CONSANGUINEOUS MARRIAGES AND VISUAL IMPAIRMENT: A STUDY OF SOCIAL AND ISLAMIC CONTEXT OF THE PHENOMENON

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Abstract:

The present study intends to examine the social and religious (Islamic) connotations along with people's perceptions and practices in an eastern society like Pakistan. The main emphasis will be laid on the association of prevalence of consanguinity with the instances of various degrees of visual impairments including complete blindness, partially impaired vision and colour blindness. This paper discuses two main contexts in which many of the major vital decisions are taken, these are social and religious (Islamic). For the study purpose, 110 respondents were interviewed who were students of Government College University Lahore and have been suffering from various forms of visual impairments (complete blindness, partially impaired and colour blindness). There were 99 males and 11 females among the respondents who were interviewed. Interview schedule was developed which comprised of questions designed to assess the relationship between consanguineous marriages and forms of visual impairment.

The findings of this research suggest that marriage preferences have strong social and cultural backing that influences major life aspects of individuals. Our analysis of Islamic teachings reveals that there is no religious binding which promotes consanguinity rather people are encouraged to marry outside their kin so they may have healthier off springs. Awareness campaigns and policy making could be the pertinent steps towards the prevention.

Keywords: Consanguineous marriages, Social context, Islamic guidelines, Visual Impairments

INTRODUCTION

The present study intends to examine the social and religious (Islamic) connotations along with people's perceptions and practices in an eastern society like Pakistan. The main emphasis is laid on the association of prevalence of consanguinity with the instances of various degrees of visual impairments including complete blindness, partially impaired vision and colour blindness. This paper discuses two main contexts in which many of the major vital decisions are taken, these are social and religious (Islamic). As a great majority of Pakistan population are followers of Islam, therefore

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marriage preferences and decisions will be seen and discussed in the light of Islamic teachings. In first half of the paper, sociological factors are discussed and the remaining half section will shed light on Islamic teachings and its relevance to consanguineous marriages.

In any society, marriage and family are considered as fundamental institutions; these are structured through various social and cultural traditions. The informal laws of any social system are likely to have strong influence on the perceptions and practices of the people in a given region. There are various social factors which determine the types of marriage preferences in a certain community. Marital unions between blood related individuals has been one popular form of consanguineous marriages which are commonly practiced in many parts of the world. (1) These forms of marriages are between first cousins, second cousins and other blood relatives. (2) A study reveals that these types of marriages are practiced by approximately ten percent of the World population. (3) Many among these are Muslim societies, consanguinity has not found associated with the Islamic guidelines, however these do carry social and cultural significance. (4) Marital arrangements between biologically related people is mainly due to cultural preferences in Middle Eastern and South Asian countries.(5)

The prevalence of consanguineous marriages in the Arab World is among the highest; the percentage of cousin marriages, in particular, reaches 25-30% of all marriages. Percentages of these marriage are 68% in Egypt, 33% in Syria, 51.2% to 58.1% in Jordan, 54.4% in Kuwait, 57.7% in Saudi Arabia, 50.5% in the United Arab Emirates, 40-47% in Yemen and 35.9% in Sultanate Oman. The proportion of consanguinity in the state of Qatar is reported as 54.5% whereas that of cousin marriages is 34.8%. Among the Indian Muslims, about one-fourth of marriages were found between spouse related as second cousins or closer in 1992-93. According to the Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 1990-91, more than one-half of the ever-married women (aged 15-49 years) in the selected national sample were married to their first cousins. Proportions of those married to their second cousins were from 50.3 to 61.2. A sizable proportion was married to their blood relatives and the remaining one-third were married to non-relatives. Cousins were from 50.3 to 61.2.

Endogamous marriages are popular in many Eastern cultures and Pakistan is one such example. A study of Pakistani rural community suggests that people prefer cousins and other close relatives due to various social, economic and political reasons.⁽¹¹⁾ Reliability and trust are among the

causal factors which are often emphasized by the people. Many believe that consanguineous unions strengthen family ties. (12) Social pressure by the community members could be an additional factor which takes toll on these marriages among blood relatives. Caste has also been a serious consideration for marital decisions in Pakistan. (13) Caste or biraderi are usually preferred as it can somehow be traced from same bloodline.

