

## **Chapter IV**

### **Muslim Religious Beliefs Related to Family Planning**

The central theme of this Chapter is the religious beliefs of the Muslims in the Philippines related to family planning. On one hand, many Western demographers and population experts claim that there are several religious beliefs of the Muslims, in general, that favor high birth rates. They claim further that many of these beliefs are indigenously special with the Muslim culture while the rest are beliefs that they share with other religions.

On the other hand, many Muslim religious authorities argue that Western scholars draw their alleged observations from historical traditional patterns of behavior rather than from the contemporary scene. Moreover, they feel that while it may be true that many Muslims still cling to their traditional patterns, it is not the important factor to explain high Muslim natality. Accordingly, they advance ignorance or unawareness of family planning and its specific components on the part of the Muslim population as the more influential variables affecting Muslim fertility.

Even in the assumption of Western scholars that certain religious beliefs of the Muslims are supportive of high fertility rates, in the absence of a solid foundation for that claim it is not safe to conclude that the same is based on Islamic doctrines (Holy Qur'an and Prophetic Traditions). However, it may be part of what sociologists call "folk" religious beliefs, which are the popular beliefs and customs, as distinguished from Islam in its doctrinal and classical form. It is in this context that a better understanding of the true stance of Islam on family planning may be realized.

A. GENERAL RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF THE MUSLIMS RELATED TO FERTILITY

According to some demographers and scholars, as well as population experts in the field of population policy, there are certain general religious beliefs and practices of the Muslims in general that can explain a great deal of their family planning behavior, more particularly their high natality behavior. These include, among others, the beliefs in marriage and value of children, the son's value, fate, and the Muslims' anti-Western attitude.

**Belief in Marriage and Value of Children**

In Islam, marriage is a social institution which is sacred. Prophet Muhammad underscored this sacred aspect of marriage by saying that: "He who marries completes half of his religion."<sup>1</sup> It is a sacred contract which every Muslim must enter into, unless there are several reasons why he should not. Thus, in the Holy Qur'an, it is said: "Marry among you who are single and those who are fit among your male slaves and your female slaves; if they are needy, Allah will make them free from want of His grace; ...And let those who do not find a match keep chaste until Allah makes them free from want of His grace."<sup>2</sup>

As to the basic goals of marriage in Islam, the Holy Qur'an states: "The Creator of heaven and earth: He hath made you pairs yourselves, and of the cattle also pairs, where He multiplieth you. Naught is as His likeness; and He is the Hearer, the Seer." It will be noted that in the preceding verse, the multiplication of the human race is mentioned as one of the prime objects of marriage. In fact, the family as the real unit of society and the human race and the first cohesive force which makes civilization possible, owes its existence solely to marriage.<sup>3</sup>

Procreation or multiplication, as one of the objectives of Islamic marriage, was also emphasized by the Holy Prophet but with certain conditions. Prophet Muhammad said: "Marry among yourselves and multiply... I shall make a display of you before other nations in the Day of Judgment." The Holy Prophet has

stressed in his tradition regarding multiplicity in marriage that quality is more important than quantity of children.

In the Philippines, the Muslims generally share and perhaps dogmatically accept the belief that Islam obliges them to marry and multiply. For instance, a part of the Maranao's obligation as a Muslim is to marry, raise children and submit to the will of Allah, although not necessarily in that order. As a matter of fact, it is generally considered an obligation of the Maranao Muslim who has a daughter of marriageable age to "go to the market" and advertise his marriageable daughter. He must do everything moral to have his daughter married off. Toward this end, Maranao children, in particular, usually show unmitigated obedience and undue respect for their elders to the point that they cannot question the mates their parents have chosen for them.<sup>4</sup>

In the past, marriage among Muslim Filipinos was often arranged by the parents of the couple, hence, marriage based purely on romance was rare. Today, however, romantic marriage is on the rise because of the breakdown of traditional restrictions, especially for those living in more "modernized" communities. In arranging the marriage of their children, parents strongly believe that they can enhance the chances in life of their offspring and at the same time add to the prestige of the family. The daughter is not normally consulted; usually her parents do not care if she likes the young man or not. They think that their decision is for the best.

Notwithstanding that the father has the legal right of compulsion over his daughter, nowhere does the Holy Qur'an and the Holy Prophet speak with approval of such coercive authority. The girl or the boy, as the case may be, is given the freedom to choose his future mate, but only along the lines of Islamic tradition. Such freedom is curtailed when it is feared that a woman will engage in sexual misbehavior, in which case the guardian or even the community may force her to marry in order to protect her and other people she may likely offend. In Islam, public morality and integrity take priority over personal freedom when they come into conflict.<sup>5</sup>

The Muslim Filipinos, especially the Maranaos, hold valuable fertility or the ability of a man or a woman to procreate as many children as possible. Newly-married couples are enjoined to produce as many children as possible, to have "flowing children" or to give birth to one "matful" of children. Hence, a person who is infertile is looked down upon as a useless or unfortunate being.

From all indications, the Maranaos greatly value having many children, usually referring to the Qur'anic verse which says that "a child is a gift from God." Aside from this attitude, parents also consider their children as a source of financial returns and an index of influence in the community. Maranao girls are prized for the dowry they will command and much is done to increase their worth. In this respect, girls are treated much like commodities.

On the whole, Maranao Muslims give much importance to fertility in men and women. The special importance attached to fertility points to the need for a Maranao to have a large clan or a large family because of the belief among them that the level of power, prestige, and honor is measured in terms of the number of followers a person has.<sup>6</sup>

In his research about the Tausug world, Bruno reports that, like the Maranao, the Tausugs consider marriage as one the significant stages in the Tausug life cycle. Marriage among them is also motivated by a design to extend kinship relations, besides love and sexual satisfaction. As a people, the Tausugs like to have children and they consider marriage unhappy without an offspring. Thus, the stage leading to childbirth, like pregnancy, is given distinct attention.<sup>7</sup>

The Maguindanao Muslims likewise consider large families as necessary. A man with many sons and daughters is held in higher esteem than one with fewer or no children, not only by fellowmen in his locality but also by the *datu*. Kin relationship is strong among the Maguindanaons and having a family with many members means more men to fight in tribal wars, work in the farms, or intermarry with other large and respected groups.<sup>8</sup>

The major Muslim ethnic groups in the Philippines, not to mention the whole Filipino Muslim population, give much significance to marriage and fertility in men and women. There are various reasons for this observation, namely;<sup>9</sup> (1) the ability to produce more children is a sign of vigor and virility in a man or a woman; (2) because much money and property is required in marriage, a Muslim male who can marry several women enjoys a high social status in the community; (3) having several children is an economic asset; (4) having many children is a socio-political asset; and (5) begetting children by different mothers improves one's blood, enlarges one's influence and increases or raises one's social standing in the community.

