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# MARANAO MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS: AN INITIAL STUDY OF THE EMERGING MUSLIM WOMEN LEADERS IN THE PHILIPPINES

by

Carmelita S. Lacar

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Educational Leadership

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
December 1996

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# MARANAO MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS: AN INITIAL STUDY OF THE EMERGING MUSLIM WOMEN LEADERS IN THE PHILIPPINES

Carmelita S. Lacar, Ph.D.

Western Michigan University, 1996

Long deprived of consequential participation in socioeconomic exchanges outside the home, Filipino Muslim women are now breaking out of their traditional mold. Increasingly, they are acquiring higher education and are assuming vocational and leadership roles which, in years past, were inaccessible to them. Focused on Maranao Muslim women educational administrators, this survey sought to: (a) describe their salient characteristics, career development experiences, goals, and visions that distinguish them from their Muslim women subordinates; (b) describe factors influencing their career; (c) describe their leadership behaviors; and (d) deduce some policy and practical implications of the findings. Primary data on 75 variables were obtained from 46 randomly selected administrators, using a self-developed survey questionnaire and LBDQ-12, a published instrument. Comparative data were obtained from 166 Muslim women teachers and staff employees. Data about Islamic teachings concerning women were obtained from nine Maranao ulama. Statistical analyses included t-test for interval and ratio variables, and chi-square test for nominal variables. Of the 59 variables pertaining to the first objective, 28 distinguished the administrators from their subordinates. Regarding factors influencing their career, both groups emphasized the importance of family support and encouragement. Government programs for cultural minority groups and personal characteristics and achievements likewise enhanced the educators'—especially the administrators'—career advancement. Moreover, they

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profess that family religious beliefs contributed to their career success although most ulama informants admitted to espousing contradictory teachings about women's education, employment, and leadership. Regarding leader behaviors, both groups agree in their evaluation of the administrators' performance in six LBDQ-12 subscales related to task and structure but differ in their rating of the leaders' personnel-related behaviors. Overall, the administrators feel that they still have to achieve excellence in leadership. Comparison of the educators' general pattern of outlooks and achievements with census data and other research findings, suggest that they are "paradigm pioneers" among their people. Therefore, the research findings have significant policy and program implications regarding: (1) the education, training, and employment of Filipino Muslim women; and (2) the roles of Muslim women educators in (a) the Filipino Muslim family, (b) the education of Muslim youth, (c) supporting the political autonomy of predominantly Muslim provinces, and (d) in fostering national unity.

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Carmelita S. Lacar



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# CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

## Background of the Study

The status of women in virtually all Muslim societies in the world, while now gradually changing, has been traditionally subordinate to that of the men. Islamic teachings exhorting gender equality have generally remained lofty ideals, which in practice have lagged behind traditional cultural practices that are passed as religion-based dogmas supporting the dominance of men over women. Their idealized roles being those of a wife and a mother, Muslim women have generally been relegated to the home, secluded among kinsfolk, limited in education, and deprived of participation in major social exchanges outside the home (Afshar, 1984; Callaway, 1994; Karim, 1992; Kusha, 1990; Moghadam, 1991; Siddique, 1986; and Smith, 1980).

In the Philippines, the setting of this study, it appears that gender disparity was among the practices that Filipino Muslims shared in common with other Muslim societies of the world up to about the 1960s. As a cultural minority group, the Filipino Muslims had for a long time strongly resisted influences which they perceived as Western (Cadar, 1980; Gowing, 1964; Majul, 1985). Within her subculture, the ideal female Filipino Muslim was generally viewed as one who was submissive to the will and wishes of her husband and obeyed the commands of her family elders. Cultural and religious precepts confined her to the home—where she was prepared early on in life for the anticipatory roles of being a wife and a mother (Lacar, 1980, 1992; Randa-Maglangit, 1978a) . Consequently, families prohibited women from pursuing higher education for fear that their attendance in universities would place them in social milieus



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conducive to the development of primary types of social relationships with *kafir* (non-believers) which could eventually lure them away from Islam (Isidro, 1969; Gowing, 1964; Lacar,1992; Majul, 1986). Among Maranao Muslims, a religious and a minority ethno-linguistic group chosen for the present study, women used to be prohibited from associating with people outside their kinsfolk system and in engaging in livelihood activities outside the home, to the extent that even shopping for household goods was done by men (Fox, 1963). Thus, until about three to four decades ago, an educated Maranao Muslim woman was a virtual rarity in Philippine society. Even rarer was a Maranao Muslim woman practicing a profession or occupying a position of leadership in organizations (Fox, 1963; Isidro, 1968; Lacar, 1992; Majul, 1986; Randa-Maglangit, 1978e).

Traditional restrictions notwithstanding, modernization of many societies in the world in the recent decades have brought about wide-ranging changes. As the forces of change began to ramify in all directions—forcefully in some places and more gently in others—traditional prohibitions against Muslim women's participation in social, economic, and political spheres slowly yielded to the new realities which called for a redefinition of women's status in society. Concomitantly, the rate of participation of Muslim women in such endeavors as education, profession, economics, and politics began to take a new direction. Although still far from enjoying full equal rights and opportunities with men, in some modernizing Islamic countries, an increasing number of Muslim women are now joining the labor force in significant ways and are distinguishing themselves in their chosen careers (Abdulla, 1990; Austrin, 1988; El-Solh & Mabro, 1994; Knipp, 1987; Mernissi, 1975; Rastogi, 1989; Runty, 1981).

Slowly but surely, Muslim women are assuming roles and responsibilities at home and at the workplace which were hitherto reserved for men. Notable examples of these Muslim women are Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, Khaleda Zia of Bangladesh, and

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Tansu Ciller of Turkey. These women broke the traditional barriers long sanctioned by their religion and were each elected by their compatriots as prime minister of their respective countries (Anderson & Qureshi, 1988; Crossette, 1993; Phillips, 1993). Admittedly, these cases are few and perhaps the individuals and situations are exceptional. Nevertheless, they demonstrate that some Muslim societies are now softening up to the idea and the distinct possibility of being led by women.

Specific to the setting of this study, in the recent decades, scholars of Philippine society have noted changing patterns in the rate and significance of Muslim women's participation in economic, social, and political affairs of the country. For example studies of trends in education of Filipino Muslims through the 1970s (Costello, 1981; Tolentino & Flores-Tolentinao, 1980) indicated advances in education among Muslim women. Consequently, their number has been increasing in the professions and other gainful occupations outside the home (Lacar, 1992; Randa-Maglangit, 1978d; Sarip, 1986). More importantly, they have increasingly assumed management and leadership positions in both public and private organizations. For example, in 1978 Randa-Maglangit, the first Filipino Muslim woman graduate of a doctoral degree in public administration, initially observed the metamorphosing of Muslim women leaders as some educated Muslim women started becoming visible in politics and other government institutions. The women she identified were then occupying relatively high ranking positions, as either elected or appointed officials, in regions with high concentration of Muslim population. Although virtually all of the women she identified belonged to wealthy families and/or the traditional Muslim aristocracy, Randa-Maglangit further observed that education was providing new options to Muslim women of lower social classes as well. However, she qualified, that for most Muslim women, restrictive traditional norms continued to limit those options to employment

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within their hometown—a reason, she cited, to explain the then rising phenomenon of Muslim women's employment in the public schools and government offices.

In a more recent study on the emerging roles of Filipino Muslim women, Luis Lacar (1992), made a parallel observation and pointed out that a significant number of Muslim women are already occupying positions of leadership in education, politics, commerce and industry. These women are highly educated and have been in their positions only since the 1970s and 1980s, indicating that although the shackles of religious and cultural traditions appear to be difficult to break away from, significant changes are nevertheless taking place; and that new roles within and outside the home are now emerging for Filipino Muslim women.

## Statement of the Research Problem and Objectives

Given past constraints, the ability of some Filipino Muslim women to make a quantum leap from supportive to decision-making roles presents an interesting line of investigation in leadership formation, both at the theoretical and practical dimensions. The emergence of Filipino Muslim women leaders, however, is a more recent phenomenon. Therefore, majority of existing studies concerning Filipino Muslim women have been focused on the social dynamics of status formation, their economic activities, the educational and economic progress they have gained in recent years, as well as on their assumption of new and significant roles at home and in society (see, for example, Costello, 1981, 1992; Gowing, 1979b; Isidro, 1968, 1969; Lacar, 1980, 1992; Majul, 1986; Randa-Maglangit, 1978d; Saber, 1963; Sarip, 1986; Tolentino & Flores-Tolentino, 1980). Questions concerning their career training and development, salient characteristics that distinguish them from other Filipino Muslim women, their leadership styles, and career visions still remain as unexplored areas of research. This

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study then, was an attempt to attenuate this particular void in the knowledge base about Muslim women leaders in the Philippines.

Focused on educational leadership, this study was conceived with the following objectives in mind: (a) to identify and describe the salient characteristics, career development experiences, goals, and visions of the Maranao Muslim women educational administrators; (b) to identify and describe the factors that influenced (or continue to influence) their career development, work behaviors, and visions; (c) to describe the leadership behaviors of Maranao Muslim women educational administrators; and (d) to deduce some policy and practical implications of the findings of this research.

In order to achieve the four objectives, answers to ten broad questions were sought. The relationship between these objectives and questions is outlined below.

Apropos of the first objective, the first four questions were raised:

1. What salient characteristics do Maranao Muslim women educational administrators possess that distinguish them from their Muslim women subordinates?

2. What were some of their notable career development experiences, and how did their experiences differ from those encountered by their subordinates?

3. What are the goals and visions of the administrators for themselves, for their co-employees, and for the youth of their community?

4. Are these goals and visions different from those of their subordinates?

Relative to the second objective, the following questions were asked:

5. What are the most significant factors that facilitated or hindered—or continue to facilitate or hinder—the career success of Muslim women leaders?

6. Do the factors that facilitate or hinder the career of these leaders differ from those experienced by their subordinates?

7. Are religious beliefs a factor that facilitated or hindered the career development, work behaviors, and career visions of Muslim women educators?

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8. If religious beliefs are among the influencing factors cited by the Muslim women educators, do they differ from the Islamic teachings espoused by the religious leaders of their community?

To accomplish the third objective the following questions were raised:

9. How do the Muslim women administrators perceive their own leadership behaviors?

10. How do their self-perceptions differ from the way their work behaviors are perceived by their subordinates?

The fourth objective does not stand alone. Rather, findings about each of the three objectives were related to results of pertinent published prior studies, demographic census data, and other relevant extant or emerging trends concerning Filipino Muslim women's social life, such as those pertaining to: (a) their education and training, (b) employment, (c) family life, and (d) participation in nation building particularly under the new system of political autonomy of predominantly Muslim provinces within the framework of the Philippine constitution.

Figures 1 to 3 on the following pages show schematically, the relationship between the objectives and problems investigated in this research, the instruments used in obtaining research data, the sources of data, the analytical procedures employed, and the culminating procedure of deducing policy and program implications of the findings.

## Definition of Terms and Concepts

Some terms and concepts which have technically limited meanings are defined here in order to set the scope of their usage in the context of this study. Terms which are peculiar to Philippine situations are likewise defined to familiarize readers from other backgrounds. Additionally, definitions of other local concepts and Arabic terms used in this paper are provided in the glossary section.

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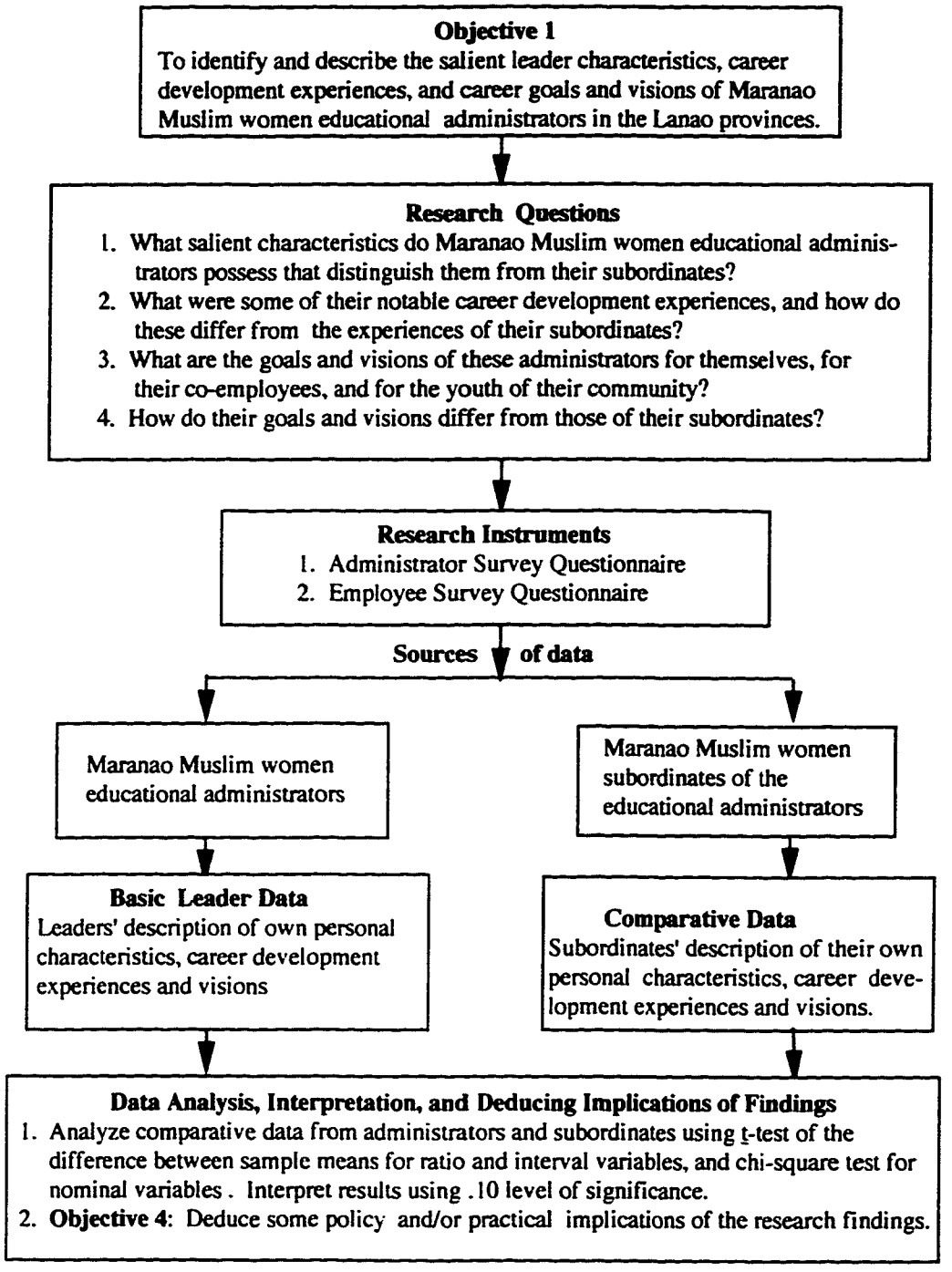


Figure 1. Diagram of the Research Design Pertaining to the First Objective.

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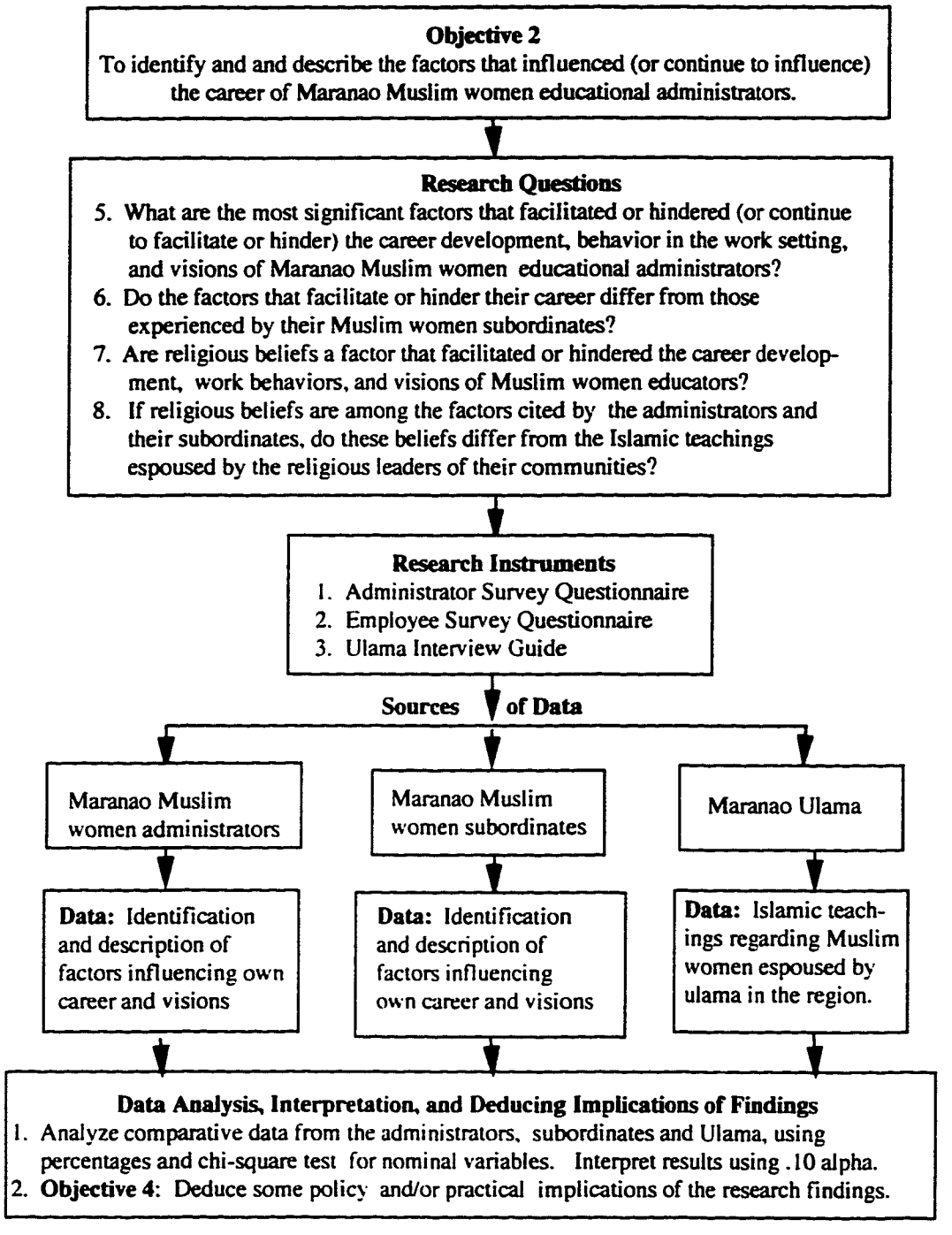


Figure 2. Diagram of the Research Design Pertaining to the Second Objective.

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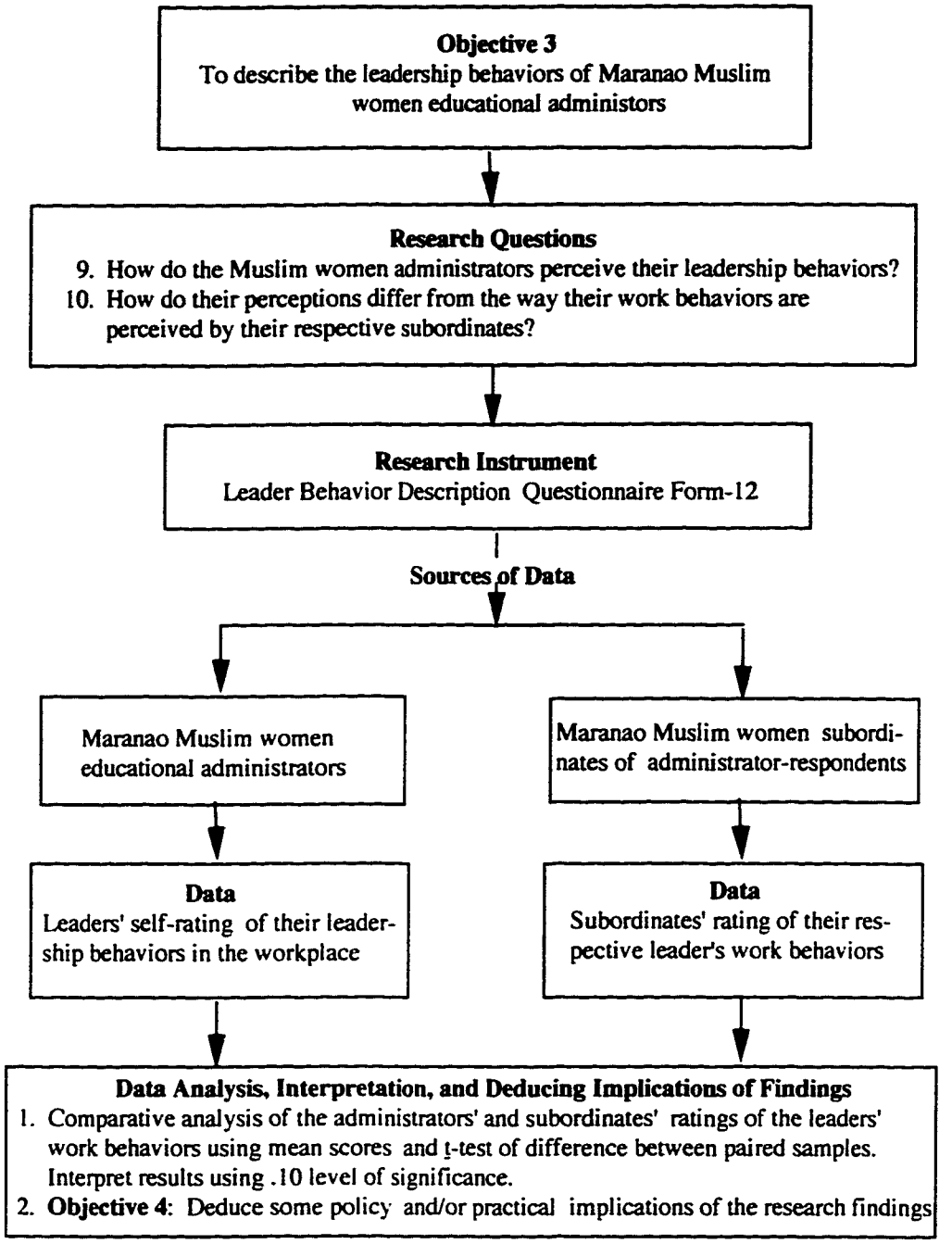


Figure 3. Diagram of the Research Design Pertaining to the Third Objective.

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Filipino Muslims

Filipino is the generic term used to refer to nationals or citizens of the Philippines. Muslims are the followers of Islam. In the Philippines, at least thirteen ethno-linguistic groups have been known to profess Islam as their religion (Abbahil, 1984; Gowing, 1979b). Of the thirteen ethno-linguistic groups, the largest ones are: (a) the Maranao of the two Lanao provinces, (b) the Maguindanao of the Cotabato river basin, and (c) the Tausog group of the Jolo-Sulu group of islands in the southern most tip of the Philippines (National Statistics Office, 1992a), ( also see map, Appendix A). Collectively, since the 1970s, they have increasingly called themselves or have been referred to by non-Muslims as the Bangsa Moro[1], meaning the Moro nation (Muslim, 1994).

Maranao Muslims

The term Maranao means "people of the lake" and refers to both the ethno-linguistic group that inhabit the area around the lake Lanao region and the language they speak (Riemer, 1984; Saber, 1968). In the 1990 population census, they were estimated to constitute the largest of the thirteen ethno-linguistic Muslim groups in the Philippines[2] (National Statistics Office, 1992a). The Maranao are also known to be among the most conservative of the Muslim groups (Cadar, 1985). They consider the two Lanao provinces as their ancestral homeland, being the dominant majority in both provinces during the pre-Spanish imperial rule of the Philippines. Today, a large majority of the Maranao are concentrated around the Lake Lanao area of Lanao del Sur where they constitute about 93 percent of the population (National Statistics Office, 1992c). Some are living in Lanao del Norte where they are a significant minority of 22 percent (National Statistics Office, 1992b). The government-sponsored program for

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the resettlement of Christians from densely populated regions in Luzon and the Visayas, before and after World War II, resulted in the minoritization of the Maranao in Lanao del Norte (Dolan, 1993; Glang, 1969; Gowing, 1979a; Muslim, 1994).

Leader and Administrator

Although many authors on leadership distinguish between a leader and an administrator or manager, these terms were used in this study interchangeably. More specifically, the leader participants in this research were administrators in government educational institutions; each holding a rank of at least a head teacher of either an elementary or a secondary school, or at least a chairman of an academic unit of a state university.

Leadership and Administrative Functions

Similarly, many writers on leadership distinguish between leadership and administrative or management functions. For example, Bennis (1991, 1992) and Zaleznick (1989) attribute to management the mundane matters of directing an organization such as planning, organizing, staffing, and controlling or in short, the task-related and structure-related functions. Whereas, they attribute to leadership the creative thinking and personnel functions among which are: visioning, motivating, empowering followers, and fostering a supportive organizational culture.

For the purpose of the present study, these terms were used interchangeably to refer to all activities or functions performed by the administrator-respondents related to physical and financial resources, personnel, and the day to day internal and external affairs of the organization or unit thereof for which they are responsible. The terms therefore, were used interchangeably to refer to any or all functions performed by the

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women administrators in relation to the organizational structure, tasks, personnel, culture, visions and missions of the schools they serve.

This definition was based on the stance taken by an increasing number of HRD executives who advocate integrated leadership and management training for the key personnel of organizations. This stance advances the notion that leadership and management are not incompatible and that effective organizations need not only good leaders but good managers or administrators as well (Allen & Nixon, 1988; First & Carr, 1987; Furtado, 1988; Rummler & Brache, 1990).

## Scope and Delimitation of the Study

This survey focused mainly on the Maranao Muslims of Lanao del Sur, Lanao del Norte, and their contiguous cities—Marawi City and Iligan City—for several reasons. First, the Maranao constitute the largest ethno-linguistic group in the Philippines that profess Islam as their religion. Second, in many respects, including conceptions about the role of women, they have also been considered by many observers of Islam in the Philippines as among the most conservative of the Muslim groups (Cadar, 1980; Saber, 1963). Notwithstanding the conservative position of the general population of Maranao particularly with regard to the role of women, their customary laws grant gender equality in very specific cases to members of royal families (Madale, 1976; Tawano, 1979). Apropos of this subject, Lacar (1992) wrote:

> Maranao Muslim women, for instance, can be installed in titular positions equivalent to those of their male counterparts, such as *bai a labi* or *bai a dalomangcob* and once installed in these positions,women are allowed to take part in policy- and decision-making, settling disputes, enforcing Muslim laws, and protecting the rights of women. To occupy such titular positions, however, they must show genealogical proof that they are descended from a royal blood line of the title they wish to occupy. (p.120)

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These contrasting stances regarding the role of women at home and society make the Maranao a very strategic group for the study of deviations from and adherences to Islamic traditions and other values (Lacar, 1995).

Third, opportunities for learning and practicing Islam as well as for obtaining secular higher education are probably greater among the Maranao than for other Muslim groups as may be illustrated in the following obtaining situations and recent development in the research site:

1. The concentration of Muslim population in both Lanao del Sur province and Marawi City has remained accented. For example, the 1990 census figures indicate that about 93.8 percent of the population of Lanao del Sur and Marawi City are Muslims (National Statistics Office, 1992c). Being the only city in the Philippines where Muslims constitute such an overwhelming majority, Marawi City was officially called an Islamic City, through a city ordinance passed in 1980.

2. Lanao del Sur, Lanao del Norte, and their respective contiguous cities—Marawi City and Iligan City—would account for about half of all *madaris* (Arabic-Islamic schools) in the Philippines, numbering about 1,100 schools listed by the Ministry of Muslim Affairs in the 1980s (Boransing, Magdalena, & Lacar, 1987).

3. Compared to other Filipino Muslim groups, Maranao youth have easier access to two collegiate campuses of Mindanao State University in addition to 10 private colleges and an increasing number of government secondary schools operating within the two provinces of Lanao and their contiguous cities.

Another reason for selecting the two provinces of Lanao and their contiguous cities as the site for this study is that a large majority (88.54 percent) of the Maranao population have continued to live in these areas[3] (National Statistics Office, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c). Therefore, the researcher is confident that the research population

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encompassed the majority, if not all, of the Maranao Muslim women educational administrators in the Philippines.

Lastly, time and budgetary constraints weighed heavily in the decision to delimit this investigation to only one ethnic group. It is nevertheless the considered view of this writer that the potential problem of generalizability of the findings to other Philippine Muslim groups vitiates neither the significance of the study nor the salience of their policy and practical implications, since the prevailing social situations among Maranao Muslims represent both the progressive and conservative poles of current developments in the social spectrum of Filipino Muslim society as it confronts a rapidly changing world.

## Significance and Importance of the Study

This study is important in light of the present dearth of knowledge about Filipino Muslim women leaders in particular and the continuing historical struggles for empowerment of the Filipino Muslims in general. Information generated by this study can be used as benchmark data for future studies pertaining to the changing social life and roles of Maranao Muslim women. The resulting baseline information and the research design itself could also serve as a springboard for an expanded investigation of women leaders among other Muslim ethno-linguistic groups in the Philippines.

Some potential practical uses of the findings from this research are: (a) as data input toward assessing current programs for the improvement of the status of Filipino Muslim women, and in formulating policies that will further enhance their roles and status; and (b) as data input toward planning and developing pre-service and in-service training programs for young Muslim women who may be attracted to the teaching profession.

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Given the present trend of increase in Muslims' participation in education, the tremendous need for Muslim educators particularly in the rural areas in the entire MINSUPALA (Mindanao, Sulu, Palawan) region, where Muslims are highly concentrated (see map, Appendix A), cannot be over emphasized. The predominantly Muslim provinces in this region have consistently rated among the lowest in the country in terms of literacy of the general population as well as in the performance of students in national standardized examinations, owing to their limited access to quality education (Fabella, 1993; National Statistics Office, 1992a; Tolentino & Flores-Tolentino, 1980).

As teachers and administrators in government educational institutions, the Muslim women in this study bear tremendous responsibility of laying a strong foundation for the development of a responsible and educated citizenry. Information about their career development, career visions, and aspirations for Muslim youth could be used in planning programs that would enhance the capabilities and commitment of Muslim women educators in providing Muslim youth schooling experiences which would at least equal the quality of education provided in other regions of the country.

The study is also important because of the country's goal of becoming one of the New Industrializing Countries (NIC) in the Asia Pacific region and removing the label as the "sick man of Asia." Empirical evidence worldwide show clearly that economic development and progress are more likely to occur and to be sustained over a long period of time in civil societies where political and social stability exists. In societies where there is political and social instability caused by ethnic or religious conflicts, economic development and progress are extremely problematic (see, for instance, Ayoob, 1995).

Undeniably, the Philippines is an economically underdeveloped country. Among the reasons for its economic underdevelopment is its political instability fueled by an internal protracted conflict between the government and the Muslims of the

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South. This agelong historical conflict could be traced back to the Spaniards' attempt to subjugate the Muslims, along with other Filipinos converted to Christianity, more than 300 years ago. Results of empirical studies done among Muslims in the country in the last three decades are in agreement that Muslims continue to view the present political system as a "government of a foreign people" (*gobierno a sarwang tao*), as manifested in their high degree of disaffection and political alienation from the Philippine government (Abbahil, 1984; Gowing, 1979a; Lacar, 1994; Muslim, 1994; Saber, 1979; ).

Given this background of the prevailing socio-political milieu of the research area, it becomes apparent why data regarding goals, visions, national identification, and other characteristics of the Muslim women educators are important. As role models, their views, opinions, and aspirations regarding the education of Muslim youth and national unity constitute a tremendous force in molding attitudes and behaviors of young people who come under their tutelage. The salience of educators' roles and the awe and respect bestowed on teachers in the Asian mind in general, make the women in this study a critical factor in the nation's efforts to have a lasting and durable peace and national unity.

The passage of Republic Act 6734 which provides for an Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, makes the study on Muslim women leaders gain even more significance. For instance, data about the respondents' career development experiences, practices and visions, could provide insights into the types of training programs that will enable Filipino Muslim women to fully utilize their capabilities in becoming active partners and not just passive followers in nation-building and self-government. Likewise, the findings of this study may be used in assessing or designing policies and programs for training Filipino Muslim female youth for future leadership.

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Since this endeavor is a pioneering research on Filipino Muslim women leaders and their leadership, the lessons learned from this exercise can serve as a guide in developing better research designs for future studies along this line among other groups of Muslims in the Philippines, and perhaps, in other Muslim societies as well.

Lastly, the study is important as it provides data on leadership practices and behaviors in a cultural setting which, in many ways, is diametrically opposed to the milieu of most studies on women leaders (see, for instance, Astin & Leland, 1991; Kaslow, 1991; Torre, 1992; Vaughn & Everett, 1992). The data for this study were obtained from minority women leaders in a developing country that has a long history of authoritarian and gender-biased traditions. The findings, therefore, could provide insights about practice of leadership in another setting which in turn may provide views of extant theories of leadership from another perspective.

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# CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter attempts to present a detailed review of the literature related to the subject of this investigation surveyed from various sources. The review begins with a very brief sketch of the status of women in the world in general; followed by a more extensive examination of the position of women in some dominantly Islamic societies in the Middle East, Asia, and Southeast Asia; and finally focuses attention on the status of Muslim women in the Philippines, the setting of this study.

### Status of Women in Most Societies in General

Many societies in the world stratify their members along gender lines and define certain behaviors as prescribed for one sex but proscribed for the other (Ahmed, 1992; Curtin, 1975; Goode, 1970; Horton & Hunt, 1984; Perry & Perry, 1977; Randour, 1987). Across many cultures and religious traditions, certain traits are associated with women while others are linked only with men. For instance, passivity, timidity, dependency, vulnerability, helplessness, and emotionality are linked to women while aggressiveness, independence, reliability, and rationality tend to be associated with men. Traits associated with women are generally viewed as inferior and either dismissed, demeaned or despised (Horton & Hunt, 1984; Jayawardena, 1986; Karim, 1992; Kusha, 1990; Moghadam, 1993; Perry & Perry, 1977).

The low status of women has not always been true historically but appears to have come about only as a result of the rise of urban settlements. Archeological and historical evidence, for example, strongly indicate that in times past, women were held



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in high esteem in many societies of the world and occupied positions of power and influence (Abadan-Unat, 1981; Ahmed, 1992; Esin, 1993; Jayawardena, 1986; Karim, 1992). The rise of urban settlements and patriarchal societies, however, pruned down women's status. Later, various religious groups incorporated as part of their dogmatic teachings the notion that women should be treated as inferior to men (Ahmed, 1992; Gannon, 1990).

As a consequence of the downgrading of women's status, women's attempts for gender equality are invariably surrounded by a highly charged emotional atmosphere. In the international scene, a most recent example was the Fourth World Conference on Women sponsored by the United Nations, held in China in September 1995. Whether the efforts relate to the social, economic, religious, or political sphere of life, the manner with which those involved in the struggle align themselves with the issue is invariably intense. One needs only recall, for instance, the controversy and bitterness among the followers of the Church of England that ensued after the historic decision of the Anglican Synod in 1993 to allow the ordination of women to the full status of priesthood in the United Kingdom—which effectively broke an Anglican Church's tradition of four hundred sixty years—to realize the impact of this enterprise among civilized members of organized society (Coll, 1994; Darnton, 1994).

The intensity of the acrimony that tends to surround issues related to women's status highlights the fact that (a) gender relations and the status of women have become a central contentious issue in many societies today and will probably continue to be so in most societies of the world in the foreseeable future; (b) the conventional treatment of women as inferior to men in practically all societies will continue to be scrutinized more closely by women's movements; (c) while changes in the way women are treated in many societies have definitely occurred, world views and opinions about their proper place, which have been encrusted in tradition and sometimes legitimized by religious

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ideology, are more difficult to alter than most people wish; and, (d) despite phenomenal advances in technology, it will probably take decades before the creed of the equality of all human beings becomes a living and substantive reality. As a whole, it appears that women still have a long way to go before the conception of their social status will be altered and be fully allowed to occupy positions of power and influence equal to men in many societies of the world.

The factors that inhibit women to occupy positions of leadership and influence do not seem to differ immensely across various national, cultural, political, ideological, and religious traditions (Abadan-Unat, 1981; Jayawardena, 1986; Karim, 1992; Moghadam, 1993). There are ample evidence tending to show that even in countries with very long and strong historical tradition of democracy and adherence to the fundamental principles of equality, women are still unable to obtain those rights they have been granted by law. For example, in the United States women constitute 44 percent of the total labor force yet 87 percent of the top positions in private and public firms are held by men. As of 1994, for instance, the United States Secretary of Labor disclosed that women were still held back from being hired as executives and managers in many American firms through subtle and not so subtle means of discrimination. Being from a minority ethnic group seems to compound further the difficulties that being a woman entails as there are even less women who belong to ethnic minority groups who occupy managerial and leadership positions (Manegold, 1994).

If the status of women in a country like the United States with a comparatively dynamic and vocal feminist movement and a strong institutionalized democratic culture is deplorable, those in less developed and third world countries of Africa and Asia can only be described as awfully pathetic. In Indonesia, for instance, qualified women's access to executive and managerial posts is more ritualistic and verbal rather than real. Women still face serious obstacles in obtaining jobs in the executive and managerial

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levels even when they possess the required qualifications (Wright & Tellei, 1993). In China, an analogy used to describe a woman who becomes a leader, is that of a donkey used in lieu of a horse, which could lead to trouble (Adler & Izraeli, 1993). In Sri Lanka, Malaysia, and India, women are still expected to assume primary responsibility for the care of the home, the children, and to obey their husbands (Abu Bakar, 1991; Adler, & Izraeli, 1993; Ward, 1963; Wright & Tellei, 1993). In Algeria, Yemen, Egypt, Tunisia, and Syria, traditional taboos against women still confine a significant number of females in lowly paid agricultural jobs and the homes (Huston, 1979; Ibrahim 1994; Murphy, 1993).

In some places in Bangladesh, a woman may still be treated like a commodity that can be taken away from her family and passed on from one husband to another (Kotalova, 1993). In Afghanistan, the low status of women and the strict segregation of the sexes is considered by observers as closest to its original form; where women who wear make up have had acid thrown in their faces and subjected by the male population to violence; and where such violence against women who are perceived to be violators of Islamic principles has become routine (Granden, 1994).

In Thailand where Buddhism is the religion of the majority, Buddhist teachings encourage everyone regardless of gender, social status, occupation, education, or ethnicity to learn the principles of enlightenment. Women are, however, still treated as second class citizens, as folk tradition expect women to be subservient to men and to yield to their wishes. Women are preferred in routine blue collar jobs requiring manual dexterity but which pays very low wages. Employers justify the practice by the usual argument that women are more physically suited than men to this type of tasks. During economic crisis, jobs held by women are the first ones to be considered redundant. Men are retained on the excuse that they are the breadwinners of the family. Even

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when a Thai woman is highly educated, she is still expected to be subordinate to a man (Wright & Tellei, 1993).

## Perspectives on the Status of Women in Muslim Societies

The subject of the status of women relative to men in Islamic countries is just as contentious, if not more so, as in those countries with other religious traditions. The low status of women and the strict segregation of the sexes in private and public spheres are two related aspects of life in Muslim societies that observers from Western or Westernized societies do not fail to notice. These situations are in fact admitted by some leaders and writers in Islamic societies as well (Ahmed, 1982, 1992; Jayawardena, 1986; Kusha, 1990; Moghadam, 1993; Rahman, 1983).

Explanations or perspectives about these phenomena in Islamic societies are numerous. For the purpose of the present research, these are grouped under two general categories. These categories or perspectives are by no means mutually exclusive as elements in one may also be found in the other. There are, however, dominant themes or strands of thoughts in each perspective that justify putting them in each category for analytic purposes. This section of the review will attempt to present these perspectives as accurately as possible. In the absence of ready-made categories, this writer has attempted to construct a typology based on the dominant themes in each of the perspectives gleaned from the existing literature. This writer, however, makes no claim whatsoever that the typology being used is absolute or exhaustive and admits that there maybe other, perhaps better, ways of grouping these varying views. Furthermore, the order of presentation of the perspectives does not in any way imply ranking.

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Islamic Religion Explanation

The main theme of this perspective is that Islamic religion is the fundamental reason why women in Muslim societies are regarded and treated very lowly and the sexes strictly segregated in both private and public life. According to this view, certain core principles and teachings of Islam, Islamic law (Shariah), the Sunnah (practices), and Hadith (sayings) of the founder of Islam sanction the relegation of women to a very low status position and the rigid segregation of the sexes. Quranic texts and verses and pertinent Sunnah and Hadith of the Prophet are then cited to buttress the argument.

Indeed, this does not seem such a difficult exercise as one may easily find verses and texts in the Holy Quran, the Sunnah, and Hadith which support this perspective. The concluding phrase of *sura 2: aya 228*, in the Holy Quran for example, has been used to support the argument that God placed men on a higher status than women. In The Koran, an English translation by N. J. Dawood (1956) this verse reads: "Women shall with justice have rights similar to those exercised against them, although men have a status above women. God is mighty and wise" (p. 33).

This viewpoint suggests very strongly that the reason for the low status of women in Islamic societies and the inability of Islamic countries to change its conception of the status of women and the practice of rigidly separating the sexes is rooted in Islam's very philosophical paradigm of the world, social order, and gender relations (Glasse, 1989; Mayer, 1987; Watt, 1988). Advocates of this perspective contend that Islamic world view considers permanence and immutability as the ideal norm for human individuals and society. It is a matter of common knowledge that classical Islam permits no change in all traditional Islamic practices and in those which followers believe were revealed in the Quran and transmitted through the practices of

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generations of Muslims. It is asserted that because of this world view, Islam is completely devoid of the notion of change and development (Watt, 1988).

A Danish anthropologists echoes a parallel stream of thought in saying that in all societies where Islam is the majority and dominant religion, gender is used as the fundamental basis for classifying people's position in the social structure. In the words of this anthropologist,

> Where Islam prevails, the principal social distinction is not between rich and poor, between different social classes, but between sexes. Society and the family are divided into halves, the male and the female [underscoring supplied]. (Hansen, 1960, p.174)

Proponents of the first perspective, called Orientalists, deduce the inferior status of women from the value assigned to their testimonies in Islamic court proceedings and their rights in the family with respect to divorce and property inheritance. In Islamic law and practice, two women witnesses are considered equivalent to only one man's testimony in a Shariah court. Traditional Islamic law does not allow a woman to inherit the wealth of her husband upon his death (Anderson, 1959; Coulson, 1978; Glasse, 1989). In matters related to marriage, a Muslim man has unrestricted rights to divorce his wife for any cause while a Muslim woman has absolutely no right (except in a few countries such as Turkey, Tunisia, Syria and Egypt) whatsoever to divorce her husband (Ahmed, 1992; Anderson, 1959; Coulson, 1978; Kamali, 1987; Lapidus, 1988; Moghadam, 1993; Rahman, 1983). The countries in which Muslim women have obtained a better deal, in so far as rights to divorce and property inheritance are concerned, are those that have had to secularize first before women were allowed these rights. Among them are Turkey, Syria, Tunisia, and Egypt (Abadan-Unat, 1981; Huston, 1979). It has been argued that had these countries remained Islamic in structure, there would be no way by which women could have obtained a more liberal treatment.

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Although the preponderant majority of the Orientalists are non-Muslims from the West, actual practices, policies, and public pronouncements of some sectors of the Muslim world, called the fundamentalists, confirm the view that Islamic teachings and practices are mainly responsible for the rigid segregation of the sexes and the relegation of Muslim women to a very low status. The view of Mohammad Javad Bahonar, former Prime Minister of Iran, may be cited as typical. Very briefly, Bahonar's stand is that women are physically, emotionally, mentally, and spiritually inferior to men and justifies their treatment differently than men. In Bahonar's words, man is,

> . . . on the average, endowed with stronger nerves, physical structure, greater weight, height, and brain quantity. This by itself indicates that he is made for hard jobs, and it is for him to maintain and protect his family. . . . females on the other hand are meant to bring up children as they are equipped with the physical and emotional faculties for this task. (In Mehran, 1991, p. 5)

Denialists

As should be obvious, this perspective denies the contention that Islam is the reason for the low status of women and the rigid demarcation placed between men and women in Muslim societies. Advocates of this perspective argue that while there has been a widespread tendency to attribute the situation in Islamic societies to Islam as a religious institution, the preponderance of evidence suggest very strongly that factors unrelated or only tangentially related to religion are the ones that are responsible for such a condition (Ahmed, 1992; Jayawardena, 1986; Moghadam, 1993; Rahman, 1983). Followers of this viewpoint claim that Islam per se does not have any tenets that teach subordination of women and their exclusion from participation in public affairs. In fact, they contend that Muslim women had been given freedom and genuine rights by Islam, citing as example women during the time of the Prophet and the Rashidun Caliphs who had been active participants and contributors to the welfare of

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the *ummah* (community of believers). They argue that the low status of women in some Muslim societies is actually a consequence of confusion and misinterpretation of women's role in public life (see, for instance, Ahmed, 1992; Haji Othman, 1986; Kusha, 1990; Moghadam, 1993; Rahman, 1983). Several variants of the denialist perspective are discussed below.

Local Culture and Tradition *(adat)*

Advocates of this view accept that the situation of women among Muslims is less than desirable. However, they argue that the situation is not due to the teachings of Islam as there is nothing in Islam that teaches followers to look down on women. They argue that rather than Islam, local culture and tradition *(adat)* of a particular country is the primary explanation for the low status of women (Huston, 1979; Karim, 1992; Rahman, 1983). Karim (1992), for example, claims that in Malaysia and other Southeast Asian countries where Islam has some dominant influence, local culture and traditions—rooted in pre-Islamic patriarchal system—are the ones at play in the low status of women. This perspective contends that many of the pre-Islamic practices of Southeast Asian societies have been incorporated and accommodated rather than replaced by Islam. Karim explains further that very often, the importance of social origin, age, seniority, personal attributes, and notions of morality override any considerations of gender. She then argues that rather than diminish the role and status of women, Islamization in Southeast Asia gave women more power and power base by granting them full political and intellectual rights.

In both Kuwait and Malaysia, traditional patriarchal customs and participation of women in Muslim organizations have tended to conspire in the perpetuation of their subordinate status and reinforce their traditional roles, rather than bring about changes in their status and gender relations (Al-Mughni, 1990; Cornell, 1991; Karim 1992).

