

answer before choosing any side in the fray. There is large elbow room for research on these matters. Judges, social scientists, social workers—all these have something to contribute to the mind of the researcher.

It is felt by some that if spouses are given ample time to work out their personal difficulties, marriages will be saved and children spared the shame and the difficulties brought upon them by the estrangement and divorce or separation of their parents. Divorce would give too ready a remedy, especially where the laws are lax and easy. Human nature be-

comes ever too willing to grasp at the nearest available log, instead of trying to work out plausible solutions to the stormy voyage on the marital sea.

Eventually, the sociologist must come back to the dictum that each case must be studied individually. Each case calls for its own solution. Behavioral patterns are worked out only after the bases for those patterns have been closely scrutinized and analyzed. Only after all these can one claim the right to speak of human behavior, or propose solutions to social problems.

Moslem Values: A Challenge to Education*

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In this paper the term "Moslem" is used in a narrow sense referring to the Maranaws, the Moslem Filipinos who constitute the major portion of the population of Lanao. This province has now been divided into Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur. "Values" mean those rules of conduct by which the members of a group shape their behavior and from which they derive their hopes.¹ Considered as such, values serve among others, the functions of (1) giving the group a common orientation and supplying the basis not only of individual action but of unified, collective action as well, (2) serving as the basis for judging the behavior of individuals, and (3) fixing the sense of right and wrong, fair

and foul, desirable and undesirable, moral and immoral.

Moslem Values: Their Source. The attitudes and practices of the Lanao Moslems stem from traditional Mohammedanism, the words of the *Koran*, the Moslem *Bible*. The Moslem interpretation of such injunctions and dispensations are reflected in their attitudes and behavior. A number of Maranao practices will clarify this point.

(1) *Polygyny.* The Maranaws practise polygyny which finds support in some local customs. Having two or more wives is considered a sign of affluence, an indication of importance. The size of land that a man owns and the number of carabaos that he possesses indicate his economic status, as they do in other parts of the Philippines. But in Maranao society even more indicative of such status is the number of wives that a man can and does support.

* Interest in this subject derives from the fact that the author was once a Jolo Moslem who has lived among Moslems all his life.

¹ B. Othanel Smith, William O. Stanley, and J. Harlan Shores, *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*, rev. ed. (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1957), pp. 59-61.

The taking on of another wife is one way of sealing a much desired agreement of friendship or of acquiring much needed capital for business or political purposes. A man who has wives in a number of districts draws support from those districts during election times and on other occasions. A second, or a third, or a fourth marriage may be the means of bringing together into cooperative relationship two families between whom there is misunderstanding which may develop into open hostilities.

The first wife may actually prevail on the husband to take home another wife so that she can be relieved of much of the household drudgery. In such a case, the second wife would most probably be selected from a lower class.

But the basic argument of the Lanao Moslem for this practice of polygyny is that, as a Moslem, he is allowed by the *Koran* a maximum of four wives. This dispensation is found in a portion of Surah IV, v. 3, which reads as follows:

And if ye fear that ye will not deal fairly by the orphans, marry of the women, who seem good to you, two or three or four . . . [italics supplied]

The Philippine Government is painfully aware of this divergent practice of its Moslem citizens in Lanao. In a spirit of wise tolerance, the Government has written this awareness into the laws of the land. Thus, while the Civil Code outlaws the contracting of polygamous or plural marriages, the Moslems are exempt from the operation of this provision by the following dispensation:

Marriages between Mohammedans or pagans who live in the non-Christian provinces may be performed in accordance with their customs, rites or practices. No marriage license or formal requisites shall be necessary. . . .²

However, this exemption is temporary, extending to over a period of twenty years.³ The Government apparently hopes that by the end of that interim—that is, by 1969—the Moslems will have adjusted themselves, or will have been helped to adjust themselves, to conform to the general law of the country prohibiting the practice of polygyny.

(2) *Divorce*. Divorce is another practice which is common among the Maranaos. As in the case of polygyny, the Lanao Moslem goes to the *Koran* for his justification. He argues that the many Koranic verses which regulate divorce indicate that the sacred book sanctions its practice. Such verses as the following would seem to justify his stand:

Ye may divorce your wives twice: keep them honourably, or put them away with kindness. . . .