However, present-day Muslim Filipinos have modified their socio-cultural values relative to fertility and procreation as a result of their exposure to Western culture. But Muslim women who now use various types of family planning methods still constitute the minority. In the case of the Maranao Muslims, those who practice family planning are those who can afford to have several children on account of their health, wealth, and intelligence. On the other hand, the mass of Maranaos who belong to the low-income group are the ones who produce many children. This group does not adopt family planning because of the popular religious belief that children are Islam-given gifts; hence, birth control is not practiced under any condition. Moreover, this belief is largely based on their own interpretation of certain verses in the Holy Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions that pertain to procreation.<sup>10</sup>

### **Beliefs in the Son's Value**

In a typical Muslim community, the children are considered good investments for future security. However, sons seem to be preferred over daughters for both economic and social reasons. Sons are valued for many purposes such as: (1) to continue the family line and ownership; (2) to contribute to agricultural labor; (3) to strengthen family members in village rivalry and strife; (4) to support parents in their old age; and (5) for religious intervention at and after death.<sup>11</sup>

While the religious basis for bestowing a high preference for sons over daughters is not explicit in Islam, those who accept this religious belief sustain their position by referring to some verses in the Holy Qur'an. One such verse concerns the Islamic law on inheritance which states that: "Allah enjoins concerning your children: the male shall have the equal portion of two females; but if there are more than two females, they shall have two-thirds of what he has left, and if there is one, she shall have the other half."

From this Qur'anic verse, Western critics, including some Muslims, have inferred that in Islam, the female is held inferior to the male. This further explains the pre-Islamic discrimination against women which was carried over into present-day Islam.<sup>12</sup>

However, other Muslim scholars aver that in the Islamic scheme of the society the women are free from the usual economic responsibility. Even the wealthy wife is to be maintained by the husband, the needy sister by the brother, the mother by the son and the like. Hence, the Holy Qur'an states: "Men are the maintainers of women, because Allah has made some of them excel the other, and because they spend out their property." Consequently, a male sometimes receives a large inheritance in recognition of his manifold obligations and in partial compensation for such recognition. Needless to state, the Islamic system of inheritance is characterized more accurately by equity than by discrimination.

Historically, this persisting belief in preference for the son over the daughter has its roots in the Arab pre-Islamic practice of burying their female offspring alive (infanticide) to avoid shame and humiliation. The practice was later severely condemned by Prophet Muhammad, resulting in the revelation of a related verse in the Holy Qur'an, which says: "Do not slay your children for fear of poverty. We give them sustenance and yourselves, too."<sup>13</sup>

In the Philippines, an analysis of sex composition preferences by Stinner and Mader shows that son preference is highest in rural Mindanao and Sulu, while son-daughter equivalence is strongest in Metro Manila.<sup>14</sup>

In Maranao society, it is noted that since the male child is the future head of the family, provisions are made to make sure that he will carry out his role well. For instance, the inheritance of the male child is always bigger than that of the female offspring, since he is expected to be the future provider of the family. Furthermore, boys are valued because it is for them to increase the members of the family and of the clan, thereby increasing also the influence of the clan.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly, in the Tausug social world, the male is considered not only a provider but also a protector in times of trouble; he is expected to uphold the family honor as well. One-half of the father's actual job of fishing and farming is practically taken over by the male adolescent. He is considered an important contributor to the family income; hence, the younger siblings are constantly reminded to obey and respect him. He is even consulted by the parents on major decisions concerning the welfare of the family. Older female siblings act as mother assistants but their voices are secondary to that of their brothers. Thus, by training, the female Tausug is prone to be submissive to her male equals and eventually to her husband when she gets married.<sup>16</sup>

Manifestations of the son's value have also been observed in other Muslim ethnic groups in the Philippines. For instance, among the Jama Mapun group, there is a marked differentiation between males and females, as during meals in which men and women never eat together; men eat first and are served by the women who eat next and often in the kitchen. In the case of the Samals of Sulu, a related study reports that, normally, fathers encourage their sons to join with them on long fishing and pearl diving expeditions. They do not take their young daughters on long fishing trips even when a father has no son. The girls stay home more often, helping their mother with the housekeeping. Male preference is also noted among the Maguindanao families among whom a man with many sons is considered to be fortunate in contrast to another with no son.<sup>17</sup>

### **Fatalistic Beliefs**

Muslims as a whole share with believers of other religions some important fatalistic themes which tend to dispose them against conscious effort to control family size. But these ideas are characteristics of many traditional societies; the difference is the tenacity with which old beliefs and practices are maintained by Muslims and have continued to influence their lives today.

Some observers, especially Western demographers, suggest fatalism as one factor in Islamic pro-natalism. It is a fact that some Muslims have felt uneasy about birth control, for they regard the act as an attempt to interfere with fate. No less than the Holy Qur'an forbids the slaying of children (pre-Islamic practice associated with birth control) for fear of poverty, because the Muslims believe that God will provide for their needs as much as He provides for those of the rest of mankind. Hence, the Muslims' acceptance of an unlimited number of children.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, they believe that children are from God entrusted to the parents over whom they have certain rights to life that is emancipated from poverty and misery. According to Islam, violating these rights would constitute breach of trust and treason against children, society and religion. Thus, if the parents are confronted by health, social, and political necessities, they are allowed to employ whatever means at their disposal to limit the number of their children instead of entrusting everything to fate.

Consequently, this common belief in the active providence of God among the Muslim population has impressed on it a negative attitude toward family planning. This is further reinforced by the belief that God creates sexuality and determines barrenness or procreation.<sup>19</sup>

Such fatalistic themes as God's care, provision, and natural birth are also deeply ingrained in the socio-economic and religious life of the Muslim Filipinos. To the Muslim Filipinos, more particularly the Maranaos, a big family is ideal, economy-wise, because there will be many breadearners. There will be no starvation for "God provides for every being He creates." More or

less, this sums up the attitude of the average Maranao toward family planning.

The above discussions infer the need to deal with the traditional Muslim Filipino beliefs, specifically to the orthodox view that family planning is a form of infanticide and, therefore, it is a mortal sin.<sup>20</sup>

### "Non-Militarist" Nature of Islam

Another pro-natalist factor advanced by Western writers is the claim that Islam has a strong tradition of military conquest and cultural domination. They apparently want to find fault with Islam by claiming that it was built on and was spread by compulsion or by the sword.