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In Iran, traditional social expectations that women should stay at home and devote their time to child rearing, have rendered most women totally unprepared to function outside of their homes and participate in critical decision-making functions (Farman-Farmaian, 1975; Mehran, 1991).

Cultural Borrowing/Diffusion

A sub-group related somewhat to the variant above is one which claims that Islam arose in an environment in which women were allowed to occupy positions of power and influence. The wives of the prophet, Kadijah and Aisha are usually cited as examples. This group therefore, asserts that the Islamic conception of gender relations and the strict segregation of the sexes were notions which were not originally part of Islamic practices but were ideas borrowed from other cultures in the Middle East that were not yet Islamized at the time and with which early Muslims came in contact during the expansionists years of Islam. Among these countries were Iran, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Kuwait, and Egypt. In these cultures, early Muslims noted a different concept of the relations between men and women and the rigid segregation of the sexes, including the veiling of women. The early Muslim followers then borrowed these notions and incorporated them in their own practices. Eventually these practices became part of the religious tradition and acquired religious significance which persist to these days (Ahmed, 1992; Cornell, 1991; El Saadawi, 1988; Jayawardena, 1986; Mehran, 1991; Moghadam, 1993).

Misinterpretation and Selective Interpretation by the Ulama

The basic argument of this group of denialist is that Muslim ulama have tended to be selective and subjective in their interpretation of passages in the Quran, the Sunnah, and Hadith of the Prophet in so far as the status of women is concerned. At

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times, their interpretations are out of context and are made to promote their own vested interests or the interest of those whom they represent. In as much as they are the ones given the right or privilege to interpret the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet, their selective and subjective interpretations of the Quran, the Sunnah, and Hadith have been perpetuated in Islamic conservative heritage as if they are genuine teachings of Islam. Proponents of this position maintain that treating women as inferior to men is 'un-Islamic' as Islam does not teach inequality and injustice (see, for instance, Ahmed, 1992; Baraka, 1988; El Saadawi, 1988; Huston, 1979) Some progress-oriented Muslim reformers appear to hold this view.

The ultimate goal of this group is social and structural reform of Islamic society, religion, and law without being considered anti-Islam. According to this position, the status of women needs to be changed if Muslim society is to progress and fundamental to this is a change in attitude towards women. This stance is best exemplified by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk of Turkey when as early as 1926, he said:

> We have to believe that everything in the world is the result, directly or indirectly, of the work of women. . . . A country which seeks development and modernization must accept the need for change. The weakness in our society lies in our indifference toward the status of women . . . we must have Turkish women as partners in everything, to share our lives with them, and to value them as friends, helpers, and colleagues in our scientific, spiritual, social, and economic life. (In Abadan-Unat, 1981, p. v)

At this juncture it is important to point out that there are certain aspects of the argument of the denialist that are as intriguing as they are confusing. First, it admits unequivocally that in some Muslim societies today, women are still prohibited from holding any kind of employment in government, industry, and trade; second, that *fatwas* or legal opinions are still being issued by some ulama or religious scholars prohibiting women from participating in the workforce; third, that indeed there are certain norms and structures in Islam and its traditional heritage that restrict women and

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that women who participate in the workforce do so with a deep feeling of guilt and confusion; and finally, that it is the Western influence of women's movements such as those in the feminist group that is causing the anti-women reaction to women among Islamic societies (Haji Othman, 1986; Runty, 1981).

Along this line, Runty (1981) did an extensive empirical analysis of the impact of Islamic culture on the political role and status of Muslim women in the Middle East to test the hypothesis that Islamic culture has a significant impact on the status of women and on their role in the polity. Education, employment, political participation, physical health, and fertility were used as indicators of women's status (the dependent variable), while the indicators of the independent variable were Islamic culture, economic development, urbanization, and civil strife and political instability. Runty's research revealed that (1) the proportion of population which is Muslim had an overall negative impact on the status and political role of women but the effect was small and not always consistent; (2) economic development has a general positive impact on the political role and status of Muslim women although no indications could be found whether these impact carry over to other areas of social life; (3) urbanization has both positive and negative impact on the status of women as was expected; and (4) civil strife and political stability did not have any effect on the political role and status of Muslim women.

On the basis of these findings, Runty (1981) concludes that the low status of women in Muslim societies is a function of cultural traditions rather than of religion. However, he qualifies this conclusion and, in effect, accommodates the Orientalists stand on the issue when he conceded that secularization of a Muslim nation and reinterpretation of its traditional heritage are prerequisite to the improvement of women's status.

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Role of the Christian Crusade

Some historical accounts also indicate that the period of the Christian Crusade (1095-1148) contributed in no small measure to the concept of the status of women. It appears that the notion of womanliness—that set of traits that women must possess to be considered desirable and marriageable—such as submissiveness, obedience to husband, ability to raise and care for children and husband and to keep house, were traits which were first conceived and idealized by the Christian Church during the period immediately preceding the crusade. Men who took part in the crusade were conditioned to think of the importance of having women companion during the course of the crusade, especially during the settlement phase of the movement. The crusaders depicted Muslim women as an unwomanly group of marginalized and insignificant lot—an image that became a stereotype in all of Christendom (Brady, 1992).

Other Denialist Perspective

A view that resembles to some extent other categories above deserves a discussion. This perspective is based on two premises. First, is the assertion that Islam has in fact elevated women to equal position with men in social, economic, legal, religious, and educational rights. However such elevation does not extend to work and domestic affairs because of the basic physical, and psychological differences between the sexes. Second, followers of this view insist that granting full equality to men and women is objectionable on the ground that once equality between sexes is practiced, it would bring about moral laxity and promiscuity in society (Kusha, 1990). Those who argue in this fashion, however, do not explain convincingly how and why the equality of the sexes can bring about laxity and promiscuity.

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## Consequences of the Attitude Towards Status of Women in Muslim Societies

Concerns for the improvement of the status of women stems from the fact that stances on and definitions of their positions have far and wide ranging consequences and ramifications in other spheres of their social life. For instance, what women can or cannot do, the extent to which they can participate and take advantage of opportunities in their society for their own growth and development, and their chances to occupy positions of leadership are determined by the way their status is defined in society.

Advocates for the improvement of women's status contend that allowing women to avail themselves of those opportunities for personal growth and participation in social life would ultimately redound to the general welfare of society as a whole. Among the areas of social life on which attitudes towards and definition of women's status have consequences are education, labor force, politics, leadership and administration of the various domains of a nation. This section of the review focuses on the consequences of the conception of the status of Muslim women on their ability to: (a) have access to and obtain an education (especially higher education), (b) participate in the labor force, (c) occupy leadership or administrative position, and (d) plan and control their own fertility.

### On the Education of Muslim Women

Some phenomena which seem universal among all traditional Muslim societies in the world are the low access and priority, and consequently, low participation rate of women in education, and the corresponding higher priority given to the education of men (Abdulla, 1990; Abu Bakar, 1991; Devi, 1991; Siann & Khalid, 1984). In all fairness, though, it must be said that in virtually all underdeveloped societies, women still have lesser access to education and employment than men (Wright & Tellei, 1993).

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Limitations of access to education among women appears to be true in many societies of the world, but it seems to be much more pronounced in traditional Islamic societies and in countries where Islam is the majority religion (Ahmed, 1992; Abu Bakar, 1991; Jayawardena, 1986; Moghadam, 1993). However, the link between women's access to education and Islam, is just as problematic as the issue on women's status and its link to any of Islam's religious tenets is problematic. Some statistical information on educational participation of women in some Muslim societies, however, may be instructive.

In Kuwait, from 1900 up to about 1990, the number of women in higher education has always been less than the number of men. The forms of education were also mostly for boys. Moreover, certain jobs customarily defined as suitable only for boys remained side by side with attempts to modernize the education of Kuwait in response to the labor needs of the nation (Cornell, 1991).

In Middle East countries, female education is spreading very unevenly and employment outside the home is undermining the patriarchal attitude and practices, causing some kind of a cultural and social backlash. The backlash may be seen in the form of conservative Islamic movements to return women to their traditional customary roles and a greater preference among local industries for men employees (Moghadam, 1993). Female education, although still limited, has been increasing and is challenging the weakened patriarchal system of gender relations; creating an inconsistency of views among men, resulting in a conflict between those who hold a traditional viewpoint that would keep women to the home and child rearing against the more progressive sectors who would give more freedom and autonomy to women.

Fluehr-Lobban (1993) has found that in the rural areas of Cairo and other parts of Egypt, male and female interaction among Muslims is less restricted compared to those in the more urban and semi-urban settings. The author attributes this to the fact

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that in the rural areas, the presence of the ulama is less ubiquitous. However, in Cairo University, male and female interaction was also noted to be freer than in other non-academic settings. The academic ambiance may have something to do with this greater tolerance for male-female interaction. The author also noted that female enrollment in the elementary, high school and college in Cairo University has been increasing rapidly; and that in fact 50 percent of the Cairo University students are females.

Moghadam (1993) wrote that in Iran, up until 1986, there were still academic areas in which women were not allowed to enroll. For example, of 84 majors in Mathematics and Science, 64 percent did not admit women; and in the experimental sciences of 40 majors, 17 percent did not admit women. On the other hand, certain subjects and programs (e.g. midwifery) were defined as exclusive domain for women. Overall as shown in Table 1, the proportion of males in universities was 69 percent while women constituted only 31 percent.

Table 1

Percentage Distribution of University Enrollment for the Republic of Iran in 1986, by Educational Level and Gender

| Gender and (Percent of Total Enrollment) | Bachelors | Masters | Doctorate |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male (69 %) | 67.7 % | 75.7% | 67% |
| Female (31 %) | 32.2 % | 24.0% | 33% |

Source: V. M. Moghadam. (1993). Modernizing women, gender, and social change in the Middle East, p. 186. London: Lynner Rienner.

In Malaysia, the literacy rate among women between 1900 and 1930 had always been below 30 percent (Abu Bakar, 1991; Wright & Tellei, 1993) but in 1970 it rose to 47 percent and again in 1980 reached 64 percent (Karim, 1992)—a trend that appears to

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have continued on to the 1990s. Today, not a few Malaysian Muslim women perceive equality with men in education and in many other aspects of social life[4]. On the other hand, Wazir-jahan Karim (1983) observed that while women's participation in socio-economic and political spheres has significantly increased, Islamic revivalism and the increasing coalition between political and religious movements have the effect of perpetuating patriarchal tendencies particularly at the leadership level.

On Employment and Leadership of Muslim Women

Level of education is a common denominator in the ability of women in the rural and urban areas of the third world to have access to employment, participate in the labor force, and occupy positions of leadership in work and business (Wright & Tellei, 1993). Abu Bakar (1991), for example, reports that in rural Malaysia, education was a dominant factor in the employability of rural Malaysian Muslim women. In the 1980s, the labor force participation of rural Malaysian Muslim women increased to about 65 percent but these were concentrated in jobs traditionally held by women such as those in service and agriculture.

Wright & Tellei (1993) observed that in Indonesia, a very high level of education appears to be an absolute requirement in order for women to be able to be employed and to have access to managerial positions. They further observed that in virtually all Asian countries, even when women are holding managerial or leadership positions, their access to the networks of power and influence, dominantly in the hands of men, is extremely limited. The primary reason for this is because their circles of friends and associates are also limited among women; thus contacts with men who have the necessary connections to power and influence are not available to them. Unlike men, women leaders and managers do not have drinking buddies composed of other men managers who usually have power and influence with other male leaders.

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Moreover, because of customs and traditions women are still expected to do their part of the domestic functions in addition to their responsibilities in their jobs. In a manner of speaking, when a woman engages in an occupation or when she is promoted to a managerial or leadership position, she in fact acquires another set of responsibilities and therefore doubles her tasks as she is expected to perform well in both.

On Women's Fertility and Fertility Control

There is ample empirical evidence showing that a low status among women in any society is invariably accompanied by a restricted access to education and employment and which in turn tends to have impact on other aspects of society that have repercussions for all (Moghadam, 1993). For instance, women who have lower education and lower rank occupations tend to have higher fertility as (a) they have limited knowledge of or access to fertility control methods and (b) they have to rely more on their children for their future survival. For the present, however, high fertility which accompanies lack of education and poverty only compounds the misery for both parents and children; further limiting the chances of the latter in acquiring knowledge and skills that may better themselves and what they can do for society. Modernization and development, therefore, are hampered when women's status is low because it prevents them from having access to higher education which in turn has ramifications in terms of women's self-concept and control of their own fertility, as well as in their capabilities to improve themselves, enhance life chances for their children, and contribute more meaningfully to society.

## Reasons Muslims Opposed Education of Women in the Past

Muslims, of course, had their reasons for opposing open access to education among their women. Apart from the widely held traditional patriarchal attitude that

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women should be confined to the home and be honed for the roles of being a mother and wife, there were other compelling reasons why access to education among Muslim women was limited by their elders. In the past when many of these societies were under the colonizing influence of Christian empires, the most common reason was the fear of families that exposure of Muslim women to Christians could lead to primary types of social interactions that could develop into romance and marriage and their eventual conversion to Christianity—a prospect which Muslim families are understandably horrified about, since in Islam the penalty for apostasy is death (see, for instance, Kippenberg, 1987).

Schools which were operated by Christians were also suspected as subtle agents for their conversion. Thus in Malaysia and the Philippines, parents tried everything to prevent their daughters from going to school (Gowing, 1964; Karim, 1992; Majul, 1985). Parents opted to provide their daughters religious instructions in reading of the Quran at home to prevent them from going out and meeting strangers. In addition these parents trained young Muslim women to be housewives and socialized them into this role early in their lives (Abu Bakar, 1991; Lacar, 1992; Randa-Maglangit, 1978).

Another reason is that customary practices and attitudes die hard. They tend to persist even amidst desires and efforts to change. Ambivalence and ambiguity about the place of tradition and change are common not only among parents but also among children and the general population. If change were not difficult to accept, many development programs in the third world today, which have been well thought out for the benefit of people, would be accepted very smoothly. Every development worker, however, knows that this is not always the case.

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## The Status of Filipino Women

### General Population of Filipino Women

The literature on the status of women in the Philippines, as in other societies, is contentious. Some argue that in ancient times women were granted rights equal to, if not greater than, the rights enjoyed by men. Others, however, argue that these assertions never existed except in the fertile imagination of their proponents as no records support their claim. But neither are there records to deny that women did not have those rights.

What appears clear, however, from the recorded history is that a number of Spanish cultural traditions and Roman Catholic values found their way into the shaping of what was to emerge as a paternalistic definition of what a Filipino woman was supposed to be—one which idealized her roles in family and society as those of being a civilized religious person, a devoted wife and housekeeper, and a dedicated mother (Isidro, 1968; Montiel & Hollnsteiner, 1976; Subido, 1955). Consequently, women's education was limited to learning the rudiments of reading, writing, arithmetic, Christian doctrine, Spanish language, and home craft (Carson, 1961). Those paternalistic influences on the conception of womanhood continue to be a factor—happily to a much lesser extent—even to the present time.

In Carson's (1961) account of the history of the Philippine educational system, he explained that the Spanish colonial government contributed very minimally to mass education of Filipinos and to higher education of women during the more than three centuries that it ruled the country. This is paradoxical, because the Spaniards founded in the Philippines the forerunners of at least two extant academic institutions which could be considered among the oldest in the world: Santo Tomas University in Manila in 1611 and San Carlos University in Cebu City in 1595.

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Carson further wrote that during the twilight of the Spanish colonial rule, a royal decree was issued ordering compulsory school attendance for children between the ages of 6 and 12. However, no sufficient provisions were made for its enforcement. Thus until Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States in 1898, most schools common to boys and girls remained under the supervision of the Catholic parish priests and missionaries.

Higher education during the Spanish time was mainly for men and made accessible only to the rich people in the country, mostly Spaniards and Spanish-Filipino mestizos. Towards the end of the Spanish rule, a normal school for women was opened; but professional degree programs such as law, medicine, dentistry, engineering, etc. remained restricted to upper class men. This practice in higher education continued on until about the 1930s and gradually changed only because of the American influence.

During the American regime, the Filipino women gradually gained emancipation from the social restrictions imposed by the Spaniards. Through a system of popular education, women were able to enter co-educational colleges and universities; enrolling in programs and eventually pursuing careers that were traditionally the province of men. Emboldened by their new level of education and social freedom, women fought for political rights as well; and in 1937, Filipino women were granted the right to vote and to participate in political affairs of the country (National Statistics Office, 1992d).

After the second World War, the Philippines gained independence from the American colonial rule. Recovering from the ravages of war, the fledgling Philippine Republic embarked on educational reforms and expansion that brought about advancement of women in education and various professions (Carson, 1961). Consequently, by the second half of this century, Filipino women's participation in economic, educational, political, and social spheres—although still much lower than

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men's participation—has become the rule rather than the exception (Gonzalez & Hollnsteiner, 1976).

In the political arena, Filipinos have done rather extremely well having produced the only woman president in Southeast Asia in the person of Corazon Aquino. Today, there are women, although still few in number, in both the senate and the lower house of congress. The judiciary department has had women justices and judges. In local politics and academic settings many women are known to have gained the upper hand on male candidates. However, in general and in both the social and legal aspects, Filipino women's status still has a long way to go and the traditional patriarchal attitudes and structures seem rather difficult to dismantle.

Although a large number of Filipino women have joined major professions and occupations such as medicine, law, dentistry, engineering, accountancy, nursing, teaching, business, government service, and others, and some have occupied positions of national fame and leadership—including the highest office of the President of the Philippines from 1986 to 1992—the country's socioeconomic and political structures are far from being considered truly egalitarian. Filipino women, in general, still have to see the day when they could rightfully declare that they are equally represented in the most strategic affairs of the country. Studies done in the 1970s and in the current decade indicate the peristence of gender stereotyping of domestic roles, occupation, employment, remuneration, and political participation; and that generally, women bear the brunt of the inequities (Montiel & Hollnsteiner, 1976; National Statistics Office, 1992a; Pineda-Ofroneo, 1994; Tapales, 1994).

To illustrate, even among the Christian majority, the Spanish influence of giving priority to educating boys and men was still prevalent during the early decades of the independent republic as reflected in the census data regarding the educational attainment of Filipinos. Michael Costello's (1981) analysis of census data on the

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educational attainment of individuals, ages 25 years and over, as shown in Table 2 illustrates this point. The analysis indicates that during the censal years 1960 and 1970, proportionately more men (20 and 27 percent) than women (14 and 20 percent) reported high school or college as their highest educational attainment. Conversely, proportionately more women (37 and 23 percent) than men (30 and 18 percent) did not state their educational attainment or reported having no formal education at all.

Guerrero (1965) also reports an ambivalent attitude among educated and professional husbands and wives selected from the metro Manila area for her study of male and female roles. The study revealed that 39 percent of husbands and 69 of wives desired companionship from their spouses. However, husbands also expected wives to do all the household work and care for the children in addition to helping earn a living, while assigning to themselves the task of earning a living only. Although not expressed directly, husbands gave the impression that they do not consider household work a responsibility of men.

This attitude persists to the present. Although the proportions of women obtaining high school and college education have increased significantly in the 1990s (see Table 2) and although women's participation in livelihood activities has risen during the last three decades, it seems that the definition of a woman's role as housewife lingered in the psyche of the male and female population. For example, census data in 1990 show that of the close to 18 million Filipinos, ages 15 and over, who did not have or did not state any gainful occupation, more than 13 million or about 75 percent are women[5] (National Statistics Office, 1992a).

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Table 2

Percentage Distribution of the Educational Attainment of Individuals, 25 Years and Older, in the Philippines in 1960-1990, by Censal Year and Gender

| Educational Attainment | 1960[a] | | 1970[a] | | 1975[a] | | 1990[b] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| College/Post Secondary | 7.0 | 5.4 | 10.4 | 8.7 | 12.1 | 11.0 | 21.5 | 21.7 |
| High School | 12.8 | 8.4 | 16.6 | 11.7 | 18.5 | 13.5 | 26.2 | 22.4 |
| Elementary | 50.6 | 48.9 | 55.4 | 56.7 | 54.9 | 57.6 | 46.1 | 47.8 |
| None or not stated | 29.6 | 37.3 | 17.6 | 22.8 | 14.5 | 17.9 | 6.2 | 8.1 |
| Totals | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Source: M. A. Costello. (1981). Trends in the social and economic status of the Maranao in the Philippines: 1939-1975. Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, 2, p. 163.

[b]Source: National Statistics Office. (1992). Supplement to the 1990 census of population and housing. (Report No. 3: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics). Manila: N.S.O. (Note: Percentages were computed from the unpublished data obtained electronically from N.S.O.).

Status of Filipino Muslim Women

In comparing the status of older generation of Filipino Christian and Muslim women, Costello (1981, 1992) and Lacar (1980, 1992) observed that the latter lagged behind the former. They attributed the lower status of Muslim women to their group's long isolation from the rest of the country due to their strong resistance to the Spanish and American colonialization, and to being a double minority in Philippine society, i.e. belonging to a national minority group and being of the less favored gender in their own culture.

Writing about the education of the Filipino Muslims, Isidro (1968, 1969) and Majul (1985) explained that the various Filipino Muslim groups were virtually not reached by the educational system established by the Spaniards because of their vehement resistance to the Spanish colonial rule. Western type of education then was introduced to them only during the American regime, when they were eventually subjugated and when the new colonial government adopted and implemented a policy of compulsory school attendance for elementary school-age children in the whole country.

At first, many upper class Filipino Muslim families defied this policy by sending the children of their slaves to school in lieu of their own children. Not so much because Muslim parents still needed convincing about the value of education—as Islam is a religion that explicitly exhorts all believers to seek knowledge—but much more because the schooling opportunities and experiences that were made available to them reinforced, rather than allayed, the doubts and suspicions they harbored about western type of education.

To illustrate, the American colonial government, and later the Commonwealth and independent Philippine Republic established secular schools. But those were not

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adequate to accommodate the increasing number of students. Consequently, the parochial schools and colleges of the Spanish time were allowed to continue. In addition, other religious denominations, private individuals, and private organizations were allowed to establish new schools subject to government regulatory standards and procedures (Isidro, 1968).

Many Filipino Muslim families (until about the 1950s), however, harbored a very deep suspicion that schools run by Christian religious orders and denominations were in reality subtle agents for the conversion of their children, (Isidro, 1969). They believed that sending their female children to dominantly Christian schools was a sure fire formula for their conversion to Christianity if not alienation from them and their future husband. Their suspicion was in fact well founded on the explicit evangelistic mission of the sectarian schools. For instance, in Protestant and Catholic academic institutions, courses on the Bible and Christian ethics and religion were required for everyone to graduate.

In many towns, during those years (until about the 1980s) private high schools and colleges operated by Christian denominations or Christian individuals were the only ones available, since the government was unable to establish as many secondary and tertiary schools as were necessary to educate the youth (Isidro, 1968, 1969; James, 1991; see also Table 43). Thus Muslims, who wanted to obtain higher education and were forced by circumstances to go to sectarian schools, had to sit in religion classes if they wished to graduate. Therefore, it was not surprising that many Muslim parents avoided sending their children (especially their daughters) to Christian schools (Lacar, 1980).

Public schools that were established to support the government's program of universal education were not free from suspicion either. Isidro (1968, 1969) and Majul (1985) attributed the root of this suspicion to the curricula, textbooks, and the general

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characteristics of the educational system introduced by the Americans and later adopted by the Philippine government. These authors explained that uniform curricula were adopted throughout the country without regard to the immensely different religious beliefs and historical experiences of Muslims and Christians. Curricula and books were oriented towards Christian beliefs and experiences but biased against the Muslims. For example, no Muslim heroes were honored in textbooks in spite of the fact that the Muslims paid the dearest cost in terms of lives and blood of their warriors in their fierce and relentless struggle against foreign domination. Instead, they were depicted as savages, villains, marauders, and pirates. Not the least of these causes of Muslims' distrust of government schools was the fact that the system introduced by the Americans was co-educational, which at that time was viewed as a serious infraction of the Islamic practice of segregating the sexes.

It is interesting to note that in Malaysia in the 1930s, Malaysian Muslims were also generally suspicious of all the educational institutions set up by the British as part and parcel of an attempt to convert them to Christianity. Hence many did not send their children to the schools established by the British beyond the elementary grades (Karim, 1992). Karim further explained that since many Malay parents believed that women stood to lose more than men, they were the ones left out in higher education more often. Consequently, many young Malay Muslim women were sent to schools in Sumatra, Indonesia because their ulama believed that education in Christian schools in Malaysia was not appropriate for Muslims, particularly females. Education offered by British schools was based on western values which were considered inconsistent with Malay Muslim values, particularly on matters regarding women. The prevalent view in Malaysian society then, was that a woman's desirability as a wife diminished with westernization but she remained desirable as a wife if she remained traditional.

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Other explanations for the resistance of Muslim parents in the past to send their children, especially girls, to western-type schools could be ascribed to cultural and religious traditions. First, traditional mores dictate that the Filipino Muslim woman's place and domain was the home which she must manage competently and efficiently. As a wife, she was expected by everyone to submit to her husband's wishes and commands at all times. In community affairs, customs and traditions demanded of her to "play a supportive and not a dominant role" [underscoring supplied] (Randa-Maglangit, 1978b, p 31). The husband was the main source of the family's honor, prestige, income and wealth. Since social and economic mobility was achieved through marriage, obtaining an education was considered not only irrelevant but also unnecessary for women (Gowing, 1979b; Lacar, 1980; Majul, 1985).

Second, Filipino Muslim families who realized the values of education gave more priority to the education of their male offsprings (Costello, 1981; Isidro, 1969; Lacar, 1980, Tolentino & Flores-Tolentino, 1980). In the same way that sons were preferred to daughters by Muslim families (Stinner & Mader, 1975), so was educating them a matter that weighed heavily against women. To illustrate, for Lanao del Sur which has a predominantly Muslim population, Costello's (1981) analysis of census data on the education of persons 25 years and older for the years 1935 to 1975 (see Table 3) indicates that the proportions of individuals having either a high school or college education were consistently higher among men than among women.

Attitudes of Filipino Muslims toward schooling, however, gradually changed over time. A pattern of increasing enrollment of female Muslims in higher education became apparent in the 1970s. Nevertheless, as Costello (1981) noted, the differentials between the sexes at the college level rose since the increase in enrollment in that level was greater for men than for women .

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Table 3

Percentage Distribution of the Educational Attainment of Individuals, 25 Years and Older, in Lanao del Sur in 1960-1990, by Censal Year and Gender

| Educational Attainment | 1960[a] | | 1970[a] | | 1975[a] | | 1990[b] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| College/Post Secondary | 2.3 | 0.8 | 6.4 | 2.9 | 10.3 | 6.1 | 28.1 | 24.7 |
| High School | 4.3 | 1.4 | 7.6 | 4.6 | 7.2 | 4.3 | 18.8 | 15.8 |
| Elementary | 12.1 | 6.7 | 16.2 | 12.7 | 12.2 | 9.7 | 29.2 | 28.0 |
| None or not stated | 81.2 | 91.1 | 69.7 | 79.8 | 70.3 | 79.9 | 23.9 | 31.5 |
| Totals | 99.9[c] | 100.0 | 99.9[c] | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Source: M. A. Costello. (1981). Trends in the social and economic status of the Maranao in the Philippines: 1939-1975. Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, 2, p. 163.

[b]Source: National Statistics Office. (1992). Supplement to the 1990 c ensus of population and housing. (Report No. 3: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics). Manila: N.S.O. (Note: Percentages were computed from the unpublished data obtained electronically from N.S.O.).

[c] Less than 100 percent due to rounding error

In summary, the notion that the primary place of women is the home hence the irrelevance of higher education was widespread among Filipinos in general and among Muslims in particular up to about the late 1950s and only to a limited extent now. The 1960s appear to be the turning point in all of these changes. Parents' attitude toward educating their daughters seemed to have been changing radically compared to their attitudes in the years 1900s up to about the 1950s.

Focusing on the Muslims, several factors influencing changes in their attitude toward schooling may be cited. First, the Filipino Muslims realized that unlike the Spaniards, the Americans did not attempt to convert their people to Christianity. This somehow eased their suspicion that schools established by the American colonial government, and later by the Philippine Republic, were agents for conversion of their children (Gowing, 1979b).

Second, it is probable that years later, those who initially avoided western-type of education for their children realized that it was self-defeating as it only deprived their children of the chances of pursuing formal education in government-accredited schools; and later limited their chances for employment as well. The children of slaves who were sent to school—in lieu of their masters' children to fool the school authorities implementing compulsory education—were probably able to pursue secondary and college education. Eventually, they might have found employment in government or private organizations. Whereas, the children of masters, who were sent to madrasah were not able to continue formal schooling unless they started all over again since at that time, madrasah schooling was not accredited in government-recognized schools; or unless they went to other predominantly Muslim countries where madrasah education was accredited.

A third probable factor that may have changed the attitudes of Filipino Muslim parents toward the schooling of their children is the high value they give to family

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honor and prestige. For example, Disoma (1990) explained that among the Maranao, family prestige and honor are valued almost as much as they value life itself. He further explained that as the social status and economic well-being of the early graduates were improved by their subsequent employment, parents who did not send their children to government-accredited schools increasingly realized the value of higher education. Not wanting to be outdone by their neighbors, other parents then encouraged or even pushed their children to obtain a college degree .

Another factor was the increased social interactions between Muslims and other religious groups resulting in the relaxation of traditional norms regarding participation of female Muslims in social and economic exchanges outside the home or beyond their kinsfolk system (Lacar, 1992).

Probably, the single most decisive factor that influenced attitudes toward and opportunities for schooling among Filipino Muslims was the establishment of public-secondary schools, colleges and universities in regions having a high proportion of Muslim population (Gowing, 1964; Isidro, 1968, 1969; Majul, 1986). For example, the establishment of government schools such as the Mindanao Institute of Technology in Kabacan, North Cotabato and Mindanao State University in Marawi City in the 1950s, MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology in Iligan City in the 1960s, as well as the subsequent opening of several MSU secondary and college campuses in strategic areas in Mindanao had tremendously enhanced the incentives and opportunities for secondary and tertiary education for Filipino Muslims. Moreover, when the 1987 constitution mandated the provision of free public education up to the secondary level, it became incumbent upon the government to establish more elementary and high schools throughout the country.

Aside from granting special scholarships and financial aids to deserving Muslim students, those state colleges and universities offered a variety of innovative educational

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and training programs which were responsive to the manpower needs of the predominantly Muslim regions. Isidro (1969), for instance, cited two innovative teachers' training programs sponsored by MSU in the 1960s which enabled Muslim public school teachers to finish a bachelor's degree in education. These programs were: (1) MSU-BPS Teacher Leadership Scholarship Program, a joint endeavor with the Bureau of Public Schools; and (2) Classroom of the Air, a radio teachers' training program conducted in cooperation with the Philippine Broadcasting Service and UNICEF. Pertinent to this information, it is important to mention that in the past, because of lack of fully trained teachers in the elementary schools, high school graduates and holders of a two-year teacher training certificate were hired. Thus when the government raised the minimum academic qualification for teachers to a bachelors teaching degree, there also arose a need to provide further training programs for those who were already in service but who were not yet fully qualified.

By the 1970's the emergence of a new breed of Filipino Muslim women had become apparent. Randa-Maglangit (1978b), a Muslim woman professional and leader herself, noted a growing number of educated Muslim women who no longer allowed themselves to be confined to their traditional roles. Instead, they actively engaged in gainful livelihood activities outside the home to the extent that "the new Muslim woman" had started to be "considered a threat by her brothers in any field that is open for competition" (p. 31).

Writing about another sphere of participation, Jacqueline Siapno (1994) reports that although not generally publicized, Muslim women have in fact been actively involved since the 1970s in the Moros' armed struggle for independence from the Philippine Republic. While their involvements (as combatants, information agents, and the like) did not win for them equal status with men, those are nevertheless clear breach of the traditional domestic roles prescribed for women.

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There is no doubt therefore, that contemporary Filipino Muslim women are lesser bound to the roles and status defined for them by customs and traditions than they used to be (Costello, 1992; Lacar, 1980, 1992; Randa-Maglangit, 1978e). Changes particularly in the last three decades have been occurring in almost every facet of Muslim life due to increased opportunities for education, travel, and communication (Costello, 1992; Lacar, 1992; Randa-Maglangit, 1978d), intermarriages between Muslims and Christians (Lacar, 1980), migration (Lacar and Lacar, 1989), their continuing struggle for self-governance and self-determination (Siapno, 1994), overseas employment (Aban, et al. 1985), and modernization in general.

Filipino Muslim women are definitely responding to the changes that are happening around them. Although still very much inhibited in comparison with their Christian counterparts, they are increasingly distinguishing themselves in various fields of endeavor, including leadership and administration. Today, the Filipino Muslims can already boast of women entrepreneurs, politicians, legislators, heads of government offices, lawyers, doctors, and other professionals. A good number, though, crowd in gender-defined occupations such as teaching, clerical, and technical office jobs—mostly in government offices and public schools. Describing the changing roles of Muslim women in the contemporary Philippine society, Lacar (1992) writes:

> Clearly more sophisticated in education and outlook, they are occupying positions traditionally reserved for men and in many instances holding jobs which have more power, prestige and influence than those held by some Muslim males. In brief, Filipino Muslim women today play highly visible roles—roles which were made inaccessible to them in years past by custom and tradition. (p. 109)

## Summary

To recapitulate, it appears that in so far as the role of Islam and Islamic law in the conception of and attitude toward the status of women is concerned, the situation

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seems to be a mixed bag of confirmation and rejections. Orientalists and fundamentalists tend to find support for the position that the status of women in Islamic societies is a function of religious tenets and Islamic laws while those who argue otherwise are also able to muster evidence on their side. The debate is far from over and is very likely to continue for sometime in the future.

It must be noted that among various other religious traditions, religion has been used to justify and legitimize certain notions about the appropriate status of men and women. Religion has also been invoked to oppose attempts to change established and conventional conceptions of women's status. Therefore, use of religion to under gird a people's conception of what is proper in gender relations is neither unique nor confined to Islam (Jayawardena, 1986; Karim, 1992; Moghadam, 1993; Perry & Perry, 1977). Hindus, for instance, have continued to use religion to support their caste system of social stratification. Another example is the Anglican Church of England which has, for 460 years, opposed various attempts to allow the ordination of women as full fledged priests on religious grounds. Consequently, when in 1993, the Anglican Synod finally voted in favor of the idea of allowing the full ordination of women as priests, the decision caused a major crisis and rift among the laity and clergy of the Church of England (Coll, 1994; Darnton, 1994; Weale, 1994).

Although it appears that where Islamic theology and Islamic law have been used as the fundamental defining framework of social relations, women's status is visibly low, Islam per se does not seem to be the primary factor in the low conception of the status of women in some Muslim societies (Ahmed, 1992; Jayawardena, 1986; Karim, 1992; Moghadam, 1993). In others, Islam seem only tangentially implicated through selective interpretation.

It must be made clear at this point, however, that Muslims do not have a monolithic stand on the issue of the role of women in society. Immense diversity in the

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conception of the status of women among men and among women themselves exists within any one Islamic society (see, for example, Ahmed, 1992; Bahrampour, 1994; El-Solh & Mabro, 1994; Jayawardena, 1986; Mernissi, 1975; Moghadam, 1993; Weintraub, 1989). These authors further observed that the diversity is more pronounced among different Islamic countries. In the Middle East alone, the conception of women's status differ not only among the different countries of the region but also across social and economic classes, ethnic groups, rural and urban dwellers, educational attainment, and religious schools of thought. In fact one can detect as many postures on this issue as there are schools of thought in Islam within one particular country that considers itself Islamic. For instance, within an Islamic nation, groups who are labeled as fundamentalist steadfastly adhere to the notion of the superiority of the males over females physically, mentally, emotionally, and spiritually while others, called the modernists, oppose the notion.

Muslim women themselves are sharply divided in so far as attitude toward them and their status conception is concerned. Some reject the idea that they should be treated differently than men while others identify comfortably with time honored traditional expectations of what are considered appropriate for them (El-Solh & Mabro, 1994; Guindi, 1992; Moghadam, 1993; Murphy, 1991).

The diversity of postures regarding the roles and functions of Muslim women, notwithstanding, changes are now taking place (Crossette, 1993; Phillips, 1993; Rastogi, 1989). Empowered by their increasing access to education and motivated or oftentimes constrained by the demands of new and varying realities that they have to face in modernizing societies, Muslim women in many countries of the world today are increasing their involvement in social, economic, and political affairs of their countries.

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# CHAPTER III

# METHODOLOGY

This research was primarily an exploratory and descriptive study of the salient characteristics, career development experiences, career visions, leader behaviors, and factors influencing the career of Maranao Muslim women educational administrators in the Philippines. It was also an analytic study as attempts were made to deduce some policy and practical implications of the findings on selected national issues concerning the Filipino Muslims. Included in this chapter are descriptions of the research design and procedures, populations and samples, research instruments, data gathered, and methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation used in the study.

## Research Design

This study was a survey of Filipino Muslim women educators using three complementary, structured, researcher-prepared instruments and one standardized and copyrighted questionnaire developed by Ohio State University in the United States. These instruments were: (1) Administrator Survey Questionnaire (ASQ), (2) Employee Survey Questionnaire (ESQ), (3) Ulama Interview Guide, and (4) Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire-Form 12 (LBDQ-12). With the ASQ and LBDQ-12, data regarding personal and family characteristics, career goals and visions, career development experiences, and leader behaviors were obtained from a sample of Maranao Muslim women administrators. Comparative and complementary data on the same variables of interest were obtained from a randomly selected sample of Maranao Muslim women subordinates with the use of ESQ and LBDQ-12.



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Supplementary data regarding Islamic teachings on gender relations and the rights, duties, and roles of women were obtained from a random sample of Islamic teachers and leaders in the area. Together, the data provided by the three groups of respondents were used to answer the research questions listed under the first three objectives.

Toward achieving the fourth objective of deducing some policy and program implications of the findings from this research, both secondary data from prior studies and census data about the general population of Maranao Muslims which are related to the topics raised in this study, were researched from pertinent literature, and were analyzed relative to the inferences derived from the primary data.

## Research Instruments

### Administrator Survey Questionnaire (ASQ)

This was one of the three researcher-prepared instuments and was used to collect data from selected women administrators (see Appendix C). It contained both open- and close-ended questions, and consisted of 60 items divided into three sections: (1) socio-demographic profile, (2) description of the respondent's salient career experiences and visions, and (3) description of the factors which she perceived to have influenced or continue to influence her own career. Data obtained from this questionnaire provided the main answers to research questions 1 to 7.

### Employee Survey Questionnaire (ESQ)

Research questions 1 to 7 called for comparison between the administrators' characteristics, career experiences, goals and visions, and factors influencing their career success with those of their respective Muslim women subordinates. Toward this

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end, the Employee Survey Questionnaire was designed to obtain comparative data from the subordinates on virtually the same variables obtained from the administrators (see Appendix D). It consisted of the same questions asked in the ASQ except for four items namely: 5, 45, 46, and 48. Item 5 differed entirely between ASQ and ESQ but items 45, 46 and 48 were complementary to each other.

Ulama Interview Guide

In conjunction with the eighth research question which sought to find out the extent to which religious beliefs and practices held by Maranao Muslim women educators conform with those propagated by Islamic leaders (ulama) in the region, the Ulama Interview Guide (Appendix E) was designed. It consisted of seven questions pertaining to: (a) the Islamic teachings espoused by the *alim* or *alima* respondent among the communities he or she serves; (b) changes in emphasis in those teachings, if any, through the years; and (c) his/her observations about the people's adherence to those teachings.

At this juncture, it is important to mention an unexpected finding regarding gains in Muslim women leadership, serendipitously revealed by the study. In the process of identifying the population of ulama whom the women educators considered influential in shaping their religious beliefs and practices, a good number of educator-respondents cited women religious leaders whom they called *alima*, or the female counterpart of *alim* (singular of ulama). Apparently, among the contemporary Maranao Muslims, religious leadership is no longer a monopoly of men.

Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire, Form 12 (LBDQ-12)

This instrument is a copyrighted, standardized questionnaire developed jointly by the Bureau of Business Research and the Administrative Science Research of Ohio

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State University. It built upon the original LBDQ developed by John K. Hemphill and Alvin E. Coons. It is purported to measure 10 more subscales of leader behaviors in addition to the two measured by the original version: initiation of structure and consideration. The ten additional leader behavior subscales are: (1) representation, (2) demand reconciliation, (3) tolerance of uncertainty, (4) persuasiveness, (5) tolerance of freedom, (6) role assumption, (7) production emphasis, (8) predictive accuracy, (9) integration, and (10) superior orientation. The developer's description of these subscales are given in Appendix F.

In reviewing LBDQ-12, Robert Dipboye pointed out results of some studies supporting the internal consistency, inter-rater reliability, and test-retest reliability of several of its scales. He also presented support for concurrent validity of the instrument since "its scales have been found to correlate with the external criteria of job satisfaction and performance and are capable of distinguishing between persons displaying behaviors corresponding to the dimensions" (in Buros, 1978, p. 1751). Dipboye considers LBDQ-12 as the best of the Ohio State Leadership Scales and recommends it highly for research purposes, having been used in a good number of leadership studies in the United States and in some other countries.

Both administrator-respondents and their selected subordinates were requested to answer the LBDQ-12. From the administrators, the instrument elicited self-ratings of their own leadership behaviors; whereas from the subordinates, it obtained the respondents' ratings of their respective leaders' behaviors in the workplace. Data derived from LBDQ-12 provided answers to research questions 9 and 10 (Figure 3).

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## Developing and/or Pilot Testing the Research Instruments

### The Researcher-made Survey Instruments

#### Administrator and Employee Survey Questionnaires (ASQ and ESQ)

Selection and development procedures for the instruments used in this study were guided by the research objectives and questions. The investigator proceeded by first reviewing several published questionnaires on leadership in search of instruments that could appropriately generate the data needed to answer the research questions. This process led to the selection of LBDQ-12 as the questionnaire to be used in collecting data pertinent to questions 9 and 10. No other published instruments were found to be appropriate in addressing research questions 1-8, because the objectives and questions were specific to the peculiar experiences and circumstances of the subjects of this study. Therefore, the investigator decided to construct the three other instruments: ASQ and ESQ, the complementary survey questionnaires for the administrator and subordinate groups, and an interview guide for the ulama.

Research questions 1-7 called for comparison of the administrators and their respective subordinates on four broad categories of variables: (1) salient characteristics, (2) career development experiences, (3) career-related goals and visions, and (4) factors influencing their career success. Necessarily, the questionnaires for the two groups must have identical or complementary items.

For a start, the investigator generated a listing of probable specific variables under each broad category of data to be compared. Some ideas were taken from the literature on women leaders (e.g. education, leadership aspiration, socio economic status, parental support and encouragement, and others.). Variables that were thought to be peculiar to the research setting were generated through a brainstorming process

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with the researcher's husband, Luis Lacar[6], whose own research interest and prior studies about Filipino Muslims spurred the present endeavor.

Using the resulting list of specific variables as a guide, the researcher formulated the first draft of the questionnaires. It consisted of both closed- and open-ended items. The latter, particularly, were designed for the purpose of eliciting from the respondents additional descriptions or explanations of the variables asked about. Open-ended questions were also intended to draw out from respondents other variables that may have not been queried about but which they considered equally important in describing their career experiences, practices, and visions.

The first draft was submitted to the members of the researcher's dissertation committee for their comments and suggestions. Foremost among the concerns raised by the committee was the probable political overtones of some items with the way they were stated, and which might affect the respondents' answers to succeeding items. Their suggestions were well taken and incorporated in the revised draft that was submitted for further review to the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) of Western Michigan University. Those questionnaires, along with the research proposal, were approved by HSIRB without any changes (Appendix B).

The approved questionnaires were then sent to a social science professor in the research site whose research interests include studies of the changing social life of Filipino Muslims. He was requested to review the instruments for the purpose of expressing a professional opinion regarding (a) the content validity of the instruments relative to the research objectives and questions they were designed to address, and (b) some items which may be politically sensitive.

The reviewer was of the opinion that although some questions (particularly those pertaining to national identification) appeared to have some political overtones,

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people in the research area are rather open about their stance on the subject. Therefore, the questions were not considered politically sensitive as to be avoided by the target respondents. Moreover, he thought that all items were pertinent to the objectives of the study, although he commented that the identical questionnaires for the women educators were rather long. Considering, however, the exploratory and descriptive nature of the study, the number of items in the instruments was not reduced.

The same draft of the questionnaires was further submitted to a panel of three social science professors at Mindanao State University, who are also practicing social science researchers in the Philippines and are known for their keen interest in Muslim-related issues. The panel further confirmed the content validity of the instruments as well as the absence of politically-sensitive statements. Additionally, the panel members pointed out a few items containing English idioms, not commonly used locally, which may present a problem of comprehension among some of the respondents. Their comments (Appendix G), were helpful in preparing the final draft for pilot-testing and in training field researchers.

In pilot testing the ASQ and ESQ, seven (7) Maranao women college and high school teachers in the research area, who were not potential respondents of the study, were requested to participate. Three participants who had previous administrative experiences were instructed to assume the role of administrator when answering the questions while the four others were requested to assume that they were subordinates. Two primary objectives were accomplished by this exercise. First it identified areas in which potential difficulty in understanding specific questions may present themselves so that interviewers could be oriented and thoroughly taught to anticipate potential problems in the course of the actual interviews. Second, the results of the pilot test provided insight into the probable responses that may be collected and whether or not they were in consonant with the data intended for each research question.

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Prior to pilot-testing the two questionnaires, an attempt was made to translate the same into the Maranao dialect. The exercise was, however, found to be too involved and laboriously long to be of any value in as much as all the respondents were fairly conversant with the English language (see discussion of LBDQ-12). Because of this, the translation attempt was abandoned and only the English form was used.

Ulama Interview Guide

The interview guide for the ulama was first developed in English by the researcher (Appendix E). It was subjected to the same review process as the other two survey questionnaires. The review panel likewise confirmed the content validity of the instrument relative to the objective it is purported to accomplish. In addition, the following procedures were also done.

First the initial English version was translated by a Maranao social science professor in the research site into the Maranao dialect, which in turn was translated back into English by another professor. The new English version was translated again into Maranao by still another Maranao professor. This last translation was considered the final version and was used as the guide in all interviews with the ulama.

