alvin Scaff. Current Social Trends For Philippine Research. New Day Publishers. 1985. For further reading on Structural-Functionalism, see Jonathan Turner. The Structure of Sociological Theory (3rd Ritzer. Contemporary Sociological Theory. Alfred Knopf, Inc. 1983.

Duncan (1967), the occupational structure of the modern industrial society does not only constitute an important foundation for the main dimensions or social stratification but also serves as a connecting link between the different institutions and spheres of life like family, education or politics.

The occupational system is closely linked to the educational system because one's occupational status is closely linked to one's educational attainment (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Featherman and Hauser, 1973; Braddock, 1981; Glass and Hall, 1954). Turner (1960) pointed out that the formal institutions of education supposedly serve as the primary selectors and sorters of talent for later assignment of occupational roles. However, the individual's social origin (family factor) exerts a considerable influence on his educational and occupational success. The family has a very important role in the initial social training, exposures and experiences of the child in order to prepare him for future adult roles. Down and Addelson (1959) noted, for example, that boys of high aspirations come from warm and permissive families.

In a predominantly patriarchal society, the status of the father, usually measured in terms of his occupation, is the primary indicator of family standing. In fact, a number of studies affirm that the father's education and occupation have significant relationship to the occupational destinations of children, specifically the sons (Lane, 1981) Blau and Duncan, 1967; Voth, 1969; Valera, 1983). This is one of the take-off points of this study.

### **The Focus of this Study**

This research was focused mainly on the "vertical" occupational and educational mobility between the Maranao fathers and their children. This was done by comparing the occupational prestige ranks and the highest educational attainments of Maranao fathers and their children.

It was also of interest in this research to find out the factors that significantly affect the current occupational and educational attainment of Maranao children. This was done to determine the extent of the fathers influence on the occupational and educational achievement of children as suggested by the preceding discussion, or, whether the current achievements of the respondents are due purely to their personal efforts.

### **Research Hypotheses:**

1. Hs: Children have higher levels of education than their fathers. If this were so, the correlation between their educational attainments would be negative.
2. Hs: Children have higher occupational ranks than their fathers. Correlating the two occupational ranks would produce a negative association.
3. Hs: Children have higher mean incomes than their fathers. If their income levels were correlated, the association would be negative.
4. Hs: The current occupational ranks of children are higher if they:
  - a) are old
  - b) are male
  - c) have birth occupational rank on first job
  - d) have high income level at first job
  - e) are eldest
  - f) have high score on degree obtained
5. Hs: Current educational attainment of children is high if they:
  - a) are old
  - b) are male
  - c) have high occupational rank on first job
  - d) have high income at first job
  - e) are eldest
  - f) have obtained an academic degree

### **Methodology**

#### *Operational Definitions*

Social Mobility refers to the movement of social objects in social spaces (Voth, 1969). In this study, it is measured by using the occupational prestige scores, educational ranks, and income levels of the Maranao fathers and their children.

Occupation refers to the jobs held by the respondents and their parents during the time of the interview. In this study, occupation is rated using the prestige scores assigned by the 1973 National Demographic Survey (NDS). Occupational Prestige Scores of the jobs of the Maranao fathers and children were estimated based on the NDS system of scoring.

Occupational Mobility refers to the difference between the occupational scores of Maranao children and their fathers. If there is no difference, then there is no mobility. The greater the difference, the higher the mobility of children. To measure the difference between the occupation of the father and the children, the mean is computed. The extent of the association between their occupational ranks is determined by tau and gamma coefficients. The formula for the gamma and tau are as follows:

$$\text{Gamma} = \frac{fa - fi}{fa + fi}$$

Where :

fa = frequency of agreement =

the sum of the large numbers above a given rank on the unordered variable

fi = frequency of inversion =

sum of the smaller numbers above a given rank

$$\text{Tau} = \frac{S}{1/2 N (N-1)}$$

Where:

S = sum of the larger numbers minus the smaller numbers for each given rank on the unordered variable from left to right taken consecutively.

Education refers to the number of years spent by the respondents and their fathers in school. This concept is measured by the categories below and each category is assigned a rank, where 1 = lowest, 7 highest, as follows:

<u>Educational Level</u>	<u>Rank</u>
None	0
some elementary	1
elementary graduate	2
some high school	3
high school graduate	4
some college	5
college graduate	6
post graduate	7

Educational mobility refers to the difference between the educational attainments of children and their fathers. This difference is borne out by the children who have a higher degree of education than their fathers, and validated by negative correlations using tau and gamma coefficients (see formula).

Income refers to the money received by the respondents and their fathers from both primary and other sources as participants of economic activity or as recipients of transfers, grants, or pension (NEDA, 1985). In this study, income is categorized into the following brackets with their scores where rank 1 is lowest, 7 is highest.