However, historical accounts point to the contrary. Grunebaum, for instance, illustrates how Islam was spread through free invitation and through different ways or methods which were peaceful and moral. The propagation of Islam is a religious duty of every true Muslim, who must follow the example of Prophet Muhammad. The Holy Qur'an does not teach "the spread of Islam by force," neither did the Holy Prophet; these are facts that are now being gradually appreciated by Western thinkers.<sup>21</sup>

In the Philippines, it can be shown reasonably that the propagation of Islam was not done by the sword, as some Christian scholars believe. Neither was it undertaken by any missionary organization, political or otherwise. The spread of the faith was done largely through cultural contacts and kinship relations. This is not to deny that there were isolated cases of coercion on the part of a few enthusiastic rulers or warriors. But these isolated cases are not wholly significant to support the contention that Islam is compulsive and militant by nature.<sup>22</sup>

Religiously speaking, the Muslim Filipinos regard their territory with the institutions therein as a part of *Dar'ul Islam* (Homeland of Islam). Any foreign threat upon the land, people,

and institutions could cause *jihad* (a holy war of defense) and Muslim Filipinos turn into fierce fighters against invaders.

For instance, during the Spanish Regime, when the Spaniards, side by side with Filipino converts, repeatedly attacked Mindanao and Sulu, the Muslims retaliated by plundering the coasts of Batangas, Mindoro, and Manila Bay. These series of events created a wall of suspicion between the Christians and the Muslims, and this colonial experience has continued to divide Muslim-Christian relations up to the present.<sup>23</sup>

Across the years of struggle in the Philippines, the Muslims utilized the tremendous potentiality of religion to bring the people into general resistance against a common enemy. The Muslim leaders, who were the ones mainly affected rallied their people behind the Crescent, often portraying the wars, depredations, discriminations, etc. as *jihad*. More specifically, during the height of the so called "Moro Crisis" (1971-72), both Muslim and Christian elites who were involved gave to the Muslim-Christian conflict a religious character which it did not actually have, so pointed out certain critics.

That adherents of Islam and Christianity in the Philippines have fought each other in bitter and cruel wars is not a reflection of the basic character of either religion but rather is a result of the failure of the members of the two religions to live up to the ideals of the two kindred faiths. Islam teaches that "there is no compulsion in religion" and Christianity is a religion whose "Prince of Peace" came to earth not "to be served but to serve."<sup>24</sup>

From the foregoing discussions, it can be argued that Islam is no more militarist in nature than Christianity and the validity of the allegation made by Western demographers and writers that high Muslim fertility is a natural consequence of the militarist orientation of Islam, which requires Muslims to produce more children especially boys to spread and defend Islam, may be contested. While the preceding observation has its historical validity, we should take into consideration that the islamic injunction to adopt high fertility occurred at the period when the

numerical strength of the Muslims was small, apart from being heavily confronted from all sides at great odds by non-believers and pagans. At this juncture, the Islamic society was in dire need of followers in great numbers since, according to the circumstance then, quantity was the most effective armory against warring foes. But the Holy Prophet showed signs of discouraging mere quantity in procreating children at the time when Islam was already a well-established religion. Prophet Muhammad has, in fact, censured and denounced abundance that is feeble and unworthy to be a liability upon the nation.<sup>25</sup>

### **Anti-Western Attitude**

The bias of Western critics against Islam is not centered alone on the alleged militarist orientation of the latter but also on the claim that Islam has a history of conflict with and resistance to the West, which, in turn, the Muslims identify as the proponents of the philosophy of birth control and the techniques on family planning. Today, Islam and the modern Western world appear to confront and challenge each other and no other major religion poses such a challenge to the West.

In simple terms, Muslims must face the hard reality that Western hostility toward Islam is based not only upon historical grounds but even more upon fundamental irreconcilability between two diametrically opposed cultures.<sup>26</sup>

In the Philippines, the Muslims' response to Western and Christian challenge takes the form of suspicion and sometimes hostility. Thus, the efforts of the government agencies and others to promote the socio-economic upliftment of the Muslim Filipinos are confronted with stubborn adherence to traditional ways. The Christian majority, on the whole, are baffled by this shown hostility and conservatism of the Muslims. The tendency is to characterize the Muslim Filipinos as merely backward or unprogressive and attribute these negative characteristics to their religion. It is also felt by the Muslims that government programs executed for the Muslims are directed towards the national integration or making them part of the majority.

Despite the integration efforts of the government, the identification of Muslim Filipinos with their religion is growing stronger than ever. The Muslims frequently regard "Christian" and "Filipino" as synonymous and when asked if they are Filipinos, many will reply in the negative.<sup>27</sup>

What is needed is a recognition of the fact that the Muslim minority is one of the "givens" of Philippine national life. They are not going to be Christians and they are not going to disappear. In spite of all the threats to their minority status and the feeling of insecurity and discrimination, they will still strive to stand and continue to multiply in numbers. The Muslims constitute a strong minority that will fight for their differences and their identity.

However, proposed change in the thinking and lifestyle of the Muslim Filipinos are likely to succeed if these can be proven to be supportive of Islam.<sup>28</sup>

#### B. SPECIAL ISLAMIC FEATURES RELATED TO FERTILITY

In addition to the general religious beliefs and practices of the Muslims related to fertility behavior, there are also certain "special" Islamic features or institutions which can likewise account for the fertility attitude and behavior of Muslims worldwide. These include the Muslim's anti-celibacy attitude, belief in divorce, belief in polygamy, belief in early marriage, and the status of women.

##### **Anti-Celibacy Attitude**

Marriage in Islam is an obligation that a Muslim must fulfill, unless there is a very special reason for him not to marry. The Holy Qur'an looks upon marriage between man and woman as a matter of universal significance and of great value, a gift out of the generosity of God to His subjects. The married state, therefore, is enjoined upon all believers before obeying God's commandment to procreate and multiply. This simply means that celibacy has no place in Islam and procreation without the

blessing of marriage is strictly forbidden. In Islam, there are no other legitimate ways of procreating children outside the blessing of a Muslim marriage.<sup>29</sup>

Theoretically, Muslim doctrines hold that pleasure of the flesh, and specifically sexual intimacy, are God-given virtues to be enjoyed and conjugal obligations to be fulfilled. A celibate religious order is foreign to Islam. In traditional Muslim belief the permanent state of celibacy is abnormal for men and unthinkable for able-bodied men.