As it turned out, however, the translation back-translation exercise was totally unnecessary as all of the ulama-respondents could shift from the Maranao dialect to English and Filipino languages with reasonable facility. In fact the interviews were recorded in a mixture of English and Filipino languages with only a few statements in Maranao dialect as the ulama tended to answer the questions in this fashion.

For lack of material time, the ulama interview guide was not pilot tested. Never-theless the results of the interviews do not show any indication that the quality of the data gathered with this instrument had been affected by the absence of pilot test

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procedures. This writer is confident about the integrity of the data obtained from the ulama informants.

Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire, Form-12 (LBDQ-12)

The investigator used LBDQ-12 in its entirety, i.e. original items, form, and language. Although this questionnaire has been used popularly in leadership studies in United States and in some other countries of the world, it was still reviewed and pilot tested in the present research setting.

The same panel of professors who examined the researcher-made instruments were requested to also review LBDQ-12 in order to ascertain (a) the validity of the instrument relative to the research questions it was intended to answer; (b) whether or not the behaviors which the instrument purports to measure could be realistically expected of school administrators in the Philippines, given the realities (e.g. highly centralized, hierarchical organizational structure, poor instructional facilities, uniform curricula, etc.) of the country's educational system; and (c) the comprehensibility of the items among the intended respondents. Any views concurred by at least two of the three professors were considered in conducting the research.

The panel of experts did not have any doubt regarding the ability of LBDQ-12 to measure the behaviors it purports to measure, and its applicability to the leadership context and population of the present study. However, the members anticipated some probable difficulty on the part of the respondents in understanding some specific English idioms in the LBDQ-12 which are not commonly used locally. Among these English idioms were "pep talks" (item 3), "in stride" (item 22) "needles" (item 28), and "madhouse" (item 81). Since LBDQ-12 is a published instrument, no changes were effected. However, the field researchers were thoroughly oriented about the instrument and were instructed to carefully explain each idiom verbally to the respondents before

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they start filling out the questionnaire. In the actual field research, only a few respondents asked for further clarification.

The following factors probably explain the respondents' relative facility in comprehending the research instruments: (a) all respondents have had at least 10 years of schooling where English was used as the medium of instruction and testing; (b) many are teaching grade levels where English is used as the medium of instruction; (c) the administrators, particularly, carry out their official functions using English as the medium of communication; and (d) professional licensing examinations, civil service examinations (such as those that teachers in public schools are required to pass), standardized achievement tests, college admission tests, and other psychological tests are all written in English. For instance, a good number of psychological tests developed in the United States are being used in the Philippines in their original forms for academic, research, and industrial purposes.

These obtaining situations notwithstanding, LBDQ-12 was still pilot tested among 7 randomly selected Muslim women teachers, primarily for the purpose of determining average testing time and probable comprehension problems. As anticipated, only a few clarification questions were asked by the respondents and only pertaining to some items pointed out beforehand by the panel of reviewers.

## Determining the Research Populations and Samples

### Population and Sample of Administrators

All Maranao Muslim women administrators working in government educational institutions within Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte, Philippines constituted the primary population for this study. For inclusion in the population, an administrator must hold a rank of at least a head teacher of either an elementary or secondary public

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school or at least a chairman of an academic unit in a state university at the time of the study. Members of the population were identified from five public school divisions and one state university.

A listing of potential members of the administrator population from Mindanao State University, and a permit to conduct research on its various campuses were obtained with relative facility (Appendix I). However, obtaining the same from other government schools took a much longer, laborious, expensive, and oftentimes frustrating process. There were at least three major reasons for this difficulty: (1) the hierarchical structure of all Philippine government institutions, (2) not all government offices compile personnel data with researchers in mind, and (3) poor communication and transportation systems. The ramifications of these factors in the overall conduct of the research will be made apparent in the succeeding discussions.

The strictly hierarchical structure of Philippine government institutions dictates that permits and clearances to conduct research involving government employees, such as the present study, must originate from the central office of the national department concerned; then coursed through every office down the line until one reaches the office that has direct administrative jurisdiction over prospective members of the research population. As a consequence for this particular study, the offices which had jurisdiction over the potential members of the administrator population were reluctant to provide the field research supervisor an official listing without a written order from a higher office.

The researcher was fully aware of this bureaucracy hence she sent a letter requesting official permission to conduct the study in public schools in the selected research area, as early as January 1994 to the Secretary of the Department of Education (Appendix H). After two months of waiting without any response, the request was followed-up with another letter and several overseas telephone calls, but all to no avail.

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It was only when the researcher went home in July 1994 and personally followed up the request, that she obtained an "informal endorsement" from the national office to the next office in the hierarchy.

Another problem encountered was the lack or absence of basic personnel information in systematized and summarized form. For instance, it was found out later that some offices did not have any prepared list of principals or head teachers showing such vital information as their employment status, gender, religious affiliation, marital status, etc. Some of these information, while available, were often times in raw form rather than in summarized form. This weakness in management information systems, is intimately related to the fact that some government offices do not compile personnel data with researchers in mind. Thus in not a few instances, researchers needing particular information may have to search and summarize them from personnel files, if they are in fact available. Some information may not be available at all.

By May 1994, time was running out but not one official permit was yet obtained, nor was there any hope of obtaining any unless the researcher followed up the request personally. In the meantime the researcher was still in the United States, and because of the time frame within which the research proper had to be accomplished, it became absolutely necessary for the field research supervisor to set in motion the preliminary research procedures.

Without a written permit from the education department's central office in Manila, the field research supervisor was unable to obtain an official listing of the administrator population at the planned research area. He then had to improvise by resorting to two simultaneous approaches to generate a usable listing of potential members. Both approaches were made possible with the assistance of influential "community gatekeepers" by virtue of their prestige, long-established family reputation and esteem in the community. In local cultural dynamics, these influential individuals

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would act as "intermediaries" or "facilitators"[7]. For this project, the assistance of these community gatekeepers helped in obtaining the cooperation of school officials and prospective members of the population, although usually granted implicitly and unofficially. More importantly, these influential individuals helped insure the field researchers' physical safety and security while in the community.

The first approach used by the field supervisor to generate a list of the population was a modified snowball listing procedure (Denzin, 1970) he has learned to adapt from actual field research experience in rural Philippines where problems of generating population listing are major persistent obstacles. Snowball listing was done for two of the five public school divisions targeted for the study that were more accessible in terms of distance and cooperation of division authorities. The process is described below.

1. A person known to possess the basic characteristics of interest was contacted. In this particular instance, the basic characteristics of interest defined in the research design were: (a) Maranao Muslim woman educational administrator, and (b) working in government schools within the defined research area. This person was then requested to name at least three other potential members of the administrator population, based on the same criteria.

2. Each of the persons named by the first contact was approached individually and requested to name other potential members of the population. Names already given by other informants were crossed out and only new other names were listed.

3. Procedure 2 was repeated as many times as was deemed necessary. When the names given by previous informants were repeatedly mentioned, and hardly new names were generated these were indications that the population frame had been saturated and the snowball listing was considered complete. With a relatively small potential population frame for this research, saturation point was reached rather fast.

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The other approach done simultaneously with the snowball listing was to generate an unofficial list of potential members of the population from personnel data files in one division office which eventually cooperated but did not have a prepared list that could be used for purposes of the study. A research assistant was assigned to do this task. Fortunately, this procedure was performed only for one division, as one regional office eventually provided prior-year official listings of administrators for two other divisions. Although not current, the official listings were nevertheless useful in identifying potential members of the administrator population.

The information on religion of each individual was one of the most vexing as it was considered "unnecessary and unimportant." Given the religious tone of the ethnic conflict in the Philippines, which at the time was still brewing very intensely within the research cite (see, for example, Balana & Marfil, 1994; Jaleco, 1994), one wonders why religion was considered "unnecessary and unimportant." On the other hand, it seems plausible to conjecture that the absence of information about personnel's religious affiliation was probably a manifestation of the government's conscious efforts to downplay religion in order to allay religious and ethnic animosity among employees in government service.

Because religion was a critical variable in the study, efforts were expended to verify the religious affiliation of each potential administrator-respondent of the study in two ways. First, by segregating Muslim-sounding names, e.g., Fatimah Abdul, Saida Maulana, etc. While this procedure was generally helpful, it was not one hundred percent fool proof since not a few Filipino Muslims now have taken names commonly used by Christians. In such situations the second procedure was employed. This consisted of sitting down with each district supervisor and verifying from him or her the religious affiliation or ethnic origin of each administrator under his or her super-

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vision. Luckily, the supervisors were very familiar with all the principals and head teachers they supervise.

By the time the snowball listing was completed, the unofficial list generated from personnel files was about ready as well. The next step was to cross check and match the names in the snowball listing with the unofficial list prepared by a research assistant, as well as with the prior year's official listing provided by one regional office. Minor discrepancies were noted due to either job transfer or reassignment and acquisition of new family names because of marriage. A thorough reconciliation of the three listings yielded a total of 188 names for the population of administrators.

Considering the relatively large number of the population and its spread over a wide area in the two provinces of Lanao, it soon became apparent that the researcher could not sample all the places with potential administrator respondents, given other constraints such as: (a) time and budgetary limitations, (b) unwillingness of some key public school personnel to give permission to conduct the research in their respective campuses without a written permit from higher authorities, and most especially, (c) the problem of physical security posed by the activities of some lawless elements which were very active in the area at the time of the fieldwork.

Therefore, schools with potential respondents were nevertheless excluded from the sampling frame if: (a) they were located more than 10 kilometers from a road passable by a motor vehicle, (b) they either do not have or have only very limited transportation facilities (i.e. only one or two trips a day on extremely overloaded vehicles), (c) were considered by the military commands as high-security-risk areas, and (d) neither an explicit or implied clearance to conduct the research on campus has been granted by key school officials.

Based on one or a combination of the above criteria, Lanao del Sur II, the second division of public schools in Lanao del Sur province, was totally excluded from

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sampling. Marawi City Division, was also totally excluded because the permit to conduct research in the area was granted very late. Iligan City was not represented in the study since there was no Maranao Muslim woman administrator in the division at the time of the field research. In some cases, the list of accessible population was further diminished by the inavailability of some administrators at the time of the study due to either a prolonged leave of absence, a month-long training, or some other personal reasons. A thorough assessment of the potential sampling areas based on the above criteria and situations eventually reduced the accessible population to 75 names (or 40 % of the research population identified). Of these, 50 (or 67 % of the sampling frame) were randomly selected to constitute the sample.

In general the selected respondents were very cooperative. However, for reasons beyond the control of either the respondents or the interviewers, only 46 interviews with administrators (92 % of the initial sample) were completed along with their respective subordinates. The distributions of the administrator population, sampling frame, and sample along with the corresponding distribution of sample of subordinates by area or school division are shown in Table 4.

Population and Sample of Subordinates

Identifying the population and selecting the sample of Maranao Muslim women subordinates were done only from official lists. Compared with the procedures followed for the administrators, the process used for the subordinates was relatively an easier task. Administrators were first interviewed, then names of Maranao Muslim women whom they were supervising were obtained. From each list provided by the administrator-respondents, the sample of subordinates was selected using the following guidelines: (a) when there were 1-3 Muslim women subordinates, everyone was included; (b) when there were 4-8, 3 were randomly selected; and (c) when there were

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more than 8, at least 4 or at most 5 were likewise, randomly selected. With these guidelines, a total of 166 Maranao Muslim women subordinates, representing close to 70 % of the sampling frame, were selected. Given an outright support by their respective administrators, all selected subordinates cooperated in the study. Included in Table 4 is the distribution of this sample by research area.

Table 4

Distributions of the Population, Sampling Frame, and Sample of Maranao Muslim Women Administrators With Corresponding Sample of Muslim Women Subordinates, by Research Area or School Division

| State University or Division of Public Schools | Administrators | | | Subordinates |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Population | Sampling Frame | Sample | Sample |
| M.S.U. campuses | 17 | 11 | 9 | 31 |
| Lanao del Norte Division | 29 | 24 | 16 | 60 |
| Lanao del Sur Division I | 87 | 40 | 21 | 75 |
| Lanao del Sur Division II | 50 | 0[a] | - | - |
| Marawi City Division | 5 | 0a | - | - |
| Iligan City Division | 0[b] | 0[b] | - | - |
| Total | 188 | 75 | 46 | 166 |

[a]Excluded from the sampling frame for one or a combination of the following reasons: (1) location was too far from the research base and travel was difficult, (2) location was classified among high-risk areas, and (3) permit to conduct research in the area was granted late.

[b]This division did not have any Maranao Muslim woman administrator at the time of the field research.

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Population and Sample of Ulama

The eighth research question was aimed at examining the extent to which the religious beliefs of Muslim women educators conform with the Islamic teachings espoused by their religious leaders. Hence the need to interview a sample of Islamic leaders who had influenced the religious beliefs and practices of Maranao Muslim women educators. To accomplish this purpose, each woman respondent was asked to name, at most, three living religious leaders or teachers who had the greatest influence on her family's religious beliefs and practices; and who are presently residing within the defined research area. Their responses yielded 74 names which constituted the research population of ulama as shown in Table 5 below..

Table 5

Population, Sampling Frame, and Sample of Ulama, by Gender

| Gender | Population | Sampling Frame | Sample | Percent of Sampling Frame |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 64 | 20 | 7 | 35 % |
| Female | 10 | 4 | 2 | 50 % |
| Total | 74 | 24 | 9 | 37.5 % |

Again, considering the limited resources at the disposal of the researcher, it was only feasible to interview a minimum of 5 or a maximum of 10 ulama. In determining the sampling frame of ulama, the same criteria regarding accessibility which were employed earlier in identifying the administrator sampling frame were used. Moreover, only those named by at least 10 women educators were included. These criteria

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reduced the ulama sampling frame to 24, 9 of whom were randomly selected and interviewed. Table 5 also shows the distribution (by gender) of the sampling frame and sample of religious leaders and teachers who were identified for this study.

## Selecting and Training Interviewers

Because of the nature of the subject of the study and the religious dimension of most of the issues involved, selecting and training field researchers were very critical aspects of the research process. Utmost care was exerted so that field researchers possessed not only the necessary qualifications but also the sensitivity to certain religious and cultural differences among Filipinos of different ethnic backgrounds. The volatile and hostile situation surrounding Muslim-Christian relations in the setting of the study, made it extremely important that the interviewers had to be very careful. Although it was fairly reasonable to assume that the potential respondents of the research would be very tolerant of minor unintentional lapses in statements or behavior of interviewers, given their social status and employment or leadership positions, it was nevertheless felt that the interviewers had to be made constantly conscious and aware of certain religious and cultural sensitivities that had to be respected at all times.

This concern was reflected during the selection process related to the gender composition and ethnicity of the interviewers to be hired. At first, it was thought that among Maranao Muslims, women are prohibited from talking to men who are not known to them. However, on consultation with knowledgeable ulama in the area and a Maranao Muslim woman madrasah coordinator, it was learned that a man interviewing a Maranao Muslim woman is considered proper provided it is an official business, and as long as the venue of the interview is open so others can see. It was further revealed that among educated Maranao Muslim women, the idea of isolation of women is already a thing of the past. In spite of these pieces of information, hiring Maranao

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Muslim women interviewers was still a top priority for the project provided however, that they were qualified. The minimum qualifications set as criteria for selecting research assistants were: (a) college degree holder, preferrably in the social sciences; (b) familiarity with the Maranao dialect and culture; and (c) at least one field research experience.

A total of 15 female and 7 male applicants (13 Christians, 8 Muslims, and 1 *Balik-Islam*[8]) responded to the announcement for three interviewer positions needed for the research. The research team that was eventually selected consisted of a single Muslim woman, a Christian woman married to a Maranao Muslim, and a single male *Balik-Islam*. The Christian woman speaks very fluently the Maranao dialect and turned out to be the most qualified among all the female applicants, having had the most number of field research experiences in interviewing Muslims. In addition, she revealed during the interview process, a "neutral and objective" perspective required in an interviewer. To the credit of the male *Balik-Islam* are at least two years of field research experiences among Maranao Muslims and a keen awareness of the cultural and religious dynamics in both Islamic and Christian traditions; having relatives on both sides and having been a former Christian himself. In addition, during the role playing interview practice, he demonstrated his ability to respond to questions without interposing his personal opinions.

Training the three selected field researchers lasted for 7 days at 4 hours daily. The training objectives included familiarizing them with the research questions and objectives, the desired data, and the research instruments. To do this, the research supervisor, who also conducted the selection and training of the interviewers, walked them through each of the research objectives very carefully and the corresponding questions in each research instrument, making sure that interviewers knew the specific information each question was trying to draw out. It was impressed upon them that the

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quality of the data was important and therefore efforts have to be exerted to obtain quality information from the respondents. This meant total familiarity with all the research instruments.

The trainees were encouraged to raise questions about specific aspects of the research as well as practical questions and concerns regarding fieldwork. Being reasonably knowledgeable of the people, culture, and security situation of the research site, the trainees were also requested to share their informed opinions regarding the strengths and weaknesses of the planned procedures for collecting data and the advantages and disadvantages of excluding some areas from the sampling frame.

Enhancement of skills in establishing rapport with respondents was likewise emphasized during the training. Such things as introducing oneself properly and the purpose of one's coming were acted out. While requests to conduct interviews had already been disseminated, interviewers were still encouraged to obtain the cooperation of "community gatekeepers" to further enhance the cooperation of the identified respondents and to assure their own acceptance and security in the community. Local customs dictate this dynamics. They were also taught how to handle interview situations in which presence of other persons is a constant factor. Unlike textbook instructions in research in which an interview is supposed to be conducted alone with a respondent, such situation is a remote possibility especially in rural communities, where privacy is almost an unknown commodity.

Another aspect of data collection which the interviewers were trained to anticipate was how to deal with respondents who are difficult to interview or who refuse to participate. Probable scenarios of lack of respondent cooperation were presented and alternative procedures to resolve difficulties were discussed.

Role playing was another important feature of the training. In a round robin style, each trainee played the role of an interviewer, an administrator, and a subordinate

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alternately until everyone had played all the three roles. The purposes of this exercise were for each trainee to (a) gain a thorough familiarity with the instruments, (b) master data collection procedures, and (c) anticipate and deal with potential problems that may be presented by a respondent. Role playing also helped estimate the average time needed to complete an engagement with a respondent. The trainees learned among themselves by critically evaluating each other's performance.

The last three days of the training were spent for pilot interview sessions which also served for pilot testing the instruments. Prior to this, trainees were instructed to identify 10 Maranao Muslim women employees at MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology in Iligan City and to request each for a pilot interview. To qualify for the pilot test, a prospective participant need not be a head of any academic unit but must be at least a college graduate in order to approximate the educational attainment of the potential respondents. Only 8 could be identified as potential subjects for the pilot interviews; of which 7 agreed to participate. Of the 7, three participants who had previous administrative experiences were requested to assume the administrator role during the interviews. The other four participants assumed the subordinate role. The completed interviews of this exercise served as the pilot test of the ASQ, ESQ, and LBDQ-12.

## Data Collection Procedures

The techniques or combination of techniques employed in the actual collection of data depended on a host of factors some of which pertained to the respondents and others to the setting and research environment. Among these factors were the research instruments, the interview situation, the timing of the interview, and the time at the disposal of the respondents.

With regard to the research instruments, particularly the Administrator and Subordinate Survey Questionnaires, many items were answerable by simply choosing

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between alternative responses. They were easily accomplished by the respondents themselves. Some items, however, required respondents to provide their own answers or give some explanations. Because of this, a good number of respondents requested assistance in writing out long responses.

There was also the fact that the two instruments were extremely long. If left alone to the respondents, they were likely to put the questionnaires aside undone or incomplete. Moreover, there was that potential problem of lack of comprehension on the part of the respondents. Consequently, even if a respondent opted to fill out the survey questionnaire by herself, the field researcher concerned was instructed to wait in a convenient place. About 90 percent of the ASQ and ESQ were accomplished through the combined procedures of self-response and interview; the others were accomplished fully by the respondents themselves.

In the case of the LBDQ-12, each respondent filled out the questionnaire by herself. However, in each case, a field researcher was always nearby to clarify any difficulty a respondent might have and to ensure that the instrument was not put aside. As anticipated, requests for clarification were related to the meaning of English idioms, mostly on items pointed out earlier by the panel of reviewers.

All interviews were conducted only during working hours in the respondents' workplaces, as visits to their homes were next to impossible since the interviewers had no access to the respondents' home addresses. Besides, even if the interviewers had the respondents' home addresses, absence or lack of transportation would still have impeded home interviews, unless the respondents were living in areas accessible by motor vehicles.

Data from the ulama were obtained through personal interviews conducted by the male research assistant. Questions were asked in Maranao; whereas responses were given in a mixture of Maranao, Filipino, and English as the informants were also

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reasonably conversant in the two latter languages. Answers were taken down verbatim. In transcribing the interview notes for the researcher, the interviewer translated the very few Maranao statements to English. Those that were stated in Filipino or English were transcribed as they were.

## Description of Data Collected

### Data Collected for Research Question 1

The first question sought to identify the salient characteristics that distinguish between Maranao Muslim women administrators and their Maranao Muslim women subordinates. For lack of prior studies along this line, thirty-four variables were examined to find answers to this question. They were categorized as: (a) personal and employment-related, and (b) family-related variables. Table 6 shows the categorized listing of those variables along with their corresponding item numbers in the ASQ and ESQ. Also included in this table are the respective measurement scales of the variables which served as a guide in determining the appropriate statistical tools for analyzing each set of data as discussed in a later section.

### Data Collected for Research Question 2

The second research question inquired into the career development experiences of the Maranao Muslim women educators and how those experiences differ between administrators and subordinates. Specific questions were asked in order to elicit from the respondents their description of variables related to their schooling, leadership, and job training experiences as well as the most important honors and awards that they received during the course of their career development and practice. Eighteen variables

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were examined. Details of these variables and their corresponding items in the survey questionnaires are outlined in Table 7.

Table 6

Variables Examined in Relation to Research Question 1, Regarding Salient Characteristics That Distinguish Between Maranao Muslim Women Administrators and Their Muslim Women Subordinates

| Variables | Item in ASQ & ESQ | Measurement Scale |
|---|---|---|
| A. Personal and employment-related variables | | |
| 1. Number of years in present job | 2 | ratio |
| 2. Number of years employed in government schools | 3 | ratio |
| 3. Present employment status | 4 | nominal |
| 4. Educational attainment | 31 | nominal |
| 5. Age | 6 | ratio |
| 6. Birth Order | 9 | nominal |
| 7. Respondent's religiosity | 16 | nominal |
| 8. Civil status | 21 | nominal |
| 9. If married, respondent's order as a wife | 28 | nominal |
| 10. Number of children | 22 | ratio |
| 11. Respondent's national identification | 55 | nominal |
| 12. National identification respondent wants for her own children | 59 | nominal |
| 13. National identification desired by respondent for other Muslim youth | 57 | nominal |
| B. Family Related variables | | |
| 1. Father's descent | 10 | nominal |

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Table 6—Continued

| Variables | Item in ASQ & ESQ | Measurement Scale |
|---|---|---|
| 2. Mother's descent | 11 | nominal |
| 3. Father's education | 12 | nominal |
| 4. Mother's education | 13 | nominal |
| 5. Father's occupation | 14 | nominal |
| 6. Mother's occupation | 15 | nominal |
| 7. Father's religiosity | 17 | nominal |
| 8. Mother's religiosity | 18 | nominal |
| 9. Father's type of marriage | 19 | nominal |
| 10. Mother's order as a wife | 20 | nominal |
| 11. Parents' national identification | 56 | nominal |
| 12. Husband's education | 24 | nominal |
| 13. Husband's occupation | 25 | nominal |
| 14. Husband's descent | 26 | nominal |
| 15. Husband's type of marriage | 27 | nominal |
| 16. Husband's religiosity | 29 | nominal |
| 17. Husband's national identification | 58 | nominal |
| 18. Number of brothers | 7 | ratio |
| 19. Number of sisters | 7 | ratio |
| 20. Number of brothers with college education | 8 | ratio |
| 21. Number of sisters with college education | 8 | ratio |

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Table 7

Variables Examined Apropos of the Second Research Question, Regarding the Career Development Experiences of Maranao Muslim Women Administrators and Their Subordinates

| Variables | Item in ASQ & ESQ | Measurement Scale |
|---|---|---|
| A. Madrasah schooling experiences | | |
| 1. Whether or not respondent attended madrasah | 32 | nominal |
| 2. Highest grade level finished at madrasah | 33 | nominal |
| 3. Reason, if respondent did not go to madrasah | 34 | nominal |
| B. Type of government-accredited schools attended | | |
| 1. In the Primary grades | 35 | nominal |
| 2. In the intermediate grades | 35 | nominal |
| 3. In college | 35 | nominal |
| 4. In graduate school | 35 | nominal |
| C. Leadership experiences | | |
| 1. In the elementary grades | 39 | nominal |
| 2. In high school | 39 | nominal |
| 3. In college | 39 | nominal |
| 4. In graduate school | 39 | nominal |
| D. Honors and awards received | 40 | nominal |
| E. Training seminars attended | | |
| 1. Type of training | 41 | nominal |
| 2. Duration of training | 41 | nominal |
| 3. Sponsor of training | 41 | nominal |

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Table 7—Continued

| Variables | Item in ASQ & ESQ | Measurement Scale |
|---|---|---|
| F. Other training experiences | 42 | nominal |
| G. Aspects of job in which respondent felt most prepared | 43 | nominal |
| H. Aspects of job about which respondent expressed need for further training | 44 | nominal |

Data Collected for Research Questions 3 and 4

Research questions 3 and 4 were intended to identify the career-related goals and visions of Muslim women educators and how they differ between administrators and subordinates. Variables that were explored included the aspirations each respondent had as a child or as an adolescent regarding education, occupation, and leadership roles in her adulthood. Questions were also asked about the respondent's current career goals for herself and her visions for the children and youth of her community. Presented in Table 8 are the details of those variables and their corresponding items in the survey questionnaires.

Data Collected for Research Questions 5-8

Factors influencing Muslim women's career development and practice were the variables of interest that were investigated in conjunction with research questions 5-6. Open-ended questions were asked to allow the respondents leeway in naming and describing those factors. To help them in this exercise, a list of 43 variables was provided in Item 50 of the survey questionnaires. They were also encouraged to name any other unlisted variables which they considered most notable in shaping their career.

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Table 8

Variables Examined In Relation to Research Questions 3 and 4, Regarding Career-Related Goals and Visions of Maranao Muslim Women Educators

| Variables | Item in ASQ & ESQ | Measurement Scale |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Educational aspirations as a child or as an adolescent | 36 | nominal |
| 2. Adult occupation aspired for as a child or as an adolescent | 37 | nominal |
| 3. Adult leadership roles desired during childhood or adolescence | 38 | nominal |
| 4. Career goals within the next 5 years | 47 | nominal |
| 5. Career goals within the next 10 years | 48 | nominal |
| 6. Respondent's visions for children and youth of her community in the next 5 years | 49 | nominal |
| 7. Respondent's visions for children and youth of her community in the next 10 years | 49 | nominal |

Item 52 asked the respondents to name and describe five most important factors that enhanced their career success; item 53, the five most limiting factors; and item 54, the things they had to give up in order for them to achieve their career goals.

Research questions 7 and 8 were aimed at determining the impact of religious beliefs on the career development and practice of Muslim women. In conjunction with these research questions, the Muslim women educators were asked in item 51 to name or describe their families' religious beliefs which they think have influenced—favorably or unfavorably—their career. Their responses were then compared with the Islamic teachings which Maranao religious teachers/leaders claim to have propagated in the region. This was done to find out if the beliefs held by the women educators conform

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with those taught by their religious leaders. The latter data were obtained through interviews with selected ulama named by the Muslim women educators themselves.

The questions directed to the ulama were all open-ended. Among others, the data obtained from the ulama included descriptions of the Islamic teachings they espouse regarding: (a) primary duties and functions of women, (b) education of the male and female Muslims, (c) employment of Muslim women, (d) administrative and leadership roles of women, and (e) distinctions between the rights and obligations of female and male Muslims.

Questions were also asked regarding (a) changes in emphasis of those teachings as observed by each *alim/alima* (singular of ulama) through the years of his/her religious work, and (b) the informant's own assessment of the differences in adherence to those teachings by groups of individuals within the *ummah* (community of believers) he/she has served. The variables named by the women educators and the ulama informants regarding research questions 5-8 were classified as nominal variables.

Data Collected for Research Questions 9 and 10

Research questions 9 and 10 sought to compare the administrators' perceptions of their behaviors in the worksetting with the way their respective subordinates perceive those behaviors. Data for these questions were collected using the LBDQ-12. With this instrument, each administrator self-rated her performance on 12 leader-behavior subscales. Using the same instrument each subordinate-respondent rated her leader's work performance on each of the 12 subscales. Classified as interval variables, the subscales are as follows: (1) representation, (2) demand reconciliation, (3) tolerance of uncertainty, (4) persuasiveness, (5) initiation of structure, (6) tolerance of freedom, (7) role assumption, (8) consideration, (9) production emphasis, (10) predictive accuracy,

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(11) integration, (12) superior orientation. (See Appendix F for the description of these subscales.)

In addition to the data collected with the LBDQ-12, items 45 and 46 of the ASQ asked each administrator to name her leadership practices which she considers most effective and least effective respectively. Perceptions by the subordinates of the same leadership practices were obtained by asking corresponding questions in the ESQ. Being descriptive of the most effective and least effective behaviors, the data for these items were classified as nominal variables.

Data Collected for Research Objective 4

The fourth research objective does not stand alone. Rather, it is intimately related to each of the three objectives and serves as the culminating procedure of deducing some policy and program implications of the findings derived from the primary data of this research. This was accomplished by relating results of pertinent prior studies and population census data to the inferences derived from the present research data. Published reports of related prior studies, reports published by the National Census and Statistics Office of the Philippines, current events, and annual publications about the country constitute the bulk of information used in deriving policy and program implications of the findings from this research.

## Methods of Analysis and Interpretation

Analysis of LBDQ-12, ASQ and ESQ Data

The data obtained from the Muslim women educators were analyzed using SPSS software through the computer facilities of Western Michigan University. Preliminary procedures likewise followed the guidelines illustrated in the book

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accompanying the software, SPSS Introductory Statistics Student Guide, (Norusis, 1990).

Preliminary Procedures

The preliminary procedures such as preparing the code guide, coding and entering the data, examining frequency distributions and plots, and correcting errors were done by the researcher.

In preparing the code guide, only numeric codes were used. For closed-ended items, the coding scheme was pre-developed based on the options given in each item. Whereas for open-ended items, the coding scheme was developed progressively through the coding process, adding new codes as new responses were encountered. The same guide was used in coding data from the administrators and subordinates. Similarly, a common computer data file was utilized for the two groups.

After the data entry, the coding scheme for open-ended questions was reviewed and collapsed into fewer codes representing themes derived from the original answers of the respondents. Thus, subsequent analyses of responses to open-ended questions included recode commands which reduced the values of the variables under consideration into a more manageable number.

Preliminary computer printouts of frequency distributions and graphs were examined prior to performing both descriptive and inferential statistical analyses. Examination of the data enabled the researcher to detect and correct errors in coding and data entry. Likewise, the data examination procedures indicated to the researcher whether or not the data met the assumptions of normality of distributions and homogeneity of variance, which in turn served in choosing between parametric and non-parametric tests.

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Statistical Analysis

Frequency and percentage distributions were completed for each variable examined in this research. Additionally, depending on the measurement scale of the variable being analyzed (i.e. whether nominal, interval, or ratio variable), appropriate descriptive and inferential statistical analyses were performed as described in the succeeding sections.

Statistical Procedures for Interval and Ratio Variables. Respondent's age, length of service in government schools, and leader-behavior scales are examples of the ratio or interval variables that were investigated. For each of these variables, and for each sample group, descriptive statistics such as mean and standard deviation were computed.

Subsequently, the difference between sample means for each ratio or interval variable was tested for significance using the appropriate t-test, (i.e. either t-test for independent samples or t-test for paired samples). For example, t-test for independent samples was employed in testing the significance of the difference between the mean age of the administrators and the mean age of the subordinates; whereas t-test for paired samples was used in testing the significance of the difference between the mean self-rating of administrators and the mean rating given by the subordinates of their respective leaders' performance on each of the twelve LBDQ subscales.

Therefore, when the data pertain to a particular characteristic of each group independent of the other, such as age and length of service, the t-test for independent samples was used. Whereas, when the data obtained from the subordinates pertain particularly to the characteristics of their respective administrators (e.g. the LBDQ-12 subscales), such data were analyzed first for each sub-group of subordinates and then

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paired with the data for corresponding administrators. In those cases, the t-test for paired samples was used.

Finally, for each interval or ratio variable on which the administrator and subordinate groups were compared, significance of the difference between sample means was determined at .10 alpha. Then based on the findings about the characteristics of the samples, inferences were made about the corresponding population parameters.

Statistical Procedures for Nominal Variables. For each nominal variable on which the administrators and subordinates were compared, frequency and percentage distributions for each group was computed and examined. The group distributions were then tested for homogeneity using chi-square test for two independent samples (Hinkle, et al., 1988).

In a very few cases where the categories within each sample group were the ones compared, the hypothesis of equality of responses among the categories was tested using chi-square test of goodness of fit (Hinkle, et al., 1988).

Similarly the result of chi-square analysis of sample data for each nominal variable on which the two groups were compared was evaluated for significance at .10 alpha, and then inferred into the corresponding population parameters.

Analysis of Data Obtained From Maranao Ulama

Since there were only 9 ulama respondents, analysis of data obtained from them was done manually, and consisted only of frequency distributions. Responses having a frequency of 7 or more were considered typical for the group and were interpreted as probably typical for the population of Maranao ulama as well. Any

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answer cited by less than 7 was considered not adequate to support a conclusion that the response is representative of the population of Maranao ulama.

Subsequently, the ulama's responses were compared to corresponding data provided by the Muslim women educators to determine the latter's adherence to or deviation from the teachings propagated by their religious leaders.

## Deducing Policy and Practical Implications of the Research Findings

The culminating procedure pertains to the fourth objective, involving deduction of policy and practical implications of the present research findings. This was accomplished by relating the findings of this study to results of pertinent prior studies, demographic census data, news articles, and annual publications about Filipino Muslim's social life. The summaries of research data, results of various analyses, interpretations, and implications of the findings are presented in the following chapter.

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# CHAPTER IV

## PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

In Chapter I, four research objectives were presented and 10 related research questions were raised. This chapter is an attempt to provide answers to those questions using data collected from Muslim women educators in the Philippines. The order of presentation will follow the sequence in which the questions were posed, focusing on the variables examined to answer those questions as outlined in Chapter III. The chapter begins with a brief description of the composition of the two groups of samples of Muslim women educators and the sample of ulama who provided the primary data for this study; followed by presentation of data, analysis, and findings. Data were analyzed using the procedures described in the preceding chapter, the results of which were inferred to the two populations of Muslim women using .10 level of significance.

### Composition of Group Samples of Muslim Women Educators

Maranao women administrators in government schools constituted the first group of Muslim women surveyed for this study. The second group consisted of Maranao women who were each working under the direct supervision of a respondent in the first group. Brief descriptions of their jobs at the time of the study are shown in Table 9. Among the administrators, 13 percent were either deans, directors, or department heads of Mindanao State University in Marawi City. Seventeen percent were administrators of public school division or district offices, and 70 percent were either principals, head teachers or teacher-in-charge of schools within the two provinces of Lanao. Among the second group of respondents, 85 percent were teachers in the



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elementary or secondary schools and college teachers or professors, whereas 15 percent were staff personnel.

Table 9

Frequency and Percentage Distributions of the Present Positions of Muslim Women Respondents, by Sample Group

| Present Position | Administrator | | Subordinate | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % |
| Dean, director, or chairman of a unit in a state university | 6 | 13 | | |
| Division/District office administrator | 8 | 17 | | |
| Principal, head teacher or teacher-in-charge | 32 | 70 | | |
| Administrative staff | | | 25 | 15 |
| Teacher or professor | | | 141 | 85 |
| Size of sample (n) | 46 | 100 | 166 | 100 |

## Research Question 1: On Salient Characteristics That Distinguish Maranao Muslim Women Administrators From Their Muslim Women Subordinates

The first research question sought to identify some salient characteristics of Maranao Muslim women educational administrators that distinguish them from their Maranao Muslim women subordinates. Because of the virtual absence of prior studies among Filipino Muslims along this line, 34 variables were examined in an effort to find out as many characteristics that set Muslim women leaders apart from their followers. These variables included (a) personal and employment characteristics of the educators, and (b) some selected socio-demographic characteristics of their families (see Table 6).

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As will be recalled from Chapter III, descriptive statistics such as mean and standard deviations were computed for each ratio or interval variable. Corresponding sample means were then tested for equality, using t-test at .10 level of significance; and on the basis of which inferences about population characteristics were made. For each nominal variable, frequency and percentage distributions were examined. Additionally, analysis of homogeneity of the two groups with respect to each of those nominal variables was performed using chi-square test of homogeneity at .10 level of significance. In a few instances, where the nominal data being analyzed pertained to the same group, the chi-square test of goodness of fit was applied. Similarly, results of the analyses of sample data for nominal variables were inferred to the populations.

The results of analysis of the ratio and interval variables that address research question 1 were summarized in Table 10; and those of the nominal variables in Table 11. In the succeeding sections, each of these characteristics was discussed in detail. The sequence of presentation in Table 6 (where variables were categorized as either personal or family characteristics) was followed; although where deemed appropriate, some data concerning personal characteristics of the respondents were explained in conjunction with corresponding characteristics of selected members of their families. For example, data on respondents' religiosity were discussed in conjunction with data about their parents' and husbands' religiosity. Similarly, data on marital situations of the respondents were presented along with the data on the marital arrangements their parents have.

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Table 10

Summary of the Statistical Analysis of Ratio and Interval Variables Examined In Relation to the First Research Question

| Interval and Ratio Variables | Administrators (n = 46) | | Subordinates (n = 166) | | Results of the t-test of Equality of Two Independent Sample Means | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | s.d. | Mean | s.d. | t-value | df | 2-tail prob. |
| 1. Number of years in present job | 7.2 | 4.0 | 13.1 | 7.5 | 5.16 | 210[a] | .000* |
| 2. Number of years employed in public schools or state universities | 23.3 | 6.1 | 14.3 | 7.5 | 7.48 | 210 | .000* |
| 3. Age of respondent | 44.3 | 6.4 | 37.6 | 7.8 | 5.31 | 210 | .000* |
| 4. Number of children | 6.6 | 3.6 | 5.1 | 3.3 | 2.56 | 186[a] | ·011* |
| 5. Number of brothers | 3.9 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 2.1 | 1.25 | 64a | .210 |
| 6. Number of sisters | 3.9 | 3.3 | 3.8 | 2.5 | .31 | 210 | .76 |
| 7. Brothers with college education | 2.0 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 3.11 | 210 | .002* |
| 8. Sisters with college education | 1.8 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 1.8 | .45 | 210 | .65 |

[a]When the Levene's test indicated homogeneity of population variances, the t-test for pooled variances with 210 df (or 186 df excluding single respondents) was used; otherwise t-test for separate variances with 64 df was employed.

*Significant at .10 alpha.

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Table 11

Summary of the Statistical Analysis of Nominal Variables Examined In Relation to the First Research Question

| Nominal Variables | Chi-Square Test of Homogeneity of the Administrator Group (n = 46) and Subordinate Group (n = 166) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Chi-Square | df | p-value | Interpretation of Results Using .10 Alpha |
| 1. Present employment status | 4.0 | 1 | .044* | Proportionately, more administrators than subordinates have permanent employment status. |
| 2. Educational attainment | 64.2 | 3 | .000* | Administrators have higher educational attainment than their subordinates. |
| 3. Birth order (a) two groups compared | 5.3 | 6 | .50 | The two groups are homogeneous with regard to birth order distribution |
| b) Goodness-of-fit test for administrators | 23.4 | 6 | .001* | Among Maranao Muslim women educational administrators, there are more firstborn than other birth orders. |
| c) Goodness-of-fit test for subordinates | 43.8 | 6 | .000* | Among Maranao Muslim women teachers and staff employees there are more firstborn than other birth orders. |
| 4. Respondent's religiosity | 2.0 | 2 | .37 | Homogeneous, about 95 % of both groups follow all or most of the Islamic teachings espoused by Maranao ulama |

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Table11—Continued

| Nominal Variables | Chi-Square Test of Homogeneity of the Administrator Group (n = 46) and Subordinate Group (n = 166) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Chi-Square | df | p-value | Interpretation of Results Using .10 Alpha |
| 5. Civil Status | 2.78 | 3 | .41 | Homogeneous, about 80 % of both groups are married. |
| 6. Respondent's order as a wife | .38 | 1 | .53 | Homogeneous, more than 95 % of ever married women ein both groups claimed to be the first or only wife of their husbands. |
| 7. Respondent's national identification | 1.77 | 3 | .62 | Homogeneous, more than 80 % of both groups identify with the Philippines. |
| 8. National identification desired for own children | .75 | 2 | .71 | Homogeneous, with more than 73 % of both groups desiring that their children would consider the Philippines as their country. |
| 9. National identification desired for Maranao Muslim youth | 1.18 | 3 | .75 | Homogeneous, with slightly over 60 % of both groups desiring that Maranao Muslim youth would consider the Philippines as their country. |
| 10. Father's descent | .37 | 1 | .50 | Homogeneous, more than 80 % of both groups claimed that their fathers are of royal descent. |

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Table 11—Continued

| Nominal Variables | Chi-Square Test of Homogeneity of the Administrator Group (n = 46) and Subordinate Group (n = 166) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Chi-Square | df | p-value | Interpretation of Results Using .10 Alpha |
| 11. Mother's descent | .08 | 1 | .70 | Homogeneous, over 80 % of both groups claimed that their mothers are of royal descent. |
| 12. Father's education | 8.10 | 2 | .02* | Administrators' fathers are more likely to have higher education than the subordinates' fathers. |
| 13. Mother's education | .11 | 2 | .94 | Homogeneous, more than 60 % of both groups of women educators reported that their mothers did not have any formal education. |
| 14. Father's occupation | 26.10 | 4 | .000* | Administrators' fathers are more likely to have higher ranked occupation than the fathers of their subordinates. |
| 15. Mother's occupation | .62 | 4 | .96 | Homogeneous, about 85 % of both groups reported that their mothers did not have gainful occupation. |
| 16. Father's religiosity | .13 | 2 | .93 | Homogeneous, about 95 % of both groups reported that their fathers follow all or most of the Islamic teachings espoused by their religious leaders. |

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Table11—Continued

| Nominal Variables | Chi-Square Test of Homogeneity of the Administrator Group (n = 46) and Subordinate Group (n = 166) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Chi-Square | df | p-value | Interpretation of Results Using .10 Alpha |
| 17. Mother's religiosity | .44 | 2 | .80 | Homogeneous, more than 95 % of both groups reported that their mothers follow most or all of the Islamic teachings propagated in their community. |
| 18. Father's type of marriage | .12 | 1 | .73 | Homogeneous, over 60 % of both groups claimed that their fathers are monogamous. |
| 19. Mother's order as a wife | .005 | 1 | .94 | Homogeneous, about 85 % of both groups claimed that their mothers are either the first or only wife of their fathers. |
| 20. Parents' national identification | .97 | 3 | .80 | Homogeneous, more than 80 % of the respondents reported that their parents identify with the Philippines. |
| 21. Husband's education | 15.23 | 2 | .001* | Administrators' husbands are more likely to have higher education than subordinates' husbands. |
| 22. Husband's occupation | 25.9 | 4 | .001* | Administrators' husbands are more likely to have higher ranked occupation than subordinates' husbands. |

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Table 11—Continued

| Nominal Variables | Chi-Square Test of Homogeneity of the Administrator Group (n = 46) and Subordinate Group (n = 166) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Chi-Square | df | p-value | Interpretation of Results Using .10 Alpha |
| 23. Husband's descent | .28 | 1 | .59 | Homogeneous, about 85 % of both groups claim royal descent for their husbands. |
| 24. Husband's type of marriage | .16 | 1 | .68 | Homogeneous, more than 90 % of both groups reported that their husbands are monogamous. |
| 25. Husband's religiosity | 1.04 | 2 | .58 | Homogeneous, about 95 % of both groups claim that their husbands follow all or most of the Islamic teachings espoused by Maranao ulama. |
| 26. Husband's national identification | .23 | 2 | .87 | Homogeneous, over 73 % of both groups reported that their husbands identify with the Philippines. |

*Significant at .10 alpha

Number of Years Employed

The first characteristic that distinguish the Maranao Muslim women administrators from their Muslim women subordinates is the number of years they have been employed. Data in Table 12 show that, on the average, the administrators have been employed in the public schools for 23.3 years. Subordinates, on the other hand, have been employed for an average of 14.3 years or close to two thirds of the administrators length of service.

Table 12

Percentage Distribution of Muslim Women's Length of Service in Government Educational Institutions, by Sample Group

| Length of Service | Administrator[a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| 1 - 10 years | 4 | 30 |
| 11 - 20 years | 31 | 53 |
| 21 - 30 years | 52 | 15 |
| More than 30 years | 13 | 2 |
| Total Percentage | 100 | 100 |

[a]Mean number of years employed in government educational institutions (based on ungrouped data): Administrators = 23.3, subordinates = 14.3, t-value = 7.48, df = 210, $p < .001$.

The results of the t-test indicate that the difference of nine years between the administrators' average length of service and that of the subordinates is significant at .10 alpha. Hence, it could be inferred that among Maranao Muslim women educators, the administrators are likely to have longer length of service in government schools than

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their subordinates. This phenomenon is probably expected among the groups studied as it may be logically expected in other organizations since seniority and experience are usually among the criteria considered for promotion.

Number of Years in the Present Job

Although the administrators in this study have been employed in government schools for a longer period of time than their subordinates, data indicate that they have held their present jobs for a shorter period than the latter. As shown in Table 13, administrators have held their present positions for an average of 7.2 years, indicating that the majority have joined the ranks of administration quite recently only; whereas subordinates have held their present jobs for an average of 13.1 years.

Table 13

Percentage Distribution of the Number of Years Muslim Women Educators Have Held Their Present Jobs, by Sample Group

| Number of years held present job | Administrator[a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| 1 - 10 years | 83 | 37 |
| 11 - 20 years | 15 | 50 |
| More than 20 years | 2 | 13 |
| Total Percentage | 100 | 100 |

[a]Mean number of years respondents have held present job (based on ungrouped data): administrators = 7.2, subordinates = 13.1, t-value = 5.16, df = 210, $p < .001$.