<u>Income Bracket</u>	<u>Rank</u>
none	0
below 1,000	1
1,000 - 3,000	2
3,001 - 5,000	3
5,001 - 7,000	4
7,001 - 9,000	5
9,001 - 11,000	6
11,001 - up	7

Income mobility refers to the difference between the income of fathers and children. To find out whether the children's income is higher than that of their fathers, the mean was computed. The Chi-Square was

calculated to determine whether the two variables (children's income and father's income) are independent of each other. If the test is significant, the extent of their association is computed further by the use of tau and gamma formulas.

Degree obtained refers to the kind of academic program the respondents finished at the time of the interview. The degree finished is given a corresponding score. The assignment of the scores was based on the principle that the higher the level of degree earned, the higher was the value or prestige given.

<u>Level of Degree</u>	<u>Score</u>
no degree attained	0
diploma/vocational degree	1
college degree	2
master's degree	3
doctoral degree (MD, Ph.D.)	4

### **The Setting**

The locale of the study was Iligan City, an industrial city of the south. Iligan is bounded on the south by the municipalities of Linamon and Balo-i, Lanao del Norte; on the north by the municipality of Luga-it, Misamis Oriental; on the east by the territories of Lanao del Sur and Bukidnon provinces; and on the west by Iligan Bay (Iligan City Profile, 1980). Since it became a city in 1950, Iligan has undergone rapid urbanization and industrialization. This phenomenon is due primarily to the harnessing of the Maria Cristina Hydroelectric Power Plants in the 1950s which taps the energy of Agus River, which in turn supplies cheap electricity to the island of Mindanao. The dramatic influx of major heavy industries along Iligan's coastal areas happened in the 60s and 70s. Consequently, Iligan City has achieved an unprecedented economic growth and has been granted the status of a First Class "A" city in 1977 and re-classified as a highly industrialized city of the Southern Philippines in 1983 (Caluen, 1982).

### **The Respondents**

The Maranaos in Iligan City comprise less than 10% of the population. However, they are more heavily concentrated in the provinces of Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur. In spite of this, a keen observer

could notice their occupational participation as traders and merchants along Iligan's Baslayan Creek, in the government sector, and for the most competitive ones, they are into private professions as doctors, lawyers, and engineers. As a linguistically distinct group, the Maranao vernacular is the second commonly used dialect in Iligan, next only to Cebuano (NCSO, 1980), and is spoken by 1.5% of the population (Caluen, 1982).

The respondents were drawn from the Maranao professional and non-professional offsprings who resided in Iligan at the time of the interview. These respondents were typical of the Maranao population of Iligan City because they represented the cross-section of the population characteristics.

### **Sampling Procedure**

The data on the Maranao professional respondents had been generated by the students of Race and Ethnic Relations (Socio 110) class of the second semester, 1991-92. The students surveyed all the Maranao employees in the government sector throughout the city.

Some also surveyed the privately employed professionals within the city proper. For the industrial sector, only a handful of Maranao employees were identified. For their non-professional counter-parts, we gathered a list of all the Maranaos who resided in the already identified Maranao enclaves in Tambacan, Hinaplanon, Tubod, Mahayahay or those who operated businesses and trades along the Baslayan Creek, at the Iligan City boulevard, the port area and at the Marawi-Iligan terminal. The list yielded around 850 families who have resided in Iligan before the conduct of the interview.

After generating a list of qualified respondents, random sampling technique was employed to select the persons to be interviewed in the study. This procedure was used to ensure that each respondent had an equal chance of being chosen as a sample element regardless of his occupational position. In this study, a total of 414 cases were randomly chosen and interviewed.

### **Data Gathering**

This study is a normative survey. To speed up the data gathering process, three research enumerators were hired for two months (i.e., from April to May 1992) to interview and to process the data gathered. The interviewers were college students who have a good command of both

Tagalog and English and were also proficient in the Maranao dialect. The enumerators were trained so that the data gathering instruments were thoroughly administered and the data processing was accurate and precise.

Aside from field data collection, library research in different schools (local or outside of Iligan, like Mindanao State University, Xavier University, Ateneo de Manila University and the University of the Philippines) was also done to reinforce the study. Gathering data from various agencies like the Census Office, City Development Staff Office, Philippine Information Agency, and others, were also undertaken.

### **Questionnaire Preparation and Administration**

The questionnaire used in this study was prepared in English. For the highly educated groups (i.e., the professionals), there was minimal need for translating the schedule to the vernacular. However, for the non-professional group, the interviewer who knew how to speak the Maranao dialect translated this instrument for them.

The pre-test of the interview schedule was done during the first week of April 1992. As a result, a revision of some items in the questionnaire was made. The questions were clarified to the respondents so that all items were answered.