In a particular sense, the Holy Qur'an does not justify abstention from marriage as a cause of poverty, neither does it guarantee future richness. In effect, neither is marriage a source of poverty and misery, nor bachelorhood a source of richness and pleasure.<sup>30</sup>

At this point, the following question may be raised: Does an individual who defers marriage but awaits God's bounty to provide him with the means to maintain a household become a violator of the institution of marriage? The answer to this question may be drawn from relevant teachings of the Holy Prophet who said: "Marriage is my way; he who deviates from my way is none of me." This is sustained by another related message from the Prophetic Traditions: "O! young men, those of you who can support a wife should marry, for marriage keeps you from looking at strange women and preserve you from immorality; but those who cannot should take to fasting, for it is a means of suppressing sexual desire." It is obvious that permanent celibacy is explicitly forbidden by Prophet Muhammad.<sup>31</sup>

The islamic provisions on marriage apply equally to both men and women. For example, if celibacy is not recommended for men, the same is true for women; marriage is the normal course for both of them. Toward this end, it has been suggested that the best period for a woman's life is the one when she is most suited for the procreation of her race. Marriage is even more important to women since it assures them of relative security, among other advantages. This added advantage for women does not, however, picture marriage as a purely economic transaction. In fact, the least focal aspect of marriage in the precepts of Islam is the

economic factor, no matter how powerful this may have been in other ideologies. No less than the Holy Qur'an recommends marriage to the spouseless and the pious even though they may be poor or slaves.

Moreover, in Islam, the individual cannot reserve the right to marry or refuse to marry according to his own will. A person who declines to marry without a good reason is described as disloyal to the Muslim community; he is likened to a "parasite" and a "robber."<sup>32</sup>

To the Muslim Filipinos, marriage connotes the building of a house and a person should prepare for it early. For instance, when a Maranao reaches the age of puberty and is still unmarried, people would tell him: why are you destroying your children? Moreover, a male or a female who remains unmarried after puberty is thought to live a life of a chicken who does not hatch its eggs. For this reason, Maranao boys and girls are paired off by their parents at a very early age. In his study of the Yakan of Basilan, Sherfan also finds that a girl who remains single when she is long past puberty is believed to have bad luck with men and is disliked. Unfavorable comments will necessarily be made against her by the community, and they can be embarrassing.<sup>33</sup>

### **Belief in Early Marriage**

No particular age is specified for marriage in the Islamic law; in fact, with the difference in climatic conditions, there would be difference as to the marriageable age in different countries. But the Holy Qur'an does speak of an age of marriage which it identifies with the age of majority.

In Islam, marriage of minors may be allowed in the presence of marriage guardians, i.e., parents, and provided further, that final consummation must be delayed until both parties have reached the age of puberty.<sup>34</sup>

This perennial problem concerning early marriage has been dealt with substantively by most Islamic nations through the promulgation of general principles and rules of Islamic law governing the legal age of marriage. Under Muslim law, a girl is

legally considered to be of major age when she begins to menstruate. The early age of menstruation is nine but in the absence of any evidence of her puberty, the girl's age of majority is sixteen years. A boy is considered major when he starts getting night pollution which starts at age twelve, otherwise a boy is considered as major at the age of eighteen.<sup>35</sup>

In the Philippines, the Muslim Code has defined, among others, the minimum age for marriage among Muslim Filipinos based on the *Shari'a* Law to be fifteen and puberty for Muslim male and female, respectively.

Cainglet, in her study of the marriage customs of the Tausug, has observed that Muslim girls usually marry young, the marriage being arranged by the parents. Betrothal usually takes place just a week or month after the birth of a son or a daughter. A similar study on the Tausug marriage customs indicates that, in remote cases, engagement is negotiated even before a child is born.<sup>36</sup>

Maglangit, commenting on the marriage customs of the Maranaos, reports that the age at marriage of the Maranaos tells something about their status categories. They marry as young as ten years old, generally at the age of fifteen or over, hence, the consequences of such marriages oftentimes result in divorce because the couple hardly know each other before marriage.<sup>37</sup>

In a related study, Ong observes that the basic reason for early marriage among the Maranaos is their desire to perpetuate the genealogy of the clan. They believe that the earlier the marriage, the greater the chances of having a large family. Another reason that came out of the study is the belief that early marriage ensures stability of the young couple since their parents would make it a point to help the couple become economically sufficient.<sup>38</sup>

Nonetheless, while the early marriage customs and traditions of the Muslims give preference to early marriage, the recent practice of delaying marriage until the parties are in their thirties or forties is quickly becoming popular in the Muslim world. It is also becoming common among young men to view

early marriage with misgivings. Although the requirements of modern life and the long period needed for education and professional training are to some extent responsible for the rise of delayed marriage rates, there are other important reasons, i.e., the requirement of dowries and male economic incapacity.

The increasing trend towards delayed marriage in Muslim populations has led a considerable number of Muslims to condemn the practice as unIslamic, or at least as very non-Islamic. They pose the warning that if no convenient measures are undertaken to combat the practice, the situation would lead to the subsequent contretemps: (1) it may bring to open vice an increasing number of girls whose urge for sex is unchecked by any ethical or religious constraint in their search for a lawful husband; (2) it may lead to marriages between couples of widely different ages, that entail disharmony in outlook and, consequently, engender tension in the family and strain the relations between wife and husband; and (3) the residue of experiences of unmarried life usually casts a shadow on the behavior and attitude of the couple towards each other and, therefore, lead to psychological misunderstanding.<sup>39</sup>

### **Belief in Polygamy**

As a general rule, Islam recognizes the union of only one man and one woman as the valid form of marriage. Under exceptional circumstances, however, it allows a man to have more wives than one, but it does not allow the woman to have more than one husband. It is explicitly stated in the Holy Qur'an: "And if you fear that you cannot act equitably toward orphans, then marry such women as good to you, two and three and four; but if you fear that you will not do justice (between them), then (marry) only one." Although it is the only passage in the Holy Qur'an that speaks of polygamy, in fact, it does not enjoin polygamy; it only permits it, and that conditionally.

Nevertheless, Islam brought about reforms and restrictions on the practice of polygamy. First, it limits to four the maximum number of wives that a man could have at a time. Second, Islam made it a condition that there must never be, for any reason, discrimination or favoritism between the wives or their children.

Lastly, a man has the right to decide to have a number of wives provided his financial condition or resources permit him to make that step. As one may note, all these conditions in practicing polygamy are related more to the welfare of the society than to the needs of the individual.

It can be concluded that while Islam supports monogamy as the right rule of life under normal conditions, when abnormal conditions are present, polygamy can be employed as a remedy for many evils of modern civilization. It is not only the preponderance of females over males that necessitates polygamy in certain cases, but other circumstances may allow its adoption for physical and moral welfare of the society.<sup>40</sup>

In the Philippines, almost the first thing about the Muslim Filipinos which springs to the minds of the Christian majority is the fact that the religion of the former permits them to have more than one wife, and the notion that divorce is a simple matter among them. What is not generally understood by non-Muslims is that only a very small percentage of Muslim Filipinos have more than one wife; that monogamy, not polygamy, is more often the rule than the exception.