The 5.9 years difference between the two sample means is significant as indicated by the t-value of 5.16 with a probability value of less than .001. About 83

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percent of the administrators and 37 percent of the subordinates have held their present jobs between 1-10 years. On the other hand, 63 percent of the subordinates and only 17 percent of the administrators have occupied their present positions for a period longer than 10 years.

That 98 percent of the administrators have held their present positions for a period ranging from one to twenty years supports the findings of an earlier study on Muslim women in the Philippines in which the author observed an increasing career mobility among these women and their rise to positions of leadership and influence during the last two decades (Lacar, 1992). It also confirms Randa-Maglangit's (1978b) observation during the early stages of Filipino Muslim women's emancipation from the stranglehold of tradition, that a rising number of educated Filipino Muslim women "could no longer think of limiting themselves to household chores; and no longer accept the constraints of sex" (p. 31). Instead, Muslim women started posing competition with Muslim men even in areas traditionally considered the male turf.

Taken together, the employment data indicate that among Maranao Muslim women in government schools, the administrators are likely to have longer employment history than their subordinates, although they are also more likely to have held their present jobs for a shorter period because of promotion.

Present Employment Status

Permanent status of employees in government schools depends largely on their academic qualifications, years of service, and passing examinations for government licensing or certification. Those who do not qualify but are nevertheless employed are usually given temporary appointments. Therefore, one's employment status usually indicates whether or not he/she has met the minimum qualifications required for the position he/she holds.

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Data about this variable indicate that 96 percent of the administrators and 84 percent of the subordinates have permanent employment status. At the time of the study, only 4 percent of the administrators claimed probationary appointments whereas 16 percent of the subordinates affirmed this employment category (see Table 14).

Results of the chi-square test of homogeneity of the two groups indicate that the administrators and subordinates differ from each other with regard to this variable. Therefore, it may be inferred that among Maranao Muslim women educators, the administrators are more likely than their subordinates to have permanent status, indicating also that they are more likely than their subordinates to have met the minimum qualifications for tenure in government schools.

Table 14

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Employment Status, by Sample Group

| Employment Status | Administrator[a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| Permanent | 96 | 84 |
| Probationary or temporary | 4 | 16 |
| Total Percentage | 100 | 100 |

[a] Chi-square = 4.0, df = 1, $p < .05$

Educational Attainment

The administrators in this study also stood out from their subordinates when the highest degree they obtained were compared. Data in Table 15 for instance, show that at the time of the research, 93.5 percent of the administrators already obtained graduate

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credits or degrees. Whereas among the subordinate group, only about 35 percent reported to have pursued studies beyond the baccalaureate level. Nevertheless, the latter group was also considered highly educated, since all except 2 individuals already had a bachelors degree at the time of the study.

Table 15

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Highest Education, by Sample Group

| Highest education | Administrator[a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| Baccalaureate credits | 0.0 | 1.2 |
| Baccalaureate degree | 6.5 | 63.9 |
| Professional or masteral credits/degree | 73.9 | 34.3 |
| Doctoral credits/degree | 19.6 | 0.6 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 64.2, df = 3, $p < .001$.

The results of the chi-square test ( 64.2 with less than .001 probability) indicate that the two sample groups differed significantly from each other in terms of their highest educational attainment. From the sample data, we could, therefore, infer that among Maranao Muslim women employed in government schools, the administrators tend to be much more highly educated than their subordinates.

Respondent's Age

Another characteristic by which the administrators and subordinates were compared was their age at the time of the study. Table 16 shows that fully 72 percent

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of the administrators were over 40 years old. The average age of the administrators was 44.3; whereas the average age of the subordinates was 37.6.

Results of the t-test, indicates that the difference between the average age of the two groups is significant, and that administrators tend to be older than their subordinates. This phenomenon explains to some extent, why the administrators had a head start over their subordinates in entering the labor force.

Table 16

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Age, by Sample Group

| Age Bracket | Administrator[a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| 21 - 30 | 2 | 18 |
| 31 - 40 | 26 | 52 |
| 41 - 50 | 52 | 23 |
| Above 50 | 20 | 7 |
| Total Percentage | 100 | 100 |

[a]Mean age of respondents (based on grouped data with interval of 5): administrators = 44.3, subordinates = 37.6, t-value = 5.31, df = 210, p-value < .001.

Birth Order

Data about this variable (Table 17) indicate that birth order is not a distinguishing characteristic between administrators and their subordinates. The chi-square value of 5.3 with a probability value of greater than .50 indicates that the pattern of birth order distribution is statistically homogeneous for both groups.

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Table 17

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Birth Order, by Sample Group[a]

| Birth order | Administrator[b] n = 46 | Subordinate[c] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| First | 35 | 28 |
| Second | 11 | 19 |
| Third | 22 | 20 |
| Fourth | 9 | 11 |
| Fifth | 2 | 7 |
| Sixth - seventh | 15 | 8 |
| Beyond the seventh | 6 | 7 |
| Total Percentage | 100 | 100 |

[a]Chi-square value of the test of homogeneity of groups = 5.3, df = 6, $p > .50$

[b]Chi-square value of goodness-of-fit test for administrators = 23.4, df = 6, $p < .001$

[c]Chi-square value of goodness-of-fit test for subordinates = 43.8, df = 6, $p < .001$

However, when the same data were analyzed separately for each group—using chi-square test of goodness-of-fit where equal frequency distribution among the various categories of birth orders was hypothesized—the results suggest that within each group, there were more firstborn than each of the other birth orders. Combining the two analyses, the results indicate that although birth order did not distinguish between the administrators and subordinates, within each group birth order appears to be a critical factor. To appreciate the implications of these findings, a brief backgrounder may be instructive.

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In Philippine culture, one's birth order has implications not only for the role that one plays in the family and society but also in the opportunities that may be opened for the individual. For example, certain privileges may be granted to an eldest child simply by virtue of his/her birth order. By the same token certain responsibilities may also be expected of the eldest child which may not necessarily be expected of younger children. In this culture, therefore, birth order determines to some extent the allocation of certain life chances and responsibilities.

To illustrate, the eldest child is usually vested with quasi-parental authority over his or her younger siblings. Concomitant to the vested authority, however, is the responsibility to help parents protect and support younger siblings. Giving the eldest child priority in acquiring education, regardless of gender, seems to be a logical preparation for him or her to be able to assume his/her vested authority and responsibilities. Apparently, this practice among Filipinos cuts across ethnic groups and religion; and in this study, also across families of both administrators and subordinates.

Civil Status

A substantial majority of the respondents (87 percent of the administrators and 77.7 percent of the subordinates) are married. Although Table 18 shows that the percentages for the various categories of civil status differ between the two groups, the differences are not significant at .10 alpha. This conclusion was based on the chi-square value of 2.78 for 3 degrees of freedom having a probability value of $> .40$. On the basis of this analysis, therefore, we could infer that with respect to civil status, Maranao Muslim women educational administrators and their subordinates tend to be homogeneous and are predominantly married.

The data on civil status of the Maranao women educators would have been more meaningful when compared with the civil status distribution of the general population

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of Filipino Muslim women. However, the latter information was not available since the Philippines' census data on civil status were compiled by geographical area, gender, and age groups rather than by religious affiliation. The closest comparable census data were those for Lanao del Sur, where 93.8 percent of the population profess Islam as their religion.

Table 18

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Civil Status, by Sample Group, With Comparative Census Data for Lanao Del Sur

| Civil Status | Administrator[a] (n = 46) | Subordinate[a] (n = 166) | Lanao del Sur[b] (1990 Census) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Single | 6.5 | 12.7 | 10.81 |
| Married | 87.0 | 77.7 | 78.27 |
| Divorced/separated | 2.2 | 6.6 | 2.74 |
| Widow | 4.3 | 3.0 | 8.11 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.93[c] |

[a]Chi-square = 2.78, df = 3, $p > .40$.;

[b]Percentages computed based on 1990 census data for women, ages 25-59, in Lanao del Sur (National Statistics Office, 1992c).

[c].07 % did not indicate civil status

The third column in Table 18 shows the percentage distribution of women, 25-59 years old, in Lanao del Sur based on the 1990 census data. From the table, it could be seen that except for the widow category, the civil status distribution of the comparable age group of women in the general population of Lanao del Sur falls within the range of values formed by the distributions for the administrators and subordinates.

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Since the administrator and subordinate groups were found to be homogeneous with regard to their civil status, and since the civil status distribution for the general population of women in Lanao del Sur (constituting about 94 % Muslims) fell within the range of values for the two groups being compared, it could be said that the Maranao Muslim women educators probably do not differ significantly from the general population of Muslim women in Lanao del Sur with regard to their civil status. Like the general population of Lanao del Sur, the Maranao Muslim women educators are predominantly married or had been married before in spite of the fact that they have pursued careers which undoubtedly compete with the demands of their domestic roles.

The comparative data in Table 18 suggest that Maranao Muslim women educators do not seem to be trading-off their traditional domestic roles for the new career roles they have so earnestly pursued. It appears that these women are able to integrate successfully the domestic roles defined for them by traditions with their roles in the workplace as they come to grips with the challenges of their changing time and society.

Husband's Type of Marriage, Respondent's Order as a Wife, Father's Type of Marriage, and Mother's Order as a Wife

Four other related variables were examined in relation to the respondents' civil status, namely: (1) husband's type of marriage, (2) respondent's order as a wife, (3) father's type of marriage, and (4) mother's order as a wife. These variables were examined primarily to determine whether or not they are salient family characteristics that distinguish the administrators from their subordinates.

Results of analysis of data indicate homogeneity of the two groups with respect to these four variables. Moreover, the analysis revealed some preliminary insights into changes in marital patterns among the younger generations of Maranao Muslims. The

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latter finding was derived by comparing data on marital situations of the respondents with those that they reported for their parents.

With regard to their husbands' marital arrangements, a greater majority (over 90 percent) of both groups reported monogamous unions. Only 7 percent of the women administrators and 9 percent of the subordinates reported polygamous marriages (Table 19). Consequently, a large proportion—95 and 97 percent of the administrators and subordinates respectively—reported themselves as the first or the only wife (Table 20). The chi-square analysis indicated homogeneity of the two groups with respect to the variables: husband's type of marriage and respondent's order as a wife.

Table 19

Percentage Distributions of Father's and Husband's Type of Marriage, by Sample Group

| | Administrator[d] | | Subordinate[e] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Type of marriage | Father[b] (n=46) | Husband[c] (n=43)[a] | Father[b] (n=166) | Husband[c] (n=145)[a] |
| Monogamous | 63 | 93 | 60 | 91 |
| Polygamous (2 or more wives) | 37 | 7 | 40 | 9 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

[a]Single respondents excluded: administrators = 3, subordinates = 21

[b]Chi-square (administrators' and subordinates' fathers) = .12, df = 1, $p > .73$

[c]Chi-square (administrators' and subordinates' husbands) = .16, df = 1, $p > .68$

[d]Chi-square (administrators' fathers and husbands) = 11.61, df = 1, $p < .001$

[e]Chi-square (subordinates' fathers and husbands) = 38.6, df = 1, $p < .001$

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Table 20

Percentage Distributions of Respondent's and Mother's Order as a Wife, by Sample Group

| Order as a wife | Administrator[d] | | Subordinate[e] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mother[c] (n = 46) | Self[b] (n = 43)[a] | Mother[c] (n= 166) | Self[b] (n = 145)[a] |
| First or only wife | 82.6 | 95.3 | 83.1 | 97.2 |
| Second - last wife | 17.4 | 4.7 | 16.9 | 2.8 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Single respondents excluded: administrators = 3, subordinates = 21.

[b]Chi-square (administrators and subordinates) = .38, df = 1, p > .53

[c]Chi-square (administrators' and subordinates' mothers) = .005, df = 1, p > .94

[d]Chi-square (administrators and their mothers) = 3.54, df = 1, p < .07

[e]Chi-square (subordinates and their mothers) = 16.66, df = 1, p < .001

In contrast to their own marital situations, a higher proportion of the women educators reported multiple marriages among their fathers. Thirty-seven percent of the administrators and 40 percent of the subordinates reported this category for their fathers. Consequently, compared to themselves, a lower proportion of the respondents reported the category, "first and only wife" for their mothers (see Table 20). However, these family characteristics did not distinguish between the groups of women educators. Results of the chi-square test indicated homogeneity of the administrators and subordinates with respect to the two variables pertaining to their parents' marital arrangements.

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Although the four variables pertaining to the marital arrangements of the respondents and their parents did not distinguish between the administrators and subordinates, within each group, the marital situations of the women educators differed significantly from those of their parents. Husbands of the administrators' and subordinates' have greater tendency to be monogamous than their fathers; and that the educators have greater chances than their mothers of being the first or only wife.

Therefore, based on the sample data, it may be inferred that among husbands and fathers of Maranao Muslim women employees in government schools, the younger men have a greater inclination towards monogamy than the older men. Consequently, compared to their mothers, the women educators have a greater probability of being the first or only wife of their respective spouses.

The information about differences between the respondents' marital arrangements and those of their parents may be appreciated better in light of the marriage practices among Filipino Muslims. One of the main sources of tension between the government and the Muslims in the Philippines is law enforcement. Prior to 1977 Muslims have clamored for the implementation of the Shariah (Islamic law) for Muslims so that they could practice their religion without violating Philippine laws which they considered oppressive. Among these is the law on marriage. Although Islamic religion sanctions divorce and polygamy, both practices are prohibited under the Philippine civil code. Thus, Muslims who practiced divorce and polygamy were, strictly speaking, in violation of Philippine laws. They were exempted, though, from prosecution because of special legislations (e.g. Republic Act 394). However, the exemption carried termination date, and the issue became a recurring problem and a source of tension between the Muslims and the Philippine government (Gowing, 1964; Bentley, 1992).

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Finally acceding to the growing demands of the Muslims, the government promulgated the Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines under Presidential Decree No. 1083 in February 1977. Among other provisions, this code legalized divorce and polygamy for Muslims in the country. This being the case, it would seem logical to expect that divorce and polygamy among Filipino Muslims would be higher after the Islamic law has become operational. But contrary to what would be logically expected, the data about the husbands of the Muslim women educators in this study, during whose time the Islamic law has become operational, show that there are actually less of them who are using the law to their favor.

Although no specific question was asked to find out the explanation for the difference in the type of marital arrangements which the respondents' fathers and husbands chose to have, as this was beyond the scope of the study, there are a number of probable explanations that may be gleaned from related data. Among these are education, changing values, and economics.

As a group, the husbands of the respondents are educationally better off than their fathers in the sense that all of them went to school, whereas 21 and 38 percent respectively of the administrators' and subordinates' fathers never attended school. Since all husbands are educated or have at least some form of schooling, it is possible that the perspectives of the younger men have also changed correspondingly, to the effect that having more than one wife would be generally considered a disadvantage. It is a general knowledge that education is known to bring about changes in the outlooks and perspectives of people. Therefore, it is not entirely baseless to surmise that this may also be the case with the husbands of the Muslim women in this study.

Another probable explanation is the changing values among Filipino Muslims. Aside from the fact that polygamy is allowed in Islam, having several wives is also considered a status symbol among Filipino Muslims (Isidro, 1969). However, in

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general, it seems that the values held by the younger generations are now rapidly changing, thereby effecting practices and ways of life that differ from their parents. For instance other empirical studies on Muslims in the Philippines show that among the younger generations, there has been a growing preference for monogamous unions based on romantic attraction between a man and a woman rather than on arrangements made by their parents (Lacar, 1980; Lacar & Lacar, 1989). Both men and women in the more recent study appear to be increasingly embracing this value.

There is also the economic dimension of having more than one wife. While Islam permits a man to have more than one wife, it also requires that he must provide equally the economic and other needs of all wives. For most rational men, the latter provision is probably not easy to fulfill. Therefore, rather than risk violating Islamic law, they perhaps prefer to have just one wife.

Number of Children (Ever Born and Living)

For many working women, the number of children they are willing to raise is oftentimes among the most important decisions considered along with career options. This variable therefore, was examined in an attempt to find out if it differs between Muslim women administrators and their Muslim women subordinates.

Research data on the number of children ever born to the respondents show that on the average, the administrators have more children than their subordinates (Table 21). The mean number of children administrators ever had is 6.6 while that of the subordinates is 5.1. Results of the t-test indicate that the difference between these two sample means is significant at .10 alpha. Similar pattern was found with regard to the number of living children the respondents have (Table 22).

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Table 21

Percentage Distribution of the Number of Children Ever Born to the Respondents, by Sample Group

| Number of Children | Administrator[b] (n = 43)[a] | Subordinate[b] (n = 145)[a] |
|---|---|---|
| None | 4.7 | 4.1 |
| 1 - 5 | 27.9 | 55.2 |
| 6 - 10 | 55.8 | 32.4 |
| 11 - 15 | 11.6 | 8.3 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a] Excluding single respondents: administrators = 3, subordinates = 21.

[b]Mean number of children ever born to the respondents (based on ungrouped data): administrators = 6.6, subordinates = 5.1; t-value = 2.56, df = 186, $p < .02$

Based on the sample data illustrated in Tables 21 and 22, it could be inferred that among Maranao Muslim women educators in the public schools, the administrators are more likely to have larger families than their subordinates.

These data further reveal some interesting information when compared to the 1990 census data for the general population of ever married women in the two Lanao provinces and the Philippines as a whole (see Table 23). In comparison, the research data indicate that the women in this study have higher average parity than the general population of women in the two Lanao provinces and in the whole country. Considering that the women studied in this research have higher education and occupational rank than the average of the general population, the research findings were contradictory to what would be expected based on conventional demographic principles.

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Table 22

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Number of Living Children, by Sample Group

| Number of living children | Administrator[b] (n = 43)[a] | Subordinate[b] (n = 145)[a] |
|---|---|---|
| None | 4.7 | 4.1 |
| 1 - 5 | 30.2 | 60.0 |
| 6 - 10 | 53.5 | 32.4 |
| 11 - 15 | 11.6 | 3.5 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Excluding single respondents: administrator = 3, subordinate = 21

[b]Mean number of living children respondents have (based on ungrouped data): administrators = 6.2, subordinates = 4.6, t-value = 3.23, df = 186. $p < .02$

The pattern of the research data in which individuals having higher education and social status also have higher parity rate than those with lower educational background and status position seems to go against the stream of conventional knowledge of certain demographic principles. To illustrate, conventional wisdom informs us that there is generally an inverse or negative association between the level of education that women have and their fertility measured by either total fertility or number of births. This is to say that the higher the level of education women attain, the lesser number of children they bear. Studies on fertility of Muslim women in some Middle Eastern countries confirm this demographic principle (Moghadam, 1993).

Among the explanations advanced for this phenomenon are (a) education tends to bring women to employment outside the home, where demands of such employment

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compete with their fertility behaviors; (b) employment outside the home provide women alternative sources of emotional and psychological security that raising children provide and lessens their motivation to have many children; and (c) employment give women economic security. This sense of economic well being and security makes them independent rather than dependent on children for their survival during their old age and lessens their motivation to raise a large family.

Table 23

1990 Census Data on the Average Number of Children Ever Born to Ever Married Women, 20 Years and Older, in the Lanao Provinces and the Philippines, by Age Group

| Age of women | Average Number of Children | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Lanao del Sur[a] | Lanao del Norte[b] | Philippines[c] |
| 20 - 24 | 1.72 | 1.58 | 1.51 |
| 25 - 29 | 2.87 | 2.56 | 2.39 |
| 30 - 34 | 3.79 | 3.47 | 3.29 |
| 35 - 39 | 4.40 | 4.32 | 4.04 |
| 40 - 44 | 4.82 | 4.83 | 4.62 |
| 45 - 49 | 4.94 | 5.15 | 5.05 |

[a]Source: National Statistics Office. (1992). 1990 census of population and housing. (Report No. 3-50L, Lanao del Sur: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics), p. 176. Manila, Philippines.

[b]Source: National Statistics Office. (1992). 1990 census of population and housing. (Report No. 3-49L, Lanao del Norte: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics), p. 123. Manila, Philippines.

[c]Source: National Statistics Office. (1992). 1990 census of population and housing. (Report No. 3, Philippines: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics), p. 169. Manila, Philippines.

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Findings of the present study, however, reveal the opposite. For example, based on the administrators' mean age of 44.3, the comparative average parity rate for the general population of Lanao del Sur is 4.82 against their own of 6.6 children. For the subordinates, the comparative number is 3.79 against the group's average of 5.1 children. Compared to the national figures, the differences would even be larger, considering that women in the Lanao provinces tend to have more children than the general population of women nationwide.

Explanations for the finding that highly educated women in this study have higher fertility than the general population were not sought since this unconventional phenomenon was not expected. However, a seemingly cogent speculation may be offered. The phenomenon is probably a result of the desire of the women in this study to prove that they can successfully pursue a career while at the same time perform the wife and mother roles traditionally prescribed for Maranao Muslim women and expected of them. Since these groups of educators are trend setters in their society as regards schooling and employment of women, they probably wanted to prove that they could venture into these new frontiers without necessarily violating the time-honored Maranao social norms regarding primary obligations of women. Based on the research data, it could probably be said that the respondents may have in fact over exerted efforts in proving that they could integrate both domestic and career roles, and consequently bore more chidren than the average for the general population.

With regard to the research finding that the administrators have more children than their subordinates, some explanations derived from other related data may be offered. Among these are: (a) the administrators are older than their subordinates and most, if not all, may have already past their childbearing age, hence may have already given birth to their desired number of children, whereas most subordinates are still in their childbearing stage; (b) administrators are occupying higher positions and are

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presumably earning higher salaries. Hence they probably thought that they could very well afford to support more children.

Summarizing together the data on civil status, marital arrangements, and number of children against the backdrop of normative roles and functions of Maranao Muslim women, it appears that the women in this study are able to meld harmoniously the traditional roles defined for them by their culture and religion with the new roles as working women. The data indicate that for both administrators and subordinates, employment outside the home has not caused them to give up their normative roles of being a wife and a mother. These women are predominantly married and may have in fact over compensated for their decisions to pursue a career by bearing higher-than-the-average number of children. However, with regard to marital arrangement a pattern different from the marriage situations of their parents seems to be emerging. Data for both groups of women educators indicate a trend towards more stable and monogamous unions in spite of the fact that during their time, divorce and polygamy have been legalized for Muslims in the Philippines.

Respondent's, Parents' and Husband's Adherence to Islamic Teachings

Adherence of the respondents, their parents and husbands to Islamic teachings espoused by their religious leaders were among the characteristics that were initially thought would distinguish between Muslim women administrators and subordinates. Research data in Tables 24 and 25, however, indicate that as regards these variables, the two groups are homogeneous.

More than 90 percent of both administrator and subordinate groups reported that they either follow most or all of the Islamic teachings espoused by their religious leaders; indicating that these women regard themselves as either moderately religious or very religious. The pattern of the groups' responses for themselves and the way they

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perceived the religiosity of their parents and husbands appear to be almost identical in every respect as can be examined from Tables 24 and 25. What this suggests is that in regard to following the Islamic teachings espoused by their religious leaders, there is no difference between the families of the administrators and their subordinates; and that they tend to follow most, if not all, of the teachings propagated by their religious leaders.

Table 24

Percentage Distributions of the Respondents' and Their Husbands' Adherence to Islamic Teachings, by Sample Group

| Adherence to Islamic Teachings | Administrator | | Subordinate | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Self[b] (n = 46 ) | Husband[c] (n = 43)[a] | Self[b] (n=166) | Husband[c] (n=145)[a] |
| Follow all teachings very strictly | 39 | 36 | 39 | 44 |
| Follow most of the teachings | 54 | 52 | 59 | 47 |
| Follow only a few of the teachings | 7 | 12 | 2 | 9 |
| Total Percentage | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

[a]Excluding never married respondents: administrators = 3, subordinates = 21

[b]Chi-square (administrators and subordinates) = 1.98, df = 2, $p > .37$

[c]Chi-square (their husbands) = 1.04, df = 2, $p > .58$

Although not unique to Islam, perhaps this tendency toward homogeneous pattern in belief adherence could be attributed to the way Muslims, in general, identify them-selves with the community of believers, the *ummah*. As in other religions, there are several schools of thoughts in Islam. Adherents, however, follow more strictly the

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principles and tenets of their particular school of thought or tradition. Hence the tendency for those who come from the same geographical area to espouse and to hold practically the same religious views and outlooks.

Table 25

Percentage Distributions of Father's and Mother's Adherence to Islamic Teachings, by Sample Group

| Adherence to Islamic Teachings | Administrator (n = 46 ) | | Subordinate (n=166) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Father[a] | Mother[b] | Father[a] | Mother[b] |
| Follow all teachings very strictly | 46 | 41 | 43 | 39 |
| Follow most of the teachings | 50 | 57 | 52 | 57 |
| Follow only a few of the teachings | 4 | 2 | 5 | 4 |
| Total Percentage | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

[a]Chi-square (father) = .13, df = 2, p > .93

[b]Chi-square (mother) = .44, df = 2, p > .80

The research data—showing that the women educators consider themselves, their parents, and their spouses as either following most or all of the Islamic teachings propagated by their religious leaders—strongly suggest the vitality of Islam in shaping their personal and shared values, beliefs, thought processes, and social life. This being the case, it would be expected that religious beliefs would have substantial bearing on important decisions and choices they make, either personally, as a family or as a community. The impact of religion on the career development and practices of Muslim women educators was therefore, among the topics investigated in this study in relation

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to the second research objective, and about which data and findings are discussed in a later section of this paper.

National Identification of Maranao Muslim Women Educators and of Their Husbands and Parents

An issue of considerable interest in the Philippines concerning Muslims is their national identity and identification, i.e. what they consider as their nationality and the country with which they identify; or one with which they aspire for members of their family and for other Muslims in the Philippines to be identified. Empirical studies have confirmed that in the past three decades, there continue to be a large number of Muslims who indicate a feeling of disaffection with the Philippines and consequently do not wish to be identified as citizens of this country (Abbahil, 1984; Lacar, 1994, Muslim, 1994). Disaffection or disavowal of national identification with the Philippines is of course, not new as it has always been part of the resistance of the Muslims of the Philippines to the rule of a government they consider foreign *(gobierno a sarwang tao)* dating back to the Spanish and American colonial governments and extending to the present government of the Philippine Republic (Gowing, 1964).

This study included national identification as a probable variable that would characterize the administrators and their subordinates in light of the fact that the subjects of the study are working in the public schools or state universities, hence are considered government employees. Needless to say, the roles that they play in the difficult and complex task of building a harmonious pluralistic society in the 21st century cannot be over emphasized. While the questions on national identification have been carefully phrased and asked in as neutral way as possible, the political overtone of the questions is nevertheless present. However, as expected by the researcher and by the

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panel of social science professors who reviewed the survey questionnaires, none of the respondents avoided the particular questions.

Research data in Table 26 indicate that a predominant majority of both administrators and subordinates (85 percent and 84 percent respectively) consider the Philippines as their country. The two groups were found to be alike in their national identification as revealed by the chi-square test of homogeneity. These findings are noteworthy when compared to results of prior studies regarding national identification of Muslims in the Philippines.

Table 26

Percentage Distribution of the National Identification of Maranao Muslim Women Educators, by Sample Group

| Country of National Identification | Administrators[a] (n = 46) | Subordinates[a] (n= 166) |
|---|---|---|
| Philippines | 84.8 | 83.8 |
| A Southeast Asian country (e.g. Indonesia,Malaysia ) | 0.0 | 1.2 |
| A Middle Eastern country (e.g. Egypt, Saudi Arabia) | 4.3 | 7.8 |
| An Islamic country independent from the Philippines | 10.9 | 7.2 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 1.77; df = 3; p > .60

The proportions of respondents identifying with the Philippines in this study were very much higher than those found in empirical studies along this line during the last two decades. For instance, in Abdulsiddik Abbahil's (1984) study of the Moros' self-image and inter-group ethnic attitudes—using a sample of 500 students selected

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from the four largest ethnic Muslim groups in the Philippines—only 19 (or 3.8 percent) indicated Filipino as their preferred citizenship identification; whereas 28.6 percent preferred *Bangsa Moro*, and majority or 54.6 percent indicated *Muslim*. Following similar pattern of findings, Luis Lacar's (1994) research revealed that only 38 percent of the sample studied identified with the Philippines, 55.3 percent with other countries having Muslim population, and 6.7 percent would rather have either an autonomous government under the Republic of the Philippines or an entirely independent state. The two prior studies, however, had broader research population base, the samples having been chosen from at least the three largest Philippine ethnic groups professing Islam as their religion. Whereas the present study focused on a selected segment of the general population—the Maranao Muslim women educators.

Equally notable, are the patterns of respondents' reports regarding the national identification of their parents and husbands which appear to be consistent with their own (see Tables 27 and 28). More than 80 percent of both administrators and subordinates reported that their parents consider the Philippines as their country; and slightly more or less than 75 percent of both groups reported the same national identification for their husbands. Again while these variables did not distinguish between the women administrators and their subordinates as shown by the chi-square test of homogeneity, the results are equally noteworthy in light of the findings of prior studies with samples drawn from the general population of Muslims in the Philippines.

Based on these data it could, therefore, be said that among Maranao Muslim women educators, their parents, and husbands, the proportions identifying with the Philippines are very much higher than those found among the general population of Muslims in the country.

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Table 27

Percentage Distributions of the National Identification of Own Parents as Perceived by the Administrators and Subordinates

| Country of National Identification Reported for Own Parents | Administrators[a] (n = 46) | Subordinates[a] (n = 166) |
|---|---|---|
| Philippines | 84.8 | 80.8 |
| A Southeast Asian country (e.g. Indonesia, Malaysia) | 0.0 | 0.6 |
| A Middle Eastern country (e.g. Egypt, Saudi Arabia) | 4.3 | 7.8 |
| An Islamic country independent from the Philippines | 10.9 | 10.8 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = .97; df = 3; p > .80

Table 28

Percentage Distributions of the National Identification of Own Husbands as Perceived by the Administrators and Subordinates

| Country of National Identification Reported for Own Husband | Administrators[b] (n = 43)[a] | Subordinates[b] ( n = 145)[a] |
|---|---|---|
| Philippines | 76.7 | 73.1 |
| A Middle Eastern country (e.g. Egypt, Saudi Arabia) | 9.3 | 11.0 |
| An Islamic country independent of the Philippines | 14.0 | 15.9 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Samples exclude single respondents: administrators = 3, subordinates = 21.

[b]Chi-square = .23; df = 2; p >.87

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Whether or not these findings could be considered satisfactory would probably depend on the type of programs, policies and other data to which they will be related. For instance, when related to Abbahil's (1984) and Lacar's (1994) findings, the information derived from the present study may be considered an auspicious indicator that government programs for integration of Muslim groups into the body politic of the country are gaining grounds—at least for families of educated Maranaos. Considering, however, that all women educators in this study, as well as a good number of their fathers and husbands are either presently employed by the government or were in the government service in the past, a pattern of less than 90 percent identifying with the Philippines is perhaps an indication that current integration programs have yet a long way to go in terms of accomplishing their mandate.

National Identification Desired by the Respondents for Their Own Children and Other Muslim Youth

As in the three preceding sets of data on national identification, research data regarding the national identification desired by Muslim women educators for their own children (Table 29) and for other Muslim youth (Table 30) did not distinguish between administrators and subordinates. Results of the chi-square test of homogeneity indicate that the two groups are alike regarding the national identification they desire for their own children and other Muslim youth. Majority of the educators (76.7 percent of administrators and 75.2 of subordinates) want their children to identify themselves with the Philippines. Similarly, majority of both groups (slightly over 60 percent) want other Muslim youth to consider the Philippines as their country. Again, when compared to Abbahil's (1984) and Lacar's (1994) studies on national identification, these proportions are considerably higher.

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Table 29

Percentage Distribution of the National Identification Desired by Maranao Muslim Women Educators for Their Own Children, by Sample Group

| Country of National Identification Desired for Own Children | Administrators[b] (n = 43)[a] | Subordinates[b] (n = 145)[a] |
|---|---|---|
| Philippines | 76.7 | 75.2 |
| A Middle Eastern country (e.g. Egypt, Saudi Arabia) | 7.0 | 9.6 |
| An Islamic country independent of the Philippines | 16.3 | 15.2 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Samples exclude single respondents: administrators = 3, subordinates = 21.

[b]Chi-square = .75; df = 2; p > .71.

Table 30

Percentage Distribution of the National Identification Desired by Maranao Muslim Women Educators For Other Muslim Youth, by Sample Group

| Country of National Identification Desired for Other Maranao Muslim Youth | Administrators[a] (n = 46) | Subordinates[a] (n = 166) |
|---|---|---|
| Philippines | 60.9 | 62.6 |
| Indonesia or Malaysia | 0.0 | 1.2 |
| A Middle Eastern Country (e.g. Egypt, Saudi Arabia) | 15.2 | 17.5 |
| An Islamic country independent of the Philippines | 23.9 | 18.7 |
| Total percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 1.18; df = 3; p > .75

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Further analysis of the research data, however, reveals a less quieting information. By comparing the national identification claimed by the women respondents for themselves and those that they desire for their children and for other Muslim youth, it appears that there is an increasing desire among Muslim women educators for their younger generations to eventually have an Islamic country independent from the Philippines. This statement was deduced from the increasing proportion of both groups of respondents reporting the option for independent Islamic country for their children and other Muslim youth than those desiring the same for themselves.

To illustrate, Table 31 shows that while only 10.9 percent of the administrators want for themselves an Islamic country independent of the Philippines, 16.3 percent want that independence for their children, and 23.9 desire the same for other Muslim youth. Results of the chi-square test of homogeneity indicated that although the national identification desired by administrators for their children did not differ significantly from their own, what they desire for other Muslim youth differed significantly at .10 alpha. Among the subordinates the desire for future independence was even more punctuated as their national identification differed significantly from what they desire for both their own children and other Muslim youth (see Table 32).

How these aspirations are manifested in classrom activities and other school programs is beyond the scope of the current investigation. Suffice it to say that these data, coming from the educators themselves, indicate a need to review and strengthen civic education and integration efforts especially among sectors who have tremendous influence in shaping the values, attitudes and social behaviors of children and youth.

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Table 31

Percentage Distributions of the National Identification Desired by Maranao Muslim Women Educational Administrators For Themselves, Their Children and Other Muslim Youth

| Country of National Identification | National Identification Desired by the Administrators for: | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Themselves[bc] (n = 46) | Their Children[b] (n = 43)[a] | Other Muslim[c] Youth (n = 46) |
| Philippines | 84.8 | 76.7 | 60.9 |
| A Middle Eastern country (e.g. Egypt, Saudi Arabia) | 4.3 | 7.0 | 15.2 |
| An Islamic country independent of the Philippines | 10.9 | 16.3 | 23.9 |
| Totals | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Excluding single (never married) respondents = 3

[b]Chi-square (between national identification desired for themselves and their children) = 1.01, df = 2, $p > .55$

[c]Chi-square (between national identification desired for themselves and other Muslim youth) = 6.84; df = 2; $p < .04$

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Table 32

Percentage Distributions of the National Identification Desired by the Subordinate Respondents for Themselves, Their Children and Other Muslim Youth

| Country of National Identification | National Identification Desired by the Subordinates for: | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Themselves[bc] (n = 166) | Their Children[b] (n = 145)[a] | Other Muslim[c] Youth (n = 166) |
| Philippines | 83.8 | 75.2 | 62.6 |
| A Southeast Asian country (e.g. Indonesia, Malaysia) | 1.2 | 0.0 | 1.2 |
| A Middle Eastern country (e.g. Egypt, Saudi Arabia) | 7.8 | 9.6 | 17.5 |
| An Islamic country independent of the Philippines | 7.2 | 15.2 | 18.7 |
| Totals | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Excluding single (never married) respondents = 21

[b]Chi-square (between responses for themselves and their children) = 7.03; df = 3, $p < .08$

[c]Chi-square (between responses for themselves and other Muslim youth) = 19.54; df = 3; $p < .001$

Father's, Mother's, and Husband's Descent

Questions on parents' and husband's descent were included in this study to determine if kinship to the traditional ruling class of early Maranao society is a characteristic that sets the administrators apart from their subordinates. Stated another way, the study attempted to find out if women claiming kinship, either by birth or marriage, to the ancestral ruling class of Maranao Muslims have better chances in obtaining leadership positions in present day socio-political structures. Apropos of these variables, a brief history of the Maranao people, gleaned from the works of the following authors would be enlightening: Baradas (1973), Bentley (1983), Gowing (1964, 1979), Majul (1973, 1985), Muslim, (1994), Saber, (1979), and Saber & Madale (1975).

These scholars described the early Maranao society as an independent nation that emerged from a loose federation of petty sultanates which were each ruled independently by a hierarchy of nobles. At the apex of the political structure of a sultanate was the *solotan* or *sultan* (the political and religious leader of several villages). Beneath him were the *datu* (chief) for each village, and a retinue of titled nobles who advised the *sultan* in various aspects of government and religion. Formed during the Islamization of Mindanao and Sulu prior to the coming of the Spanish colonizers, the sultanates were said to have been patterned after the socio-political structures of the homeland of the pioneer Islamic missionaries.

The inhabitants of a village or sultanate were divided into ranked classes: (a) the *pegawidan* (super-ordinate, ruling class, supported group); (b) the *pegawid* (subordinates, supporters, or free men); and (c) *uripon* (slaves). The duties and rights of individuals were defined by their respective ranks in society, which in turn were determined by their lines of descent reckoned through both parents. Fourteen descent lines

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were known to have constituted the *pegawidan* class; whereas the *pegawid* comprised of 28. Inhabitants of the village who could not trace their ancestry to any of the recognized descent lines and those who were captured from other tribes and villages through warfare were lumped into the third class, the slaves (*uripon* or *bisaya*). Social mobility was allowed through marriage and through outstanding achievements of individuals.

During the Spanish regime, the *Moros* in the Southern regions of the country held on tenaciously to their own socio-political structures, having vehemently resisted the Spaniards' attempts at conquest and conversion. Although the Spaniards scored some victories in many battles fought against the *Moros*, they were not successful in completely vitiating the independence of the Maranao people. However, when Spain yielded its sovereignty over the colony to the United States, the ancient homelands of the *Moros* were included in the territory ceded to the latter.

After the subjugation of the Maranaos by the Americans and the subsequent granting of independence to the Philippines, new political structures superseded the Maranaos' traditional sultanate or datuship system. To this day, however, vestiges of the socio-political structure of the early Maranao society persist. The Maranao people continue to show deference to descendants of the ancient ruling class (in local usage, referred to as the royal families). Also, to this day, traditional ranked titles of nobility, such as *sultan* and *datu* , continue to be circulated and vested on individuals who are able to prove their leadership and to validate their genealogical right of succession to those titles. Moreover, as mentioned earlier in this paper, qualified women may also be vested with corresponding ranked titles such as *bai a labi* (most exalted queen) *bai a dalomangcob* (wise queen) and other titles of nobility (Lacar, 1991; Madale, 1976, Tawano, 1979).

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Although the political power of governance accompanying those ranked titles of leadership have substantially diminished over time, a title holder may continue to wield strong influence in community affairs and to command loyalty, support, and deference from kinsfolk and groups among whom the title has been validated. The matter of descent therefore, among the Maranaos still influence life chances and opportunities for individuals. For example, title holders who aspire for political position in the duly constituted government of the Philippines, may win his or her bid through the support and loyalty of kinsfolk and followers (Baradas, 1974; Madale, 1976). Consequently, to this day, it is not uncommon to see Muslims occupying high positions in the national, regional, and local governments who carry titles of nobility such as *sultan* or *datu* for men and *bai* for women.

In the recent decades succession to those titles has been surrounded by ambiguity and conflict because of the inadequacy of records to support genealogical claims and because criteria other than descent became acceptable in competing for the titles. Nevertheless, because of prestige, honor, and greater social and economic oppor-tunities attached to those titles or even just to a genealogical linkage to any descent lines of the traditional ruling class, almost everyone would like to claim such a linkage, no matter how remote that may be (Baradas, 1973).

The topic on descent, therefore, is an important component of any research involving the social life of Maranao Muslims. But just as it is a consequential question, the reliability and accuracy of data that one gets about it also suffer since almost every one that researchers ask this question would claim royal ancestry.

The respondents in this study were no different. Therefore, one must take these data on descent with all the caution necessary for what they mean, given the local cultural dynamics of the people under study. In making this caveat, this writer is not in any way saying that the claims of the respondents about their parents' and husbands'

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descent are not true; but rather that the study could neither deny nor confirm them. Verifying the authenticity of their claims is beyond the scope of the present study.

Suffice it to say therefore, that the data provided by the women respondents regarding their fathers' and mothers' descent did not distinguish between administrators and subordinates. As shown in Table 33, their responses were almost identical, with more than 80 % of each group claiming royal ancestry of their parents.

Table 33

Percentage Distributions of the Respondents' Claims Regarding Their Fathers' and Mothers' Descent, by Sample Group

| Line of Descent | Administrator (n = 46) | | Subordinate (n = 166) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Father[a] | Mother[b] | Father[a] | Mother[b] |
| Royal | 83 | 83 | 86 | 84 |
| Commoner | 17 | 17 | 14 | 16 |
| Total Percentage | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

[a]Chi-square (fathers) = .37, df = 1, p > .50

[b]Chi-square (mothers) = .08, df = 1, p > .70

Similarly, a considerable proportion of both administrators and subordinates claimed that their husbands are of royal origin (see Table 34). This variable did not distinguish between the two groups, either. Although the research data did not reveal a difference between administrators and subordinates with regard to their parents' and husbands' lineage, it may be worth mentioning that at the time of the study one administrator was known to be a current holder of a *bai a labi* title in her community.

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She asserted that she performs some traditional leadership functions in her community concomitant to her title which are distinct and separate from her duties as a school administrator.

Table 34

Percentage Distribution of the Respondents' Claims Regarding Their Husbands' Descent, by Sample Group

| Husband's Line of Family Descent | Administrator[b] (n = 43)[a] | Subordinate[b] (n = 145)[a] |
|---|---|---|
| Royal | 84 | 87 |
| Commoner | 16 | 13 |
| Total Percentage | 100 | 100 |

[a] Single respondents excluded: administrators = 3, subordinates = 21.

[b]Chi-square = .28, df = 1, p > .59

Educational Attainment of Parents and Husbands

Parents' Education

Conventional knowledge teaches us that parents' education is among the factors impacting the educational choices and career path of individuals. Father's and mother's education were therefore, among the variables examined to characterize the leaders in this study.

Reinforcing conventional knowledge, the data from this research revealed that the level of education attained by the administrators' fathers is a distinctive characteristic that sets the women leaders apart from their followers. Data in Table 35 for example,

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show that 37 percent of administrators' fathers had college education as against 19 percent of the subordinates' fathers. Conversely, proportionately more subordinates had fathers who did not have any form of schooling. The figures are 38 and 22 percent respectively for the subordinates and administrators.

The educational attainment of their mothers, however, is a characteristic that did not distinguish between administrators and their subordinates. About 70 percent of the respondents in both groups claimed that their mothers did not have any form of schooling at all, or may have attended only the informal Arabic-Islamic schools. Compared to their fathers, the respondents' mothers are less educated. Only more or less than 30 percent of the respondents' mothers had formal schooling in contrast with 76 and 58 percent respectively of the administrators' and subordinates' fathers. These comparative data lend support to observations made in earlier studies about: (a) the traditional patriarchal structure of Filipino Muslim society, and (b) the higher priority that Muslim parents in the past gave to educating their sons.

Nevertheless, when compared to the education of their comparative age groups in the general population of Lanao del Sur during the period 1939-1960, the respondents' mothers would still be considered to have fared relatively well in their schooling. To illustrate, the comparative census data in Table 35 show that the proportions of the general population of Lanao del Sur who had formal education were only 4.7 percent in 1939 and 14 percent in 1960—way below the 29-33 percent of the respondents' mothers. Based on these data, therefore, it can be concluded that although the mothers of Maranao Muslim women educators have generally lower education than their fathers, both parents tend to have higher education than the general population of Maranaos of their corresponding age groups. Moreover, proportionately more administrators than subordinates have college-educated fathers; although the two groups are homogeneous with regard to their mothers' education.

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Table 35

Percentage Distributions of the Highest Educational Attainment of the Respondents' Parents and Husbands, by Sample Group With Comparative Census Data for Persons, 25 Years and Older, in Lanao del Sur

| Highest Education | Administrators[b] | | | Subordinates[b] | | | Lanao del Sur Census Data[a] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Father (n = 46) | Mother | Husband (n = 43) | Father (n = 166) | Mother | Husband (n = 145) | 1939 | 1960 | 1970 |
| College degree/credits | 37.0 | 4.4 | 11.6 | 18.7 | 4.8 | 13.1 | 0.3 | 1.6 | 4.7 |
| High School | 10.9 | 6.5 | 37.2 | 7.8 | 6.0 | 11.0 | 0.8 | 2.9 | 6.2 |
| Elementary | 28.2 | 21.8 | 48.9 | 31.3 | 18.0 | 55.9 | 3.6 | 9.5 | 14.5 |
| *Madrasah* | 2.2 | 4.3 | 2.3 | 4.2 | 6.0 | 20.0 | a | a | a |
| Not stated/no education | 21.7 | 63.0 | 0.0 | 38.0 | 65.1 | 0.0 | 95.3 | 86.0 | 74.7 |
| Totals | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.1 |

[a]Source: M. A. Costello. (1981). Trends in the social and economic status of the Maranao in the Philippine: 1939-1975. Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, 2, p. 163. (Note: Census data exclude schooling in madrasah and may have included those cases in the last category. Total may not equal 100 % due to rounding error.)

[b]Chi-square (fathers) = 9.57, df = 4, $p < .05$; chi-square (mothers) = .49, df = 4, $p > .95$; chi-square (husbands) = 20.3, df = 3, $p < .001$; chi-square (fathers and husbands of administrators) = 24.07, df = 4, $p < .001$; chi-square (fathers and husbands of subordinates) = 85, df = 4, $p < .001$.

Husbands' Education

As in the education of their fathers, the education of their husbands distinguished between the two groups of women educators, with the administrators taking the characteristic lead. Administrators are more likely than their subordinates to have husbands who had formal schooling and who had attained higher level of education To illustrate, data in Table 35 show that the proportions of spouses having high school, or college as their highest educational attainment are about 49 percent for the administrators in contrast with 24 percent for the subordinates. Conversely, only 2.3 percent of the administrators' spouses compared to about 20 percent of the subordinates' husbands did not attend government-accredited schools, but who nevertheless went to madrasah schools.