Methodology

For this study, 110 respondents were interviewed who were students of Government College University Lahore and have been suffering from various forms of visual impairments (complete blindness, partially impaired and colour blindness). There were 99 males and 11 females among the respondents who were interviewed. The students were accessed through the help of computer section for special students (CSS)*. Interview schedule was developed for the purpose of data collection. Questions were constructed to assess the relationship between consanguineous marriages and forms of visual impairment. Purposive sampling technique was used for the selection of cases, only those cases were interviewed who gave the prior consent and had no objection regarding sharing of results. Government College University Lahore entertains students from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds which could be considered a plus for generalizability (to an extent) of the findings.

Sociological Context of Consanguinity

A study conducted in South India also revealed that there is high instance of children born with eye diseases due to consanguinity. (14) Consanguinity is also prevalent in Arab cultures and Middle Eastern societies. (15) One of the plausible reasons for these is that marriages are mostly arranged in traditional societies, therefore there has been less emphasis on mental compatibility and mutual understanding of the partners/spouses. At times, socio-economic considerations undermine the significance aforementioned factor. It then leads to many negative implications; genetic deformations are among the most serious outcomes. Visual impairments are found common among offspring of couples who are related through blood line. In certain families, the practice is found over generations, therefore one may assume that the persistent inbreeding is likely to bring about various genetic deformations among children. Deafness, dumbness, blindness are commonly found congenital anomalies and in serious incidences mental retardation is also reported in these

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families. In short, every year more and more people are getting added to the list of disabled population of the country and that too due to mere negligence and lack of awareness of the people. Traditionally stubborn attitudes need to be corrected through awareness programmes on media and other form of campaigns. Moreover, we belong to an underdeveloped country where special needs of differently abled people are not catered at all levels. On curative side, government needs to take measures to facilitate them in every walk of life on curative side as well. Positive and negative attitudes towards consanguinity indicates the long-standing cultural and religious beliefs. (16) It is also stated that increased urbanization and reduced family size might impose constraints on consanguineous unions and situation will not remain the same in future.

Visual Impairments and Consanguinity

The data suggest that majority of parents of visually impaired respondents were first cousins or second cousins, one-fourth of them reported to have parents who were distant relatives. However, none of the respondents found to be outsiders/ other families. Two-third of the respondents were completely blind, rest of them were either visually impaired/ partially blind or colour blind as shown in Fig 1. It was also found that even paternal grandfather and grandmother were close relatives. The information is a strong indicator of a social fact that majority of Pakistani marriages are arranged between families of relatives. This common prevalence of consanguinity beings about various issues in the form diseases. Genetic deformations are among the most serious ones. Such social arrangements call for immediate attention and reformation of public perception and understanding of gravity of the matter. Majority of the parents of the respondents were normal however, there were some case whose either father or mother was blind. It was found that one-fourth of them had a strong tradition of marrying within the extended family. Majority of these were not aware that these endogamous marriages leads to various genetic deformations including visual impairment. Most of these respondents were born blind and some of them experienced loss of vision over the period of time due to any disease or accident. Many of these had one or more siblings who were suffering from similar visual impairment. Some also stated that their parents also have siblings with such deformation.

Figure 1: Presentation of Types of Visual Impairments among the Respondents

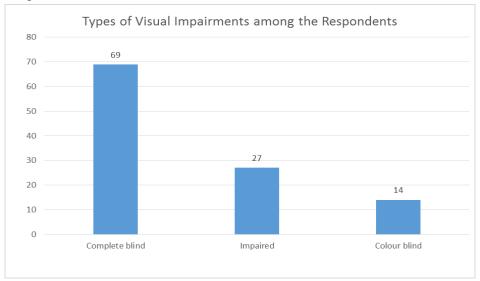
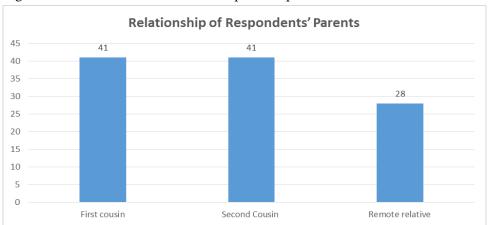


Figure 2: Presentation of Relationship of Respondents' Parents



One-fourth of the respondents acknowledged that the visual impairment is due to wrong marital decision though many have accepted it as a will of God and not the human fault as presented in Fig 2.