Educated Moros are rather sensitive about this divergence from the usual Philippine mores and claim that polygamy is not favored by the more progressive group; however, it is a favorite topic for discussion and vigorous criticism of the practice is rare. The story is often repeated that Prophet Muhammad introduced the practice in order to provide husbands for women whose actual or potential mates had been killed in war. Another favorite type of defense is the assertion that the "querida system" among the Christian Filipinos is really a form of polygamy without the safeguard that is provided by Islamic institutions. It has been said in fact that "what is secretly and illegitimately done by the Christian man is openly and legally practiced by his Muslim counterpart." Plural marriage, although now in decline due to growing education, is still considered a special privilege and a status symbol for the Muslim elite.<sup>41</sup>

Commenting on the Maranao way of practicing polygamy, de los Santos states that in the Maranao society, having two or

more wives is considered a sign of affluence, an indication of importance. The taking of another wife is one way of sealing much desired agreement of friendship or of acquiring much needed capital for business or for political purposes. A man who has wives in a number of districts has an advantage during elections and on other occasions. According to Saber and Isidro, a Maranao who has four wives establishes relationship with four families, which in the local community are solid and closed units.<sup>42</sup>

Among the Tausug group, Kiefer reports from his study: The Tausug practices polygamy in the rare instance in which a man can support more than one wife. Separate households are always maintained if the co-wives are of the same age or, if not, they may live together. There are more unmarried women than men due to the high male death rate from feuding. The greater female sex ratio is only partially offset by polygyny; financial considerations weigh heavily against a man who wants more than one wife unless he is a headman or otherwise wealthy.<sup>43</sup>

Kiefer's report suggests that there seems to be a certain amount of social pressure against polygamy among the Tausug Muslims. Along this line, Bruno observes that polygamy is not practiced by the majority and it is even more rarely, if at all, by educated Tausugs.

In social gatherings, a Tausug's additional wives are looked upon as "interlopers" and relegated to the background. Even so, in those cases when plural marriage occurs, the first wife (whose approval he must get before a second marriage) tends to dominate the other wives and more often than not the situation is irksome for all concerned.<sup>44</sup>

Rivers has also observed that in Maranao society if a man has several wives, the first wife is the head wife and has the right to inherit the husband's property in case of death. In case of quarrels between the wives in the same household, it is the husband who settles everything. In the Maranao society, the superiority of the first wife is partly due to the fact that the second wife and the succeeding ones are usually lower in social status relative to that of the first wife.<sup>45</sup>

Polygamy is also a popular device used by the Muslims in executing God's commandment to procreate as early and as many as possible. Madale reports that in some cases, a fertile Maranao resorts to polygamy in order to increase his chances of procreating several children. This is corroborated by Pahm in a related Maguindanao study which indicates that in case a Maguindanao couple remains childless for three years, the husband has the option to marry another woman without necessarily divorcing the first wife, unless the latter refuses to give her consent to the second marriage. Lukman also claims in his study that among the Tausug and Samal Muslims, a failure to beget children is enough justification for multiple marriage on the part of the Muslim male.<sup>46</sup>

Like any other religious practice, polygamy tends to be abused by some Muslim men, not in accordance with Islam but on the basis of their economic capacity to support extra wives when the first one is no longer productive. From a related study by Wulff, it was revealed that among the Yakan Muslims, the belief still persists that the Holy Qur'an does not limit the number of wives that a man can have at one time. In spite of this misconception, however, most Yakan men have only one wife, and very few have more than three wives.<sup>47</sup>

By now, it becomes clear that it is not easy for a Muslim male to be polygamous.

### **Belief in Divorce**

The Islamic view of marriage as a social contract provides marriage, thereby, a rationale for the separation of married couples if the terms of the contract are not observed by either party. Divorce is the necessary corollary of the freedom given to men and women to choose their partners.

The principle of divorce is supplied by the following verses in the Holy Qur'an: "And if you fear a breach between the two, then appoint a judge from his people and a judge from her people; if they both desire agreement, Allah will affect harmony between them; surely Allah is Knowing, Aware." The principle of

divorce lies in a disagreement to live together as husband and wife, and it is the process to be adopted when a rupture of marital relations is feared.<sup>48</sup>

Islam leaves room for divorce as an undesirable necessity but not as a right to be excessively used. If a couple deems it impossible to live together after exhausting all means of conciliation and arbitration it has to and it may separate. This suggests that Islam is strongly against divorce and wants it avoided as much as possible. Islam considers as an enemy of God the *mutallaq* (divorcer).

The impression that a Muslim husband may put away his wife from mere caprice is a grave distortion of the Islamic institution of divorce. The fact is that the final break-off of a marital relation is discouraged in many other ways and every chance is offered to the parties to maintain the conjugal tie, even after differences have arisen leading to divorce. Every divorce must be followed by a period of waiting called *idda*: "O! Prophet! when you divorce women, divorce them after their *idda*."<sup>49</sup>

Among the Muslim Filipinos, the husband may divorce his wife without reason, even capriciously, but the wife may sue only on grounds of her husband's cruelty or lack of maintenance. The most common causes of divorce include: failure of the husband to support the family, incompatibility, quarrels over financial matters, sterility or barrenness of the wife, refusal of the woman to accept a co-wife, and others.<sup>50</sup>

Customs differ from place to place. Divorce is not a simple matter of the husband pronouncing three times, "I divorce you." Some Muslim areas are adhering more closely and strictly to Islamic law than others. Commenting on divorce as practiced by the Maranao Muslims, de los Santos makes the following remarks:

Divorce is another practice which is common among the Maranaos. As in the case of polygyny, the Lanao Muslim goes to the Qur'an for his justification. He argues that the many Qur'anic verses which regulate divorce indicate that the sacred book sanctions its practice...Maranao divorce is unilateral. A man may divorce his wife at will but a

woman may not divorce her husband unless he has treated her cruelly or has left her alone without proper maintenance or has been guilty of any other similar offense of commission or omission.<sup>51</sup>

Divorce is not regarded as a bad institution by the Tausug society but rather as something "ordinary." According to Ducommun, a Tausug couple is not ostracized or in any way punished for seeking to settle their marital problems by means of divorce. However, the community frowns upon a man or a woman guilty of adultery that causes the divorce.

In the Yakan cultural life, the husband has the right to divorce his wife, but only if he has a valid reason. On the other hand, if a woman insists on getting a divorce, she must return the bride price to her husband, usually after settlement has been made by the *agama* court. However, if the husband does not agree to a divorce, there is nothing the wife can do.<sup>52</sup>

While divorce as an Islamic institution occurs more often than polygamy, the frequency of its occurrence differs among the different Muslim Filipino groups. De los Santos observes among the Maranaos that "divorce is common," whereas among the Yakan, Wulff finds divorce as "quite unusual." In Zamboanga, Alfanta observes that among the Maguindanao Muslims there, "divorce is not popular." Kiefer likewise indicates in his study that among the Tausug, the "divorce rate is low" due to some cultural factors.<sup>53</sup>

### **Status of Women**

Much has been said about the status of women in the Islamic society. Misleading anti-Islamic propaganda from the West usually concentrate on this issue as one of its main battlefronts. In response to such challenge, many Muslim scholars have tried to present the correct picture of a Muslim woman in a truly Islamic society, rather than defending Islam against such biased propaganda.