But if the husband divorces her a third time, it is not lawful for him to take her again, until she shall have married another husband; and if he also divorces her, then shall no blame attach to them if they return to each other, thinking that they can keep within the bounds fixed by God. (Surah II, vs. 229 and 230)

These Koranic injunctions must have suggested the following provision of the law of the Mindanao Moslems:

If a man divorces his wife three times, or a slave divorces his wife twice, it shall not be lawful for him, the man, to marry again [the same woman] before the divorced woman is married to another person [and has been divorced by this second husband].⁴

² *Civil Code of the Philippines* Art. 78 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1949).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "The Luwaran," Art. LIX in Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1905), pp. 66-78.

Maranaw 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. And even in such a case, she has to give back the dowry that was settled on her upon marriage. She retains this only if the husband initiates the divorce proceedings.

The same provision of Philippine law which outlaws polygamous marriages prohibits the practice of divorce; and the same dispensation which recognizes the existence of polygyny among the Moslem Filipinos also permits the institution of divorce among them—until 1969.

(3) *Discrimination against Women.*

The practice of polygyny and that of divorce suggest the fact that among the Lanao Moslems there is a differentiation between men and women which amounts to discrimination against the latter. As a matter of fact, traditional Moslem law in Mindanao draws a somewhat uncomplimentary picture of women, a picture that classifies them as less than men and in the same category as hermaphrodites. This is obvious in the article:

The blood money for the life of a woman or of a hermaphrodite shall be half that of a man; so also shall the fines for wounding a woman be rated as half those for wounding a man.⁵

Another article reiterates this half-a-man's worth valuation of woman in a provision which sets forth that a daughter may inherit only half as much as a son.⁶

While this view is changing, discrimination against women still persists in Lanao Moslem society, a value that is reflected in a number of aspects of Maranaw social life. The Maranaw woman

leads a more or less secluded life. She is deprived of the broadening influence, the educative effect, that social contacts bring about. A large proportion of Maranaw women are still denied the educational opportunities which should be theirs. More and more girls are being sent to the elementary school, but only a few finish high school and those who get to college constitute an exception.

Another significant fact in that in Maranaw society the woman has no legal personality. Throughout life she is more or less completely attached to one person or another, to her father or some other nearest kin and, after she is married, to her husband.

This attitude, which places woman on a level lower than that of man, shows how Maranaw day-to-day living is circumscribed by Koranic prescriptions, or what the Maranaws think and believe are such. In this particular case, they apparently have support in the words of Surah IV, v. 38:

Men are superior to women on account of the qualities with which God hath gifted the one above the other, and on account of the outlay they make from their substance for them. Virtuous women are obedient, careful, during the husband's absence, because God hath of them been careful. But chide those for whose refractoriness ye have cause to fear; remove them into beds apart, and scourge them: but if they are obedient to you, then seek not occasion against them.

The Lanao Moslems could quote a number of other similar passages.

Moslem Social Values: A Challenge to Education. Because of their peculiar customs and traditions, the Moslem Filipinos pose a problem of integration—the problem of drawing them into the body politic, of persuading them to take to the ways of thinking and doing which they are called upon to exemplify as Filipino citizens. One clear proof that

⁵ *Ibid.*, Art. LVIII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Art. LXXX.

the Philippine Government considers this a major problem is the addition to the structure of Philippine bureaucracy of the Office of the Commission on National Integration.

Perhaps the best hope for the solution of this problem lies in education. As a matter of fact, the Philippine Constitution enjoins the schools, among other things, "to teach the duties of citizenship." This objective can be construed for the schools in Moroland as helping to draw the Moslem Filipinos within the body politic. At any rate, the Moslem Filipinos pose a challenge for Philippine education.

That education can be a vehicle for the redirection of Maranaw attitudes is anchored on the following assumptions:

1. Basic to attitude-change is the opportunity for the individual or group whose attitudes are to be modified to engage in intelligent critical analysis of the ways of tradition in the light of the new system of values;

2. The school is a proper medium for such necessary critical examination of values;

3. Bound as they are to the rest of the Philippine population by the ties of a common racial ancestry, an identical history, and a common commitment to the new Philippine nation, the Maranaws, like the rest of the Moslem Filipinos, would take to the attitudes and practices implicit in the role of Filipino citizens which they have voluntarily assumed if it can be shown to them that there is actually no conflict between such requirements and the demands of their Islamic religion;

4. The Maranaws could take to such attitudes and practices without having to become recreant to their duties as faithful Moslems.