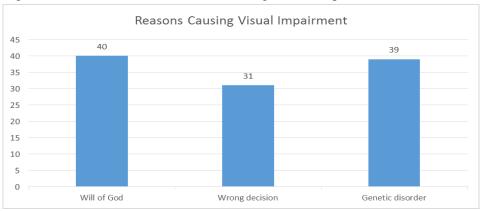
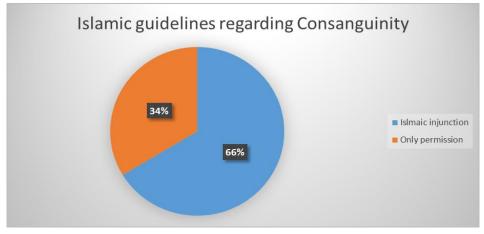


Figure 3: Presentation of Reasons Causing Visual Impairment

A great majority was of the view that families prefer cousin marriages due to religious reasons (Figure 4). These perceive that Islamic ideology endorse consanguineous marriages. The misconception is aggravating the problem and people prefer to choose partners from their close relatives and this would add more disabled population every year. Many think that people should try for more children even if first child is genetically deformed. These were against any preconception screening tests for prevention purpose, for them God decides all life aspects. However, few of them condemn this perception and do not interpret it as predestined rather these respondents stressed the role of human agency as an important one. It is also found contrary to their perception regarding causes behind impairment that they wish to marry outside their network of blood relations. This could be a ray of hope that might reduce the instances of such deformation in the coming generation.

The above discussion of findings reflect that consanguinity is a common pattern of marriage prevalent in the society. It has strong traditional association and cultural significance as these have been taking place for many years. Compliance with long standing traditions lead them to choose partners/spouses from their close relations. As religion is an integral part of any society, it determines various social aspects of an individual's life. People have certain preconceived notion about Islamic ideology as well which may or may not be true. In the following section, we will discuss the consanguinity in the light of Islamic teachings.

Figure 4: Respondents' Perception regarding Islamic Teachings and Consanguinity



The Holy Qur'an and Consanguineous Marriages

The Holy Qur'ān contains guidance regarding Nikāḥ (marriage) but does impose any restriction of caste, clan or family. There are two types of women who have been declared as lawful for marriages to Muslim men. The first category Believing women and the Qur'ānic commandment in this regard is general. It has been said:

(Marry women of your choice)

Permission has been granted to male and female for marriage on only one condition that both should belong to the same species. There is no restriction of belonging to any particular human race. White and black can marry each other. Similarly, Arab and non-Arab can also be wedlocked. It has been elucidated in the following verse:

(And among His signs is that He created for you mates among yourselves that you may dwell in tranquility with them)

The verse clearly indicates that God Almighty creates for human beings mates out of their own species so that there would be love and tenderness between them. The purpose of creating male and female is procreation. It has also been repeated at another place as follows:

[And Allāh has made for you mates of your own nature (of same species)]

In these verses there is no injunction regarding consanguineous marriages. The Divine Book (Qur'ān) neither commands nor prohibits cousin marriage. In other words, there is no restriction on Muslim males regarding marring any female, even if she belongs to different caste, tribe and social stratum. Instead of social status of a woman, sound character of partners has been emphasized in the Holy Book:

(Marry those among you who are solitary and sound of your slaves and maid-servants.)

The verse permits to marry even male or female slaves who possess good characters. The word "ṣāleḥ" in the verse quoted above is generally translated as pious or virtuous. (21) It is certainly one meaning of this word but according to E.W. Lane's "An Arabic-English Lexicon", it also means suitable, fit, in good condition, sound and whole. (22) According to Muhammad Asad the term aṣ-ṣāleḥīn connotes here both moral and physical fitness for marriage: i.e., the attainment of bodily and mental maturity as well as mutual affection between the man and the woman concerned. (23) So the verse can also be translated as follows: "Marry those who are single and sound (both physically and mentally) of your slaves and maid-servants"

The Holy Qur'ān has permitted Muslim men to marry non-Muslim ladies though women from the people of Book (Ahl al-Kitāb) can only be married to Muslim men. The Holy Qur'ān articulates in this regard:

(...and lawful unto you in marriage are not only chaste women who are believers, but chaste women of the people of the Book revealed before your time).