Materially as well as spiritually, Islam recognizes the equal position of woman to man in many aspects of life. For this purpose, the Holy Qur'an promulgates the doctrine of human equality, including sex equality, in a comprehensive verse which negates all inequalities due to sex, race, nationality, caste or tribe. Says the Holy Qur'an: "O! people be careful (your duty to) your Lord. Who created you from a single being and created its mate of the same (kind) and spread from these to many men and women." In the same manner, Prophet Muhammad constantly reminds his followers that female children should be treated in the same manner as male issues.<sup>54</sup>

Strictly speaking, however, a woman is not perfectly equal to man in all aspects. Within the Islamic context, there are two basic reasons for giving a slightly higher authority to the husband compared to his wife in governing a family. First, he is responsible for the general welfare of the family. The other reason is that this type of authority requires more rationality than emotionality.

Historically, the place of women in the traditional Muslim society was usually a subordinate one. While the position of women is changing rapidly in the more progressive Moslem states, earlier attitudes are reflected for example in the low level of education of Muslim women. Male dominance within marriage is thus strengthened by the greater education of males and by the differences in age at marriage-women are characteristically married young to more mature men, usually in their twenties.

Within the Philippine social setting, de los Santos observes that the practice of polygyny and divorce suggest the fact that among the Lanao Muslims, there is marked differentiation between men and women which amounts to discrimination against the latter. That while this view is changing, discrimination against Maranao women still persists in the Maranao society, a value reflected in a number of aspects of Maranao life. Moreover, a large proportion of them are still denied the educational opportunities which should be accorded to them. A typical Maranao woman leads a more or less secluded life.<sup>55</sup>

However, recent developments in the Muslim society have somewhat elevated the position of Muslim women. According to

Maglangit, the Maranao woman who used to be cloistered in the home now has a voice of her own and an independent will. She is already receptive to new roles required in modern living such as home management as well as participative decision-making in community services.

Catapusan also concludes in her study that contrary to common knowledge that Maranao wives are passive, they actually participate in making family decisions. This changing role of the Maranao wives can be attributed largely to the influence of education.<sup>56</sup>

In regard to educational opportunities, Muslim men were privileged to go to school while the women, in general, were neglected and confined to the home. For instance, the rural Maguindanao Muslims of Cotabato fear to send their daughters to school because their parents believe that they would end up marrying Christian men.

Umpa, on the other hand, discloses in her study that education is now gaining greater attraction among Maranao women, especially those residing in Marawi City. As an indication of change, Maranao educated women are presently allowed to engage in office work and to undertake other commitments outside of the home. Surprisingly, they have now ventured in different fields of professional endeavor which were previously considered as exclusive to the men.<sup>57</sup>

Ducommun gives this description of the status of Samal Muslim women in Sisangat:<sup>58</sup>

All of the men interviewed recognized the wife as the head of the household... Women are responsible for the handling of money. A wife purchases whatever she deems a necessity and she need not consult her husband on the matter; if a man wished to make a purchase he must obtain permission from his wife... Although the woman is the financial head of the household and shares equally in family decisions, marital arguments can and do lead to physical violence wherein a man strikes his wife.

**She never accepts this treatment meekly even if she may be at fault (here again one witnesses the independent nature of the Samal woman).**

The above passage points to the fact that there are isolated places where one may identify the "independent-mindedness" of Muslim Filipino women as against the popular impression of low woman status in Islam. With some more elaboration, Hunt has reported that among the Yakan Muslims, the segregation of women, which one is inclined to expect in a Muslim community, would be very difficult to reconcile with the whole culture of the Yakan, where men and women generally share in most community activities. On other points, also, the position of the Yakans differs from the Islamic norm, even in one case being contrary to the Holy Qur'an, for sons and daughters inherit equally, whereas the Holy Qur'an lays down that a daughters' inheritance shall be only half as big as a son's inheritance.

In relation to fertility, the Muslim Filipino culture has made it a point that a Muslim woman can gain status and power in the Muslim community only by becoming a mother of many sons and one day ruling an extended family. Eventually, her security and stable position in the Muslim society lies on her ability to produce many children.<sup>59</sup>

Theoretically, therefore, it is the wife's obligation to be sexually cooperative and to make herself attractive and considerate in as much as the husband's right to sexual access is inalienable. On the part of the husband, he must not also interfere with the natural course of sexual relationship. For instance, the husband may not apply any contraception technique like *azl* or the like without the consent of the wife. For all practical purposes, while the woman in Islam is not perfectly equal to man, she is different, and she completes him by supplementing his approach to life with her own. Briefly, she is here on earth not so much to compete with him as to cooperate with him.<sup>60</sup>

### c. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the study has presented the Islamic doctrines directly or indirectly related to family planning, and how the Muslim Filipinos interpret and adhere to these doctrines. These Islamic doctrines include in particular those dealing with marriage, the son's value, fatalistic beliefs, the non-militarist nature of Islam and the islamic anti-Western attitude. They also include the so-called special Islamic features related to fertility such as the anti-celibacy attitude, polygyny, early marriage, divorce, and status of women.

Theoretically speaking, it can be deduced that Islam is not as pro-natalist in its doctrinal position on family planning as pictured by the Western demographers and scholars. While it allows marriage institutions of polygamy and divorce, it has set strict conditions to safeguard the sanctity of a monogamous marriage and to prevent the abuse of such allowed practices. In other words, these two institutions of marriage are resorted to only in emergency cases when no other moral solutions to marital problems are available. Furthermore, the Prophet has encouraged quality over quantity in the procreation of children. The Holy Qur'an also has some implicit verses which support the Prophetic Tradition on the adaptation of certain measures to temporarily control rapid population growth, such as the two-year lactation period it prescribes to a married Muslim woman.

In practice, however, as indicated by the various sociological and demographic studies conducted on the different Muslim Filipino groups, the true doctrinal position of Islam on marriage and family planning are not strictly followed, and in many instance even openly violated. For instance, the conditions provided by the Holy Qur'an on the practice of polygamy and divorce are being violated by certain sectors of the Muslim society. This can be accounted for by the "folk" religious beliefs of the Muslims in the Philippines which are their local versions or interpretations of the classical Islam as laid down in the Holy Qur'an and Prophet Traditions. The "folk" religious beliefs reflect to a great extent the pre-Islamic or non-islamic beliefs of the Muslim Filipinos such as the love and strong desire for power,

prestige, and honor which in their own perception could only be achieved by having a very big clan.