Further analyses of husbands' education revealed other interesting findings. Foremost of these is that the women in this study are generally more educated than their husbands—a dramatic contrast with the traditional and still prevailing phenomenon in Muslim society where men are generally more educated than women. To illustrate, at the time of the study, all but two of the 212 women respondents had a college degree. Moreover, about 93 percent of the administrators and 35 percent of the subordinates advanced on to either a professional or a graduate program. In contrast, only 11.6 and 13.1 percent respectively of the administrators' and subordinates' husbands had either a college, professional or graduate education.

Other equally interesting findings were derived by comparing the fathers' and husbands' education. As a group, the respondents' husbands may be considered more educated than the respondents' fathers in the sense that all of the former had either formal or non-formal schooling; whereas 22 and 38 percent respectively of the administrators' and subordinates' fathers never went to school. This finding agrees

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with the educational pattern among the general population of Lanao del Sur where increasing proportions of formally educated individuals are found among younger age groups in comparison with the older ones (see Table 36).

However, among administrators and subordinates who reported that their fathers and husbands had formal schooling, higher proportions reported that their fathers went to college. A remarkable difference was noted particularly between the fathers and husbands of the administrators. To illustrate, among the administrators, 37 percent of their fathers but only 11.6 percent of their husbands had college education. For the subordinates the corresponding figures are 18.7 and 13.1 percent.

This result is rather intriguing since it is in contrast with census data for Lanao del Sur which indicate that in the general population the proportions of college educated individuals are progressively higher among the younger age groups than the older ones. For example, data in Table 36 show that in the general population who are more than 44 years old, only 11.1 percent have college education. The proportions increase progressively from 22 to 34 percent among the younger age groups. Relative to the census data, the administrators' fathers appear to have done remarkably well and unorthodoxly for their age group because even when compared with persons 25 years and older in the general population of Lanao del Sur in 1990 the proportion of administrators' fathers who had college education (37 percent) is still higher.

Explanations for the situation where there were more college-educated among the respondents' fathers than among their husbands, were not inquired about, since this phenomenon was not anticipated. However, some defensible conjectures may be advanced. Among these are: (a) the respondents' fathers who went to college probably belong to a few Maranao Muslim families who realized early on that education in government-recognized schools would be beneficial for their children; and (b) it is probably true that some of the respondents' fathers belong to the elite class of the

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Maranao society, who were able to send their children to high school and college at the time when affordable government schools were virtually inaccessible to most residents of Lanao.

Table 36

Percentage Distribution of the Highest Educational Attainment of Persons, 20 Years and Older, in Lanao del Sur Based on 1990 Census Data, by Age Group[a]

| Educational Level | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | 40-44 | over 44 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| College (credits/degree) | 34.3 | 31.1 | 30.0 | 28.0 | 22.0 | 11.1 |
| Post secondary | 3.5 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 2.9 | 2.1 | 1.3 |
| High School (1-4 years) | 28.6 | 23.8 | 20.9 | 18.2 | 15.1 | 9.4 |
| Elementary (1-7 years) | 21.0 | 25.8 | 26.8 | 27.2 | 30.2 | 32.6 |
| Pre-school, no grade completed, or not stated | 12.6 | 16.0 | 18.9 | 23.7 | 30.6 | 45.6 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Percentages computed based on census data obtained from the 1990 census of population and housing. (Report No. 3-50L, Lanao del Sur: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics), by the National Statistics Office, (1992), p. 58. Manila.

Having parents who had formal schooling, or at best a college or professional degree, appears to have impacted positively the education and career opportunities of the women respondents. From this and other research data may be derived some probable explanations for the unconventional phenomenon that the Muslim women respondents have higher education than their husbands. Among the probable explanations are: (a) parents of the women educators who may have benefited from studying

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in government-accredited institutions want the same for their children, including their daughters; (b) parents of the respondents who attended private colleges were probably well-off enough to support them; and (c) some respondents might have obtained government scholarships and financial aids. It will be noted in a later section that a good proportion of administrators and a few subordinates reported scholarships and financial aids among the factors that contributed most to their career success. Presumably, these grants were provided by the Philippine government to deserving minority students through the Commission on National Integration organized in 1958 or through state colleges and universities established in the 1960s such as Mindanao State University in Marawi City and MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology in Iligan City.

In summary, the salient findings about the education of the respondents and of their parents and spouses are as follows: (a) proportionately more administrators than subordinates have college-educated fathers; (b) the two groups are homogeneous as regards their mothers' education; (c) the respondents' mothers generally had lower education than their fathers; (d) their mothers' lower education notwithstanding, both administrators' and subordinates' mothers are more educated than the comparative age groups in the general population of their province; (e) the women respondents are remarkably more educated than their husbands; (f) husbands of administrators are more educated than the subordinates' spouses; (g) generally, the respondents' husbands may be considered more educated than their fathers in the sense that all husbands went to school whereas some fathers did not; (h) however, among fathers and spouses who had formal schooling, there were proportionately more fathers than husbands who had college education; and (i) administrators' fathers who had formal schooling performed unconventionally well even when compared with younger age groups in the 1990 demographic data.

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Fathers' and Mothers' Occupations When the Respondents Were Still in School

A pattern of greater parental involvement, particularly of the fathers, with the established government of the Philippines when the respondents were still going to school, seems to suggest that those contacts may have made a difference in the life chances and possibly the career opportunities of their children. As shown in Table 37, a significantly larger percentage of administrators' fathers held positions such as government officials, managers, supervisors or teachers compared to the fathers of the subordinates. The proportions were 42.5 and 10.4 respectively.

Table 37

Percentage Distribution of Fathers' Occupations When the Respondents Were Still in School, by Sample Group

| Father's Occupation | Administrator[b] (n = 40)[a] | Subordinate[b] (n = 153)[a] |
|---|---|---|
| Government official, manager, supervisor, teacher, other professional | 42.5 | 10.4 |
| Religious leader or Arabic teacher | 2.5 | 0.7 |
| Military, technical or clerical employee, landlord | 17.5 | 19.6 |
| Farmer, fisherman, trader, craft or service shop worker, manual laborer | 35.0 | 68.0 |
| No gainful employment | 2.5 | 1.3 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Excluding respondents who reported deceased father: administrators = 6, subordinates = 13

[b]Chi-square = 26.1, df = 4, $p < .001$

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At the lower end of the occupational totem pole (farmer, fisherman, manual laborer, and no gainful occupation), the pattern was reversed with more than two thirds (69.3 percent) of the subordinates' fathers and only 37.5 percent of the administrators' fathers falling on these categories. Consequently, the results of the chi-square test of homogeneity (26.09 with probability value of less than .001) indicate that the administrators differ significantly from their subordinates as regards their fathers occupation when they were still in school.

It is interesting to note that in studies done in Malaysia by Karim (1992) and in Indonesia and Thailand by Wright and Tellie (1993), the authors also found out that higher job positions of fathers was among the features that characterized Muslim women leaders in those countries.

Mother's occupation, however, was not a distinguishing characteristic among the Muslim women educators. Data in Table 38 indicate that this family characteristic appears in the same pattern among administrators and subordinates; with slightly more or less than 85 percent of each group reporting that their mothers were not gainfully employed when they were still in school. Only 4.4 and 5.0 percent respectively of the administrators' and subordinates' mothers were employed in the public schools.

By relating the mothers' occupation with their highest educational attainment, it becomes readily apparent that their participation in livelihood activities was very much limited by lack or absence of formal education on their part. These findings about the education and occupation of the respondents' mothers confirm the findings of prior studies about the low status of earlier generations of Filipino Muslim women (see for example, Costello, 1981, Fox, 1963; Lacar, 1992; Randa-Maglangit, 1978). More importantly, the comparison of the mothers' education and occupation with those of the respondents' presents an unequivocal proof of the gains in status which Filipino Muslim women have thus far achieved.

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Table 38

Percentage Distribution of Mothers' Occupations When the Respondents Were Still in School, by Sample Group

| Mother's Occupation | Administrator[b] (n = 45)[a] | Subordinate[b] (n = 160)[a] |
|---|---|---|
| Administrator, teacher in public schools | 4.4 | 5.0 |
| Religious leader or Arabic teacher | 2.2 | 1.3 |
| Technical or clerical employee | - | 0.6 |
| Craft or service shop worker, trader | 8.9 | 7.5 |
| No gainful employment | 84.5 | 85.6 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Excluding respondents who reported deceased mother: administrators = 1, subordinates = 6

[b]Chi-square = .62, df = 4, p = .96

Husband's Occupation

It is apparent from the data that significant individuals who are managers, administrators, or individuals having authority and influence over other persons, surrounded the women administrators in this study. Table 39, for example shows that about 63 percent of the administrators reported the following occupations of their husbands: manager, supervisor, government official, teacher, professional, land-lord, and business proprietor-manager. What this implies is that majority of the administrators are not really strangers to the world of management and leadership as they have been exposed to fathers and husbands who are themselves managers or leaders of

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some sort. Moreover, as revealed in another set of data, fathers and husbands of the administrators tend to be supportive of their career.

For the subordinate group, however, only 23 percent indicated havings husbands whose occupation involve supervision or leadership of other individuals. A greater proportion, (close to 60 percent) were concentrated in jobs classified as clerical, technical service, craft, and manual labor. Fifteen percent did not have any gainful occupation.

Table 39

Percentage Distribution of the Occupations of Respondents' Husbands, by Sample Group

| Husband's Occupation | Administrator[b] (n = 43)[a] | Subordinate[b] (n = 145)[a] |
|---|---|---|
| Administrator, supervisor, government official, teacher, other professional, landlord, or business proprietor/manager | 62.8 | 23.4 |
| Arabic/Islamic teacher, religious leader | 2.3 | 2.8 |
| Clerical/technical/military employee, trader, overseas worker | 23.3 | 29.6 |
| Craft or service shop worker, driver, farmer, other manual laborer | 7.0 | 29.0 |
| No gainful occupation | 4.6 | 15.2 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Excluding single respondents: administrators = 3, subordinates = 21

[b]Chi-square = 25.9, df = 4, $p < .001$

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Size of Family and Number of Brothers and Sisters Who Have College Education

Conventional knowledge teaches us that other things being equal, parents having fewer number of children are more able to provide for the needs of their children. Size of family and number of siblings who obtained college education were therefore, among the variables examined in an attempt to determine whether or not these family characteristics distinguish between the administrators and subordinates.

Research data in Table 40 show that there is no difference between administrators and subordinates with regard to size of family. The two groups have statistically

Table 40

Percentage Distributions of the Respondents' Number of Brothers and Sisters, by Sample Group

| Number | Administrator (n = 46) | | Subordinate (n = 166) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Brothers[a] | Sisters[b] | Brothers [a] | Sisters[b] |
| 0 - 5 | 74 | 76 | 84 | 80 |
| 6 - 10 | 26 | 22 | 15 | 19 |
| 11 - 15 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| More than 15 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Percentage | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

[a]Mean number of brothers respondents have (based on ungrouped data): administrators = 3.9, subordinates = 3.4, t-value = 1.25, df = 64, $p > .20$

[b]Mean number of sisters respondents have (based on ungrouped data): administrators = 3.9, subordinates = 3.8; t-value = .31, df = 210; $p > .75$

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equal average number of brothers and sisters. Similarly, they were found to have equal number of sisters who went to college. However, the administrators have more college-educated brothers than the latter as indicated by the difference in the sample means and the t-value of 3.11 with a probability value of less than .002 (see Table 41).

Table 41

Percentage Distributions of Respondents' Number of Brothers and Sisters Who Have a College Education, by Sample Group

| Number | Administrator (n = 46) | | Subordinate (n = 166) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Brothers[a] | Sisters[b] | Brothers[a] | Sisters[b] |
| None | 17 | 39 | 37 | 29 |
| 1 - 5 brothers | 78 | 54 | 63 | 70 |
| 6 - 10 brothers | 5 | 7 | 0 | 1 |
| Total Percentage | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

[a]Mean number of brothers who have a college education (based on ungrouped data): Administrators = 2.0, subordinates = 1.3, t-value = 3.11, df = 210, $p < .002$

[b]Mean number of sisters who have a college education (based on ungrouped data): administrators = 1.8, subordinates = 1.6, t-value = .45, df = 210, $p > .60$.

As revealed by the research data, size of family did not explain why administrators have more college-educated brothers than the subordinates have. However, other related data may be cited as probable explanations. Among these are (a) higher economic and social class of the administrators' families as suggested by the occupation of their fathers; and (b) the importance they give to educational pursuit as suggested by the education of their fathers and the administrators themselves.

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It is public knowledge that in many societies of the world, upper class individuals have more access to education than those from the lower class. In the Philippines this differential is magnified especially in the secondary and tertiary level because of the inability of the government to establish as many high schools and institutions of higher learning that could make education affordable to the masses. An overwhelming majority of colleges and universities are operated by the private sector. Thus, individuals who pursue higher education are mostly from the middle and upper class. Considering that the administrators' fathers had higher-ranking occupation and there-fore, presumably also had higher income than the subordinates' fathers, it is therefore, plausible to argue that they were more able to afford to send their children to college. Additionally, deducing from the higher education attained by the administrators and their fathers, it may be said that they probably give more importance to educational endeavors than the subordinates' families do.

### Research Question 2: On Career Development Experiences of Maranao Muslim Women Educators

The second research question was raised in order to determine similarities and differences of career development experiences between Maranao Muslim women administrators and their subordinates. In consonance with this research question, eighteen variables pertaining to schooling, leadership, honors and awards, training experiences and training needs were examined (see Table 7). In this section, data pertaining to the eighteen variables, results of statistical analysis, and interpretation of findings will be discussed in detail. A summary of the results of data analysis for these eighteen variables is presented in Table 42.

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Table 42

Summary of the Statistical Analysis of Nominal Variables Examined In Relation to the Second Research Question Regarding the Career Development Experiences of Maranao Muslim Women Educators

| Nominal Variables | Chi-Square Test of Homogeneity of the Administrator Group (n = 46) and Subordinate Group (n = 166) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Chi-Square | df | p-value | Interpretation of Results Using .10 Alpha |
| Attendance in madrasah | 15.51 | 1 | < .001* | Different, proportionately fewer administrators than subordinates studied in madrasah. |
| Highest grade level finished in madrasah | 5.68 | 2 | < .07* | Different, proportionately fewer administrators than subordinates finished higher than the second grade. |
| Reasons for not attending madrasah | .20 | 1 | > .65 | Homogeneous, the two groups gave very much similar reasons. |
| Government-recognized schools attended in the primary grades | 2.64 | 3 | > .40 | Homogeneous, majority of both groups studied in public schools. |
| Government-recognized schools attended in the elementary grades | 6.54 | 4 | > .15 | Homogeneous, majority of both groups went to public schools. |
| Government-recognized institutions attended in college | .20 | 3 | > .95 | Homogeneous, majority of both groups went to either a state college or a private Islamic college. |

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Table 42—Continued

| Nominal Variables | Chi-Square Test of Homogeneity of the Administrator Group (n = 46) and Subordinate Group (n = 166) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Chi-Square | df | p-value | Interpretation of Results Using .10 Alpha |
| Government-accredited institution attended for graduate studies | 3.25 | 3 | > .32 | Homogeneous, majority went to either a state college/university or a private non-sectrarian college/university. |
| Leadership experiences in the elementary grades | 4.8 | 1 | < .05* | Different, administrator group reported greater leadership involvement. |
| Leadership experiences in high school | 16.0 | 1 | < .001* | Different, administrator group reported greater leadership involvement. |
| Leadership experiences in college | 38.1 | 3 | < .001* | Different, administrator group reported greater leadership involvement. |
| Leadership experiences in graduate school | 10.9 | 3 | < .02* | Different, administrator group reported greater leadership involvement. |
| Honors and awards received | 17.5 | 2 | < .001* | Proportionately more administrators were recipients of honors and awards. |
| Training programs attended | 38.9 | 2 | < .001* | Different, majority of each group attended training programs in consonance with their respective present jobs. |

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Table 42—Continued

| Nominal Variables | Chi-Square Test of Homogeneity of the Administrator Group (n = 46) and Subordinate Group (n = 166) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Chi-Square | df | p-value | Interpretation of Results Using .10 Alpha |
| Sponsors of training programs attended | 6.1 | 2 | < .06* | Different, proportionately more administrators had access to private-sponsored training programs. |
| Duration of training programs attended | 4.4 | 2 | > .11 | Homogeneous, majority of both groups reported an average of 1 week or less for each training; although administrators have greater total training time for having attended more training programs. |
| Other training experiences | 43.3 | 2 | < .001* | Administrators are more likely than their subordinates to have gained useful skills for present job from prior appointments. |
| Aspects of present job in which respondents felt most prepared | 68.5 | 1 | < .001* | Different, majority of respondents in each group felt more prepared for the primary functions of their respective positions. |
| Aspects of present job in which respondents felt a need for further training | 67.4 | 3 | < .001* | Different, majority of respondents in each group felt a need for further training in the primary functions of their respective jobs. |

*Significant at .10 alpha

Schooling Experiences

Data on the schooling experiences of Muslim women educators were examined for several reasons. First, the conditions of the Philippine educational system during their schooling years were different from situations currently obtaining in the region. Therefore, problems and opportunities for higher education that confronted the respondents then were probably different from those faced by Maranao Muslim youth today.

Second, in the past, many Muslim parents avoided sending their children to government-recognized schools because of their strong suspicion that those schools were subtle agents for conversion of their children to Christianity or because school curricula and textbooks were biased against the Muslims (Isidro, 1969; Majul, 1985). In the recent decades substantial reforms have been implemented to rectify those weaknesses. Foremost among the reforms are: (a) upgrading and accrediting *madaris*, (b) establishing government secondary and tertiary schools in predominantly Muslim regions, (c) revising textbooks, and (d) offering Islamic studies program in the collegiate level.

In this study, it was anticipated that differences in the schooling experiences of the administrators and subordinates could provide some insights into the differences in the career development opportunities made available to each group. With regard to this topic a brief background on the education of the Filipino Muslims, drawn from the works of Boransing, Magdalena, & Lacar (1987), Isidro (1969), and Majul (1986), will help set the succeeding discussions in better perspective.

These authors wrote that the Filipino Muslims were virtually not reached by the educational system established by the Spanish colonial government. Nevertheless the Muslims were known to have their own schools called Qur'anic schools which were introduced by both Arab and Asian Islamic missionaries before the Spaniards came.

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Instructions in the Qur'anic schools, conducted on a tutorial and informal basis, were limited to teaching the fundamentals of Arabic and reading and memorizing passages from the Quran—their primary purpose being that of teaching Muslim converts the tenets of Islam. Those schools were not widely available then, since they depended largely on private support from members of the *ummah.*

After the Americans gained full sovereignty over the Philippines, the colonial government introduced mass education. Compulsory education for children of elementary school age was made a matter of government policy and public elementary schools were established not only in Christian regions but in Muslim regions as well. Many Muslim parents, however, initially avoided sending their children to those schools which they perceived as agents for conversion of their children to Christianity.

The Americans did not abolish the Qur'anic schools but they did not accredit them either. Despite absence of official recognition, the Qur'anic schools persisted; some with financial aid from Islamic groups in other countries. Through the years, with improvements introduced by Islamic missionaries and religious leaders (ulama) who trained in the Middle East, they gradually evolved into more structured and organized institutions called *madaris* (Arabic for schools, plural of madrasah).

The main thrust of the *madaris* continued to be that of teaching the Arabic language and the tenets of Islam. Many though, expanded their programs by offering kindergarten, elementary, and in a very few cases secondary and college curricula patterned after Islamic schools in countries, presumably, where foreign-trained ulama received their education. Except for a few schools, the *madaris* were not accredited by the Philippine government up until the 1980s. Consequently, Muslim children who went only to *madaris* were not able to pursue further education in government-recognized schools—an impediment which further translated into their inability to qualify for employment in most organizations in the new socio-economic order.

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Over time, the attitudes of Muslim parents toward sending their children to public schools changed. One drawback though, was the inability of the government to establish adequate number of secondary and tertiary schools that could provide affordable education to the increasing number of students wanting to pursue education beyond the elementary grades. For example, it was only with the passage of a new constitution in 1987 that free public secondary education was mandated. Moreover, prior to the establishment of Mindanao State University in Marawi City and its autonomous unit, Iligan Institute of Technology in Iligan City, in the 1960s there were no state collegiate degree-granting institutions within the Lanao provinces. Consequently, poor students who could not afford to go to accredited private schools were systematically limited in their educational options.

Muslims who could afford private education but preferred Islamic schools had likewise limited options, since there were very few accredited private schools run by Muslims. Virtually all private institutions of higher learning in the region, and the whole country for that matter, were run by either Roman Catholic religious orders, Protestant denominations, or secular organizations owned by Christian individuals. To illustrate, as of late 1950s, there was only one Islamic institution listed by the Bureau of Private Schools among 289 accredited colleges and universities in the entire country (Carson, 1961). In fact, this institution (Kamilol Islam College in Marawi City and presently named Jamiatul Philippine Al-Islamiah) was accredited only when it offered English programs consisting of western-type curricula prescribed by the government in addition to its elementary to post secondary Arabic programs (Boransing, et al., 1987).

This state of the Philippine educational system is illustrated further in Estelle James' (1991) analysis of census data as shown in Table 43. For instance, from 1946 to 1985, Philippine public institutions of higher education constituted only 1-28 percent

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of all accredited colleges and universities; and served only 2-15 percent of the country's growing population of college students.

Given this brief background of the country's educational system during the respondents' schooling years, data on their educational experiences and schools they attended were examined to find out whether or not those variables might have made a difference in the career path each group followed.

Table 43

Public Higher Educational Institutions and Enrollment in the Philippines, 1946-1985

| Year | Institutions | | | Enrollment | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Public | % Public | Total | Public | % Public |
| 1946 | 503 | 5 | 1 | 46 | 1 | 2 |
| 1955 | 377 | 26 | 7 | 184 | 7 | 4 |
| 1965 | 466 | 26 | 6 | 527 | 59 | 11 |
| 1975 | 754 | 126 | 17 | 766 | 106 | 14 |
| 1985 | 1,157 | 319 | 28 | 1,504 | 230 | 15 |

Source: E. James (1991). Private higher education: the Philippines as a prototype. Journal of Higher Education, 21(2), pp. 189-206. (Note: Percent distributions were derived from the data.)

Attendance in Madrasah, Highest Grade Completed in Madrasah, and Reasons for Not Going to an Islamic School

In the discussion on father's education and occupation, this writer has suggested that fathers' education as well as their interactions and contacts with the American colonial government and later with the government of the Philippine

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Republic, probably made a difference in the career opportunities made available to the two groups of women educators. In this section, data on respondents' schooling provide corroborative evidence which suggest that: (a) the administrators' fathers' had greater openness to the schools viewed by most Muslims in the Philippines as "westernized"; (b) they were more willing to send their children to those schools rather than limiting them to madrasah; and (c) their willingness to send their children, including daughters, to those schools probably had a favorable impact on life chances and career path of the administrators.

Data about early schooling experiences of the respondents indicate that proportionately, there were fewer administrators than subordinates who went to *madaris* (see Table 44). Moreover, of those who went to *madaris*, proportionately fewer administrators than subordinates stayed on beyond the second grade (see Table 45).

Table 44

Respondents' Attendance in Madrasah , by Sample Group

| Attendance in Madrasah | Administrator[a] | | Subordinate[a] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Attended Madrasah | 29 | 63 | 146 | 88 |
| Never Attended Madrasah | 17 | 37 | 20 | 12 |
| Total | 46 | 100 | 166 | 100 |

[a]Chi-square = 15.51, df = 1, p <.001

That very few respondents had more than four years of madrasah schooling experiences may be explained by the fact that most *madaris*, then operating in Lanao

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provinces, offered only four grade levels of instruction. However, the fact that proportionately fewer administrators than subordinates went to madrasah and persisted beyond the second grade could probably be construed that the parents of the administrators were more willing to send their children to public schools than the parents of the subordinates. The implication with respect to career development is that, non-attendance or shorter attendance in madrasah probably gave the administrators an edge over their subordinates in starting formal education credited towards further studies in government-recognized schools.

Table 45

Highest Grade Level Finished by the Respondents in Madrasah, by Sample Group[b]

| Highest grade level attained | Administrator[a] | | Subordinate[a] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Kindergarten to Grade 2 | 20 | 69 | 77 | 53 |
| Grade 3 to Grade 4 | 2 | 7 | 41 | 28 |
| Grade 5 - Up | 7 | 24 | 28 | 19 |
| Totals | 29 | 100 | 146 | 100 |

[a]Excluding respondents who did not go to a madrasah: administrators = 17 subordinates = 20

[b]Chi-square = 5.68, df = 2, $p < .07$

Among the reasons cited by both administrators and subordinates who never attended madrasah were the inavailability or inaccessibility of a madrasah in their home communities; or if available, their lack of interest in going to that school. Results of the

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chi-square test of homogeneity indicated that administrators and subordinates who never attended madrasah were homogeneous with respect to their reasons for not going to these schools as shown in Table 46. Since these reasons were not inquired about further, it could not be determined if respondents would have opted going to a madrasah rather than to a public school had both schools been made available in their community. It was noted though, that a few who may have had an option to go to one, did not do so for lack or absence of interest.

Table 46

Reasons Given by the Respondents for Not Attending Madrasah , by Sample Group

| Reason for not attending Madrasah | Administrator[b] | | Subordinate[b] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F[a] | % | F[a] | % |
| There was no madrasah available in the respondent's home community, or if available, it was very far from home | 13 | 76.5 | 14 | 70.0 |
| Not interested or no time to attend | 4 | 23.5 | 6 | 30.0 |
| Totals | 17 | 100.0 | 20 | 100.0 |

[a]Excluding those who attended madrasah: administrators = 29, subordinates = 146

[b]Chi-square = .20, df = 1, p > .65

Types of Government-Recognized Schools Attended

In the Primary and Intermediate Grades. The data provided by the Muslim women respondents regarding the types of government-accredited schools they attended in pursuit of education that qualified them for their present employment,

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indicate that administrators and subordinates are homogeneous with respect to these variables. Although some respondents studied in sectarian and non-sectarian schools operated by Christian or Muslim groups during their elementary grades, majority of both administrators and subordinates went to government schools (see Tables 47 and 48). Some claimed to have attended both madrasah and public schools in their elementary grades. This is possible since some madaris hold classes only on week-ends—an arrangement still followed by many Muslim communities to the present, perhaps in an attempt to give children opportunities for both secular and religious education.

Table 47

Types of Government-Recognized Schools Attended by the Respondents During Their Primary Grades, by Sample Group

| Type of school attended | Administrator[a] | | Subordinate[a] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % |
| Public school | 32 | 70.0 | 103 | 62.1 |
| Private non-sectarian school | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | 1.2 |
| Private Islamic school | 0 | 0.0 | 6 | 3.6 |
| Both public school and private Islamic school | 14 | 30.0 | 55 | 33.1 |
| Totals | 46 | 100.0 | 166 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 2.64, df = 3, p > .40

Reasons for the respondents' choice of the schools they attended were no longer asked in this study. However, it seems logical to deduce that the establishment of more schools by the government, in support of its policy of mass education for

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children of elementary school age, may have made secular education more accessible and affordable for many Muslim families. It is also interesting to note from the data that, although few in number, some respondents went to private sectarian and non-sectarian schools operated by Christians at the time when Muslim parents in general were still very suspicious about the conversion agenda of those institutions (see Table 48). That some parents were then willing to send their daughters to private Christian schools is notable since it suggests the dawning of social openness and tolerance among Muslim parents.

Table 48

Types of Government-Recognized Schools Attended by the Respondents During Their Intermediate Grades, by Sample Group

| Type of school attended | Administrator[a] | | Subordinate[a] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % |
| Public school | 36 | 78.30 | 144 | 86.75 |
| Both public school and private Islamic school | 3 | 6.50 | 10 | 6.02 |
| Private Islamic school | 2 | 4.35 | 7 | 4.22 |
| Private Christian school | 3 | 6.50 | 2 | 1.20 |
| Private non-sectarian school | 2 | 4.35 | 3 | 1.81 |
| Totals | 46 | 100.00 | 166 | 100.00 |

[a]Chi-square = 6.54, df = 4, $p > .14$

In College and Graduate School. Administrators and subordinates were likewise found homogeneous as regards the type of institutions they attended in college

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and graduate school. Data in Table 49 illustrate that for their college education majority of both administrators and subordinates went to either a private Islamic college or a state college/university. An increase in the number of respondents who went to private non-sectarian institutions was also noted; whereas a private Christian institution continued to be the lowest preference among the respondents.

Table 49

Types of Government-Accredited Institutions Attended by the Respondents in College, by Sample Group

| Type of school attended | Administrator[a] | | Subordinate[a] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F | % | F | % |
| State college/university | 15 | 32.6 | 53 | 31.9 |
| Private Islamic college | 19 | 41.3 | 75 | 45.2 |
| Private Christian college/university | 2 | 4.4 | 7 | 4.2 |
| Private non-sectarian college/university | 10 | 21.7 | 31 | 18.7 |
| Totals | 46 | 100.0 | 166 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = .20, df = 3, $p > .95$

For their graduate degree, majority of the Muslim women respondents preferred to study in state colleges or universities and in private non-sectarian institutions (see Table 50). At this level, availability of a desired graduate program and quality of instruction and facilities, rather than an institution's religious affiliation, were probably the more compelling considerations for their choice of a college or university.

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Similarly, reasons for the respondents' choice of schools for their college and graduate degrees were not examined in this study. It was noted though, that those who went to Islamic private college almost invariably cited Jamiatul Philippine Al-Islamiah in Marawi City, the first Islamic institute accredited by the government, as their alma mater. Whereas, a large majority of those who attended a government school named either Mindanao State University in Marawi City or MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology in Iligan City. Therefore, based on these data it could be said that the establishment of these government schools opened up opportunities for higher education for many Maranao Muslim women who eventually became teachers and administrators in the public schools.

Table 50

Types of Government-Accredited Institutions Attended by the Respondents for Graduate Studies, by Sample Group

| Type of school attended | Administrator[b] | | Subordinate[b] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | F[a] | % | F[a] | % |
| State college/university | 25 | 58.1 | 34 | 58.6 |
| Private Islamic college | 3 | 7.0 | 6 | 10.3 |
| Private Christian college/university | 7 | 16.3 | 3 | 5.2 |
| Private non-sectarian college/university | 8 | 18.6 | 15 | 25.9 |
| Totals | 43 | 100.0 | 58 | 100.0 |

[a]Excluding respondents who did not pursue graduate studies: administrators = 3 subordinates = 108

[b]Chi-square = 3.25, df = 3, $p > .32$

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It should be mentioned here that admission requirements in these government institutions are relatively more stringent than most, if not all, private schools in the region. However, they have some important features which may have influenced the choices made by the respondents and possibly their career as well. Among these are: (a) availability of scholarships and financial aids to deserving students; (b) affordable tuition and fees; (c) special academic programs which may not be offered in private schools; and (d) more importantly, their relatively high academic standards which makes placement easier for their graduates.

## Leadership Experiences

It is a common observation that people who become leaders at work or in their communities during their adult life usually had some leadership involvement during their schooling years. Past leadership experiences of the respondents were, therefore, examined to find out if these variables distinguished between the two groups.

### Leadership Experiences in the Elementary Grades

Data obtained from the respondents support the common observation that adult leaders are more likely than their followers to have had some leadership involvement in their younger years. For example, the data provided by the administrators indicate that as early as their elementary grades and high school, certain patterns of leadership formation were already beginning to emerge and to take shape which were to continue into college. As shown in Table 51, about 72 percent of the administrators were already active as student leaders in class or school activities during their elementary grades. Among the subordinates, the corresponding proportion was 52.4 percent. The difference between the two groups is statistically significant as indicated by the chi-square value of 4.8 and a probability value of less than .05.

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Table 51

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Leadership Experiences During Their Elementary Grades, by Sample Group

| Leadership experiences | Administrator[a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| None | 28.3 | 47.6 |
| Class or school leadership | 71.7 | 52.4 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 4.8, df = 1, $p < .05$

That patterns of leadership formation appeared to have emerged among the subordinates and much more so among the administrators as early as their elementary schooling years, probably had profound impact in later life as reflected in the fact that they became teachers, administrators, and leaders in their respective workplaces and communities. In this regard, it must be mentioned that in a developing country such as the Philippines, especially in rural areas, educators are usually held in high esteem and are looked upon as role models and leaders not only by the students but by the parents and the community as well.

Leadership Experiences in High School

In their high school years, the pattern in which the administrator group showed more interest in class or school leadership appeared to have been carried on. As shown in Table 52, for that stage in their career development, 80.4 percent of the administrators reported having experienced active class or school leadership involvement. In contrast, only 45.8 percent of the subordinates claimed having engaged in such

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activities. Results of the chi-square test of homogeneity indicate significant difference between the two groups at .10 alpha.

Table 52

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Leadership Experiences in High School, by Sample Group

| Leadership Experiences | Administrator [a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| None | 19.6 | 54.2 |
| Class or school leadership | 80.4 | 45.8 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 16.0, df = 1, $p < .001$

Leadership Involvement in College and in Graduate School

In college the arena of leadership involvement by the women administrators extended into community affairs more notably than that of their subordinates. For example, data in Table 53 indicate that when the respondents were in college more than 17.4 percent of the administrators were already involved in some leadership responsibilities at work, and in community and religious affairs; whereas among the subordinates only 2.4 percent reported such an involvement.

Class or school leadership continued to be a dynamic domain in the respondents' involvement, with the administrators still taking the characteristic lead over their subordinates. The chi-square value of 38.1 and a probability value of less than .001 indicate that the leadership involvement of the two groups of respondents during their college years was significantly different from each other. Perhaps, in addition to other

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Table 53

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Leadership Involvement in College, by Sample Group[a]

| Areas of Leadership Involvement | Administrator n = 46 | Subordinate n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| None | 32.6 | 75.9 |
| Class or school leadership | 50.0 | 21.7 |
| Leadership at work | 2.2 | 1.2 |
| In community and religious affairs | 15.2 | 1.2 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 38.1, df = 3, $p < .001$

factors, the administrators' greater leadership involvement at work and in community and religious affairs gave them the consequential edge over their subordinates in obtaining experiences preparatory to the positions they now occupy.

While doing their graduate studies, however, it was noted that majority of both groups avoided leadership involvement (see Table 54). This was probably because of the demands of graduate work on their time, as some respondents may have pursued their graduate studies while continuing on with their jobs. Nevertheless, among those who continued to accept leadership responsibilities, the administrators still showed a higher ratio

To recapitulate, data on the respondents' leadership experiences outside of their present jobs indicate that: (a) patterns of leadership formation emerged as early as in their elementary school age; (b) during their adulthood their leadership involvement extended from school to work, community, and religious affairs; and (c) even during

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Table 54

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Leadership Involvement in the Graduate School, by Sample Group[a]

| Areas of Leadership Involvement | Administrator[b] n = 43 | Subordinate[b] n = 58 |
|---|---|---|
| None | 62.7 | 89.7 |
| Class or school leadership | 27.9 | 6.9 |
| Leadership at work | 4.7 | 1.7 |
| In community and religious affairs | 4.7 | 1.7 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 10.9, df = 3, $p < .02$

[b]Excludes those who did not pursue graduate studies.

their student years, leadership involvement was notably more apparent among the administrators than among their subordinates. Based on these findings from sample data, it could be inferred that among Maranao Muslim women in public schools, the administrators are more likely than their subordinates to have had leadership participation during their schooling years. Perhaps, among others, the more notable student leadership experiences of the administrators helped determine their career direction.

Honors and Awards

Performance and awards are usually linked to each other. Honors and awards received by the respondents were, therefore, examined in an attempt to link these data to differences in performance and experiences that prepared each group of respondents for their present career.

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Research data in Table 55 show that proportionately, more administrators received honors and awards from various sources and for various accomplishments than their subordinates. All awards combined, 76 percent of the administrators and 65 percent of subordinates reported being recipients.

Table 55

Percentage Distribution of the Most Important Honors and Awards Received by the Respondents, by Sample Group

| Category | Administrator[a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| None | 23.9 | 35.0 |
| Academic and other school awards | 41.3 | 55.4 |
| Service or merit award from employer, professional organization, or community | 34.8 | 9.6 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 17.5 , df = 2, $p < .001$

A marked difference between the two groups occured particularly in the category for work, professional organization, and community awards with 34.8 of the administrators claiming to have been recipients in contrast with only 9.6 percent of the second group. These data strongly suggest that the administrators had greater involvement in professional and community affairs. However, it could not be determined whether those experiences helped the administrators gain promotion to their present position, or they had those involvement as a function of their administrative jobs.

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## Training Programs Attended by the Respondents

### Types of Training Programs

Research data reveal that in addition to their formal education, the type or nature of training the respondents went through to prepare themselves for their present jobs correspondingly matched the skill demands of their present positions (see Table 56). For example, among the administrators, about 35 percent have had training experiences in leadership and administration while only 4.2 percent of the subordinates said they had this kind of training. In contrast, 88.6 percent of subordinates have had training experiences in teaching and other knowledge and skills enhancement. Among the administrators, the corresponding figure is 52.2 percent.

Table 56

Percentage Distribution of the Type of Training Programs Attended by the Respondents, by Sample Group

| Training Experiences | Administrator[a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| Arabic/Islamic studies | 13.0 | 7.2 |
| Training to enhance technical or teaching knowledge and skills | 52.2 | 88.6 |
| Administrative/Leadership training | 34.8 | 4.2 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-Square = 38.9, df = 2, $p < .001$

Although only slightly over one third (34.8 percent) of the administrators claimed to have participated in administrative and/or leadership training programs, this

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should not be construed to mean that majority do not have preparations for their job. These data pertain only to short-term training programs such workshops, conferences, and seminars. Data on academic degree programs that prepared them for their respective present jobs were presented in the section on respondents' education.

That a good proportion of the administrators had also undergone training in teaching and other knowledge and skills enhancement indicates at least two things: (1) that they too, have gone through the stage of being teachers or staff employees before becoming educational administrators; and (2) there is a continuing interest and desire among them "to keep in touch" with the needed knowledge and skills in teaching in order to become effective administrators and leaders in the field of education. Another interesting information derived from Table 56 is the educators' emerging interest in Arabic and Islamic studies. This will be discussed later in the section on training programs they felt they need to undergo to further enhance their knowledge and skills for their respective jobs.

Sponsors of Training Programs

In majority of the cases, the sponsors of the training programs participated in by the respondents were their employer-organizations and other agencies of the Philippine government (see Table 57). Only in about 17.4 percent of the cases for administrators and 6 percent of the subordinates were the training programs sponsored by private organizations or jointly by private and government entities.

That the government continues to support training programs for Muslim women educators is noteworthy and commendable. At the same time, these data indicate that administrators were more able to have access to private training sponsors than were the subordinates. Perhaps, the social exchanges that tend to accompany one's occupation of a high status position may have also broadened the administrators' contacts with

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private organizations, and in turn, enabled them to have greater access to the latter's programs. Social reality being what it is, social contacts are an important factor in creating chances for individuals.

Table 57

Percentage Distribution of the Sponsors of Training Programs Attended by the Respondents, by Sample Group

| Sponsor of Training Programs | Administrator [a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| Employer or other government agencies | 82.6 | 94.0 |
| Private organizations | 2.2 | 0.6 |
| Both public and private | 15.2 | 5.4 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 6.1, df = 2, $p < .06$

Duration of Training

Majority of the training workshops and seminars attended by the respondents lasted for an average of one week each (see Table 58). The two groups were homogeneous with regard to this variable. Other training programs though, were for a longer duration; some extending even to a month or longer. However, when all of the training programs attended by the respondents were aggregated, the admininistrators showed comparatively longer total training time for having attended more conferences, seminars, and workshops than their subordinates.

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Table 58

Percentage Distribution of the Duration of Training Programs Attended by the Respondents, by Sample Group[a]

| Duration of training | Administrator n = 46 | Subordinate n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| Average of a week or less each | 60.9 | 67.5 |
| Average of more than a week each | 21.7 | 25.3 |
| Average of more than a month each | 17.4 | 7.2 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 4.4, df = 2, p > .11

Other Experiences That Prepared the Respondents for Their Present Jobs

In addition to seminars, conferences, and workshops, data in Table 59 reveal that the greater bulk of training experiences that prepared the administrators for their present jobs were those that they had in their lower ranks, presumably as teachers or staff employees. Among the subordinates, only 26 percent reported other experiences in lower ranks as useful in skills preparation for their present positions.

The chi-square value of 43.3 and a probability value of less than .001 indicate that the two groups differed from each other with respect to other skills-training experiences that prepared them for their present positions. Based on these sample data, it could be inferred that among Maranao Muslim women educators, the administrators are more likely than their subordinates to gain skills that are useful for their present jobs from their prior appointments.

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Table 59

Percentage Distribution of Other Experiences That Prepared Respondents for Their Present Jobs, by Sample Group

| Type of Experiences | Administrator[a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| None | 13.0 | 65.7 |
| Pre-service training | 10.9 | 8.4 |
| Work experiences in positions of lower rank or in other jobs | 76.1 | 25.9 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 43.3, df = 2, $p < .001$

Aspects of Respondents' Jobs for Which They Felt Most Prepared

Each group of respondents felt most prepared in the primary functions of their respective present positions for which they had corresponding education, training, and related experiences. As shown in Table 60, about 72 percent of the first group reported administration and supervision as the aspects of their jobs for which they felt most prepared. Similarly, the subordinates felt that they are most prepared for aspects of their jobs (either as teachers or staff members) which are along their degree major or minor. The responses of both groups appeared to match closely their respective education, training background and previous work experiences.

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Table 60

Percentage Distribution of Aspects of Respondents' Present Jobs for Which They Felt Most Prepared, by Sample Group

| Aspects of job | Administrator[a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| Aspects of staff or teaching job along one's degree major or minor | 28.3 | 88.0 |
| Administration, supervision, and/or training others | 71.7 | 12.0 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 68.5, df = 1, $p < .001$

Aspects of Respondents' Jobs in Which They Felt a Need for Further Training

It appears that a high motivation to further enhance their existing skills and to acquire additional skills exist among both administrators and subordinates. However, they differ in the type of training they feel they need, and understandably so, considering the difference in the type of jobs they perform.

Data in Table 61, for instance, reveal that slightly over 54 percent of the administrators felt that they need more training in administrative, supervisory, and leadership skills. Another 30.4 percent felt they need more training in aspects of staff or teaching skills not necessarily along their major or minor fields, presumably to enhance their ability to help their subordinates. Again it is interesting to note that Arabic and Islamic studies are among the training areas some administrators think they need, whereas about 7 percent felt no need for any further training.

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Table 61

Percentage Distribution of Aspects of Respondents' Present Job in Which They Felt a Need for Further Training, by Sample Group

| Aspects of job | Administrator [a] n = 46 | Subordinate[a] n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| None (not interested in further training) | 6.5 | 9.6 |
| Arabic/Islamic studies | 8.7 | 5.4 |
| Administrative, supervisory, leadership skills | 54.3 | 5.4 |
| Aspects of staff or teaching job not along one's major or minor | 30.4 | 79.5 |
| Total Percentage | 99.9[b] | 99.9[b] |

[a]Chi-square = 67.4, df = 3, $p < .001$

[b]Less than 100 percent due to rounding error.

Among the subordinates, about 80 percent felt the need for additional training in aspects of their present teaching or staff jobs which are not necessarily along their major or minor fields. What this appears to indicate is that they are presently assigned some responsibilities which are not along their educational preparation; hence their felt need to acquire or enhance knowledge and skills that will help them better perform their jobs. Interestingly, about 5.4 percent reported a desire for training in administrative, supervisory, and leadership areas; presumably to prepare themselves for probable opportunities for administrative appointment. Another 5.4 percent felt a need for training in Arabic and Islamic studies, whereas about 10 percent did not fell the need for any other training.

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As repeatedly noted in the preceding tables, there appears to be an emerging interest among Muslim educators to have training in Arabic and Islamic studies. This could probably be explained by a development in the Philippine educational system effected by an executive mandate—Letter of Instruction (LOI) 1221 issued in 1982. With this LOI, the government officially adopted the policy of gradually accrediting all *madaris* that are able to comply with government regulatory standards regarding curricula, administrative and teaching personnel, financial resources, physical plant and other educational facilities (MECS Order No. 24, s. 1985).

In light of this development, two plausible implications may be derived: (1) it would seem that the emerging felt need of Muslim women educators to undergo training in Arabic-Islamic studies may have been motivated by their desire to better understand the Arabic-Islamic educational orientation of pupils who may transfer from the madaris; and (2) the training should probably be encouraged and supported by the Department of Education—after of course a careful consideration of the legal implications of sponsoring this kind of training program such as for example, violation of the constitutional principle of separation of church and state.

Some respondents in both groups felt no need for further training. These specific cases were identified and data on their personal characteristics were reviewed to find out some similarities among themselves. The review indicated that those who did not feel a need for further training were very much similar in age and in career goals. Invariably, these respondents were over 50 years old and were already anxiously anticipating their retirement. Some would like to engage in business using whatever retirement benefits they expect to receive.

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## Research Questions 3 and 4: On Career-Related Goals and Visions of Muslim Women Educators and How They Differ Between Administrators and Subordinates

Still in relation to the first objective of determining salient characteristics that distinguish between the Muslim women leaders and their subordinates, seven variables concerning their career-related goals and visions were examined (see Table 8). The summaries of findings about these variables are presented in Table 62 and are discussed in more detail in the succeeding sections.

### Educational Aspirations as a Child or as an Adolescent

The data on the educational aspirations respondents claimed to have had during their childhood or adolescence, suggest that the two groups of Muslim women educators already differed from each other even during their formative years. As children or adolescents looking ahead to what they want to become in their adulthood, the administrators appeared to have aimed higher than their subordinates. As shown in Table 63, 52 percent of the administrators claimed that they had aspired to finish either a master, a doctorate, or a professional degree (e.g. law and medicine); whereas only a little over 24 percent of the subordinates claimed to have aspired for an education higher than a college baccalaureate degree.