Interpreting the supra-mentioned verse Muhammad Asad observes:

"Whereas the Muslim men are allowed to marry women from among the followers of another revealed religion. Muslim women may not marry non-Muslims: the reason being that Islam enjoins reverence of all the prophets, while the followers of other religions reject some of them—e.g. ,the Prophet Muhammad or, as in the case with the Jews, both Muhammad and Jesus(upon whom be greeting). Thus, while non-Muslim woman who marries a Muslim can be sure that---despite all doctrinal differences---the prophets of her faith will be mentioned with utmost respect in her Muslim environment, a

Muslim woman who would marry a non-Muslim would always be exposed to an abuse of him whom she regards as God's Apostle."⁽²⁵⁾

Among the people of the scripture are included Jews and Christians only. Women belonging to any polytheistic religion are not permitted to Muslim male in matrimonial relationship.

The Qur'ānic teachings regarding marriage clearly guide males to marry women who believe in monotheism and possess sound character. Such women may be from the people of the Book but the Qur'ān has not imposed any condition of caste, tribe or clan. Consequently, Muslims have been granted full liberty in choice of their spouse. On contrary to the liberty of choice in the selection of spouse, consanguineous marriages have not been enjoined in the Holy Qur'ān

Ḥadīth Literature and Consanguineous Marriages

Islam envisages such society that is comprising healthy and strong believers. So, Muslims should have such mutual marriages that result in such progeny. Islam has laid foundations of a physically, mentally and spiritually healthy society about 15 centuries ago. The Holy Prophet (upon whom be peace and greeting) has excelled strong believers over feeble. Imām Muslim has narrated the following ḥadīth:

(A strong believer is superior to a feeble believer)

The spirit of the message is that Muslim men should think seriously before marrying women who would produce their healthy progeny. If a marriage results in such offspring who are weak and disable, it would be disobedience of this hadīth.

Imām Ibn Mājah has transmitted the following Prophetic tradition on the authority of Sayyidah 'Ā'ishah (God be pleased with her):

(Choose the best for your sperm, and marry compatible women and propose marriage to them)

Imām Abū Dāwūd has transmitted the following ḥadīth that permits the men of having a sight at women whom they wish to marry. The Holy Prophet (upon whom be peace and greeting) is reported to have said:

(When one of you asked a woman in marriage, if he is able to look at what will induce to marry her, he should do so.)

This action is permitted by Sharī'ah so that one can observe her physical beauty and other desirable characters to be transmitted to his next generation.

The Holy Prophet (upon whom be peace and greeting) has advised Muslim men to think seriously before marrying women who would reproduce their progeny. If a man is married to a woman and the union breeds offsprings who are physically or mentally abnormal, such marriages are not encouraged in Islam. It has been underlined in hadīth literature that a man should be careful in choice of his partner. Imām Nasā'ī has narrated the following hadīth:

(There is something in the eyes of Anṣār, therefore, if one of you wishes to marry one of their women, let him look at them).

The Holy Prophet (upon whom be peace and greeting) said it because their women were blear-eyed and small-eyed. (30) This undesirable character might have transmitted in their progeny in consequence of marriage with them.

Imām Muslim has transmitted a ḥadīth according to which a man came to the prophet (upon whom be peace and greeting) and informed that he had contracted to marry a woman of Anṣār." Thereupon the messenger of Allāh said:

Did you cast a glance at her? He said: No. he said: go and cast a glance at her, for there is something in the eyes of the Anṣār.

Imām Ibn Mājah has quoted the following hadīth:

(Exercise care in choosing (wives) for your sperm, for hereditary quality is wont to return.)

Geneticists have recently recommended that consanguineous marriages should be avoided to have strong and healthy off springs. Cousin marriages have been prevalent among the Arabs that is why ḥadīth literature also provide us with guidance. The Holy Prophet (upon whom be peace and greeting) is reported to have said:

(Marry out of your tribe so that you may not breed feeble children)

So according to this tradition inbreeding should be discouraged as there is a danger of begetting puny children due to marry with kith and kin.

Imām Ghazālī (d.1058) has emphasized in his famous book "Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn" that wife should not be from relatives; otherwise offspring would be week. According to him "Bride should not be a near relative The Prophet said: Do not marry a near relative as in that case a child is born week."⁽³⁴⁾

Caliph 'Umar (God be pleased with him) told the clan of al-Sā'ib, who concentrated marriages within their clan:

(O son of al-Sa'ib! You have had pony children, you should marry outside the clan.)