In about 80% of the cases, data were obtained through personal interviews. However, in cases where the respondents were not available during the time they were visited, the interview schedule was left behind by the research enumerator for the respondents to fill up. Upon retrieval, the enumerator carefully examined the responses to verify information which were insufficient or missing. This technique was employed among the professional Maranaos.

All the data from the non-professionals were obtained through interviews.

The questions answered by the Maranao children respondents included also information about their fathers. The interview schedule included the following parts: **Part I** contained the information concerning the socio-demographic profile of the children respondents. **Part II** included the socio-demographic profile of the respondents' parents. **Part III** focused on the occupations of the respondents and of their fathers, as well as the occupational history of the respondents. **Part IV** asked information on the income of the respondents and of their father. **Part V** dealt with the educational level and background of respondents and their parents. **Part**

VI focused on the family's lineage rank and the respondents' regard of it. Part VII dealt with questions that elicit subjective responses regarding the factors that influence the respondents' current occupational choices. Part VIII asked questions on the avenues of occupational attainment.

Included in the questionnaire were closed-ended and open-ended questions.

### Treatment of Data

Editing was done before coding closed-ended and categorizing open-ended questions. Various statistical measures were employed depending upon the nature of the data, the underlying assumptions about a particular measure, and the hypotheses of this research.

Nominal data (e.g. sex) were handled using simple percentages and frequency distributions. Ordinal or ordered data were also treated similarly. On the other hand, interval data were analyzed using the mean and percentages.

Tau and gamma statistics were used to determine the mobility index of the respondents. These statistical tests were appropriate to use on ordered data (like ranks) to determine the degree of association/relationship between the fathers and children's occupation, education and income ranks (formulas are provided in preceding discussions).

The Chi-Square statistics was also used to test whether education and occupation are related to the respondents' personal status factors like age and sex. The basic formula for Chi-Square (symbolized by  $\chi^2$ ) is:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{\sum (O - E)^2}{E}$$

Where O = observed frequency

E = expected frequency

$\Sigma$  = summation or total

### **Importance of the Study**

One of the suggestions of Turner (1982) is to include social mobility as a subject area in analyzing social inequality in the Philippines. He noticed that there is a very little interest among sociologists to focus on this phenomenon that may enhance a better insight into the numerous socio-economic processes that operate in our society. The more studies on social mobility are generated, the more these will provide a better understanding of how several classes recruit membership from other classes or how individuals from one occupation move to another or from one status to another. Bases of stratification in the Philippines are so complex that one has to examine the various social institutions like kinship, politics and economics and analyze their inter-relationship before coming up with a general framework on how the individual moves into the different social ladders.

As pointed out elsewhere not his study, the Maranaos used to be mostly engaged in traditional occupations, such as fishing, farming, handicraft-making. In contrast, current research literature and observations point out that the Maranaos are entering the white-collar professions. This gap leads to this study in order to clarify and describe whether there is occupational and educational mobility that really occurs among Maranaos as suggested by recent empirical studies.

Hunt's study on ethnic stratification in Cotabato indicated that the Muslims (he called them Moros) have been attracted to the profession and white-collar job and even compete with Christians in the process. This study serves as a comparison as to whether in the Lanao region the same trend in professional inclination among Maranaos is evident.

Furthermore, this research gives some of the factors that influence the current educational and occupational attainment of Maranao children. This is important especially in analyzing the stratification process of the Maranao society in particular or the Philippine stratification process in general.

Being a pioneering study on social mobility of Maranao society, this work may encourage replication researches on other Muslim groups in the Philippines.

This study also offers some contributions on the methodology of social mobility research in as much as the sampling frame and the units of analysis are different from other mobility researches already conducted.

### **Limitations of the Study**

The focus of this research was mainly on the vertical occupational and educational mobility between the generations of Maranao fathers and children in Iligan City. This did not touch on other dimensions of mobility like political, power or economic positions.

The respondents in this study were employed professionals and non-professional Maranaos who are typical of a cross-section of the Maranao population in Iligan City.

This study did not intend to compare the Maranaos with the other Muslim groups due to the dearth of the objective and descriptive studies on the subject.

The choice of the respondents rested mainly on their population concentration in Iligan City and the whole of the Lanao region. The Census Office (1990) reported that they are the second biggest ethnic population in the Lanao region, next to Visayan.

The study was conducted in Iligan City. The choice of the research setting was partly dictated by the fact that Iligan is rapidly urbanizing and industrializing. These phenomena are assumed to cause changes in the occupational structure (i.e., opening of more job, increasing job differentiation, and specialization for Iligan residents and migrants as well) of a society.

As pointed out by Warriner (1975), the stratification system of the Maranao society is operating on a lineage ranking system, the pegawiden-pegawid status. In this society, the concept of social class cannot be solely applied because people give more premium to one's bangsa (nobility status) than to other modern form of social categorization. In this study, however, the author focused mainly on the objective aspects of the Maranao social status based on education and occupation than on its traditional status system.