Thus, the accusation of the Western demographers and scholars that Islam has a universal "taste" for high fertility is empirically valid for Muslims who still cling to their past non-Islamic customs and traditions, such as the case of the Muslim Filipinos, especially those living in the remote areas. Nevertheless, they are not theoretically acceptable as far as the true doctrinal position of Islam on marriage and family planning is concerned.

## NOTES

1. A.M. Said Salama, *A Progressive Faith for a Dynamic World* (Cairo: al-Karnak Publishing House, Inc., no date), p. 74.
2. Alhaji A. Ajijola. *Introduction to Islamic Law* (Karachi: International Islamic Publishers, 1981), pp. 146-147.
3. Anwar A. Qadri, *Islamic Jurisprudence in the Modern World* (Lahore: Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, 1981), p. 359.
4. The Holy Prophet has, in fact, censured and denounced abundance that is feeble, unworthy and a liability upon the nation. For particular references: See Abdullah T. Madale, "The Maranaw Socio-Cultural Values Related to Fertility," speech delivered before the Population Education Curriculum Workshop for Muslims, Zamboanga City, 28 April 1977, pp. 1-3; Constancia Pada, "Socialization Patterns of the Maranaos of Camp Amai Pakpak, Marawi City and Their Implications for Education," (Ph.D. dissertation, Centro Escolar University, 1974), p. 151.
5. See Thomas Kiefer, *The Tausug: Violence as a Law in a Philippine Moslem Society* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), p. 39; See also R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (London: Unwin, 1907), p. 87; Ati, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
6. Madale, "Maranaw Socio-Cultural Values," *op. cit.*, pp. 3-8; See also Virginia R. Maglangit, "The Role of the Educated Maranaw Muslim Women in a Contemporary Maranaw Society," (M.A. thesis, Philippine Women's University, 1971), p. 63; Benjaminita M. Ong, "A Psychological Study of the Customs, Mores and Taboos of the Maranao in Lanao del Sur," (M.A. thesis, Far Eastern University, 1969), p. 119.
7. Juanito R. Bruno, *The Social World of the Tausug: A Study in Culture and Education* (Manila: Centro Escolar University Research Development Center, 1973), p. 89.

8. Nunggo E. Pahm, "The Maguindanao Socio-Cultural Values Relative to Fertility," speech delivered before the Population Curriculum Workshop for Muslims, Zamboanga City, 27, April 1977, p. 3.

9. Madale, "Maranaw Socio-Cultural Values," *op. cit.*, p. 6.

10. Pada, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

11. Dudley Kirk, "Factors Affecting Moslem Natality," in Bernard Berelson (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 568-569.

12. See Raphael Patai, *Sex and Family Life in the Bible and the Middle East* (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1959), pp. 224-225; See also Ati, *op. cit.*, p. 269; *The Holy Qur'an*, Sura 4, v. 11. The Principles of inheritance law are laid down in broad outline in the Holy Qur'an; the precise details have been worked out on the basis of the Apostle's practice and of his Companions and by analogy and interpretation.

13. See *The Holy Qur'an*, Suras 2:228, 17:31 and 6:152; The pre-Islamic Arabs were addicted to female infanticide. In a society perpetually at war, a son was a source of strength whereas a daughter was a source of weakness. This crime against children's lives is here characterized as one of the greatest sins.

14. William F. Stinner and Paul D. Mader, "Sons, Daughters or Both? An Analysis of Sex Composition Preferences in the Philippines," *Demography*, Vol. 12, no. 1 (1975), pp. 67-69.

15. Ong, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-119.

16. Bruno, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

17. See Casino, *op. cit.*, p. 171; See also Nena S. Benton, "Child Rearing Among the Samal of Manubul, Siasi, Sulu," in Gowing and McAmis (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 158; Pahm, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

18. See Kirk, in Berelson et al., (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 569; Abbas Amar, "Psychological and Social Aspects of Family Planning," in Olivia Schieffelin (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 32.

19. See Marie, *op. cit.*, p. 22; See also Shaïd Ibrahim al-Dasuqui and Shaikh Khalaf al-Sayid Ali, "Islam and Birth Planning," in *Islam and Family Planning*, Vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Fagley, in *World Population Conference*, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

20. See Abdullah T. Madale, "Notes on the Attitudes of Maranaws Toward Family Planning," speech delivered at the Seminar on Family Planning, Dansalan College, Marawi City, 24 September 1971, (mimeo), p. 3; See also Madale, "Maranaw Socio-Cultural Values," *op. cit.*, p. 6; Pahm, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Villavicencio, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.

21. See Ali Z. Ramadan, *No Compulsion in Religion* (Tripoli: Libyan Islamic Call Society, 1976), (Pamphlet), p. 8; See also Muhammad Akram, *A Look at the West* (Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd., 1971), p. 192; G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Modern Islam: The Search for Cultural Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 6; Mohammed T. Oweida, *Islamic-Christian Relationship*, (UAR Embassy in the Philippines, 1971), (Pamphlet), p. 87; Muhammad A. Zahra, "Concept of War in Islam," *Studies in Islam*, Series No. 2 (1961), p. 19; Muhammad Qutb, *Islam: The Misunderstood Religion* (Kuwait: Darul Bayan Bookshop, 1964), p. 310.

22. See Samuel K. Tan, *Selected Essays on the Filipino Muslims* (Marawi City: Mindanao State University Research Center, 1982), p. 48; Cesar A. Majul, "Islamic and Arab Cultural Influences in the South of the Philippines," paper read at the Africasian Seminar on Art, Literature, and Culture, Lahore, Pakistan, February 1965, p. 8. (mimeo)

23. A very great misconception prevails with regard to "jihad" as a religious duty in Islam. Western scholars define "jihad" as a kind of war undertaken for the propagation of Islam. But the real meaning of "jihad" is the struggle to the utmost of one's capacity or the highest form of self-discipline. See Mamitua Saber, "Maranao Resistance to Foreign Invasions," *Mindanao Art and Culture* (Marawi City: Mindanao State University Research Center, 1979), No. 3, p. 274; See also Tan, *ibid.*, p. 271 and p. 49.

24. See Mamitua Saber, "Majority-Minority Situation in the Philippines," *Mindanao Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1 (July-October 1974), p. 16; See also Gowing, *Horizon*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

25. Marie, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

26. See Kirk in Berelson et al., *op. cit.*, p. 569; See also Muhammad K. Hassan, "The Western Media's Anti-Islam Bias," *Al Nahdah* (a quarterly magazine of the Regional Da'wah Council of Southeast Asia and the Pacific) 1 (July-September 1981), p. 24; Maryam Jameelah, *Islam in Theory and Practice* (Lahore: Allahwala Printers, June 1978), pp. 387-388.