Another version of this tradition is as follows:

Besides blindness in offsprings there are several other diseases that may due to repeated consanguinity and inbreeding like anemia, cystic fibrosis, thalassemia and Phenylketonuria (PKU).

All these diseases result from the marriage of two carriers of the abnormal genes. The genes are called recessive, because if one spouse carries them and the other is normal, no disease results in among the off springs, though some become carriers of the harmful genes. Persistent inbreeding or with repetitive consanguinity from grandparents, to parents, to the couple concerned, and in families known to have these diseases or to carry the harmful genes, the probability increases of a marriage between two carriers leading to affected children. (37)

Consanguineous Marriage in the Light of Sīrah:

The Prophet Muhammad (upon whom be peace and greeting) had contracted plural marriages like the other people of him land. His marriages with 11 modest ladies are unanimously accepted who are called mothers of the believers (Ummahāt al-Mu'minīn). His wives included both from Quraysh tribe as well as outside his tribe. He had not married any lady from his clan Banū Hāshim. Among his wives two were from Jew families and one was a foreign lady....an Egyptian Sayyidah Māriya the Coptic and her family belonged to Christianity. He has married one of his cousins Zainab bint Jaḥsh who was the daughter of his paternal aunt Umaimah bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. His marriage with her cousin did not result in any progeny. The percentage of the Holy Prophet's cousin

marriage is only 9.1 if total number is accepted 11 out of which only two of his wives bore children.

The Holy Prophet (upon whom be peace and greeting) married his daughter Fāṭimah to his cousin 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (God be pleased with both of them). The couple had three sons ----Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Moḥsin and two daughters--- Zainab and Umm Kulthūm (Allāh be pleased with all of them). Besides Fāṭimah, 'Alī had contracted numerous other marriages within and out of Quraysh tribe.

Views of Modern Muslim Scholars:

A prominent Saudi scholar Sheikh M.S.Al-Munajjid cites in Fatwa regarding cousin marriage in Islam:

The Islamic view is that while marriage between cousins is permissible, it is preferable to choose a marriage partner from outside one's family. We have to distinguish between what is permitted and what is advocated. Some clans restrict marriages to amongst their kin only – a practice far from what is advocated. It is worth stressing here that when marriage of cousins is repeated over several generations, they are bound to have more negative effects on children. It does not imply that by permitting such marriages, Islam does not encourage them. It advocates the cementing of social relations through marriages between totally unrelated families. (38)

Prof. Abdel Rahim Omran has opined on the issue of consanguineous marriages as follows:

"I should emphasize that marriage between cousins is not prohibited in Islam. After all, the Prophet (peace be upon him) allowed his daughter Fāṭimah to marry his cousin 'Alī; but this was in a healthy family. However, if genetic diseases occur in the family or if puny children are found, then the family is well advised to disallow intermarriages within the family. The medical advice can come under the general rule of 'no harm and no harassment'." (39)

Conclusion and Recommendations

The findings of the present study suggest a strong association between consanguinity and visual impairments among the children. It shows that a sizeable majority of the visually impaired respondents' parents are either first cousins or close relatives. Some also have grandparents who were married within their extended families. This causes deleterious effects on the off springs. The marriage preferences have strong social and cultural backing that influences major life aspects of individuals. Our analysis of Islamic teachings suggests that there is no such binding in the religion

which promotes consanguinity, rather people are encouraged to marry outside their kin so they may have healthier off springs. The prevalence of religious myth might be dispelled through the findings of present research covering both social and religious contexts.

Preconception genetic testing/ counselling sessions may play vital role in reducing the incidences of deformations among the off springs. Raising awareness regarding such matters might also be helpful in inculcating the factual knowledge about these impairments and how these can be prevented. Educating the masses at community level can be important tool break the stubborn traditional attitudes and long existing misconceptions. The deleterious implications of the consanguinity such as congenital anomalies can be reduced if not eradicated. The cost is way too high not just for the children who are born with these deficiencies but for the entire family. Being the care takers of these children, parents suffer the most. They can also play significant role in raising the awareness at community level. At macro level, government should make policies that are facilitative for differently abled population, however the main emphasis should be on prevention. Raising awareness regarding negatives implications of consanguineous marriages and then preconception screening of the spouses would be valuable steps towards changing the perceptions of the people.

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