Majority of the subordinates tended to have had aspired for the lower end of the spectrum of educational goals, with 67 percent having aspired for a college degree and 9 percent for a high school diploma. Whereas, none of the administrators reported having limited their educational aspirations to high school; as those who did not aspire to become either a lawyer, a doctor, or a graduate degree holder desired to finish, at least, a college degree. Not surprisingly, this difference in their educational aspirations during their younger years was actualized to a large extent in their adulthood. As borne

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Table 62

Summary of the Statistical Analysis of Nominal Variables Examined in Relation to Research Questions 3 and 4

| Nominal Variables | Chi-Square Test of Homogeneity of the Administrator Group ($n$ = 46) and Subordinate Group (n = 166) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Chi-Square | df | p-value | Interpretation of Results Using .10 Alpha |
| 1. Respondents' educational aspirations during their childhood or adolescence | 18.1 | 4 | < .01* | Administrators had higher educational aspirations than their subordinates during their growing up years |
| 2. Occupational aspirations during childhood/adolescence | 7.9 | 4 | < .10* | Administrators aspired for higher-ranked occupations than their subordinates did. |
| 3. Leadership aspirations during childhood or adolescence | 10.5 | 3 | < .02* | Proportionately more administrators than subordinates aspired for leadership roles at work and in the community; whereas more subordinates than administrators aspired for normatively-allocated leadership roles. |
| 4. Own career goals within the next 5 years | 14.2 | 4 | < .01* | Proportionately more administrators than subordinates aim at improving work effectiveness in order to enhance the quality of education for Muslim youth; whereas proportionately more subordinates than administrators aim at obtaining full qualifications and at gaining tenure and/or promotion. |

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Table 62—*Continued*

| Nominal Variables | Chi-Square Test of Homogeneity of the Administrator Group (n = 46) and Subordinate Group (n = 166) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Chi-Square | df | p-value | Interpretation of Results Using .10 Alpha |
| 5. Own career goals within the next 10 years | 13.5 | 4 | < .01* | Almost similar pattern as career goals within the next five years as stated above. |
| 6. Respondents' visions for children and youth of their community within the next 5 years | 2.8 | 3 | > .43 | Homogeneous, majority of both groups (80 and 85 percent) desire to promote the quality of education for Muslim youth, and to reduce illiteracy in predominantly Muslim provinces. |
| 7. Respondents' visions for children and youth of their community within the next 10 years | 1.8 | 3 | > .60 | Homogeneous, majority of both groups (over 90 percent) desire to promote the quality of education for Muslim youth, enhance their job and leadership skills, and prepare them to become responsible partners and leaders in nation building. |

*Significant at .10 alpha

out by the data presented earlier in Table 15, the administrators, generally, have higher educational attainment than their subordinates.

Table 63

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Educational Aspirations During Their Childhood or Adolescence, by Sample Group

| Educational Aspirations | Administrator n = 46 | Subordinate n = 166 |
|---|---|---|
| High school graduate | 0.0 | 9.0 |
| Arabic/Islamic higher education | 4.3 | 4.8 |
| College bachelor's degree | 43.5 | 62.1 |
| Professional (e.g. law) or master degree | 23.9 | 15.1 |
| Medicine or doctorate degree | 28.3 | 9.0 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 18.1, df = 4, $p < .01$

Based on these sample data, therefore, it could be inferred that among Maranao Muslim women educators employed in the public schools, the administrators are more likely to have had higher childhood educational aspirations than their subordinates; and that such difference in aspirations is likely to be manifested in a significant difference between their actual educational attainment as adults.

Respondents' Occupational and Leadership Role Aspirations During Childhood or Adolescence

Research data suggest that some discernible patterns of occupational and leadership aspirations—somewhat similar in relative ranks to the actual careers the women

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respondents pursued in their adulthood—were already forming among them during their younger years. Table 64, for instance, show that during their growing-up years, the administrators were largely inclined towards teaching, managing, and private practice of a profession; whereas the subordinates leaned towards teaching and clerical or technical employment. This difference between the groups' educational aspirations is significant as indicated by the chi-square value of 7.9 with a probability value of less than .10.

Table 64

Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Occupational Aspirations During Their Childhood and Adolescence, by Sample Group

| Occupational Aspirations | Administrator[a] (n = 46) | Subordinate[a] (n = 166) |
|---|---|---|
| Housewife | 0.0 | 3.0 |
| Madrasah teacher | 0.0 | 2.4 |
| Clerical or technical employee | 19.6 | 20.5 |
| Public school teacher | 52.2 | 60.8 |
| Manager, administrator, or private practice of a profession | 28.2 | 13.3 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 7.9, df = 4, $p < .10$

Similarly, a greater proportion of administrators than subordinates reported to have aspired for leadership in their respective communities and chosen careers. Data in

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Table 65 below show that the proportions indicating these categories are 80.4 percent of the administrators and 54.9 percent of the subordinates. On the other hand, there were proportionately more subordinates who aspired to be good mothers and leaders of their own children or to become madrasah or religious teachers—the roles commonly allocated to Maranao Muslim women by customs and traditions.

Table 65

Percentage Distribution of the Respondents' Leadership Aspirations During Their Childhood or Adolescence, by Sample Group

| Leadership Aspirations | Administrator[a] (n = 46) | Subordinate[a] (n = 166) |
|---|---|---|
| Leadership in Madrasah or religious affairs | 2.2 | 10.2 |
| Mother (as leader of her own children) | 17.4 | 34.9 |
| Leadership in community affairs | 23.9 | 12.7 |
| Leadership in a chosen job or profession | 56.5 | 42.2 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 10.5, df = 3, $p < .02$

These data strongly suggest that although traditional role-stereotyping and role-allocation norms continued to have a hold among this generation of Muslim women educators, proportionately fewer administrators than subordinates seemed to have been eager or desirous to conform to those norms when they were growing up. Instead, a large majority of the administrators aspired for vocational and leadership roles which were then still unconventionally expected of women. The reasons for the differences in

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the respondents' occupational and leadership aspirations were not inquired about. However, it must be pointed out that the pattern of differences between the two groups tended to carry over to the actual career directions they pursued in their adulthood.

Respondents' Career Goals Within the Next Five and Ten Years

Concerns for both immediate and future job-related needs are reflected in the career goals of all the respondents in the next five and ten years. For each group, the respondents' present employment status and educational level seem to influence their short-term and long-term career goals.

To illustrate, data in Table 66 indicate that proportionately fewer administrators than subordinates reported the goals of obtaining educational and civil service qualifications and gaining tenure or promotion. The proportions are 48 percent among the administrators against 73 percent among the subordinates. This suggests that compared to their subordinates, the administrators are relatively less preoccupied with improving self-qualifications in order to secure their positions. Some are able to look beyond their own personal career needs and instead, aim at possibilities of contributing to the improvement of the educational services and opportunities for Filipino Muslim youth. This is understandable in light of the research data regarding the comparative education and employment status of the respondents.

It will be recalled from Tables 14 and 15 that proportionately more administrators than subordinates already have graduate degrees and/or permanent appointments. In fact it is probable that some may have already attained the occupational rank and status they have aspired for. Consequently, a good number of administrators are able to focus on the needs of their work environment. Nearly one third of the administrators aim at improving work effectiveness within their schools or departments in order that quality of education for Muslim children and youth may be likewise improved.

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Whereas among the subordinates, only 13 percent indicated this as their goal within the next five years.

Table 66

Percentage Distributions of Respondents' Career Goals Within the Next Five and Ten Years, by Sample Group

| Career Goals | Administrator[c] (n = 46) | | Subordinate[d] (n = 166) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 5 years[a] | 10 years[b] | 5 years[a] | 10 years[b] |
| Resign and shift career | 2.2 | 4.4 | 3.6 | 3.6 |
| Obtain government certification and/or a graduate degree | 23.9 | 4.4 | 33.7 | 16.3 |
| Gain tenure and/or promotion | 23.9 | 39.1 | 39.8 | 47.0 |
| Maintain present rank and status | 15.2 | 19.5 | 9.6 | 21.1 |
| Enhance work effectiveness thereby improving the quality of education for Muslim children and youth | 34.8 | 32.6 | 13.3 | 12.0 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square (5-year goals) = 14.2, df = 4, $p < .007$

[b]Chi-square (10-year goals) = 13.5, df = 4, $p < .009$

[c]Chi-square (5- and 10-year goals of the administrators) = 9.50, df = 4, $p < .05$

[d]Chi-square (5- and 10-year goals of the subordinates) = 18.32, df = 4, $p < .003$

Why do subordinates appear to have a pressing concern about pursuing graduate education or passing the government examination for teachers in order to gain promotion and security of tenure? As will be recalled from an earlier discussion,

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educational qualification and civil service eligibility (i.e. passing a government examination either for professional licensing or for occupational regulatory purposes) are among the requisites for obtaining employment, promotion, and tenure in government schools. The temporary employment status of many subordinates and their obvious lower rank suggest that they still have not obtained the educational and civil service eligibility required for promotion and tenure. Therefore, it is not surprising that their short-term goals are predominantly focused on obtaining such qualifications.

This apparent preoccupation of many respondents with enhancing their academic and civil service qualifications also appears to be a defensive reaction to the standing order of the Civil Service Commission (CSC), at the time of the research, to dismiss teachers who are already in service but who are not able to pass the Professional Board Examination for Teachers (PBET) within a specified grace period. This order was in keeping with the continuing efforts of the government to professionalize teaching.

At the time of this study there were approximately 30,000 teachers in the whole country who were facing the threat of dismissal from service for not having complied with the PBET requirement (Nocum,1994). A good number were cultural minority teachers assigned in rural schools for their ethnic groups. The order however, was not effectively implemented because, although the Civil Service Commission was resolute in dismissing civil service ineligible teachers, there were very few eligible applicants for teaching positions in rural tribal communities. But the remission was temporary. Government's efforts at upgrading teachers' qualifications continue with the enactment of Republic Act 7836, otherwise known as the Philippine Teachers Professionalization Act of 1994 ("Board Exams," 1995). On the basis of this law, it is probably just as well that the respondents in this study nurture a strong resolve to achieve full qualifications for their positions.

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The difference between the two groups with respect to short-term career goals is significant as indicated by the chi-square value of 14.2 and a probability value of less than .01 (see Table 66). Similar pattern of lack of homogeneity between the two groups was observed with regard to their career goals within the next ten years.

Additionally, within each group, short term goals also differed significantly from their long-term goals. Nevertheless, the data also show that the pattern of shift from one goal to another appears to be similar for both groups; i.e. as soon as academic qualifications and government certification would have been obtained within the first five years, the respondents would work hard to gain tenure or promotion in the next five years. On the part of those who expect to achieve within the first five years, the promotion and tenure they aspired for, it appears that in the long run, they would work hard to maintain their rank and status.

Explicit desire to improve work effectiveness and quality of education within the next ten years continued to be a goal for about one third of the administrators, but it also continued to be a low priority among the subordinates. While it may be argued that these stated career goals of the respondents are more self-centered and do not seem to augur well for the government's mission of improving quality of education in the region, it may also be argued that improving the professional qualifications of the educators would eventually redound to improving their work effectiveness, and therefore the quality of education as well. Moreover, when the women educators were asked about their visions for the education of Muslim youth, both groups indicated that they do nourish noble dreams for their young people.

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Visions of Muslim Women Educators for the Education of Children and Youth of Their Communities

It is quite impressive that although many of the respondents were not fully qualified for their positions based on government regulatory standards, their stated short- and long-term visions for the education of children and youth of their respective communities appear to be generally in touch with and responsive to the educational realities and needs of their region. In this regard, data in Table 67 did not distinguish between the administrators and subordinates, as both groups appear to share similar visions for their young people. A brief backgrounder regarding the state of general education in Lanao del Sur will help in understanding the implications of this set of research data.

Lanao del Sur and other predominantly Muslim provinces are among the sectors of the country having the lowest access to quality education. Consequently, they consistently ranked at the lower end of the scale in national census regarding literacy rate of the general population, as well as in other measures of educational performance (Fabella, 1993; National Statistics Office, 1992; Tolentino & Flores-Tolentino, 1980).

In light of these educational realities for the region, it is therefore commendable that more than 80 percent of the respondents in both groups have included among their short-term visions those of (a) improving the quality of education in predominantly Muslim provinces, and (b) reducing the illiteracy rate among Muslim children and youth.

Similarly, their long-term visions for the education of Maranao children and youth appear to be responsive to the economic and political needs of their region. Although rich in natural resources, Lanao del Sur is among the underdeveloped provinces in the Philippines. It is also one of the four provinces having high concentration of Muslim population that opted to join the Autonomous Region for Muslim

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Table 67

Percentage Distributions of Respondents' Visions for the Education of Children and Youth of Their Communities Within the Next Five and Ten Years, by Sample Group

| Visions for children and youth | Administrator (n = 46) | | Subordinate (n = 166) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 5 years[a] | 10 years[b] | 5 years[a] | 10 years[b] |
| To reduce illiteracy among Muslim children and youth | 24.0 | 8.7 | 23.0 | 9.6 |
| To promote the quality of education for Muslim youth in both religious and livelihood-preparatory areas | 56.5 | 30.4 | 62.0 | 38.0 |
| To enhance job and leadership skills of Muslim youth | 4.3 | 15.2 | 7.2 | 17.5 |
| To help Muslim youth become responsible partners and leaders in nation building | 15.2 | 45.7 | 7.8 | 34.9 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square (visions within the next 5 years) = 2.8, df = 3, p > .43

[b]Chi-square (visions within the next 10 years) = 1.8, df = 3, p > .60

Mindanao in 1989 (Dolan, 1993; Madale, 1992; Muslim, 1994). Therefore, considering these economic and political state of development of Lanao del Sur, it is admirable that Maranao Muslim women educators have included the following among their long term visions for the education of their youth: (a) to develop and enhance job and leadership skills of Muslim youth, and (b) to prepare them in becoming responsible partners and leaders in nation building.

### Research Questions 5 and 6: On Factors Influencing the Career Development, Work Behaviors, Goals and Visions of Maranao Muslim Women Educators

The second objective of this research was to identify and describe the factors that influenced the career development of Maranao Muslim women administrators as well as those that continue to impact their present work practices, goals, and visions. Specific questions asked along this line were open-ended and the respondents' answers were all classified as nominal variables. Administrators' responses were compared with those of their subordinates to determine the factors that distinguish them from the other group. A summary of the findings is presented in Table 68.

#### Enhancing and Limiting Factors

Data were obtained by asking each educator-respondent to name and describe five most important factors having positive impact on their careers and five others that have adverse influence. To help the respondents in this exercise, a list of 43 factors pertaining to personal and family characteristics as well as community and school situations was provided. The respondents were also encouraged to name any other unlisted factors which they considered influential in shaping their career development work behaviors, and career visions.

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Table 68

Summary of the Statistical Analysis of Nominal Variables Examined in Relation to Research Questions 5 and 6

| Nominal Variables | Chi-Square Test of Homogeneity of the Administrator Group (n = 46) and Subordinate Group (n = 166) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Chi-Square | df | p-value | Interpretation of Results Using .10 Alpha |
| Factors having positive impact on the career development and practice of Maranao Muslim women educators | 39.7 | 13 | p < .001* | Administrators and subordinates differed in their listing and ranking of factors that had positive impact on their career development and practice. |
| Factors that limited their career success | 18.1 | 10 | p < .06* | Administrators and subordinates differed in their listing and ranking of factors that limited their career success. |
| Things Muslim women give up in order to achieve their career goals | 4.1 | 5 | p > .50 | Homogeneous, majority do not feel that they are sacrificing anything in order to achieve their career goals. |

*Significant at .10 alpha

The respondents gave a wide variety of factors influencing their career. For this report, the list was abridged by selecting only those named by at least 15 percent of the respondents in either group. Factors named by less than 15 percent were dropped from the list. Because each respondent was encouraged to name, at most, 5 enhancing and 5 limiting factors, the total for each column exceeded 100 percent. A summary of these data is presented in Table 69, although total percentages are no longer shown.

As revealed by the data, the two groups differed in their listing and ranking of factors influencing their career. Although there were common factors named by both groups, as a whole, their responses differed significantly. For example, while the administrators listed (a) academic achievement, (b) training experiences, and (c) government scholarships among the factors that contributed to their career success, the subordinates listed the absence or lack of those factors as limitations.

Rank ordering of the factors based on the percentage of respondents in each group who named them, also differed between the two groups. Consequently, the results of the chi-square test indicate significant difference between the administrators and subordinates with regard to factors influencing their career development and practice.

There were, however, some common responses among the two groups that merit further discussion because they support other findings of this research. For example, among the enhancing factors cited by a large percentage of both groups were: (a) father's encouragement, (b) mother's encouragement, (c) husband's encouragement, (d) father's modeling, and (e) financial support from parents. These data confirm the findings presented earlier that these women educators belong to families which deviate significantly from the general population of Maranao Muslims as regards their attitude towards education and employment of women.

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Table 69

Percentage Distributions of Factors Influencing the Career Development, Work Behaviors, Goals, and Visions of Muslim Women Educators, by Category of Influence and by Sample Group

| Factors | Enhancing[b] | | Limiting[c] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Group 1[a] | Group 2[a] | Group 1 | Group 2 |
| Father's encouragement | 54 | 59 | *** | *** |
| Mother's encouragement | 44 | 56 | *** | *** |
| Husband's encouragement (or lack thereof) | 37 | 18 | 17 | * |
| Financial support from parents (or lack thereof) | 35 | 33 | *** | 23 |
| Education/degree earned | 30 | 28 | | |
| Personal goals | 30 | 55 | | |
| Academic achievement (or poor academic performance) | 24 | ** | *** | 21 |
| Training experiences (or lack thereof) | 22 | ** | *** | 18 |
| Father's modeling | 20 | 16 | | |
| Family's religious beliefs | 17 | 19 | *** | *** |
| Close family ties | 15 | 28 | 15 | 17 |
| Personal beliefs and values | 15 | 21 | | |
| Government scholarships (or inability to qualify for one) | 15 | ** | *** | 15 |
| Study habits | 15 | 18 | *** | * |
| Community norms and traditions | | | 30 | 22 |
| Being a woman | *** | *** | 28 | 21 |

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Table 69—continued

| Factors | Enhancing[b] | | Limiting[c] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Group 1[a] | Group 2[a] | Group 1 | Group 2 |
| Family size | *** | *** | 24 | 19 |
| Practices of the Christian majority | | | 15 | 16 |
| Government policies that are biased against Muslims | | | *** | 17 |

*Less than 15 percent of respondents in this category and group cited this factor.

**Less than 10 percent of respondents in this category and group cited this factor .

***Less than 5 percent of respondents in this category and group cited this factor.

[a]Group 1 (Administrators), n = 46; Group 2 (Subordinates), n = 166

[b]Chi-square (enhancing factors) = 39.7, df = 13, $p < .001$

[c]Chi-square (limiting factors) = 18.1, df = 10, $p < .06$

It will be recalled from Chapter II that in the past, many Maranao Muslim parents prevented their daughters from attending "western-type" schools. In contrast, a large proportion of both groups of women in this study, attribute their educational and career success to the support and encouragement they received from their parents, husbands, and other members of their closely-knit families.

The factor, father's modeling, confirmed indirectly the research findings regarding father's education and occupation. Again, as will be recalled from earlier discussions, a relatively large proportion of the respondents' fathers had education and occupational ranks that were way above the average for the general population of

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Maranao Muslims. It is not surprising therefore, that in their own career development, the women educators looked up to their fathers as role models.

Not the least, the women educators also attributed their success partly to themselves—having career aspirations, goals, personal beliefs, and values, which deviated from those that were traditionally stereotyped for Maranao Muslim women.

It was also noted that some factors were perceived or experienced differently by respondents within the same group. For example, while 15 percent or more of both groups indicated that close family ties contributed to their career success, nearly the same proportion in each group experienced some restraining effects of this factor on their career practice. A closer look at their explanation revealed that foremost among the enhancing aspects of close family ties were the moral and financial support that respondents received from parents, siblings, and other close relatives when they were still studying. The limiting aspects pertain to pressures imposed by kinsfolk on their career decisions and activities, which in not a few instances place the respondents in situations of conflict of interests.

Another factor having dual effects on the same group of respondents is "husband's encouragement and support". For example, while 37 percent of the administrators attributed their career success to their husband's encouragement and support, 17 percent of the same group claimed that their husbands would rather that they stayed home.

A set of data that has interesting significance to this study pertains to how the respondents perceived the influence of Islamic teachings on their career development and practice. Contrary to the general notion that Islamic teachings present obstacles to women's pursuit of education and career, 17 percent of Muslim women administrators and 19 percent of Muslim women subordinates claimed that religious beliefs held by their families in fact enhanced their career opportunities. Only less than 5 percent of

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each group cited Islamic teachings as a limiting factor. These findings are discussed further in conjunction with research questions 7 and 8.

Rather than attributing career obstacles directly to Islamic beliefs, the Muslim women educators in this study cited other factors. Among these are: (a) being a woman, and (b) community norms and traditions. It appears therefore, that although at present, the differentiated cultural prescriptions and proscriptions for Maranao men and women are giving way to changing realities brought about by education and modernization, those were compelling forces that guided people's behaviors during the growing up years of the respondents. More than 20 percent of both groups cited cultural variables as limiting factors.

Several explanations were given by the respondents regarding the restraining aspects of these factors. First, the traditional norms of the Maranao Muslims taught that it is man's responsibility to support his family, and the woman's to raise children and to take care of the home. Consequently, among Maranao Muslims then, education was not perceived to be as important for women as it was for men. Second, the traditional norms—allocating roles and the concomitant rights and obligations among individuals—dictate that women should play supportive roles to men at home and in the community, rather than become managers and leaders themselves. Thus, not a few respondents in this study felt that in aspiring for leadership positions at work, they were restricted by some time-honored cultural norms which favored men for leadership roles.

### Things Respondents Had to Give up or Sacrifice in Order to Achieve Their Career Goals

Still in conjunction with research questions 5 and 6, the women educators were asked to name or describe the things they have to give up or sacrifice in order to achieve

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their career goals. Research data in Table 70 revealed that a rather sizeable proportion of the two groups (57 and 62 percent of the administrators and subordinates respectively) did not feel or were not aware of tradeoffs. Furthermore, the results of the chi-square test of homogeneity suggest that the responses of those who felt some sacrifices or tradeoffs were very much similar for both groups.

Table 70

Percentage Distribution of Things Respondents Had to Give Up in Order to Achieve Their Career Goals, by Sample Group

| Things Given Up | Administrator[a] (n = 46) | Subordinate[a] (n = 166) |
|---|---|---|
| No response or not aware of anything given up in order to achieve educational and career goals | 56.5 | 62.0 |
| Some hobbies, leisure time, and personal comfort | 15.2 | 14.5 |
| Some family activities | 10.9 | 7.2 |
| Some social activities | 8.7 | 9.6 |
| Moonlighting | 4.3 | 6.0 |
| Some religious practices that tend to impede job activities (e.g. dress code, praying five times a day) | 4.3 | .6 |
| Total Percentage | 99.9[b] | 99.9[b] |

[a]Chi-square = 4.1, df = 5, p > .50

[b]Less than 100 percent due to rounding.

That a rather considerably large proportion of both administrators and subordinates either had no response or were not aware of tradeoffs in achieving their career goals, could have several probable implications. First it is probable, that those who

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had this response had deeply internalized the cultural prescriptions regarding the primary roles of women, such that they tend to structure their thought processes correspondingly. Consequently, conflicting role responsibilities that demand giving up one in order to achieve the other are not perceived as such. Rather—as indicated by research data on respondents' civil status and number of children—it seems that these women have accommodated both their domestic and career responsibilities. Given the long history of patriarchy in the Philippine society in general and in the Philippine Muslim society in particular, this interpretation seems cogently logical.

Second, it is also probable that among the respondents who did not experience tradeoffs, their families may have provided adequate support and assistance for the mutual benefits of the members. For example, among Filipino families—and not the least among Maranao Muslim families—extended household is still commonplace. In this type of living arrangement, parents, siblings, and/or other relatives who do not have gainful livelihood stay with family members who are gainfully employed. In return, the dependent members take care of the children and do the domestic chores. Consequently, the breadwinners are able to perform the demands of their jobs without feeling that they are sacrificing other role responsibilities. Instead, they get psychological satisfaction that they are able to accommodate kinsfolk who are in need. At the same time, the dependent members get the feeling that they are able to return the favor.

### Research Questions 7 and 8: On Conformity of Respondents' Religious Beliefs With Those Propagated by Maranao Ulama

Research data in the previous section revealed that generally, the Muslim women educators did not blame on religion the obstacles they experienced in their career. Instead, they attributed the restrictions on their career goals to: (a) community norms and traditions, (b) being a woman, (c) husbands preferring that they stayed

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home, and (d) some other personal, family, and societal factors (see Table 69). However, considering the beliefs and values underlying the first three factors cited above, it could nevertheless be argued that religion may be indirectly attributed for the restrictions that these Muslim women educators experienced in pursuing their careers.

Indirectly ascribing to religion the restrictions imposed on Maranao women may be justified on the grounds that to the believers, Islam is not only a religion but also a way of life; and that the Maranao social values and norms are deeply rooted in Islamic teachings and traditions. On the other hand, it could also be argued that some Maranao social norms restricting women's rights do not have actual Quranic support, and may have only been given religious sanction through the system of *adat* (customary laws). Based on the latter contention, it may be argued that Islam per se should not be attributed for the obstacles that the women respondents experienced in pursuing their career.

Because of these opposing views, conclusions regarding the role of Islamic teachings in shaping the career decisions and practices of the women in this study could be somewhat muddled if drawn solely from the data on factors influencing their career as shown in Table 69. Therefore, the research design included procedures that identified specific religious teachings pertaining to women's rights and obligations which respondents' families believe and follow. The women were further asked to explain how those religious beliefs impacted their educational and career directions. Their answers were then compared with Islamic tenets regarding rights and obligations of women which Maranao ulama informants claimed to teach among the *ummah* they serve. The research findings are presented and discussed in the succeeding sections.

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Family Religious Beliefs That Influenced the Respondents' Career

A variety of answers were given by the respondents to the question about religious beliefs influencing their career development and practice. For purposes of this report their responses were grouped into common themes derived from their answers, and presented in Table 71 below.

Table 71

Percentage Distribution of Family Religious Beliefs Influencing the Career Development and Practice of Maranao Muslim Women, by Sample Group

| Religious beliefs | Administrator[a] (n = 46) | Subordinate[a] (n = 166) |
|---|---|---|
| No response, or religious beliefs are not considered a factor influencing career | 32.6 | 30.7 |
| Equality of male and female believers in the eyes of God. Therefore, they should also have equal rights and privileges within and outside the home, such as in acquiring education and in pursuing a career. | 28.3 | 30.7 |
| Islam is not only a religion, it is a way of life. Therefore, believers should strive to observe their religious obligations (e.g. the five pillars of Islam, service to others, sharing one's knowledge with others, etc.), and be morally upright in both their public and private affairs. | 34.8 | 33.7 |
| Segregation of the sexes, and the superiority of men. Women's roles and association should be limited to the home and family. | 4.3 | 4.8 |
| Total Percentage | 100.0 | 99.9[b] |

[a]Chi-square = .15, df = 3, p > .98

[b]Less than 100 percent due to rounding.

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These data suggest that administrators and subordinates are homogeneous with respect to their families' religious beliefs that may have had some influence on their career. They further confirm the findings in Table 69 that the women in this study generally felt that Islamic tenets, believed and followed by their families, enhanced rather than limited their career development and practice.

Although slightly over 30 percent of both groups did not consider Islamic teachings to have had significant influence on their careers, over 60 percent cited examples of family religious beliefs that tend to support women's pursuit of education and employment. For example, 28 percent of the administrators and 31 of the subordinates claimed that their parents adhered to the Islamic tenet which makes the pursuit of knowedge an obligation of all believers, male and female alike. Moreover, slightly over one third of both groups cited adherence of their families to the Islamic principle that Islam is a way of life, and that believers should observe their religious obligations in their private lives as well as in social exchanges with the larger society. Respondents who gave this answer claimed that Islam, in fact, provided them with moral guidelines in conducting their work responsibilities. Only less than 5 percent of both groups attributed the restrictions imposed on women to Islamic teachings.

In order to determine if the religious beliefs held by Maranao Muslim women educators conform with the religious tenets espoused by Maranao Islamic teachers, nine ulama informants were interviewed. They were randomly selected from a list of ulama, named by the women educators as most influential in shaping their religious beliefs.

Islamic Tenets, Espoused by Maranao Ulama, Regarding Rights and Obligations of Male and Female Muslims

The interviews with the ulama focused on five items inquiring about Islamic tenets regarding rights and obligations of male and female Muslims. Since there were

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only nine ulama informants, their responses were analyzed manually and summarized into frequency distributions as shown in Table 72. Their answers were taken on their face value. No attempt was made to verify whether or not the religious teachings they espouse among the *ummah* they serve are in fact based on the Quran or the teachings of the Prophet, since that procedure is beyond the scope of this research.

Results of the analysis of data provided by the ulama suggest that some of the teachings they propagate lend support to Muslim women's pursuit of education and career, although some others tend to militate against such endeavors. Their responses to two items regarding the primary functions, rights, and obligations of women were general and apply to both genders rather than specifically to women as was intended inthe question. Nevertheless, their answers to questions on education, employment, and leadership of women were considerably specific; and provided relatively adequate comparative data sought in this study.

Item 1—Islamic Tenets About Primary Duties of Muslim Women

In response to the first question about Islamic tenets concerning the primary duties of women, the ulama were one in emphasizing the obligation of all Muslim believers to perform the five pillars of Islam, namely: (1) profession of faith, (2) praying five times a day, (3) giving alms to the poor, (4) fasting during Ramadan, and (5) pilgrimage to Mecca. The duties cited were rather general, being religious duties which all Muslims, men and women alike, are exhorted to follow. A woman's duties as a wife and a mother were only secondarily mentioned by two informants who further qualified their first answer by citing other Islamic teachings.

The ulama's responses to the first question suggest that they give more emphasis to the teaching of general religious obligations of Muslim believers rather than to teaching of specific mundane duties of individuals as men or as women. Interestingly,

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Table 72

Questions and Answers About Islamic Tenets, Espoused by Maranao Ulama, Concerning Rights and Obligations of Male and Female Muslims

| Questions and Answers | Frequency (n = 9) |
|---|---|
| 1. What Islamic tenets concerning the primary functions or duties of women do you teach? | |
| Believers—men and women alike—should strive to perform all the 5 pillars of Islam | 9 |
| Women should strive to follow other Islamic teachings, among which are those concerning the duties of a wife and mother | 2 |
| Total | 11* |
| 2. What Islamic tenets regarding education of male and female Muslims do you teach? | |
| It is an obligation of all believers to seek knowledge. Hence, male and female believers alike should go to school, especially to madrasah. | 9 |
| Male and female believers must learn to read the Quran. | 7 |
| Male and female believers must learn to read and write Arabic. | 6 |
| Total | 22* |
| 3. What Islamic tenets do you teach regarding the employment of women outside the home? | |
| Men and women have equal rights to seek gainful occupation outside the home | 4 |
| Women have the right to engage in occupation outside the home, within the limitations imposed by Maranao culture. | 5 |
| Total | 9 |

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Table 72—Continued

| Questions and Answers | Frequency (n = 9) |
|---|---|
| 4. What Islamic tenets do you teach regarding leadership or management roles of women? | |
| Women may hold key positions in schools, but may not hold political chief executive positions such as president, governor of a province, etc. | 8 |
| Women have equal rights with men to hold any leadership position for which she is qualified | 1 |
| Total | 9 |
| 5. Please cite and explain some Islamic teachings that you propagate which distinguish between the rights and obligations of female Muslims and those of the male Muslims. | |
| Male and female Muslims have equal obligations to follow all the teachings of Islam. | 9 |
| In places where there is no male imam, a qualified woman can call and lead the prayer. | 1 |
| In praying, women should stay behind men in order to avoid temptations. | 1 |
| Total | 11* |
| 6. Has there been any change in your emphasis of those teachings through the years of your service? | |
| There has been no change because Islamic tenets are Divine revelations that should not be changed by man. | 9 |

*Total exceed n because some informants gave multiple responses.

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the Islamic teachings cited by the ulama matched the family religious beliefs cited by the women educators, and which the latter claimed constitute the religion-based moral guidelines governing their conduct in both private and public affairs (see Table 71).

Item 2—Islamic Tenets Regarding the Education of Male and Female Muslims

With regard to the question on Islamic tenets concerning educational pursuit of male and female believers, again, the ulama informants unanimously claimed that they teach gender equality in seeking knowledge but with overwhelming preference for Arabic/Islamic education. Some informants gave multiple answers; all stressing their preferred type of education that may enhance believers' understanding of Islam.

Comparing these data with the responses regarding family's religious beliefs, it appears that the families of the women respondents selectively followed the Islamic injunction which makes the pursuit of knowledge an obligation of all believers but took exception to the teaching regarding preference for Islamic/Arabic education. To illustrate, it is apparent that the women in this study were allowed by their families to pursue secular higher education. It will also be recalled from earlier discussion, that especially among the administrators, attendance in madrasah was not considered as important as going to secular schools (see Tables 44 and 45). This selective adherence to religious teachings, notwithstanding, it was noted that in their adulthood, some Maranao women educators have desired to undergo training in Arabic and Islamic studies (Table 61).

Item 3—Islamic Tenets Regarding Women's Employment Outside the Home

On the question about Islamic tenets governing women's pursuit of gainful occupation outside the home, the ulama informants were divided. Four informants claimed that they teach equality of men and women in seeking gainful employment;

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whereas 5 claimed that although they teach that women have the right to work, they do endorse cultural restrictions on women's employment outside the home.

The latter response appears to lend support to the contention that Islam per se does not prohibit women from engaging in occupation outside the home. Rather cultural norms, endorsed by religious leaders may be attributed for the restrictions. This answer also corresponds with the perception of many women respondents that cultural rather than religious proscriptions posed some obstacles in their career activities. Regardless of whether or not the cultural restrictions endorsed by some ulama are supported by the written tenets of Islam, apparently, the women in this study defied and overcame them.

Item 4—Islamic Tenets Regarding Leadership Roles of Women

With regard to leadership roles that women may pursue, only one informant (a woman herself) out of 9 claimed that she teaches no religious restrictions provided the woman aspiring for a leadership position is qualified. An overwhelming majority, 8 out of 9, gave qualified responses. They claimed that among their *ummah*, they teach that women may hold leadership positions in schools or in legislative bodies but may not hold political executive positions such as president, governor, or mayor.

This stance espoused by Maranao ulama is clearly supportive of the leadership pursued by the educational administrators in this study. This could probably be one of the reasons for the significant rise in the number of Muslim women in the field of education during the last three decades.

As regards the ulama's explicit prohibition on political leadership which Muslim women may pursue, it is important to point out that a good number of educated Filipino Muslim women have chosen to take exception to this stance. During the last three decades, some outstanding Muslim women have been elected not only to legislative

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positions, approved by Muslim religious leaders, but also to executive positions which they prohibit. Admittedly, the cases are still few, and virtually all those Muslim women leaders belong to the traditional elite families. However, as education becomes more accessible to the masses and as the demands of Filipino Muslims for autonomy have been acceded to by the Philippine government, the probability is not remote that in the future, more Muslim women would aspire for political leadership positions currently frowned upon by their religious leaders. Based on the trend during the last three decades along this line, Lacar (1992) foresees that:

> In the political arena Filipino Muslim men will have to contend with the new reality of Philippine politics, that Muslim women are becoming their most formidable political opponents. . . . As more Muslim women become more educated and aware of alternative social arrangements, they will seek places in Philippine society which used to be male enclaves. (p. 121-122)

Item 5—Islamic Teachings That Distinguish Between the Rights and Obligations of Male and Female Muslims

The ulama's responses to Item 5 were general and applicable to both genders. Similar to their responses to question 1, the ulama informants reiterated that male and female believers have equal obligation to follow all Islamic teachings. However, they did not specify the particular teachings. Consequently, just basing on their answers, it could not be determined if the Islamic teachings they alluded to somehow distinguish between the rights given to women and those enjoyed by men.

The inadequacy of the ulama's responses regarding Islamic teachings that distinguish between the rights and obligations of male and female Muslims may have created a gap in this study. Nevertheless this gap does not vitiate the sufficiency and specificity of their responses to questions on Islamic teachings regarding education, occupation, and leadership roles of Maranao Muslim women.

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Ulama's Assessment of Maranao Muslims' Adherence to Islamic Teachings

In addition to the questions concerning Islamic teachings they espouse, the ulama were also asked to give their impressions about the relative adherence of groups of Maranao Muslims to those teachings (see Table 73). This was done to obtain comparative data regarding the extent to which Maranao Muslim women educators follow the Islamic teachings espoused by their religious leaders. As will be recalled from Table 24, majority of both groups of women educators in this study claimed that they follow most but not all tenets propagated by their ulama. Basically, therefore, this set of data from the ulama informants was used to determine if the educators' self-assessment of their adherence to Islamic teachings agrees with how it is perceived by their religious leaders.

As shown in Table 73, majority of the ulama informants perceived that among Maranao Muslims, social status, economic status, education, and extent of association with Christians are inversely related to their adherence to Islamic teachings. This is to say that generally, Maranao ulama perceive that Maranao Muslims who belong to the traditional titled families, the rich, the educated, and those who have greater association with Christians tend to adhere less to Islamic teachings than the non-titled families, the poor, the uneducated, and those who have minimal association with Christians. However, the ulama informants are of the opinion that travel to other Islamic countries does not affect an individual religiosity. Eight of the nine informants did not perceive any difference in adherence to Islamic teachings between Maranaos who had been to any Middle Eastern or Asian Islamic country and those who have not.

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Table 73

Ulama's Assessment of Maranao Muslims' Adherence to Islamic Teachings,by Categories of Comparison and Groups of Maranao Muslims

| Categories of comparison and groups of Maranao Muslims being compared | Comparative assessment of adherence to Islamic Teachings: No difference between groups being compared | First group adheres less to Islamic teachings than the second group | Second group adheres less to Islamic teachings than the first group | Total Responses (n = 9) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social status: Members of titled families vs. members of non-titled families | 2 | 7 | - | 9 |
| Economic status: Rich vs. poor | 2 | 7 | - | 9 |
| Educational status: Educated vs. uneducated | 2 | 7 | - | 9 |
| Travel experiences: Those who have travelled to Islamic countries vs. those who have not | 8 | - | 1 | 9 |
| Extent of association with Christians: Those who have substantial association with Christians vs. those those who have minimal or no association with Christians | - | 7 | - | 7[a] |

[a] No response from two informants.

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Relating the Religious Beliefs Held by Maranao Muslim Women Educators and Those Espoused by Their Ulama

In summary, research data indicate that the two groups of Maranao Muslim women educators in this study generally professed that Islamic teachings contributed positively rather than negatively to their career development and practice. Although they admitted that they encountered some hindrances in the course of their career, they attributed those obstacles more to culture, traditions, and other factors rather than to Islamic teachings.

To illustrate, the women educators cited that among the factors that tended to undermine their educational and career opportunities were (a) the Maranao traditional notion regarding the rights and obligations of women, and (b) the cultural norm of allocating roles among members of Maranao society along gender lines. These cultural factors rendered the pursuit of higher education and career irrelevant and unnecessary for Maranao women. The respondents, however, claimed that those hindrances were countered by their parents' selective adherence to the Islamic tenet that makes the pursuit of education an obligation of all believers. Moreover, the women educators credited Islam for providing them with moral guidelines in their daily lives, which they claimed fostered their success. Notwithstanding their positive view of the impact of religion on their career, the women educators admitted that they follow most, but not all religious teachings espoused by their ulama.

On the part of the Maranao ulama, research data indicate that they espouse a mixed bag of teachings regarding women's pursuit of education and career. On one hand, they teach equal obligation of male and female believers to seek knowledge; but on the other hand, they strongly encourage Maranao parents to give preference to madrasah education rather than to the much broader and diversified secular education for their children. Additionally, although the informants claim that they explicitly

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sanction women's assumption of leadership in schools, majority endorse the Maranao cultural definition of women's roles which tends to confine them to the home, thereby restricting their pursuit of a career and in turn makes the pursuit of higher education unnecessary.

Apparently, the parents of the women in this study and the women educators themselves selectively followed those teachings that tended to promote their career success and defied those that did not. Such selective adherence was reflected in the respondents' claim that they follow most but not all religious teachings espoused by their leaders. On their part, the ulama did not fail to notice the behaviors of their followers. As indicated by the research data, the educators' self-assessment of their religiosity seemed to agree with the ulama's observation that among Maranao Muslims, those who belong to the traditional titled families, the rich, the educated, and those who have substantial association with Christians tend to adhere less to the religious teachings they espouse.

### Research Questions 9 and 10: On Leadership Behaviors of Maranao Muslim Women Educational Administrators

The third objective of this study was to describe the leadership behaviors of Maranao Muslim women educational administrators. Towards this end, research questions 9 and 10 were raised. Data were collected using the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire-Form 12 and two items in the survey questionnaires.

#### Data Obtained With LBDQ-12

Using LBDQ-12, the administrators rated their own performance as leaders, whereas the subordinates were asked to provide supplementary data by rating the performance of their respective administrators. The administrators' self ratings were

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matched with the averages of their respective subordinates' ratings. Subsequently, significance of the difference between the paired ratings was tested using t-test of the difference between means of paired samples. This procedure was done for each of the 12 subscales. The research data and results of analysis are presented in Table 74.

The data show that the administrators tended to rate their own leadership performance higher than how they were rated by their respective subordinates; although significant differences occurred only in those behavior subscales pertaining to direct relationships between the two groups. This is to say that when the leader behavior pertains to administrator-subordinate relationship, the two groups differed in their perception of the leader's performance, and the followers tend to rate their respective leaders lower than how the latter rated themselves. Whereas, when the leader behavior pertains to either structure, productivity, or relationships with third parties, the subordinates tended to agree with their administrators' perception of their own performance.

For example, the administrators rated themselves much higher than their subordinates did for leader behaviors such as: (a) resolving conflicting demands among members of the organization, (b) tolerance of followers' freedom, and (c) consideration or regard for followers' comfort, well-being, status, and contributions to the organization. On the other hand, the two groups gave statistically equal ratings for leader behaviors related to productivity and third parties such as: (a) acting as representative of the group to third parties, (b) initiation of structure, (c) emphasis on productivity and quality of work, and (d) dealing with higher public school officials.

The purpose of obtaining subordinates' evaluation of their leaders' performance on the same leadership subscales the administrators rated themselves, was to counter the potential confounding effect of subjectivity of self-rating. This procedure was based on the premise that if the subordinates' ratings agree with the administrators'

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Table 74

Comparison of Administrators' Self-ratings and Subordinates' Ratings of Their Leaders on the LBDQ-12 Subscales

| LBDQ-12 Subscales and Perfect Scores[a] | Mean of the Administrators' Self-ratings ( n = 46) | Mean of the Averages of Subordinates' Ratings of Their Respective Administrators (n = 46) | t- Value of the Difference Between Means of Paired Samples df = n - 1 = 45 | Probability (2-tailed t-test ) | Significance (alpha = .10) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Representation (25) | 19.8 | 19.3 | 0.70 | .487 | not significant |
| Demand reconciliation (25) | 18.2 | 16.2 | 4.77 | .000 | significant |
| Tolerance of uncertainty (50) | 32.4 | 31.5 | 1.50 | .142 | not significant |
| Persuasiveness (50) | 37.5 | 36.2 | 1.44 | .156 | not significant |
| Initiation of structure (50) | 41.7 | 40.4 | 1.41 | .166 | not significant |
| Tolerance of member freedom (50) | 38.9 | 36.2 | 3.42 | .001 | significant |
| Role assumption (50) | 37.6 | 34.7 | 3.47 | .001 | significant |
| Consideration (50) | 40.0 | 36.4 | 3.86 | .000 | significant |

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Table 74—Continued

| LBDQ-12 Subscales and Perfect Scores | Mean of the Administrators' Self-ratings ( n = 46) | Mean of the Averages of Subordinates' Ratings of Their Respective Administrators (n = 46) | t- Value of the Difference Between Means of Paired Samples df = n - 1 = 45 | Probability (2-tailed t-test ) | Significance (alpha = .10) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Production emphasis (50) | 38.2 | 36.6 | 1.55 | .128 | not significant |
| Predictive accuracy (25) | 18.4 | 17.4 | 1.83 | .074 | significant |
| Integration (25) | 21.9 | 20.2 | 3.15 | .003 | significant |
| Superior orientation (50) | 38.9 | 38.4 | 0.54 | .591 | not significant |

[a] See Appendix F for description of the subscales

self-ratings, it may be concluded that the figures probably reflect a close approximation of the true measure of the leaders' performance. Conversely, when the two group-ratings do not agree then it may be said that no valid conclusion could be drawn about the probable true measure of the leaders' performance.

Applying this premise on the present study, it may be concluded that since the two groups gave statistically equal ratings of the administrators' performance on the leader behavior subscales pertaining to task, structure, productivity, representation to third parties, and relationships with superiors, then those ratings probably reflect the true measure of their performance in those areas. However, for those subscales in which the two group-ratings differed significantly, no conclusion may be drawn about the probable true measure of the leaders' performance. Moreover, considering that the particular leader behavior subscales in which the two differed, pertain to behaviors involving direct relationship between the administrators and their respective subordinates, then it may be said that the data were probably doubly confounded by the subjectivity of each group.

Another set of information about leaders' performance that may be derived from the use of LBDQ-12 is one that compares the leaders' self-ratings with the perfect score for each subscale. By considering the latter as ideal but also attainable level of performance, its comparison with the administrators' self-ratings would indicate areas where the administrators themselves feel they performed well and those areas where they feel they could stand improvement. When this procedure was applied on the present data, large differences were noted. For instance for subscales having perfect score of 25, the leaders' self-ratings ranged from 18 to 22; and for subscales that may be perfectly scored at 50, the leaders' rated themselves from 32 to 42. This analysis, therefore, seems to suggest that the leaders themselves feel that they still have a long way to go in achieving excellence in leadership.

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In addition to the above information, the data obtained for this research using LBDQ-12 seem to suggest that the types of leader behaviors demonstrated by Muslim women leaders, are not entirely different from those demonstrated by leaders in democratic and economically advanced society where the instrument was developed and tested. For example the ratings of these Muslim women leaders, which are all way above the midpoint of the scale, indicate that the behaviors being measured by the instrument were observable. Hence it may be concluded that those behaviors were actually exhibited by the leaders and not just ideal behaviors that are expected of them by the people with whom they work. Considering that the women leaders in this study were raised, trained, and are presently practicing their career in an economic and cultural milieu that is vastly different from the society where the research instrument was developed and tested, the information derived from this research could probably be used as a comparative information in re-examining leadership theories that under girded the development of LBDQ-12.