(1) *Necessity for Culture-Analysis*. Attitudes can be changed.⁷ Basic to attitude-change, however, is the opportunity for the individual or group whose attitudes are to be modified for intelligent critical analysis of the ways of tradition in the light of the new system of values and beliefs. William Heard Kilpatrick, a pioneer propagator of this position, wrote:

... good conscious teaching, the right kind of education, can help overcome the indoctrination of the status quo, as it can make more intelligent the questioning of those who suffer injustice. The whole thing really boils down to whether intelligence is to be given free play in social affairs, free play to find what to do, free play to devise new plans of action as these may prove necessary and put them into effect. If most of our people are bound by uncriticized ideas, the practical question becomes one of education of a kind that frees people from the tyranny of mere tradition into the ability and disposition to weigh and judge and act on merits.⁸

A number of studies have since underscored the validity of this stand.⁹

(2) *Role of the School in Culture-Analysis*. The second assumption is that

⁷ See, for example, Muzafer Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 238; Gordon W. Allport, "Attitudes," Carl Murchison (ed.), *A Handbook of Social Psychology* (Worcester, Massachusetts: Clark University Press, 1935), pp. 798-844; Theodore M. Newcomb, "Attitude Development as a Function of Reference Groups: The Bennington Study," *The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Readings in Social Psychology* (third edition; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1958), pp. 274-75.

⁸ William Heard Kilpatrick, "The Culture and the Individual," *Democracy and the Curriculum*, Third Yearbook of the John Dewey Society (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939), p. 307.

⁹ See, for example, Newcomb, *loc. cit.*; Kurt Lewin, and P. Grabbe, "Conduct, Knowledge, and Acceptance of New Values," *Changing Attitudes and Behavior*, Publication No. 3 of the Research Center for Group Dynamics, Department of Economics and Social Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1945), pp. 1-12.

the school is a proper medium for creating the conditions conducive to the critical analysis indicated above. Kilpatrick gives support to this assumption in his assertion that "good conscious teaching, the right kind of education" can help man to break away from the strangle hold of tradition. Grove Samuel Dow asserts that it is only upon the resolution of the problem of distinguishing between the socially undesirable and the useful aspects of the culture that democratic education may be justified.¹⁰ And John Dewey has referred to the school as a special environment in which each individual gets an opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group in which he was born.¹¹

Enough research has been done to bolster this position. This is the conclusion that Lavonne Hanna arrives at after examining a number of studies and experimental programs on the development of attitudes.¹²

(3) *Maranaw Disposition to Change.* That the Maranaws have not yet taken to quite a number of the attitudes and practices which they are expected to exemplify as Filipino citizens is due mainly to their feeling that there is a conflict between the requirements of Philippine citizenship and the demands of Islam. As former Senator Domocao Alonto has said, many Moslems were at first opposed to Philippine independence in the thought that the resulting situation would be unfriendly to the free exercise of their Islamic religion.¹³ If it could be shown to them that there is really no

conflict between the requirements of Philippine citizenship and the demands of Islam; if it could be shown to them that there is, in fact, a spirit in Islam which lends support to such requirements; if it could be shown to them that they could take to the attitudes and practices of Philippine citizenship without having to become recreant to their duties as faithful Moslems—it would seem reasonable to entertain the idea that the Maranaws would accept the values of Philippine citizenship as they have already assumed their role as Filipino citizens.

(4) *Islam and Social Change.* The fourth assumption is that the Maranaws could take to the attitudes and practices implicit in their role as Filipino citizens without their having to become recreant to the injunctions of Islam.

There are ideological and socio-historical bases to back up this assumption. That there is a spirit in Islam which makes it amenable to social transformation is the consensus of quite a number of scholars, many of them Moslems. As early as the 1880's Moulavi Cheragh Ali harped on the necessity and feasibility of reforms in Islam. He wrote:

Mohammedans have interpreted the Koran as giving sanction to Polygamy, Arbitrary Divorce, Slavery, Concubinage, and Religious Wars. But the strongest witness against all these errors is the Koran itself.¹⁴

He went on to indicate Koranic support for his stand. This view has been reaffirmed again and again by the leading Moslem scholars.¹⁵

¹⁰ Grove Samuel Dow, *Society and Its Problems* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1937), p. 69.

¹¹ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), pp. 22-26.