27. See Peter G. Gowing, "Christian and Moros: The Confrontation of Christianity and Islam in the Philippines," *Southeast Asia Journal of Theology*, 10 (January 1969), pp. 89-98; Alunan C. Glang, "Modernizing the Muslim," *Solidarity*, 4 (March 1969), p.7; Antonio Isidro, "The Muslim Filipinos and Islam," in Saber and Isidro (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 44.

28. Gowing in Gowing and McAmis (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 290-292.

29. See Muhammad al-Madani, "The Moderation of Islam," *Studies in Islam Series* (Cairo: The Supreme Islamic Affairs, 1961), pp. 32-33; Josefina Villaries, "A Study of Muslim Culture and Traditions in Parang District," (M.A. thesis, Philippine Harvardian College, 1975), p. 78.

30. See Kirk in Berelson et al., *op. cit.*, p. 570; Atay, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

31. Sharabassy, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

32. See Maududi, *Birth Control*, *op. cit.*, p. 88; See also Ati, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Abul Ala Maududi, *Purdah and the Status of Women in Islam* (Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd., 1972), p. 95.

33. See Madale, "Maranao Socio-Cultural Values," *op. cit.*, p. 5; Andrew Sherfan, *The Yakans of Basilan: Another Unknown*

and *Exotic Tribe of the Philippines* (Cebu City: Fotomatic Philippines, Inc., 1976), p. 69.

34. See *The Holy Qur'an*, Surah 4:6; Edward A. Westermack, *A Short History of Marriage* (New York: The Macmillan, 1962), p. 30; Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam* (Cambridge: University Press, 1957), pp. 106-107; Maulana Ali, *The Religion of Islam* (Cairo: National Publications and Printing House, no date), pp. 618-619.

35. Tanzil Ur-Rahman, *A Code of Muslim Personal Law* (Karachi: Hamdard National Foundation, 1978), Vol. 1, pp. 63-66.

36. See P.D. 1083, *op. cit.*, art. 16(1); See also Frank J. Ewing, "Some Rites of Passage Among the Tausugs of the Philippines," in Gowing and McAmis (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 135; Emeterio B. Cainglet, "The Marriage Customs in, Bongao, Sulu and Their Educational Significance," (M.A. thesis, University of San Carlos, 1966), p. 45; Bruno, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

37. Maglangit, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

38. Ong, *op. cit.*, p. 117; See also Sherfan, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

39. Muhammad Shamsuddin, "Muslim Outlook on Family in Changing Society," in *Islam and Family Planning*, Vol. 1, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

40. See *The Holy Qur'an*, Sura 4:3 (This verse was promulgated after the "Battle of Uhud" when the Muslim community was left with many orphans and widows and some captives of war); See also Murtada Mutahhari, *The Rights of Women in Islam* (Tehran: World Organization for Islamic Services, 1981), pp. 390-398; Villaries, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

41. See Gowing, *Horizon*, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Chester L. Hunt, "Ethnic Stratification and Integration in Cotabato," in Gowing and McAmis (eds.) *op. cit.*, p. 202.

42. Isidro in Saber and Isidro (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 51; See also De los Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

43. Kiefer, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
44. Bruno, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
45. See Generoso F. Rivera, "The Maranao Muslims in Lumbayao, Lanao," *Philippine Sociological Review*, 8 (January-April 1960), pp. 3-4; De los Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
46. Madale, "Maranao Social-Cultural Values," *op. cit.*, p. 6; See also Pahm, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Abdul H. Lukman, "The Tausug and Samal Socio-Cultural Values Related to Fertility," speech delivered before the Population Education Curriculum Workshop for Muslims, Zamboanga City, 27 April 1977, p. 2. (Mimeo)
47. See Guimaludin G. Guiam, "Some Notes and Observations on the Traditional Practice and Customs Involved in Marriage Among the Rural Maguindanaons of Cotabato," *Maguindanaons: Resources and Prospects for Development*, 10 (October 1980), p. 46; Inger Wulff, "Features of the Yakan Culture," in Gowing and McAmis (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 253.
48. See *The Holy Qur'an*, Sura 4:35 & 130; Mohammad Siddiqi, *Women in Islam* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1979), p. 85
49. See Salama, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Mutahhari, *op. cit.*, p. 262; *The Holy Qur'an*, Suras 33:37, 4:19, and 65:1. A period of waiting (*Idda*) for three monthly courses is prescribed, in order to see if the marriage conditionally dissolved is likely to result in issues, i.e., pregnancy of the wife. But this is not necessary when the divorced woman is still a virgin.
50. See Rufino de los Santos, "Developing a Revised Program for the Dansalan Junior College High School," (Ph.D. dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1961), p. 77; Kiefer, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
51. De los Santos, in Gowing and McAmis (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 236.

52. See Dolores Ducommun, "Bisangat: A Sulu Fishing Community," in Gowing and McAmis (eds.), *ibid.*, p. 141; Sherfan, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

53. See De los Santos in Gowing and McAmis (eds.), *ibid.*, p. 236; Wulff, *op. cit.*, p. 253; Filemon Alfanta, "The Maguindanaos in Zamboanga," (M.A. thesis, Immaculate Concepcion College, 1972), p. 34; Kiefer, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

54. See Salama, *op. cit.*, p. 72; See also Mohammad Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22; Ahmad Shalaby, *Islam: Belief, Legislation and Moral* (Cairo: Renaissance Bookshop, 1970), p. 316; *The Holy Qur'an*, Sura 4:1.

55. See Kirk in Berelson et. al., *op. cit.*, p. 571; De los Santos in Gowing and McAmis (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 237; The investment of instrumental authority in the husband does not mean that he excels or is superior in every way. Men excel in certain respects and so do women. For instance, man excels woman in physique and constitution, whereas woman excels in qualities of love and affection.

56. See Virginia R. Maglangit, "Maranaw Muslim Women in Contemporary Society," *Philippine Educational Forum*, 21 (April 1972), pp. 13-20; Flora D. Catapusan, "The Maranao Family: A Descriptive Study of Family Traits," *Study Series*, No. 16 (1963), p. 77.

57. See N. Lou, "Bai Hadji Matabay Plang: A Princess on the Move," *Focus*, 5 (February 5, 1977), pp. 16-17; See also Saira Umpa's Masteral thesis on Maranao Women at University of the Philippines.

58. Ducommun, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

59. See Wulff, *op. cit.*, p. 253; Isabel R. Aleta, Teresita Silva and Christine Eleazar, *A Profile of Filipino Women* (Manila: Philippine Business for Social Progress, 1977), p. 222.

60. See George P. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 3; Vassey A. Fitzgerald, "The Alleged Debt of Islamic to Roman Law," *Law Quarterly Review*, Vol. 67 (1951), p. 43.