Data From the Administrator and Employee Survey Questionnaires

In addition to LBDQ-12, two items regarding the most effective and the least effective leader behaviors of the administrators were asked in the Administrator and Employee Survey Questionnaires. As in the LBDQ-12, the administrators evaluated themselves, whereas the subordinates evaluated their respective leaders. Both groups cited a wide variety of specific leader behaviors. Their responses were aggregated into broader categories as shown in Tables 75 and 76. Homogeneity of the two groups on each variable was tested using chi-square analysis.

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Table 75

Percentage Distribution of the Administrators' Most Effective Leader Behaviors as Perceived by the Administrators Themselves and by Their Subordinates

| Leader Behavior | Administrator's Perception[a] (n = 46) | Subordinate's Perception[a] (n = 166) |
|---|---|---|
| Behaviors pertaining to administrator-subordinate relationships | 50 | 29 |
| Behaviors related to structure, task, productivity, and quality of work | 39 | 50 |
| Behaviors pertaining to administrators' relationship with superiors and/or with external community | 11 | 21 |
| Total Percentages | 100 | 100 |

[a]Chi-square = 7.68, df = 2, $p < .03$

The responses of the two groups resembled to some extent the pattern of data in LBDQ-12 where, particularly for behaviors involving direct interactions with subordinates, the administrators evaluated themselves more favorably than the subordinates did. For example, while the former considered interpersonal relations with their subordinates as their most effective work behaviors (see Table 75), the latter perceived those to be the least effective (Table 76). Instead, the subordinates think that their leaders perform their best in defining task and in helping improve organizational productivity.

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Table 76

Percentage Distribution of the Administrators' Least Effective Leader Behaviors as Perceived by the Administrators Themselves and by Their Subordinates

| Leader Behaviors | Administrator's Perception[a] (n = 46) | Subordinate's Perception[a] (n = 166) |
|---|---|---|
| No response or no leader behaviors considered ineffective | 21.7 | 20.5 |
| Behaviors pertaining to administrator-subordinate relationships | 19.6 | 41.0 |
| Behaviors related to structure, task, productivity, and quality of work | 43.5 | 24.1 |
| Behaviors pertaining to administrator's relationship with superiors and/or with external community | 15.2 | 14.4 |
| Total Percentages | 100.0 | 100.0 |

[a]Chi-square = 7.68, df = 2, $p < .03$

Potential Practical Uses of Evaluation of Leader Performance

The leader evaluation completed in this study was done for the purpose of research. However, exercises such as the one illustrated above—whether they be self-evaluation, evaluation by subordinates, or evaluation by superiors; and whether they use a published questionnaire or a customized instrument—have potential practical uses as may be gleaned from the findings of this study. Some examples of these uses are: (a) assessment of training needs, (b) planning training programs, (c) identifying areas for self-improvement efforts, (d) assessing effectiveness of training programs, and (e) identifying areas where administrators and subordinates differ in their rating of leader's

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performance for the purpose of determining covert or unexpressed tensions in interpersonal relationships before they erupt into overt problems.

Other potential applications and implications of the findings of this study are summarized in the next chapter along with some limitations of the research and recommendations for future investigations.

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# CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter I presented the problems and objectives of this study, Chapter II was a detailed discussion of related literature, Chapter III explained the procedures employed in implementing the research, and Chapter IV described fully the summaries, analyses and interpretations of various data collected for this study.

The task in this chapter is fourfold: (1) to present the study as a thematic whole using the first three research objectives as the guideposts, (2) to draw conclusions based on the data, (3) to accomplish the fourth objective of deducing implications of the findings on some current issues concerning Filipino Muslims, and (4) to offer recommendations for the potential uses of the findings.

### Summary of Major Findings

The study was conceived with four major objectives and ten specific research questions. Attempts were made to gather as much data thought to be relevant and necessary to sufficiently answer those questions. This writer is confident that the research questions were satisfactorily addressed insofar as the original objectives of the research were concerned. Some initial findings, however, raised other questions. For new questions that could be probed further, attempts were made to unravel as much of their puzzle as the present research data and findings from related studies allowed. Nevertheless, there were other new questions which were left unprobed since they were beyond the purview of the present research. The findings were summarized in the



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succeeding sections according to the sequence of the first three research objectives. The fourth objective focused on drawing implications of the findings.

## Findings Regarding Research Objective 1: To Describe the Salient Characteristics, Career Development Experiences, Career Goals, and Visions of Muslim Women Educational Administrators and How They Differed From Their Subordinates

Concerning the objective of identifying salient characteristics, career development experiences, goals, and visions that make Muslim women leaders stand out from their Muslim women followers, 59 variables were explored in this study. It was felt that this exploratory character of the investigation was necessary because of the absence of any benchmark data on the subject under investigation. With the possible exception, perhaps of Luis Lacar's (1992) study on the emerging role of Muslim women in the Philippines, this writer could not determine other scientific investigations that were substantially related to the topic of this research.

Of the 59 variables explored, 28 were found to be those in which the administrators and subordinates differed. Although probably not inclusive, the 28 variables highlight the salient characteristics, career development experiences, goals, and visions which made the leaders distinct from their followers. These variables and a brief description of the findings about each are shown in Table 77.

In addition to the 28 variables that set the administrators apart from their subordinates, there were a few other variables which did not necessarily distinguish between the two groups but nevertheless showed significant findings pertinent to the purpose of characterizing the Filipino Muslim women educators. Table 78 summarizes those other variables and the corresponding findings.

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Table 77

Variables Examined in Relation to Research Objective 1 Which Were Found to Distinguish Between Muslim Women Administrators and Their Muslim Women Subordinates

| Variables | Brief summary of findings |
|---|---|
| Salient Individual and Family Characteristics (From Tables 10 and 11, total variables examined = 34) | |
| 1. Number of years employed in government schools | On the average, administrators have been employed in government schools longer than their subordinates. |
| 2. Number of years respondent held present job | Generally, administrators have held their present jobs for a shorter period than subordinates have held theirs, indicating greater job mobility among the former. |
| 3. Age of respondent | Typically, a Muslim woman administrator is older than her Muslim women subordinates. |
| 4. Number of children | Two findings that are contrary to conventional demographic trends that education and employment tend to depress women's fertility were revealed in the study: (a) the administrators who have higher education and occupational rank than their subordinates also have higher average fertility (although in this regard, age difference might also be a factor); and (b) both groups of respondents who have generally higher educational attainment and occupational rank than the average of the general population of women in Lanao del Sur also have higher average fertility than the latter. |
| 5. Number of brothers having college education | Although on the average, the administrators and subordinates have the same number of brothers, the former have more college-educated brothers than the latter. Taken together with the findings about their own educational attainment and those of their fathers, the results suggest that the administrators' families give more importance to educational endeavors than the families of the subordinates. |

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Table 77—Continued

| Variable | Brief summary of findings |
|---|---|
| 6. Present employment status | Proportionately, more administrators than subordinates have permanent appointments. |
| 7. Educational attainment of the respondents | A typical administrator has higher educational attainment than her subordinates. |
| 8. Father's education | The administrators' fathers are more highly educated than the fathers of the subordinates. |
| 9. Father's occupation | Generally, the administrators' fathers have higher occupational rank than the fathers of their subordinates. |
| 10. Husband's education | Typically, an administrator's husband has higher education than a subordinate's husband.<br><br>In addition two findings contrary to trends in the general population were found:<br><br>a) The Muslim women respondents are much more highly educated than their spouses; while in the general population, men are more highly educated than women.<br><br>b) Both groups of women respondents have more fathers than husbands who went to college, whereas current trend shows that there are more college educated among younger men. |
| 11. Husband's occupation | Typically, an administrator's husband has higher occupational status than the spouse of a subordinate. |
| Career Development Experiences<br>(From Table 42, total variables examined = 18) | |
| 12. Attendance in madrasah | Proportionately, fewer administrators than subordinates studied in madrasah. |
| 13. Highest grade level finished in madrasah | Of those who studied in madrasah, proportionately fewer administrators finished higher than the second grade. |

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Table 77—Continued

| Variable | Brief summary of findings |
|---|---|
| 14. Leadership experiences in elementary grades | During their childhood, the administrators already showed greater leadership involvement in class activities than their subordinates. |
| 15. Leadership experiences in high school | Similarly, administrators reported more active participation in class and school leadership than the other group. |
| 16. Leadership experiences in college | Still showing a characteristic edge over their subordinates, the administrators' leadership initiatives in college extended to community and religious affairs. |
| 17. Leadership experiences in the graduate school | Leadership involvement in the graduate school diminished for both groups, probably due to heavy demands of graduate programs or of working and studying at the same time. Nevertheless, of those who continued to be involved, the administrators reported more significant participation. |
| 18. Honors and awards received | Proportionately more administrators were recipients of honors and awards. |
| 19. Training programs attended | Training programs attended by each group were more pertinent to their respective jobs, i.e. administrators attended more training in leadership, whereas subordinates attended more training programs for teaching or staff skills enhancement. |
| 20. Sponsor of training programs attended | Allthough majority of the training programs attended by both groups were sponsored by the Department of Education and other government agencies, it appeared that the administrators have more access to training programs sponsored by private organizations. |
| 21. Other training experiences | Proportionately more administrators reported to have gained knowledge and skills from their prior jobs which are useful in their present appointments. |

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Table 77—Continued

| Variable | Brief summary of findings |
|---|---|
| 22. Aspects of present job in which respondent felt most prepared | Respondents in each group felt that they are more prepared for the major functions of their respective present jobs. |
| 23. Aspects of present job in which respondents felt a need for further training | Notwithstanding their confidence in their preparation for their respective present jobs, the respondents still felt a need to further enhance their knowledge and skills in their respective areas of responsibility. |
| Career Goals and Visions ( From Table 62, total variables examined = 7) | |
| 24. Educational aspirations during childhood | As children, administrators already had higher educational aspirations than their subordinates. |
| 25. Childhood ccupational aspirations | Similarly, during their growing-up years, the administrators aspired for higher rank occupations than the subordinates did. |
| 26. Leadership aspirations during childhood or adolescence | Proportionately more administrators reported having aspired during their youth to later on become leaders in their own communities or in their chosen careers. |
| 27. Career goals within the next 5 years | Proportionately more administrators than subordinates include concerns for improving work effectiveness and quality of education among their short-term goals; whereas proportionately more subordinates tend to focus on obtaining professional qualifications, tenure and promotion. |
| 28. Career goals within the next ten years | Although both groups showed shifts in their long term career goals, more administrators than subordinates continued to show concern for improving work effectiveness and quality of education; while the subordinates' goals continued to be characteristically self-centered. |

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Table 78

Variables That Did Not Distinguish Between Administrators and Subordinates But Nevertheless Revealed Important Findings in Relation to Research Objective 1

| Variable | Brief summary of findings |
|---|---|
| 1. Birth order (from Table 17) | A large proportion of respondents in both groups are firstborn. |
| 2. Civil status of respondents (from Table 18) | A large majority of both groups, comparable to that of the general population of women in Lanao del Sur, are married. |
| 3. Father's and husband's type of marriage (from Table 19) | Lesser incidence of divorce and multiple marriages among the respondents' spouses than among their fathers. This is contrary to the initial expectation that higher incidence would be found among younger Muslim men as a result of the relatively recent legalization of Islamic family laws for Filipino Muslims. |
| 4. Mother's and respondent's order as a wife (from Table 20) | Consequently, when compared to their mothers, a larger proportion of the women educators reported to be the first or only wife. |
| 5. National identification of the (a) respondents, (b) parents, and (c) husbands (from Tables 26 - 28) | These three variables did not distinguish between administrators and subordinates, but their responses reveal that the proportions identifying with the Philippines are significantly higher among their families than among the general population of Muslims in the country. |
| 6. National identification desired by the respondents for their own (a) children and (b) other Muslim youth (from Tables 29 - 32) | Again, these two variables did not distinguish between the two groups; and that majority desire that their children and other Muslim youth would identify with the Philippines. But the data also reveal that there is an increasing number of Muslim women educators who aspire for the establishment of an independent Islamic state for their younger generations. |
| 7. Line of family descent (from Table 33) | Majority of both groups reported descent from an ancestral royal line, contrary to the initial expectation of higher proportion among the administrators. |

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## Findings Regarding Research Objective 2: To Describe Factors Influencing the Career Development, Work Behaviors, Goals, and Visions of Muslim Women Administrators

Eleven variables were examined for the purpose of distinguishing Muslim women administrators from their subordinates as regards factors influencing their career development, work behaviors, career goals, and visions. Data for four variables were obtained from the women educators (see Tables 68-71), while data for the other seven variables were obtained from selected Maranao ulama (Tables 72 and 73). The major findings are summarized in Table 79 below.

Table 79

Findings About Factors Influencing the Career Development and Practice of Maranao Muslim Women Educators

| Variable | Brief summary of findings |
|---|---|
| 1. Factors having positive impact on career development and practice of Muslim women educators (from Table 69) | As a whole, the administrators and subordinates differed statistically in their listing of factors that were favorable to their career success. Nevertheless, there were some similarities in their experiences which showed that their families deviated from the social norms of their time and place regarding women's education and pursuit of a career.<br><br>Moreover, in contrast with the common notion that Islam is repressive of women's rights, both groups listed family religious beliefs among the enhancing factors rather than among obstacles to their career success. |
| 2. Factors that limited their career success (from Table 69) | Similarly, the administrators and subordinates differed statistically in their listing and ranking of factors that restricted their career success. A large proportion of both groups attributed those obstacles to cultural, systemic, and demographic factors rather than to religion. Less than 5 per cent of each group named family religious beliefs as a limiting factor. |

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Table 79—Continued

| Variable | Brief summary of findings |
|---|---|
| 3. Family religious beliefs that influenced the Muslim women's pursuit of a career (from Table 71) | The two groups were homogeneous as regards this variable. They listed the following Islamic beliefs adhered to by their families as being supportive of their career success: (a) it is the obligation of all Muslim believers, male and female alike, to seek knowledge; and (b) Islam is both a religion and a way of life. As such it provides them with moral guidelines (particularly the 5 pillars of Islam) in conducting their domestic and career responsibilities. |
| 4. Islamic teachings espoused by Maranao ulama regarding (a) education, (b) employment, and (c) leadership of women (from Table 72) | Majority of the ulama respondents espouse contradictory teachings regarding Maranao Muslim women's pursuit of education, career, and leadership positions. While they teach that pursuit of knowledge is an obligation of all believers, they emphasize preference for Arabic and religious education. Also, while they explicitly approve of women's leadership in the academe, they unequivocally endorse Maranao cultural restriction on women's employment outside the home. |
| 5. Ulama's assessment of Maranao Muslims' adherence to Islamic teachings (from Table 73) | Majority of the ulama respondents think that among the Maranaos, adherence to Islamic teachings is indirectly related to individuals' education, socioeconomic status, and extent of association with Christians. Their observations confirm the attestation by majority of the women educators that they and their families follow most but not all of the teachings espoused by their religious leaders. |

Discussion and Recapitulation of Findings Regarding Research Objectives 1 and 2

Aim high and hit high may be a cliche, but it is a saying that appropriately describes the career aspirations, goals and achievements of the Muslim women leaders in this study which set them apart from their Muslim women followers. Although both groups aspired higher than what were normatively expected of or were actually attained

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by Maranao Muslim women during their growing-up years, proportionately more administrators than subordinates set their educational and occupational goals on a higher plane even when they were yet young. But being of the less favored gender, both groups had to contend with social and religious norms which although supportive of female Muslims' schooling to some extent, also have some aspects that militated against their pursuit of higher education and employment outside the home.

In general, however, these women educators have parents who had themselves been touched by the social changes then taking place in the Philippine society. While they claim that they follow most if not all Islamic teachings espoused by their religous leaders, they were less tradition-bound, and were more open to and supportive of non-traditional options for their daughters. Contrary to the prevailing Maranao social norms that women should stay home and that religious education is adequate for them to be able to satisfactorily perform their roles as a wife and a mother, the respondents' parents were willing to send their daughters to secular schools to pursue higher education and later, to seek employment outside the home. In effect they selectively followed religious teachings and community norms that provided them moral guidelines in their daily lives; however, they deviated from those which they considered to be inconsistent with the emerging socioeconomic realities of the time. Such behaviors were confirmed by the ulama's observation that generally, Maranaos' adherence to religious teachings is indirectly related to their socioeconomic status.

The parents of the women educators did not only give moral support for the attainment of their children's educational aspirations but also provided parental modeling that socialized their daughters into hitherto unconsidered options for Maranao Muslim women. Data from this study indicate that a number of parental—especially father-related—variables influenced the career aspirations and development of the women educators. Among these were: (a) father's encouragement, (b) mother's

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encouragement, (c) father's modeling, (d) financial support from parents, (e) father's education, and (f) father's occupation. Favorable parental influences were more pronounced among the fathers of the administrators; and appeared to be critical factors that determined the direction of their career path and boosted their motivation and ability to achieve more distinctively than their subordinates.

Without doubt, the administrators in this study are achievers since most of them are recipients of academic honors and awards for service, merit, and leadership. In addition, other indicators of personal achievements such as good academic performance, scholarships obtained, graduate education, and training experiences were also among the factors that worked more to their advantage than to the subordinates'. While the administrators listed these factors among the favorable influences in their career development and advancement, the subordinates listed poor academic performance, inability to qualify for scholarships, lack of training experiences, and lack of academic qualifications among the factors that restricted their career mobility.

The level of education attained by the women in this study is much higher than the education of most Maranao Muslim women of their age. For instance, at the time of the study, all but one subordinate already finished a college degree; and almost all administrators had graduate education. Since the respective present positions of the respondents require the specific educational and training backgrounds that they have, it appears that their academic degrees and training experiences are the most important qualifications that landed them in their present employment rank and status. However, when asked to name the five most important factors that enhanced their career success, the respondents gave preeminence to the influences of their families over their own traits and achievements.

For the respondents' high educational attainment, credit may be given not only to themselves and their parents but also to government programs and initiatives. For

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example, during the schooling years of the respondents, concrete measures were initiated by the Philippine government to enhance the integration of non-Christian minority groups into the mainstream of Philippine society. Among the government initiatives were: (a) established schools of higher learning in areas that were more accessible to cultural minority groups, (b) offered them generous scholarships with more liberal qualification terms, (c) sponsored special teachers training programs dovetailed to their needs, and (d) adopted employment policies that were more favorable to them.

As children or adolescents, the administrators in this study already manifested a desire for leadership in adult life that may be considered exceptional in their place and time. Again, paternal influences may have been critical in shaping their leadership aspirations and in developing those skills, since a larger proportion of administrators than subordinates have fathers who worked in such capacities as proprietor-manager, administrator, supervisor, or elected government official.

The administrators did not only aspire to become leaders but actually took leadership positions in class and co-curricular activities during their growing-up years. Their leadership skills which were honed in the elementary grades and high school were further sharpened in college and in the graduate school by expanding their involvement in community and religious affairs. Throughout their schooling years, the administrators demonstrated leadership performances that were more notable than those shown by their subordinates.

Even in their adult life, the married administrators appeared to have an edge over their subordinates in gaining husband's support and encouragement. Probably, in not a few cases, did the administrators also learn from their respective spouses some practical lessons in management and leadership since a good number of them are managers and leaders in their own rights. In a manner of speaking therefore, the home

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and schools served as the training ground for the administrators' leadership development, and no doubt helped build the foundation for their leadership in the adult world.

That the central characters influencing and sustaining the career success of the female Muslim educators were males, namely their fathers and husbands, is a vital information that emerged from this study, in light of assertions made that changing patriarchal values among Muslim societies is a most awesome endeavor and one which is likely to be met with resistance by the men themselves (Rahman, 1983; Saeed, 1994).

Contrary to this assertion, the research revealed that the male significant others in the lives of the women respondents—especially of the administrators—were willing to support these women in their efforts to achieve even beyond what they themselves were able to achieve. To illustrate, both administrator and subordinate respondents generally have higher education than their fathers and husbands, a phenomenon that is contrary to the still prevailing pattern in the general population of Filipino Muslims where men are more highly educated than women. This finding corroborates the pattern found among other modernizing Muslim societies indicating that women's status improves significantly when men take up the cudgels for them; and that unless men decide to support women's struggles for recognition of their rights, women will always play second fiddle to men (see, for instance, Abadan-unat, 1981 and Karim, 1992).

As leaders, the administrators' career goals and visions radiate beyond their own needs. While they have concerns for their families and themselves, they are as most leaders are, also other-oriented. They give serious thoughts to how they might contribute to the improvement of their subordinates and the children and youth of their communities through measures which are within their influence, such as improving the school environment, improving the quality of education for Muslim youth, and enhancing children's opportunities to pursue higher education that will enable them to

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become responsible members or leaders of their communities. In contrast, the subordinates' goals are predominantly self-centered; i.e. directed mainly towards improving their educational and professional qualifications or seeking promotion and tenure.

That administrators are more other-oriented than their subordinates in drawing up their immediate and future career goals is probably understandable in light of the differences in their educational attainment, employment status, and occupational ranks. For example, at the time of the study, almost all administrator respondents already finished or were working towards finishing their graduate degree. Moreover, almost all administrators already held permanent tenure and some might have already attained the rank they aspired for, whereas a good number of subordinates still have to earn government certification and/or the academic qualification necessary to gain either a promotion or security of tenure. Nevertheless both groups share the same visions for the education of Filipino Muslim youth; thus it is probable that when the subordinates would have gained the professional qualifications, promotion and tenure that they aspire for, they too would be able to look beyond their own needs and gratification.

As originally expected, the administrators were also distinguished from their subordinates in terms of age, madrasah schooling experiences, length of service in the public schools, number of years in present position, training experiences, and felt training needs. Compared to a typical female Maranao Muslim teacher or staff employee, a typical Maranao Muslim woman administrator in this study may be characterized (a) as being in her mid-forties or about 7 years older; (b) had spent fewer years in madrasah schools, thus may have had a headstart over the other in attending government-recognized schools; (c) has been employed in the public schools for about 23 years or about 7 years longer than her subordinate's length of service; (d) has held present position for about 7 years or half the length of time that of the other; (e) has

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much more substantial leadership training experiences; and (f) at the same time also feels a greater need for further training in administrative and leadership functions.

There are, however, findings of this study which contradict the original expectations of the researcher. First is the fact that the administrators have higher fertility than their subordinates, whereas, the original expectation was the other way around. Based on conventional knowledge that fertility is indirectly related to women's education and socioeconomic status, and considering that the administrators have higher education and occupational rank than their subordinates, it was originally expected that the former will report a lower average number of children. By the same token, in comparing the women educators with the general population of women in Lanao del Sur, it was also expected that both administrator and subordinate groups would report lower fertility. But again, findings in the latter comparison indicated the contrary.

Unconventional as this demographic phenomenon may be, it holds a potential promise for the future. If the patterns of outlooks, aspirations, career goals, leadership involvement, and other characteristics and achievements—which made these Muslim women educators "paradigm pioneers" among their people—would be passed on to their children through the process of socialization, then the Filipino Muslim society in particular and the country in general would stand to gain from this pool of potential future partners and leaders in nation building.

Additionally, the study revealed some individual and family characteristics which did not distinguish between the administrators and subordinates but nevertheless did provide notable information pertinent to the purpose of describing the leaders' salient characteristics and career experiences. Among these characteristics are: (a) birth order; (b) civil status; (c) marital arrangements of the respondents compared to their parents; (d) national identification of the respondents, their parents, and husbands; (e)

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national identification the respondents desire for their children and other Filipino Muslim youth; and (f) line of family descent.

A surprising revelation of this study is the fact that line of family descent did not distinguish the administrators from their subordinates. The researcher actually expected that family descent would have an impact on the career patterns and development of the respondents. Specifically, the expectation was that administrators would come more from royal family lines and that line of descent would be a distinctive characteristic marking them off from their subordinates. This expectation is in keeping with Maranao customary laws *(adat)* which allow the vesting of traditional leadership titles—with concomitant prestige, authority, and responsibilities—on qualified women of royal descent (Lacar, 1991; Madale, 1976; Tawano, 1979). In this study, it was expected that traditions would carry over to the new socioeconomic order. However, the expectation was not borne by the data since there were proportionately as many subordinates as there were administrators who claimed that their parents descended from an ancestral royal house of Lanao. Local cultural dynamics in which a desire to trace one's roots to a royal lineage may be the primary reason for this.

As regards birth order, a relatively large proportion of both groups reported being a firstborn. This outcome suggests that in the Maranao culture, as is also observable among many other Filipino ethnic groups, the firstborn is usually favored in the allocation of chances to pursue higher education, or other privileges for that matter, when parents' resources are not sufficient for all their children. This is in keeping with the cultural practice of vesting the firstborn with quasi-parental responsibility of caring for their younger siblings. For many respondents, therefore, the potential disadvantage of being of the less favored gender seemed to have been offset by their birth order.

Throughout this paper it has been demonstrated that higher education and employment appeared to be strong influences in shaping the attitudes and behaviors of

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the women educators and their families. One example is the influence on their attitude toward the Philippine government. Although studies in the recent decades indicate that most Muslims in the country continue to harbor feelings of animosity toward the Philippine government (Abbahil, 1984; Lacar, 1994; Muslim, 1994), a large majority of the women educators in this study consider the Philippines as their country. Similarly, majority reported a favorable attitude toward the Philippine government among their parents and husbands. Moreover, majority also desire the same national identification for their children and other Muslim youth. Considering that the women in this research are all employed in government academic institutions and had attended public schools for some, if not all, of their academic programs, those schooling experiences may have strongly influenced the shaping of a favorable attitude towards the established government of the country. This deduction is further supported by the fact that a similar pattern of association with government instrumentalities was also reported for the fathers' and husbands' of the respondents.

However, it was also noted that the attitudinal change was not entirely in favor of the established government, as there appears to be a growing number of Muslim women educators who aspire for the establishment of an independent Islamic state for their children and other Muslim youth. Although those indicating this desire for independence represent a small minority of the sample of women educators, the preponderance of their influence in shaping the values, attitudes and behaviors of children and youth who come under their tutelage could not be ignored.

Notwithstanding the potency of education in effecting change, some normative attitudes and behaviors seem to persist. Some examples are those pertaining to marriage and family life. Among the Maranaos, a woman is invariably expected to get married and raise a large family when she comes of age. Because the women in this study are all educated and employed, it was initially anticipated that many would have

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deviated from those norms. Nevertheless, the study revealed that the proportions of ever married respondents in both groups are comparable to that of the general population of women in Lanao del Sur. Moreover, as discussed earlier, they have higher average number of children than the general population.

Surprisingly though, the women educators appeared to have kept a stable family life in spite of the competing demands of home and employment. Compared to their parents, both administrator and subordinate respondents showed significantly larger proportions of monogamous and stable unions although during their time, divorce and multiple marriages have been legalized for Muslims in the Philippines. How they were able to meld harmoniously their domestic and career roles was no longer investigated in this study and is probably among the gaps in knowledge worthy of further research.

Findings Regarding Research Objective 3: To Describe the Leader Behaviors of Maranao Muslim Women Educational Administrators

The data obtained using the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire Form-12 suggest that both administrators and subordinates are of the opinion that the former actually demonstrate all leader behaviors measured by the instrument. The subordinates tended to agree with their leaders with regard to the latter's performance on the behavior subscales pertaining to task, structure, productivity, and representation to third parties (see Table 74). However, in matters involving interpersonal relationship between leader and followers, the administrators tended to rate themselves higher than their subordinates did.

The leaders' self-ratings were also compared with the perfect scores for each of the 12 subscales under the assumption that the latter represents the ideal but also attainable level of leader performance. This was done for the purpose of determining how the administrators rate themselves vis-a-vis the excellent leader performance. The

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results suggest that generally, the administrators feel that they still have a long way to go towards achieving excellence in leadership.

Supplementary data obtained with the two survey questionnaires as shown in Tables 75 and 76, supported to some extent the findings from LBDQ-12. As in the other instrument, the administrators' perception of their behaviors differed to some extent from how their subordinates perceive them. While the administrators generally think that their behaviors pertaining to personnel relations are the most effective, their subordinates feel that those are the leaders' least effective behaviors. Instead, they are of the opinion that their leaders perform their best in matters pertaining to structure, task, productivity, and in representing the group to third parties.

## Conclusions

Based on the research data and within the limitations stated earlier in this study, tentative conclusions about the leadership behaviors, salient individual and family characteristics, career goals, career development experiences, and factors influencing the career of Maranao Muslim women educators may be advanced.

### Salient Individual and Family Characteristics

Among the salient individual and family characteristics that describe the similarities and differences between Maranao Muslim women educational administrators and Muslim women employees are as follows:

1. In general, the two groups of Maranao Muslim women educators in this study may be considered deviants from the norms of Maranao Muslim society. Deviance in this context must not be confused with being psychopaths, as it refers simply to the fact that the respondents did not conform with many of the normative expectations of Maranao Muslims in regard to the roles that women should play.

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Among the norms they did not conform with are those which prescribe that a woman should just stay home and play a supportive role to her husband, thereby making the pursuit of higher education unnecessary. Not only did the women in this study finish higher education and seek employment outside the home, but many also became administrators and leaders in their own rights.

2. These women educators showcased what Muslim women can do and can become if they are given enough encouragement, support and freedom in pursuing their dreams. Careerwise, the administrators performed more distinctively than their subordinates as evidenced by their more impressive credentials regarding (a) educational attainment, (b) length of service, (c) employment status, and (d) occupational rank.

3. Notwithstanding the less impressive credentials of the subordinates, their continuing resolve to improve their professional qualifications would undoubtedly, make them potential candidates for administrative positions in the future.

4. The parents and husbands of the women educators may also be considered deviants in that they themselves encouraged and supported the educational and career goals of these women. These parents and husbands have themselves been touched by modernization and social changes going on in the country, as indicated by their education and occupational status which are largely higher than those found in the general population for the province of Lanao del Sur.

5. The administrators, especially, may have benefited from the modelling, mentoring, encouragement, and support of their fathers and husbands who have generally higher education and occupational status than those of their subordinates. This conclusion conforms with findings of studies in other modernizing Muslim societies which indicate that women's status improves significantly when men take the cudgels for them.

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6. Another notable revelation of this study is that the women educators and their families also differed from the general population of Muslims in the Philippines in their attitude towards the established government of the country. Contrary to the findings of earlier studies indicating a widespread feeling of dissociation from or animosity toward the Philippine government among the general population of Muslims in the country, a large majority of both administrator and subordinate respondents reported for themselves, their parents, and their husbands a favorable national identification.

7. Similarly, majority desire that their children and other Muslim youth would consider the Philippines as their country. However, it was also noted that although still representing a small minority, there is an increasing number of Muslim women educators who aspire for the establishment of an independent Islamic state for their younger generations. Considering the preponderance of their influence as role models in shaping the attitudes and behaviors of children and youth, the latter situation does not seem to augur well for the future of the government's efforts in promoting the formation of a harmonious pluralistic society under one constitution.

8. The women in this study apppeared to be performing well in their private lives, dispelling old folks' apprehension that education and career might draw women away from their family responsibilities. Both administrator and subordinate respondents are predominantly married. Remarkably able to meld harmoniously their career and domestic responsibilities, most of them have monogamous marriage and are able to keep more stable unions than what their parents have. These findings are contrary to the research expectations based on the government's action in 1977 of legalizing divorce and multiple marriages for Muslims in the country.

8. Another unexpected revelation of this study is that these women educators have higher fertility than the general population of women in Lanao del Sur despite their higher education and socioeconomic status. Moreover, the administrators who have

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higher education and employment rank than their subordinates also reported having more children. Although age may be a factor in the latter comparison, as a whole, the phenomenon runs counter to the conventional demographic knowledge that education and employment depress women's fertility. It is probable that this phenomenon is part of the respondents' attempt to dispel their old folks' apprehension that higher education and employment outside the home will result to women's disregard or neglect of their traditional domestic roles.

Career Goals and Career Development Experiences

1. As to their career goals, the administrators already differed from their subordinates even when they were yet young. Early in life, the administrators set for themselves higher level of educational, occupational and leadership goals.

2. In their adulthood, the administrators' career goals also differed from those of their subordinates. While the administrators aim at self-advancement, they also nurture concerns for the welfare of their subordinates, the Muslim children and youth, and the community as a whole. The subordinates, on the other hand, tend to have predomi-nantly self-centered career goals.

3. Highly motivated to achieve their goals, the administrators manifested better performance than their subordinates in both academic and extra academic activities. During their schooling years, a larger proportion of the administrators were honor students and were active as leaders in both class and extra class activities. In college and in the graduate school, they extended their leadership involvement to community and religious affairs. Apparently, this distinctive performance of the administrators carried on to their adult life, as manifested in their employment ranks and status as well as in the honors and awards they received.

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4. The administrators also differed significantly from their subordinates in the scope and direction of their in-service training experiences in that the former attended mostly training programs for administration and leadership; whereas the latter attended mostly training programs for enhancement of skills in staff or teaching functions. Similarly, the two groups differed in their felt training needs as they desire to have further training in their respective functional areas.

Factors Influencing the Career Success of Maranao Muslim Women Educators

Conclusions about factors that either enhanced or restricted the career success of Muslim women educators were derived from specific data provided by the women educators and by selected Maranao ulama, as well as from the analysis of salient characteristics and career development experiences that distinguished between administrators and subordinates. Based on those data, the following tentative conclusions were derived:

1. Foremost among the factors credited by the women educators for their career success are family characteristics and influences, especially those pertaining to or provided by the father and husband. Family influences are generally more pronounced among the administrators, and probably enhanced their ability to perform more distinctively than their subordinates.

2. Although the Maranao Muslim women educators credited themselves only secondarily for their career success, an outside observer may equally give importance to the influences of their personal characteristics and academic achievements. Personal factors such as career aspirations, beliefs, values, and most importantly, the degrees they finished which deviated from the normative expectations for Maranao Muslim women are undeniably significant factors that landed them in their respective positions.

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3. A good number of personal factors such as career aspirations, degrees earned, leadership experiences, age, and seniority of service which are more notable among the administrators also appear to have contributed in making a difference between the career achievements of the two groups. Moreover, while the administrators cited personal achievements such as good academic performance, scholarships, and training experiences as enhancing factors, the subordinates cited mediocre academic performance, inability to obtain scholarships and lack of training opportunities as limitations to their career advancement.

4. Although only few respondents cited government initiatives as a factor enhancing their career success, data on their schooling and employment experiences clearly show that they have been benefited by various government efforts aimed at integrating cultural minority groups into the mainstream of the Philippine society. Foremost among these are: (a) establishing more elementary, secondary, and tertiary schools in places that are more accessible to cultural minority groups; (b) providing them scholarships and financial aids; (c) sponsoring special teacher training programs; and (d) adopting employment policies that are favorable to them.

5. The Maranao ulama informants generally admitted to espousing contradictory teachings regarding women's pursuit of higher education, employment and leadership roles; thus on one hand supporting the common notion that Islam is restrictive of women's rights but on the other hand also contradicting that notion. On their part the families of the women educators appeared to have selectively followed those teachings that are supportive of women's career goals and deviated from those which are not. These behaviors are confirmed by the ulama's perceptions that generally, Maranaos belonging to higher socioeconomic status are less observant of the religious tenets which they popularize among the *ummah* they serve.

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6. Both administrators and subordinates commonly attributed the obstacles they encountered in their career development and practice to (a) community norms and traditions, (b) being a woman, (c) family size, and (d) practices of the Christian majority. A few respondents in both groups also cited close family ties as a factor that causes some complications in their career activities and decisions.

Leader Behaviors of Muslim Women Administrators

1. Data on leadership aspirations and experiences of the women administrators clearly show that there is an increasing number of Maranao Muslims who are no longer weighed down by the traditional norms prescribing only supportive roles for women. During their schooling years, the respondents' aspirations for leadership were encouraged and given outlets for expression and development by their families and teachers; and later in college, by their respective communities as well.

This changing attitude toward traditional norms is manifested very clearly in the promotion of qualified Muslim women to administrative and leadership positions in government schools in predominantly Muslim communities. Moreover, Maranao ulama are now endorsing women's leadership in education although at the same time exhorting against political leadership, particularly in the executive branch of the government.

2. More importantly, the promotion of qualified Muslim women to leadership positions demonstrates the fact that leadership traits and abilities are not a monopoly of men; and that given sufficient opportunities for development and expression, Muslim women too can become effective leaders at work and in their communities.

3. Data obtained with LBDQ-12 indicate that the Muslim women leaders in this study demonstrate all the leader behaviors purportedly measured by the instrument despite the fact that they function in a socioeconomic environment which, in many

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ways, is diametrically different from that of the society where the questionnaire was developed. However, the administrators' themselves feel that they still have a long way to go toward achieving excellence in leadership.

4. Both administrators and subordinates agree on their rating of the former's behaviors related to task, structure, productivity, and representing the work group to third parties. The subordinates think that their leaders perform their best in these areas.

5. But in matters involving interpersonal relationship between leader and followers, the administrators tend to rate themselves higher than how their subordinates rate them. While the administrators think that these are their most effective behaviors, the subordinates think otherwise.

## Implications and Probable Uses of the Findings

Consonant to the fourth research objective, this section of the dissertation outlines some of the major implications of the findings of this study. It focuses on implications relevant to the issues of education, training, employment, and leadership of Filipino Muslim women; as well as those related to the roles of Muslim women educators in (a) the Filipino Muslim family, (b) educating Muslim youth, (c) fostering success of the political autonomy of predominantly Muslim provinces, and (d) in promoting national unity.

### Implications on Education, Employment and Leadership of Filipino Muslim Women

The schooling experiences of the women in this study demonstrate that Filipino Muslims' resistance to higher education for women is progressively breaking down. As pioneers in pursuing new roles for female Muslims, the respondents illustrate that given sufficient freedom and opportunities for higher education, employment and leadership, Muslim women can become active partners with men in nation building.

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However, not all female Filipino Muslims may be as luckily situated as these educators in being afforded the freedom, opportunities and influences they need to succeed in pursuing their dreams. Many continue to encounter certain obstacles in obtaining higher education and in participating in socioeconomic exchanges outside the home. The findings of this study about the demographic characteristics as well as the schooling and work experiences of Muslim women who have succeeded in pursuing a career, therefore, offer some clues in overcoming those obstacles.

1. Family Influences Constitute a Pivotal Factor in Overcoming Socio-cultural Restrictions on Muslim Women's Education and Employment

As exemplified in the influences of the parents—especially the fathers—of the women educators, changes in some fundamental values, attitudes and practices concerning women, must first occur among adults before any marked changes in children's attitude toward and opportunities for higher education may be expected. Among the critical areas of change are: (a) in attitude toward paternalistic values and practices which condition the female Muslims' self-concept, confine them to the home, and relegate them to inconsequential roles in society; and (b) in attitude toward secular education. To illustrate, among the parents of the women educators, changes in their values and attitudes along these areas led to parental decisions and influences which enabled the women-respondents to: (a) see themselves in new light, even when they were still young, (b) set for themselves educational and career goals which are beyond the normative expectations for Maranao Muslim women, and (c) assert educational and employment rights and privileges equal to or approximating those given to their male counterparts.

Moreover, since marriage and family continue to be of prime importance among Muslim women, changes in outlooks of husbands regarding women's rights and

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obligations are similarly pivotal in enabling married Muslim women to pursue a career. The husbands of the women in this study for instance, manifest the modification of their outlooks in behaviors that are supportive of stable homelife and women's career advancement. Some examples of these behaviors are: (a) financially and morally supporting wife's graduate studies even when the wife would eventually have higher degree than the husband, (b) encouraging wife's career advancement as in accepting an administrative or leadership position, and (c) helping wife keep a stable and monogamous union.

What these findings suggest, therefore, is that policies, programs and institutions designed to promote the education and subsequent employment of Muslim women must also address social issues pertaining to: (a) family and community values which promote paternalistic notions and practices, and (b) resistance to secular education.

### 2. Government Schools Increase the Chances of Female Muslims in Obtaining Secular Education

As attitudinal and normative obstacles to the schooling of female Muslims are overcome, other impediments such as poverty of parents and inaccessibility of schools must also be addressed. Statistical trends in education in predominantly Muslim provinces suggest that the number of Muslim parents who send their children to secular schools is increasing. However, poverty of the general population and inaccessibility of secular schools, especially in remote areas, prevent many Muslim parents from providing equal educational opportunities to all their children. For example, when the parents' resources are limited and not all children could be sent to a distant school, it is not uncommon that girls lose their chances to their male siblings.

It is expected therefore, that increased government efforts in establishing schools in rural and economically depressed communities could help equalize

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educational opportunities between male and female Muslims. Similarly, state colleges and universities established in predominantly Muslim regions, could remarkably improve the chances of female Muslims in obtaining higher education. In recent decades, increased government efforts along this line has brought about a trend of rising participation of both male and female Muslims in education at all levels. However, those efforts continue to lag behind the educational needs of a fast growing population.

### 3. Standardization and Accreditation of the *Madaris* Could Open Other Educational and Training Alternatives for Muslim Youth Without Necessarily Foregoing Religious Education

The long history of madrasah's role in educating Muslim youth as well as its dogged perseverance over manifold problems that threaten its existence, attest to the fact that the madrasah has become a revered institution of learning and social training among the Filipino Muslims. Despite the increasing acceptance by parents of secular education for their children, the Filipino Muslims generally look up to the madrasah as the instution that could provide their youth with education that fosters and preserves their cultural and religious heritage. To illustrate, a good number of Muslim parents continue to have a strong preference for solely madrasah education for their children despite the many limitations that madrasah graduates face. Other parents send their children to secular schools on weekdays and to madrasah schools on weekends in an attempt to make the best of the two worlds. Moreover, in the recent decade, some adult Muslims who have not had madrasah schooling during their childhood are finding time to attend classes in madrasah schools. Among Muslim college students, the desire to learn more about their religious heritage is demonstrated in their enrollment in Islamic studies. Similarly, some women educators in this study specifically indicated Arabic-Islamic studies as one of the areas in which they felt a need for further training.

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Finally recognizing the centrality of the madrasah in the educational and social development of many Filipino Muslim youth, the Philippine government, with the issuance of Letter of Instruction 1221 in 1982, eventually adopted the policy of progressively integrating *madaris* as a sector in the national educational system. What this means is that accreditation by the government of *madaris* that are able to meet certain prescribed regulatory standards would enable their students and graduates to continue their studies in other government-recognized institutions of learning. Therefore, Muslim youth need not face a dead-end in their schooling nor struggle helplessly against unemployment simply because their parents insisted on only madrasah education for them during their childhood.

Since the issuance of L.O.I. 1221, a good number of strategies and plans of actions have been formulated and implemented by both the government and the Muslim private sector. However, when compared to the gargantuan task of upgrading and standardizing more than a thousand small, independently operated, and often times secluded madaris, the work done so far may be considered to be just the beginning. The task that lies ahead requires far more concerted efforts and cooperation between the government and every Muslim community operating a madrasah.

### 4. The Success of Muslim Women Educators and Other Educated Muslim Women Could Serve as an Eye-opener to Parents and Children Who Steadfastly Adhere to Traditional Notions About Women's Role in the Family and Society

The good examples set by the women educators in this study and by other successful, educated Muslim women could hasten the awakening of tradition-bound parents to the notion of equality of the sexes and enable them to allow or even seek other options for their daughters. More importantly, these women could serve, either directly or vicariously, as positive role models in socializing female Muslims to become

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achievers. The women educators, particularly, could have a preponderant influence on their students especially during their formative years. In developing (a) positive self-concept, (b) favorable attitude towards schooling and learning, (c) good study and work behaviors, as well as in (d) choosing a vocation and in (e) developing leadership talents and skills, the living examples demonstrated by the women teachers and administrators could serve not only as inspiration for the female Muslims but more importantly as realistic models that they can emulate.

### 5. Public Schools Create Employment and Leadership Opportunities for Educated Muslim Women

Since teaching and educational leadership are among the careers sanctioned by Maranao ulama as appropriate or acceptable for Muslim women, it is not surprising that female Muslims who have opportunities to go to college, largely choose a degree in education. This concentration of Muslim women in the field of education is further fostered by the persistence of certain cultural restrictions on Maranao Muslim women's employment and travel in places far from their hometown or home province. Additionally, because of their strong familistic values, some women prefer employment within or near their home communities even without overt pressures from their families.

What these findings suggest is that increased efforts by the government to establish more elementary and secondary schools in predominantly Muslim region would not only enhance equal educational opportunities for male and female Muslims but would also provide the emerging breed of educated Muslim women with employment and leadership opportunities that perfectly match their vocational preferences.

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## Implications of the Findings on the Role of Muslim Women Educators:

### In the Filipino Muslim Family

Some observers have predicted that as the Filipino Muslim society increasingly yields to the influences of education, modernization and other cultures, the traditional attitudes about the proper place of a woman will give way to new conceptions in order to conform to new socioeconomic realities (Randa-Maglangit, 1978; Lacar, 1992). In turn, those new conceptions will have implications on family formation and relationships. Lacar (1992) for instance, predicted that the new changes and developments would make the Filipino Muslim family come out even stronger as an institution provided it remains as a primary refuge for all members.

The findings of this study—about (a) the educators' marital status, (b) tendency of husband toward monogamous and stable marriage, (c) number of children, and (d) the centrality of family's influences and support to the women's career success—provide strong corroborative evidence supporting earlier predictions about evolving changes in the Filipino Muslim family in the 1990s and beyond. The results point to the ability of educated Muslim women in meeting the challenges of employment outside the home while at the same time keeping a stable and sound family life. How the women were able to keep a balance between home and employment responsibilities, though, is beyond the purview of this study. Suffice it to say that based on the research findings some changes in the domestic roles of educated Muslim women are foreseen.

Having reaped the benefits of more freedom in pursuing higher education and a career, the women in this study are most likely to encourage and provide the same or even more liberal opportunities for their own children regardless of gender. Unlike their mothers' influence on them, these educated Muslim women are more likely to be

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looked up to as role models by their daughters and probably by their sons as well. Having acquired values and perspectives that are more consistent with new socioeconomic realities there would probably be lesser generational clashes between parents and children in their families than among families of less educated parents. And because many of these women have either a comparable or even higher educational and occupational status than their respective spouses, they are likely to assert equality with their husbands in matters relating to marital and family affairs. For example, the findings about the tendency toward monogamous marriage and lower divorce rate among the husbands of the respondents suggest that the women are probably exerting pressures that counter the liberal divorce and marriage rights allowed to Muslim men.