¹² Lavonne Hanna, "Experimental Programs and the Development of Social Attitudes," J. Paul Leonard, and Alvin C. Eurich (eds.), *An Evaluation of Modern Education* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942), p. 145.

¹³ Azhar Ali Khan, "The Philippines and Its Moros," *The Christian Science Monitor*, February 20, 1961, p. 3.

¹⁴ Moulavi Cheragh Ali, *Proposed Political, Legal and Social Reforms under Muslim Rule* (Bombay, India: Education Society's Press, 1883), p. xxxii.

¹⁵ See, for example, Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam* (amplified and revised edition; London: Christophers, 1922); Zaki Ali, *Islam in the World* (Lahore, India: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1938); The Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, *Islam: To East and West* (Woking, England: The Woking Muslim Mission, 1935), Mahmud Shaltout, "Islamic Beliefs and Code of Laws," *Islam—The Straight Path*, Kenneth W. Morgan, (ed.) (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958):

The history of most of the Moslem countries in the last few decades has witnessed the implementation of this liberal spirit. In Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Pakistan, Indonesia, Afghanistan, and other Moslem lands there has been a social ferment and revolution which has upset old attitudes and uprooted traditional practices.¹⁶ And the people there have remained good Moslems.

Likewise, the Maranaws and the rest of the Moslem Filipinos can become performing Filipino citizens and still remain faithful Moslems. The school can bring this home to them.

Implications of the Challenge. To meet the challenge posed by the Maranaws, the schools in Lanao will have to revise their curriculum. The revision will have to be made (1) on the basis of Maranaw deficiencies and needs from the standpoint of Philippine citizenship, (2) in terms of what is known today of the school as a proper medium for the critical examination of values looking towards change or redirection of such values, (3) with the idea of making full use of the reform spirit in Islam which Moslem scholars have been underscoring for the last few decades, considering that the Maranaws look to the *Koran* for guidance in their day-to-day living, and (4) with the correlative idea of taking into consideration the social ferment and revolution, implemental of the revisionist thinking in Islam, which has been rocking the Moslem world as a whole in recent history, in view of the fact that the Maranaws look to the rest of the Mos-

lem world for examples in the matter of living the Islamic way.

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¹⁶ See, for example, Edward M. Dodd, and Rose Wilson Dodd, *Mecca and Beyond* (Boston: The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, 1934); Ilse Lichtenstadter, *Islam and the Modern Age* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1958); Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Islam in Modern History* (New York: The New American Library, 1957); Charles E. Watson, *What Is This Moslem World?* (New York: Friendship Press, 1937); Ruth Frances Woodsmall, *Women and the New East* (Washington, D. C.: Middle East Institute, 1960).

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Anak Ti Digos

Ilokano Name Changing and Ritual Kinship

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Vanoverbergh has long maintained that, "All over northern Luzon, among Christians as well as among pagans, . . . the Negritos alone excepted, the custom of changing the name of a person at the time of prolonged or dangerous sickness is almost universal, . . ." (1936: 113-114) Thus, among the pagan Isneg the most important reason for name changing was the sickness of a child usually brought about by its being, ". . . pestered by the spirits." (Vanoverbergh 1936: 106) Similarly, in the Christian Ilokano province of Ilocos Sur name changing is practiced as part of the curing rites associated with spirit-caused illness and changes of form brought about by a child's sickness. (Nydegger 1960: 254) Neither author, however, noted any relationship between such name changes and the social organization of the group practicing them. In this paper we will discuss sickness-caused name changing among the

Ilokano of Barrio Suba, Ilocos Norte and relate it to the ritual kinship configuration found in Suba.¹ Specifically we will describe and discuss a ritual configuration based on curing brought about by a complex of pre-Christian practices which we have termed the *Digos* rite.

The *Digos* rite is named after the central element in the complex, a bath given to a sick child by a person who assumes a limited responsibility for the child. The whole configuration² is composed of six parts: (1) a persistently sick child, (2) a diagnosis by a *herbalario*, (3) the bathing rite, (4) the temporary changing of the child's name, (5) an offering of candles to the dead, and

¹ Field work in Suba was carried out while a post doctoral fellow of the National Science Foundation during 1963-1964. Additional support was provided by the National Institute of Mental Health (MH-08172-01) and the University of Vermont.

² Our use of configuration and related terms is derived from the work of H. G. Barnett.