In the Education of Filipino Muslim Youth

In identifying the populations and samples of educators for this research, one of the prevailing situations observed is that public education in predominantly Maranao Muslim communities is largely in the hands of Maranao Muslims themselves. Therefore, being one with the people they serve is an added benefit that the women educators in this study bring into their employment. Their knowledge of the geographic area, and more importantly of the language, religion and culture of the people they serve put them in a vantage position over other teachers and administrators coming from different background and origin. Not only do they become models and inspiration to Muslim students who come under their influence, but they also facilitate the learning process by eliminating communication and cultural barriers, commonly created when the educators "do not belong" to the community where they are assigned. Being able to identify better with the Muslim youth, their parents, and the needs of Muslim communities as a whole, the Muslim women educators could become strong advocates for improvement and reform of the educational system of their region.

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In Fostering Success of the Political Autonomy of Muslim Provinces

The role that female Muslim educators will play in supporting and strengthening the political autonomy of predominantly Muslim provinces is apparently that of developing prospective leaders—male and female alike—and in producing an educated, vocationally prepared, and responsible citizenry.

In the long run, educated Filipino Muslim women would increasingly venture into other careers and fields of leadership despite restrictions imposed by their elders and endorsed by their religious leaders. For instance, it may still take decades before the demand for Muslim women educators may be surpassed by supply, but some Muslim women are already venturing into other career and leadership paths hitherto considered as the male turf. In recent years, Muslim women have increasingly become visible in areas such as (a) political and technical offices in the government, (b) commercial private companies, and (c) family business ventures. Moreover there are already a few engaged in professional practice such as medicine, law, and public accounting.

Along with the demographic factors unique to those few women trailblazers which helped them become what they are now, credit may also be attributed to the fact that the Philippine educational system does not impose any legal restrictions on women's choice of a degree and career. This suggests that as cultural, religious, and financial obstacles to the schooling of Muslim women are overcome, more would be pursuing studies along their own line of interest, talents and abilities. Consequently, more Muslim women would be prepared to pursue careers and leadership in other fields outside of schools and universities.

The stance of the ulama against Muslim women's pursuit of executive political positions such as mayors, governors, etc., seems inconsistent with the political realities

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of Lanao del Sur and other predominantly Muslim provinces, since some of the most prominent Muslim political leaders in the country are women. Therefore, it is not improbable that in the future, their stance against women's political leadership would completely break down. As indicated by the research data, there are already a few ulama who have acquired a changed perspective on some customary rules and practices and are questioning their propriety in the context of a modernizing society.

In Preserving National Unity of a Pluralistic Philippine Society

The studies done by Abbahil (1984) and Lacar (1994) on national identification of Muslims in the Philippines, using fairly large samples from the general population of Muslims in the country, indicated that a significant majority continue to disavow identification with the Philippines. In contrast, a remarkable majority (84 %) of both groups of Muslim women educators in this study consider the Philippines as their country, and report the same preference among their parents and husbands. Moreover, albeit in progressively decreasing proportions, majority of both administrator and subordinate groups desire for their own children (77 and 75 %) and other Muslim youth (61 and 63 %) a favorable national identification with the Philippines. Although the respondents of the present study represent only a special segment of the general population of Muslims in the country, it is possible to state some fundamental implications of the findings as they stand.

It must be mentioned that in the Philippines, policies concerning government service emphasize loyalty to the republic. The implications of the findings about the respondents' national identification and what they desire for their own children and other Muslim youth stem from (a) those policies as well as from (b) the critical roles they play, as teachers and administrators, in fostering tolerance of cultural diversity in order to preserve national unity.

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The proportions of women educators identifying with the Philippines and who desire the same national identification for their own children and other Muslim youth in the country, although not reaching 100 per cent, are considerably higher compared to the findings of Abbahil's (1984) and Lacar's (1994) studies among the general population. The present findings therefore, provide impressive evidence of the gains achieved by the government's integration efforts particularly among the educated sector. However, since the respondents are considered government employees, each is expected to be loyal to the republic. Therefore, persistence of feelings of alienation and divided loyalty, even among a few, is a sufficient reason to give more serious thoughts to reviewing and improving national integration policies and programs.

In the government's efforts at national integration, curricular and non-curricular programs of educational institutions are critical. But even more critical, is the influence that role models such as teachers and educational administrators may, deliberately or unknowingly, exert among their students. Even if only a small proportion of those who are supposed to teach national unity do not teach the idea, because they do not believe in it in the first place, then the seed of its failure is already sown right from the start in the minds of children and youth who are most susceptible to other conflicting notions. The role of the administrators is probably most crucial in a cultural milieu where things tend to be implemented by directives and orders from the top. For if an administrator does not believe in national integration and national unity, it would be quixotic to expect that administrator to exhort her subordinates to teach the same to children.

While it may be argued that only small proportions (11 % of the administrators and 7 % of the subordinates) indicated an inclination for the establishment of an independent Islamic state, these percentages are large considering the salience of their status and influence in molding the minds of the youth and the communities they serve.

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Moreover, compared to those desiring an independent state for themselves, the proportions of administrators and teachers desiring independence for their children are disquietingly higher (16 % and 15 % respectively); and more than doubled ( 24 % and 19 % respectively) when it concerns other Muslim youth. The ramifications of this divided loyalty among Muslim women educators on the issue of promoting and preserving national unity of a pluralistic Philippine society are staggering. Although this particular set of data does not encourage optimism, one hopes of course, that the future could be brighter for all Filipinos and the country as a whole. Overall, the findings of this study suggest some promising potentials for the future, and toward this end, the writer outlines below some probable uses and contributions.

## Recommendations

After ages of being confined to the home and family, Muslim women are now increasingly coming into their own in Philippine society. And although the full measure of their potentials still has to be attained, some trailblazers—such as the Maranao women educators in this study—have achieved substantial gains in status and recognition. The examples they have set can serve as a model for the female Filipino Muslim youth. Despite the stated limitations of this research, the findings could be utilized by both the private sector and government instrumentalities dealing with or providing services to the Filipino Muslims.

The findings about the respondents' demographic characteristics, educational experiences, school preferences, training needs, and factors that influenced the attainment of their career goals could be utilized by educators in reviewing current policies and programs as well as in formulating new ones that may better address the evolving educational, vocational, and leadership training needs of female Filipino Muslims. Similarly, economic planners and development personnel may be able to

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utilize some information that may be pertinent to the task of enhancing consequential participation of female Muslims in socioeconomic endeavors that could hasten the development and progress of the predominantly Muslim provinces.

Sociologists, social workers, legislators, and demographers could also utilize for their own purposes the findings about family characteristics, parental influences on children, changing concepts about the roles and rights of women, gains in women's status, and the changing patterns of family structure and relationships among educated Muslims. Some of the probable purposes of these groups that may be benefited are: (a) reviewing current laws and policies pertaining to Muslim women, marriage, divorce, and custody of children with the end in view of promoting gender equality and children's welfare; and (b) planning, implementing, and evaluating programs that encourage or facilitate the participation of mothers in socioeconomic activities.

Government instrumentalities mandated with the task of promoting national unity and the integration of cultural minority groups into the mainstream of the Philippine society could also utilize for their own purposes the findings about national identification of the select population of this study.

For the purpose of expanding knowledge, the findings of this research could serve as springboard for future studies. For example, the findings about leadership behaviors and practices of the Muslim women administrators may be used in comparing findings of studies about women leaders in other Muslim societies or of other cultural and religious orientations. For local usage, since the present study was limited to Maranao Muslim women educational administrators, the research design may be adopted or improved on for future studies of other Filipino Muslim women leaders not only in education, but also in other fields of endeavor, including those currently frowned upon for women by Maranao ulama.

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Some data gathered for this research provided answers to pertinent questions, but at the same time also led to other questions that are not within the scope of the present study. Moreover, some findings are contrary to the original expectations of the researcher but the reasons for such deviations were not examined. Gaps in knowledge suggested by this study, therefore, could be investigated by other researchers in order to expand empirical knowledge about the Filipino Muslim women leaders in particular and women leaders in other Muslim societies in general.

Finally, the results of this study may serve as an invitation for the Philippine government and other non-government organizations supporting human resource development, to invest in training programs for Filipino Muslim women. The overall findings about the career experiences of Maranao Muslim women educators and their visions for Filipino Muslim youth illustrate the contributions that Muslim women could make to the welfare of their communities. They demonstrate that given appropriate training, as well as sufficient opportunities for employment and leadership, Filipino Muslim women could become partners with their men and the rest of the nation in meeting the challenges of the twenty-first century.

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## END NOTES

[1]Bangsa Moro. Alternatively, the Filipino Muslims are called Moros, an appellation given them by the Spanish colonizers. The name was derived from the Moors of northwestern Africa who once invaded and conquered Spain. In years past, the name was considered derogatory, carrying such connotations as savages, marauders, and pirates. In the recent decades, however, efforts to properly recognize the Muslims' role in the history of the country gave rise to a respectable implication for the term, i.e. as a reference to the groups of Islamized people in Southern Philippines who bravely defended themselves against foreign domination. In the 1970s, with the Muslims' renewed struggle for independence from the Philippine Republic, the term, Bangsa Moro (Moro Nation) was popularized. Since then, the term has been increasingly used in promoting the notion of national identity and in fostering unity among Filipino Muslims, who are otherwise ethno-linguistically differentiated and geographically separated from one another. (For more discussion about the Moro people, see Abbahil, 1984; Gowing, 1964, 1979a, 1979b; Majul, 1973, 1985; Muslim, 1994; Saber & Madale, 1975).

[2]Census estimates of the Moro population have been doubted by not a few authors, for reasons varying from problems inherent to the enumeration procedures to political designs (see for instance, Abbahil, 1984; Muslim, 1994). This notwithstanding, for the purpose of this paper, the most recent population data regarding the Filipino Muslims in general and the Maranao in particular were obtained from the 1990 Census of Population and Housing published by the National Statistics Office in 1992. During this census year, the Filipino Muslims were estimated to number 2,769,643 or about 4.57 percent of the total population of the Philippines. The three largest ethno-linguistic groups professing Islam as their religion were: (a) Maranao, 776,169, (b) Maguindanao, 766,565; and (c) Tausug, 651,808. Assuming that all members of these three ethnic groups are Muslims, collectively they represent 79.24 percent of the Muslim population of the country.

[3]The National Statistics Office (1992) estimated that in 1990, there were 553,054 Maranaos living in Lanao del Sur and 134,156 in Lanao del Norte; constituting 92.36 and 21.88 percent of the total population of the two provinces respectively. Together, the two Lanao provinces accounted for 88.54 percent of the total estimated number of Maranaos in 1990. The rest were distributed as follows: 7.56 percent living in other provinces in Mindanao and 3.9 percent in other regions outside Mindanao.

[4]The conclusion that presently, many young Malaysian Muslim women perceive equality with men in pursuing higher education and in many other aspects of social life, was derived from informal interviews with female Malaysian students enrolled at Western Michigan University during the fall semester of 1996. Ten Muslim women, randomly selected from about 50 names provided by the Office of International Student Services at W.M.U., were interviewed for this purpose.



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End Notes—Continued

[5]The 1990 census estimate of persons, 15 years old and over, who did not state their occupation or who reported no gainful occupation was 17,594,062. Of this, 4,429,734 (or 25.2 percent) were males and 13,164,228 (74.8 percent) were females (National Statistics Office, 1992a).

[6]Luis Q. Lacar obtained his degree of Ph.D. in Sociology from Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan in 1974. He is currently a professor of Sociology at Iligan Institute of Technology, an autonomous unit of Mindanao State University in Iligan City. His prior studies and continuing interest in the social life of Filipino Muslims in general and Maranao Muslims in particular inspired the present research. He contributed invaluable services in almost all phases of this study. From conceptualization of the research problem to writing of the report, Luis served as an unofficial consultant. More importantly, he served as the field research supervisor performing such functions as: (a) following up requests for official permits to conduct research; (b) implementing the research plan according to the schedule when I was delayed in going home; (c) selecting, training, and supervising field researchers; (d) serving as the liaison between the researcher on one hand and various parties on the other hand, including those who reviewed the research instruments and the community gatekeepers who facilitated the implementation of the research in their respective communities; and (e) obtaining some bibliographic materials from the Philippines. Not the least of his contributions were his financial support for this project and his unwavering encouragement as the husband of the researcher.

[7]In describing the problems he encountered in field research for his book, The Meranao: A Study of their Practices and Beliefs, Esmail R. Disoma (1990) wrote: "There is no municipality in Lanao del Sur which has no family feuds (internal and external). Thus any person new in the eyes of the people is subject to suspension [probably meant suspicion] and may not be able to get the necessary data he needs" (p. 16). Therefore, obtaining the cooperation of influential individuals in the research site oftentimes becomes a prerequisite to starting a field research in this province.

[8]Balik-Islam - literally translates as "return to Islam". Those who are convinced to join the Balik-Islam do so through the activities of Islamic roving missionaries called *tableegh*. The *tableeqh* do not call Balik-Islam joiners converts because they believe that Islam is the natural religion into which every man is born; and that one may stray away from Islam but will eventually return to its fold with proper guidance from missionaries. Joiners do not like to be called converts either for the same reason given by the *tableegh*.

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# GLOSSARY

*adat* — Arabic for customary laws.

*alim* — Arabic for a learned man particularly in religious matters.

*alima* — Local term used by the Maranaos for a woman learned in Islam.

*bai a dalomangcob* — Maranao for wise queen. *Bai* is the female counterpart of *solotan*. The title is vested only on women who are able to validate their genealogical right and prove their leadership abilities.

*bai a labi* — Maranao for most exalted queen. Similarly, the title is vested only on women who pass the rigid selection criteria.

*Balik-Islam* — See item 8 in end notes, page 256.

*datu* — Village chief.

*fatwas* — Legal opinions.

*gobierno a sarwang tao* — Maranao for "government of a foreign people".

*Hadith* — Sayings of the Prophet.

*kafir* — Arabic for an unbeliever in the ministry of Muhammad or Islam.

*madaris* — Plural of *madrasah*

*madrasah* — Arabic for school. In the Philippines, the term refers to an Arabic religious school operated by Muslim individuals or by a Muslim community.

*pegawid* — Freemen supporters of the ruling class in the traditional Maranao society.

*pegawidan* — Ancestral ruling class among the Maranaos.

*Shariah*— Islamic law derived from the Quran and the traditional sayings of the founder of Islam.

*solotan or sultan* — The traditional political and religious leader of a group of Muslim villages. To this day, the Maranaos continue to invest this title on men who meet the criteria of leadership and royal descent.



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Glossary—Continued

*Sunnah of the Prophet* — Traditions pertaining to the sayings and practices of Muhammad.

*Tableeqh* — Maranao for a roving Islamic missionary.

*ulama* — Plural of *alim.*

*ummah* — Arabic for community of believers.

*uripon* — Maranao for slave.

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# APPENDICES



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# Appendix A

## Map of the Philippines and the Research Area



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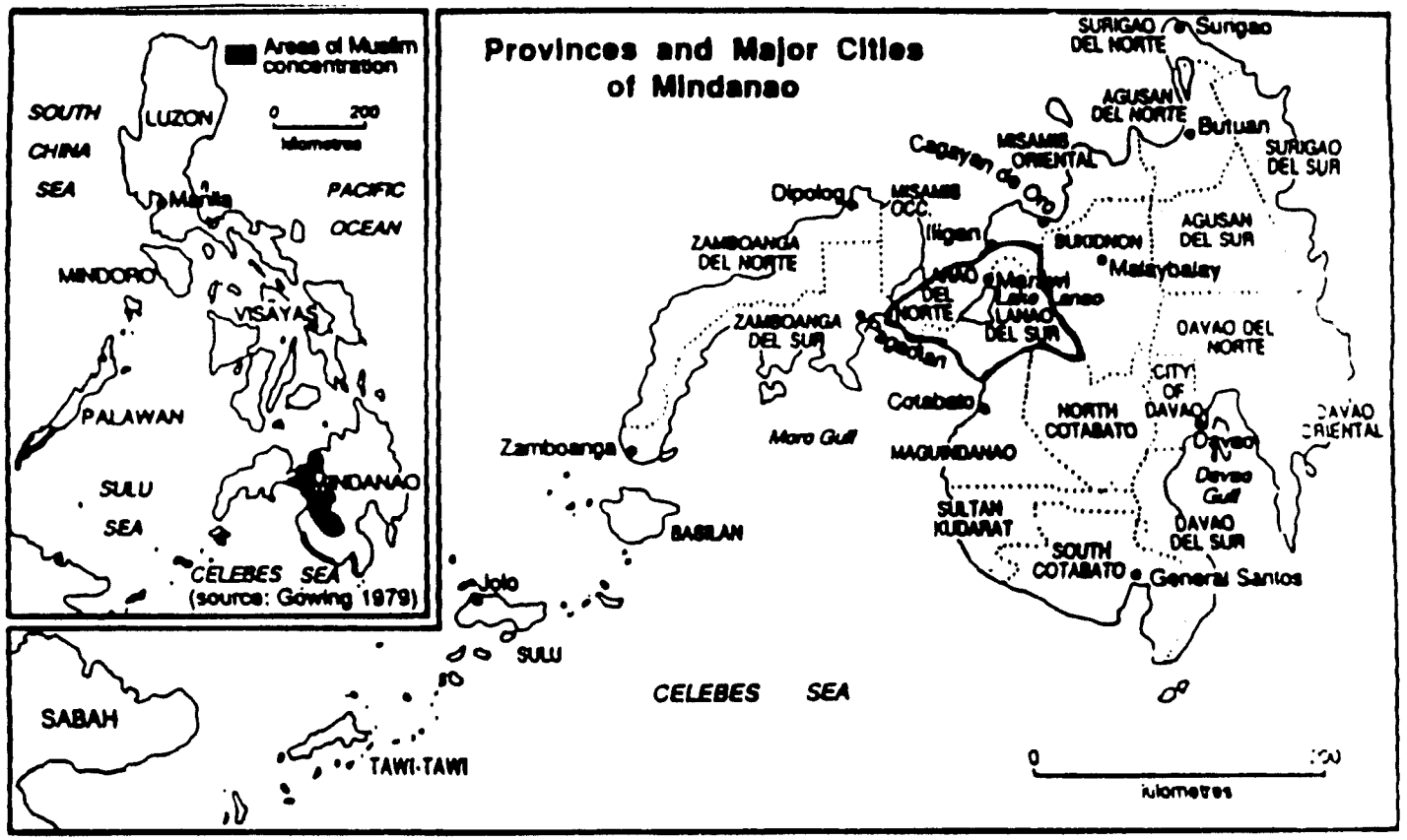
Map: Philippines and Mindanao Highlighting Areas of Muslim Concentration and the Research Site




Source: M. Turner, R. J. May, & L.R. Turner (Eds.). (1992). Mindanao: Land of Unfulfilled Promise, p.xiv. Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers.
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## Appendix B

## HSIRB Exemption Letter



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Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008-3899
616 387-8293

# WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Date: March 15, 1994

To: Carmelita S. Lacar

From: M. Michele Burnette, Chair

Re: HSIRB Project Number 94-03-15

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled "Maranao Muslim women administrators: An initial study of the emerging Muslim women leaders and their leadership has been **approved** under the exempt category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

You must seek reapproval for any changes in this design. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: March 15, 1995

xc: Smidchens, Ed. Leadership

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# Appendix C

## Administrator Survey Questionnaire



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# ADMINISTRATOR SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire contains items that pertain to yourself and your career. It has three parts: (1) socio-demographic profile, (2) career development experiences, work practices, and visions, (3) factors that enhance or limit your career.

Some questions will involve recall of your past experiences. Please answer each item as accurately and honestly as you can.

## PART 1. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

1. Your present employment position _____

2. Number of years you have held your present job _____

3. Number of years you have been employed in government schools or university _____

4. Your employment status
   [ ] Permanent [ ] Probationary [ ] Temporary
   [ ] Others (please specify) _____

5. Number of employees you directly supervise _____

6. Your appropriate age group as of your last birthday.
   [ ] 21 - 25 [ ] 36 - 40 [ ] 51 - 55
   [ ] 26 - 30 [ ] 41 - 45 [ ] 56 - 60
   [ ] 31 - 35 [ ] 46 - 50 [ ] 61 - 65

7. The number of brothers and sisters you have
   Brothers _____ Sisters _____

8. Number of brothers and sisters who have a college education
   Brothers _____ Sisters _____

9. What is your birth order in the family, that is, are you the first child, second, third, etc.? _____

10. Is your father descended from a royal family? [ ] Yes [ ] No

11. Is your mother descended from a royal family? [ ] Yes [ ] No

12. What is the highest educational attainment of your father? _____

13. What is the highest educational attainment of your mother? _____

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ASO page 2

14. What was your father's occupation when you were in ...
college? _____
high school? _____

15. What was your mother's occupation when you were in ...
college? _____
high school? _____

16. How would you describe your adherence to Islamic teachings espoused by religious leaders in your community?
[ ] follow all teachings very strictly
[ ] follow most of the teachings
[ ] follow only a few of the teachings

17. How would you describe your father's adherence to Islamic teachings popularized by religious leaders in your community?
[ ] follow all teachings very strictly
[ ] follow most of the teachings
[ ] follow only a few of the teachings

18. How would you describe your mother's adherence to Islamic teachings propagated by religious leaders in your community?
[ ] follow all teachings very strictly
[ ] follow most of the teachings
[ ] follow only a few of the teachings

19. How many wives has your father? _____

20. If your father has more than one wife, please indicate the order of your mother, that is, if she is the first wife, second wife, etc. _____

21. Yours civil status
[ ] Single [ ] Married [ ] Divorced
[ ] Separated [ ] Widow

22. The total number of children you had _____

23. The number of living children you have now _____

24. Highest educational attainment of your husband. (Please indicate the degree(s) he has earned, if applicable.) _____

25. His occupation _____

26. Is your husband descended from a royal family? [ ] Yes [ ] No

27. How many wives has your husband? _____

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ASQ page 3

28. If your husband has more than one wife, please indicate your order as a wife that is, are you the first, second, third, etc.? _____

29. How would you describe your husband's adherence to Islamic teachings popularized by religious leaders in your region?
[ ] follow all teachings very strictly
[ ] follow most of the teachings
[ ] follow only a few of the teachings

30. Name at most three ulama (religious leaders) who have greatly influenced your religious beliefs and practices.

First: Name _____
Address _____

Second: Name _____
Address _____

Third Name _____
Address _____

PART II. CAREER DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES, PRACTICES, AND VISIONS

31. Your highest educational attainment (Please specify the degree(s) you have earned.) _____

32. Did you ever attend a madrasah school? [ ] Yes [ ] No

33. If yes, up to what grade level?_____

34. If no, please state the reason for not attending a madrasah school.
_____

35. Indicate the type of government-recognized school, college, or university you attended for each educational level applicable to you.

| | Primary Grades | Inter-mediate | College | Masteral Studies | Doctoral Studies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government school | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Private non-sectarian sch. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Private Islamic school | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Private Catholic school | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Private Protestant school | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

36. As a child or an adolescent, what level of education did you aspire to attain in your adulthood? _____

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ASQ page 4

37. As a child or as an adolescent, what kind of occupation did you aspire to have in your adulthood? _____

38. As a child or as an adolescent, what leadership roles did you aspire to have in your adulthood? _____

39. Please indicate the leadership experiences you had in school or in your community when you were in :
    a) the elementary grades _____
    b) high school _____
    c) college _____
    d) graduate school. _____

40. Honors and awards you received up to the present
    _____
    _____
    _____

41. List the training you had for your present job. (If there were more than 3, name only the 3 most important ones.)

| Type | Duration | Indicate whether Public or Private Sponsor |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

42. Other work experience which prepared you for your present job

| Type | Duration | Indicate whether Public or Private Sponsor |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

43. In what aspects of your job do you consider yourself most prepared?
    _____

44. In what aspects of your job do you feel a need for more training?
    _____

45. Which of your leadership practices do you consider most effective in your present work setting?
    _____

46. What do you consider least effective?
    _____

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ASQ page 5

47. What are you career goals within the next five years?

_____

In the next ten years?

_____

48. What are your visions for your subordinates within the next five years?

_____

In the next ten years?

_____

49. What are your goals for the education of children and youth in your community within the next five years?

_____

In the next ten years?

_____

## PART III. FACTORS INFLUENCING YOUR CAREER

50. For each of the factors listed below, please check in the first column those which you think facilitated (or continue to facilitate) your success in your career, in the second column those you consider as hindrances, and in the third column those that did not influence your career. You may check more than one column for any item if such is the case. For instance a factor may have facilitated your college studies but may be a hindrance in your present work practices.

| | Facilitating Factors | Limiting Factors | No Effect |
|---|---|---|---|
| Father's modeling | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Father's encouragement/motivation | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Father's adherence to religious norms | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Father's deviation from religious norms | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Father's social status | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Mother's modeling | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Mother's encouragement/motivation | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Mother's adherence to religious norms | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Mother's deviation from religious norms | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Mother's social status | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Financial support from parents | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Family size | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Your birth order in the family | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Close family ties | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Community norms and traditions | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Family religious beliefs | _____ | _____ | _____ |

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ASQ page 6

| | Facilitating Factors | Limiting Factors | No Effect |
|---|---|---|---|
| Family's preference for school | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Accessibility of preferred school | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Affordability of preferred school | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Government scholarships/financial aid | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Other government programs | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Government policies | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Private scholarships/financial aid | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Other programs of private organizations | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Personal goals/ambition | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Personal beliefs and values | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Academic achievements | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Co-curricular activities | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Study habits | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Work habits | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Education (degree earned) | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Training experiences | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Other work experiences | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Being a member of an ethnic minority | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Being a woman | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Encouragement by co-employees | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Cooperation of co-employees | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Beliefs and values of the majority group | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Practices of the majority group | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Organizational structure of government schools | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Husband's encouragement/motivation | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Husband's financial support | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Husband's social status | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Others (please specify) | | | |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

51. If you cited family religious beliefs as a factor influencing your career development and practices, please name and describe those religious beliefs.

_____

_____

52. From those you checked in the first column in Item 50 choose the five most important factors and describe how each enhanced your career success.

a) _____
b) _____
c) _____
d) _____
e) _____

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ASQ page 7

53. From those you checked in the second column in Item 50 choose the five most limiting factors.

a) _____
b) _____
c) _____
d) _____
e) _____

54. Please explain the things you have to give up or sacrifice, if any, in order to achieve your career goals.

_____

55. What country do you consider as your country?

_____

56. What do your parents consider as their country?

_____

57. What would you like other Muslim youth to consider as their country?

_____

58. If you are married, what does your husband consider as his country?

_____

59. What would you like your own children to consider as their country?

_____

60. Please explain other benefits or concerns that you might have as a Maranao Muslim career woman which have not been asked about so far.

_____

**Thank you very much for your cooperation!**

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# Appendix D

## Employee Survey Questionnaire



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# EMPLOYEE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire contains items that pertain to yourself and your career. It has three parts: (1) socio-demographic profile, (2) career development experiences, work practices, and visions, (3) factors that enhance or limit your career.

Some questions will involve recall of your past experiences. Please answer each item as accurately and honestly as you can.

## PART 1. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

1. Your present employment position _____

2. Number of years you have held your present job _____

3. Number of years you have been employed in government schools or university _____

4. Your employment status
   [ ] Permanent [ ] Probationary [ ] Temporary
   [ ] Others (please specify) _____

5. Number of years you were employed in other public or private organizations _____

6. Your appropriate age group as of your last birthday

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [ ] 21 - 25 | [ ] 36 - 40 | [ ] 51 - 55 |
| [ ] 26 - 30 | [ ] 41 - 45 | [ ] 56 - 60 |
| [ ] 31 - 35 | [ ] 46 - 50 | [ ] 61 - 65 |

7. The number of brothers and sisters you have
   Brothers _____ Sisters _____

8. Number of brothers and sisters who have a college education
   Brothers _____ Sisters _____

9. What is your birth order in the family, that is, are you the first child, second, third, etc.? _____

10. Is your father descended from a royal family? [ ] Yes [ ] No

11. Is your mother descended from a royal family? [ ] Yes [ ] No

12. What is the highest educational attainment of your father? _____

13. What is the highest educational attainment of your mother? _____

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ESQ page 2

14. What was your father's occupation when you were in ...
college? _____
high school? _____

15. What was your mother's occupation when you were in ...
college? _____
high school? _____

16. How would you describe your adherence to Islamic teachings espoused by religious leaders in your community?
[ ] follow all teachings very strictly
[ ] follow most of the teachings
[ ] follow only a few of the teachings

17. How would you describe your father's adherence to Islamic teachings popularized by religious leaders in your community?
[ ] follow all teachings very strictly
[ ] follow most of the teachings
[ ] follow only a few of the teachings

18. How would you describe your mother's adherence to Islamic teachings propagated by religious leaders in your community?
[ ] follow all teachings very strictly
[ ] follow most of the teachings
[ ] follow only a few of the teachings

19. How many wives has your father? _____

20. If your father has more than one wife, please indicate the order of your mother, that is, if she is the first wife, second wife, etc. _____

21. Yours civil status
[ ] Single [ ] Married [ ] Divorced
[ ] Separated [ ] Widow

22. The total number of children you had _____

23. The number of living children you have now _____

24. Highest educational attainment of your husband (Please indicate the degree(s) he has earned, if applicable.) _____

25. His occupation _____

26. Is your husband descended from a royal family? [ ] Yes [ ] No

27. How many wives has your husband? _____

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ESQ page 3

28. If your husband has more than one wife, please indicate your order as a wife that is, are you the first, second, third, etc.? _____

29. How would you describe your husband's adherence to Islamic teachings popularized by religious leaders in your region?
    [ ] follow all teachings very strictly
    [ ] follow most of the teachings
    [ ] follow only a few of the teachings

30. Name at most three ulama (religious leaders) who have greatly influenced your religious beliefs and practices.

    First: Name _____
    Address _____

    Second: Name _____
    Address _____

    Third Name _____
    Address _____

## PART II. CAREER DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES, PRACTICES, AND VISIONS

31. Your highest educational attainment (Please specify the degree(s) you have earned.) _____

32. Did you ever attend a madrasah school? [ ] Yes [ ] No

33. If yes, up to what grade level? _____

34. If no, please state the reason for not attending a madrasah school.
    _____

35. Indicate the type of government-recognized school, college, or university you attended for each educational level applicable to you.

| | Primary Grades | Inter-mediate | College | Masteral Studies | Doctoral Studies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Government school | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Private non-sectarian sch. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Private Islamic school | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Private Catholic school | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Private Protestant school | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

36. As a child or an adolescent, what level of education did you aspire to attain in your adulthood? _____

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ESO page 4

37. As a child or as an adolescent, what kind of occupation did you aspire to have in your adulthood? _____

38. As a child or as an adolescent, what leadership roles did you aspire to have in your adulthood? _____

39. Please indicate the leadership experiences you had in school or in your community when you were in :
    a) the elementary grades _____
    b) high school _____
    c) college _____
    d) graduate school. _____

40. Honors and awards you received up to the present
    _____
    _____
    _____

41. List the training you had for your present job. (If there were more than 3, name only the 3 most important ones.)

| Type | Duration | Indicate whether Public or Private Sponsor |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

42. Other work experience which prepared you for your present job

| Type | Duration | Indicate whether Public or Private Sponsor |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

43. In what aspects of your job do you consider yourself most prepared?
    _____

44. In what aspects of your job do you feel a need for more training?
    _____

45. What leadership practices of your administrator do you consider most effective in helping you perform your present job?
    _____

46. What do you consider least effective?
    _____

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ESQ page 5

47. What are you career goals within the next five years?

_____

In the next ten years?

_____

48. What are your visions for your co-employees within the next five years?

_____

In the next ten years?

_____

49. What are your goals for the education of children and youth in your community within the next five years?

_____

In the next ten years?

_____

PART III. FACTORS INFLUENCING YOUR CAREER

50. For each of the factors listed below, please check in the first column those which you think facilitated (or continue to facilitate) your success in your career, in the second column those you consider as hindrances, and in the third column those that did not influence your career. You may check more than one column for any item if such is the case. For instance a factor may have facilitated your college studies but may be a hindrance in your present work.

| | Facilitating Factors | Limiting Factors | No Effect |
|---|---|---|---|
| Father's modeling | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Father's encouragement/motivation | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Father's adherence to religious norms | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Father's deviation from religious norms | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Father's social status | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Mother's modeling | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Mother's encouragement/motivation | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Mother's adherence to religious norms | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Mother's deviation from religious norms | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Mother's social status | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Financial support from parents | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Family size | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Your birth order in the family | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Close family ties | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Community norms and traditions | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Family religious beliefs | _____ | _____ | _____ |

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ESQ page 6

| | Facilitating Factors | Limiting Factors | No Effect |
|---|---|---|---|
| Family's preference for school | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Accessibility of preferred school | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Affordability of preferred school | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Government scholarships/financial aid | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Other government programs | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Government policies | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Private scholarships/financial aid | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Other programs of private organizations | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Personal goals/ambition | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Personal beliefs and values | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Academic achievements | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Co-curricular activities | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Study habits | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Work habits | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Education (degree earned) | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Training experiences | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Other work experiences | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Being a member of an ethnic minority | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Being a woman | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Encouragement by co-employees | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Cooperation of co-employees | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Beliefs and values of the majority group | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Practices of the majority group | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Organizational structure of government schools | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Husband's encouragement/motivation | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Husband's financial support | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Husband's social status | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Others (please specify) | | | |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

51. If you cited family religious beliefs as a factor influencing your career development and practices, please name and describe those religious beliefs.

_____

_____

52. From those you checked in the first column in Item 50 choose the five most important factors and describe how each enhanced your career success.

a) _____
b) _____
c) _____
d) _____
e) _____

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ESQ page 7

53. From those you checked in the second column in Item 50 choose the five most limiting factors.

a) _____
b) _____
c) _____
d) _____
e) _____

54. Please explain the things you have to give up or sacrifice, if any, in order to achieve your career goals.

_____

55. What country do you consider as your country?

_____

56. What do your parents consider as their country?

_____

57. What would you like other Muslim youth to consider as their country?

_____

58. If you are married, what does your husband consider as his country?

_____

59. What would you like your own children to consider as their country?

_____

60. Please explain other benefits or concerns that you might have as a Maranao Muslim career woman which have not been asked about so far.

_____

**Thank you very much for your cooperation!**

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# Appendix E

## Ulama Interview Guide



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## ULAMA INTERVIEW GUIDE QUESTIONS

1. What Islamic tenets concerning the primary functions or duties of women do you teach among the communities you serve?

2. What Islamic teachings regarding education of men and women do you espouse?

3. What Islamic principles regarding employment of women outside the home do you teach?

4. What Islamic principles regarding leadership and management roles for women do you espouse?

5. Please cite and explain Islamic tenets distinguishing between rights and obligations of male and female Muslims which you propagate among the *ummah* you serve.

6. Has there been changes in you emphasis of those teachings through the years of your service as an alim?

7. How do you assess the adherence of Maranao Muslims to the Islamic teachings you cited in questions 1 - 5 above.

   Please describe any difference in adherence to those teachings between the groups identified below:

   a) members of the traditional royal families and the commoners,

   b) the rich and the poor,

   c) the educated and the non-educated,

   d) those who have travelled to other Islamic countries and those who have not,

   e) those who have considerable dealings or association with Christians and those who have minimal or none at all.

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# Appendix F

## Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire - Form XII



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THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Business Research

College of Business
1775 College Road
Columbus, OH 43210-1399

Phone 614-292-5031
FAX 614-292-1651

January 20, 1994

Ms. Carmelita S. Lacar
2000 Goldsworth Valley, Apt. W-3
Kalamazoo, MI 49008

Dear Ms. Lacar:

We grant you permission to use the **Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire - Form XII (Actual)** as part of your dissertation research. Please follow the guidelines on the attached Statement of Policy.

Please use the attached Order Form when placing your order.

Sincerely yours,

John M. Mills, Director
Administration and Budget

ahr

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## DEFINITION OF THE LBDQ-12 SUBSCALES[a]

Each subscale is composed of either five or ten items. A subscale is necessarily defined by its component items, and represents a rather complex pattern of behaviors. Brief definitions of the subscales are listed below:

1. Representation - speaks and acts as the representative of the group. (5 items)
2. Demand Reconciliation - reconciles conflicting demands and reduce disorder to system. (5 items)
3. Tolerance of Uncertainty - is able to tolerate uncertainty and postponement without anxiety or upset. (10 items)
4. Persuasiveness - uses persuasion and argument effectively; exhibits strong convictions. (10 items)
5. Initiation of Structure - clearly defines own role, and lets followers know what is expected. (10 items)
6. Tolerance of Freedom - allows followers scope for initiative, decision, and action. (10 items)
7. Role Assumption - actively exercises the leadership role rather than surrendering leadership to others. (10 items)
8. Consideration - regards the comfort, well being, status, and contributions of followers. (10 items)
9. Production Emphasis - applies pressure for productive output. (10 items)
10. Predictive Accuracy - exhibits foresight and ability to predict outcomes accurately. (5 items)
11. Integration - maintains a closely knit organization; resolves inter-member conflicts. (5 items)
12. Superior Orientation - maintains cordial relations with superiors; has influence with them; is striving for higher status. (10 items)

---

[a]Source: R. M. Stogdill. (1963). Manual for the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire - Form XII, (p. 3). Columbus, Ohio: Bureau of Business Research, College of Commerce and Administration, The Ohio State University. Used with permission of the publisher.

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# Appendix G

## Review of the Research Instruments



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Mamitua Saber Research Center
Mindanao State University
Marawi City, Philippines

SUMMARY OF PANEL'S COMMENTS ON THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS OF CARMELITA S. LACAR

1. GENERAL

In general the committee finds the four questionnaires applicable to the social context of Muslim Filipinos. All the questionnaires do not contain any item that seem to be culturally offensive to Islam. neither would they provoke the sensibilities of the potential respondents. Therefore, the panel sees no reason why there would be response errors attributed to these problems.

A potential problem noted by the panel is the length of three of the instruments. This could interfere with work schedule of the respondents and may become a reason for refusal to be interviewed or to fill up the instrument.

2. LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOR QUESTIONNAIRE

The only difficulty the panel finds might surface will be that if the instruments are left to the respondents to fill up themselves some items may not be as intelligible as they purport to be since they contain esoteric American expressions. These questionnaire items are:

Item 1 - pep talk
Item 2 - stride
Item 3 - needles
Item 5 - madhouse

For these, an additional explanation in the form of a synonym may be needed. Interviewers themselves will have to be thoroughly briefed about the meaning of these expressions so that they can explain their meaning properly

3. ULAMA INTERVIEW GUIDE

It would be helpful to ask the ulama (for items 1

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Namitua Saber Research Center
Mindanao State University
Marawi City, Philippines

2) to think of one or two belief system of the Muslims so as not to tax their imagination of the entire belief system of the Muslims.

4. ADMINISTRATOR AND EMPLOYEE INSTRUMENT

There are again American idioms which are likely not to be understand. An example: give up or put up with (item 54).

For the Panel

FEDERICO V. MAGDALENA, Ph.D.
Director of Research &
Professor of Sociology
Mindanao State University
Marawi City

Mailing Address P O Box 5594, 9200 Iligan City, Lanao del Norte, Philippines

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# Appendix H

## Permits to Conduct Research in the Public Schools



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2000 Goldsworth Valley, Apt. W-3
Kalamazoo, MI 49008
January 25, 1994

Dr. Armand Fabella
Secretary
Department of Education
Palacio del Gobernador
Intramuros, Metro Manila
Philippines

Dear Dr. Fabella:

I am writing this letter to request official permission from your office to conduct a research among Maranao Muslim women employees in educational institutions within the two provinces of Lanao. This study is for my dissertation for a Ph.D. in Educational Leadership which I am taking at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, Michigan.

The study shall focus on the leadership practices, career development experiences, and visions of the Maranao Muslim women educational administrators. In addition, triangulating and comparative data shall be obtained from other Maranao Muslim women employees in government schools who are not administrators.

Although participation in the study shall be completely voluntary on the part of the respondents who shall be randomly selected, I am requesting an official permission from your office in order to avoid any undue hesitancy on the part of regional and district officials to release the names and addresses of prospective respondents. I also hope that an official sanction from your office shall avoid any doubt on the part of the selected respondents regarding the research and the researcher.

It is my hope that this study shall contribute toward expanding the scanty knowledge about Filipino Muslim women leaders as well as in serving some informational needs of pertinent government institutions and programs designed to promote the welfare of the Filipino Muslims.

Enclosed is an abstract of my proposed study for your perusal. Also enclosed is my resume for your evaluation of my interest and qualifications to conduct the research. I hope to start the research as soon as I receive your official sanction.

Very respectfully yours,

Carmelita S. Lacar
Carmelita S. Lacar

Endorsed by:

ULDIS SMIDCHENS, Ph D
Adviser

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Republic of the Philippines
Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
**DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SPORTS**
Cotabato City

**1st Indorsement**
**DECS-ARMM Regional Office**
Cotabato City, August 23, 1994

Respectfully forwarded to the Schools Division Superintendent, Division of Marawi City, Lanao del Sur, the herein letter communication of Mrs. Carmelita S. Lacar, with its enclosure, granting her request for official permission to conduct a research entitled "Your Division

It is recommended that necessary action be taken thereon and/or be informed accordingly.

ABDULMAJEED D. ANSANO
Regional Secretary

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Republic of the Philippines
Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
**DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SPORTS**
Cotabato City

**1st Indorsement**
**DECS-ARMM Regional Office**
**Cotabato City, August 23, 1994**

Respectfully endorsed to the Schools Division Superintendent, Division II, Malabang, Lanao del Sur, the herein letter dated August 22, 1994 of Mrs. Carmilita S. Lacar, resident of Grageda Compound. Tambo, Iligan City, together with the enclosure pertaining to her request for official permission to conduct a research within Division II of Lanao del Sur , with information that this Office has granted her request.

It is hoped that necessary assistance be extended her and/or her representative in implementing her research study.

**ABDULMAJEED D. ANSANO**
Regional Secretary

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Republic of the Philippines
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, CULTURE & SPORTS
Region XII
Cotabato City

1st Indorsement
August 22, 1994

Respectfully referred to the Schools Division Superintendent for Lanao del Norte, the herein attached basic communication of Carmelita S. Lacar which is self-explanatory relative to the gathering of statistical information and conducting interviews with selected respondents in his division.

It is desired that assistance be extended to the researcher or her representative in the accomplishment of the study.

MAKIL U. HUNDRODAYA, JR. HAJ
Director IV

JJ5/AN

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Republic of the Philippines
Department of Education, Culture and Sports
Region XII
DIVISION OF CITY SCHOOLS
Marawi City

October 6, 1994

The School Administrators
This Division

Dear Sir/Madam:

Please extend your assistance to Dr. Luis Q. Lacar and his assistants of the Research Consultancy and Data Processing; Iligan City, who will approach you personally to administer some questionaires regarding Muslim Women Leaders.

Hoping for your consideration on this matter.

Very truly yours,

DR. OLINDANG G. DIMAAMPAO
Asst. Schls. Div. Superintendent

/CMA

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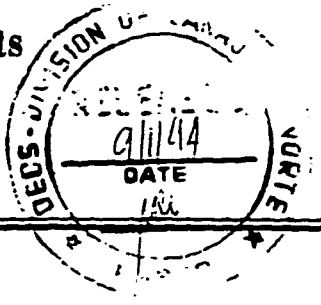
Republic of the Philippines
**Department of Education, Culture and Sports**
REGIONAL OFFICE NO. XII
**DIVISION OF LANAO DEL NORTE**
Tubod




September 1, 1994

MEMORANDUM:

To: All Zone Supervisors
Coordinating Principal
Elem. and Secondary Principal
This Division

Fr: Superintendent Nabandes A. Gubat
Division of Lanao del Norte

Subject: Conduct Research Within the Division

This will be presented to you by Mr. Luis Q. Lacar of [illegible]-IIT who will conduct research within the division for his particular purpose.

Please extend him courtesy.

NABANDES A. GUBAT
Asst. Schools Div. Superintendent
In-Charge of the Division

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## Appendix I

Permit to Conduct Research in Mindanao State University



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2000 Goldsworth Valley, Apt. W-3
Kalamazoo, MI 49008
January 25, 1994

Dr. Emily Marohombsar
President
Mindanao State University
Islamic City of Marawi
Philippines

Dear Dr. Marohombsar:

I am writing this letter to request official permission from your office to conduct a research among Maranao Muslim women employees in all campuses of Mindanao State University within the two provinces of Lanao.

The study shall focus on the leadership practices, career development experiences, and visions of the Maranao Muslim women administrators having at least a rank of principal or dean or director. In addition, triangulating and comparative data shall be obtained from other Maranao Muslim women employees of MSU who are not administrators.

Although participation in the study shall be completely voluntary on the part of the respondents who shall be randomly selected, I am requesting an official permission from your office in order to avoid any undue hesitancy on the part of the university's personnel officers to release the names and addresses of prospective respondents. I also hope that an official sanction from your office shall avoid any doubt on the part of the selected respondents regarding the researcher and the research.

It is my hope that this study shall contribute toward expanding the scanty knowledge about Filipino Muslim women leaders as well as in serving some informational needs of pertinent government institutions and programs designed to promote the welfare of the Filipino Muslims.

Enclosed is an abstract of my proposed study for your perusal. Also enclosed is my resume for your evaluation of my interest and qualifications to conduct the research. I hope to start the research as soon as I receive your official sanction.

Very respectfully yours,

Carmelita S. Lacar

Endorsed by:

ULDIS SMIDCHENS, Ph D
Adviser

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم



**MINDANAO STATE UNIVERSITY**
Marawi City, Philippines

May 24, 1994

Ms. Carmelita S. Lacar
2000 Goldsworth Valley Apt. No. W-3
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008

Dear Ms. Lacar:

We welcome your choice of MSU campuses within the two provinces of Lanao as locale for your very interesting study on Filipino Muslim women leaders and their leadership. Indeed we cannot more agree with you that existing empirical studies on the subject should be extended. It is a relatively untilled acreage, hence, the alacrity with which we grant you official sanction to conduct your study in our campuses.

It might interest you to know that the first and only Center for Women Studies in the region is based in our Marawi Campus. One of the objectives of the Center is to develop a new breed of Muslim women leaders who are independent-minded, assertive in the performance of their role in society as partners in nationbuilding, and doing/ working at their self-actualization. In fact such a study as you are undertaking could have been initiated by the Center.

We wish you the best of luck. We hope that soon we can add your work to our still modest collection of literature on Filipino women leaders.

Very truly yours,

EMILY M. MAROHOMBSAR
President

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