Islam and Fertility

Does islam influence fertility in muslim countries?

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1. Introduction

Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world. With reference to studies from Pew Research Center (2015), Muslims account for around one-fifth of the world's population or about 1.6 billion people in 2010, higher than world’s population growth rate. Muslims also have the highest fertility rate, the average total fertility rate of 3.1 children per woman compared to other religious groups. According to The CIA’s World Factbook (2016), The Sub Sahara Africa have the highest birth rate in the world.

The past two decades has seen demographic transition in Muslim major countries from high birth to lower birth of Muslims. Muslim major countries creates a demographic transition in which both birth rates and Muslim population growth rates decline (William, 2008). At the same time, birth rates in Muslim countries also still much less compared to world average. William (2008) finds The some Muslim countries that experienced a fertility decline, mainly in sub-Saharan Africa and some Middle Eastern countries, which are poor and have long been underdeveloped or affected by government policy.

This is a current issue because Muslim population become major population in the future. It is the necessary to explore factors that might influence Muslim growth. Courbage (1992) argues Muslim have a higher birth rates than other religious group simply because they limited acceptance of family planning and contraceptive use. they are underdeveloped and live in poor countries. But to compare with Turkey and Saudi Arabia, a high income country with major Muslim countries also have higher fertility rates (UNDESA, 2006).
This paper will discuss the relationship between Islam and fertility, with an emphasis on fertility behaviour of Muslim in developing countries. Moreover the following text does religion influence fertility in developing countries (Heaton, 2011). Heaton (2011) examines religious difference in fertility, showing impact on fertility behavior which are connecting to characteristic that has immense socioeconomic development. The changing social norms changes reproductive behaviour. Family planning program affected fertility transition (Kaivan, 2006).

To organize this topic, this paper starts with the general question on why Islam matter on fertility? Does Islam influence fertility? First, I present Islam as pronatalist religion. I examine Muslim exhibit higher fertility rates than other religion. Following background characteristic such background the role of women in Muslim life that affect reproductive behaviour and the high degree Islamic practices or Islamic teachings that influence on fertility. After assessing the role of Islam, the next section presents descriptive fertility transition in Muslim major countries. I compare the evidence data with the Muslim countries in underdeveloped area and the Muslim countries in high-income countries. I then describe evidence fertility decline between those two categories. The birth rates of the Muslim countries still higher in world average even in high-income country. In last part, why Muslim and Islam may affect fertility behaviour. I find three elements by Calvin Glodschneider (1971) who addressing religious differences in demographic behaviour in following text by Heaton (2011): particular theology, social characteristic, and proximate determinants of fertility. Lastly, argues that the relationship between Islam and fertility was not statistically significant and many issue of correlate have to be examine and possible determinants.
2. Islam teaching of fertility

This section explore the role of islam, which explain islamic perspective on the role of women, focusing on muslim women on traditional islamic life that rooted in patriarchy and . As second step, I consider islamic teaching that focus on islam as pro natalist religion.

2.1 Islam and role of woman

Islam is one of widespread religion in the world. it is also widespread in high fertility countries. Morgan (2002) present the lower level of power and women’s autonomy as the reason high fertility of muslims. Muslim women who are less educated have desire for more kids and lower rates of contraception use. Islam is strong pratriarchy religion. Islamic teachings on the appropriate roles for men and women. The lack of access to economic opportunities outside the home. Given the importance of the family and the value attached to large families, women face strong pressure from relatives and the larger community to bear children. (Morgan,2002).

This arguments explain the decline in birth rates over can be greatly attributed to the significant gains in women's freedoms, such as the phenomenon of forced marriage and child marriage, education for women and increased socioeconomic opportunities. (Morgan,2002) For this approach, Morgan (2002 ) find supporting data about the the relationships among Islam, women’s roles, and high fertility that female autonomy (their freedom of movementand women’s decision making ability) has no evidence and significant impact on fertility. But female education as female autonomy may have impact on fertility decline. (Akmam,2002).
Evidence from Saudi Arabia society (Salam, 2013), social changes that the expansion in females education and recent encouragement to wider participation of women in labor force and involvement in development a further rise in the age at marriage could be accompanied by a decline in desired family size. Age at first marriage, child death, education, living in monogamous marriages and son preference were important determinants of fertility behavior.

To specify that evidence, Female education can change fertility transation and fertility behaviour through social economic development in Saudi Arabia. Weigl (2007) find women autonomy and decision making are value in the effort to understand muslim woman and their reproductive behaviour. Women as victims patriarchy authority and islamic tradition.

2.2 Islam as pro-natalist religion or anti natalist

According to Goldschieeder (1971) present „Particularized Theology“ hypotehse, religion influence fertility behaviour perspective social economic development. In the Paper by Fatima (2000) explore that many Muslim religious leaders (Ulama) over the past quarter-century have checked that family planning is permitted or prohibition by Islamic law. In fact, the majority of muslim jurist doesn’t speak only one regarding family planning, methods (sterilization) or abortion, as expressed by many religious leaders rely on Sharia law (Islamic law, Qur’an, and Hadith) (Weigl, 2007). The instruction of the Prophet to Muslims in Hadith to „marry, procreate, and abound in number, for I will pride myself with you amongst the nations on the day of reckoning“ is sometimes quoted as evidence against the permissibility of contraception.
Sterilization is discouraged by the muslim jurists in view of its permanency, but is permissible for a clear medical treatment for the mother’s health and also to prevent transmission of hereditary disease to the progeny. (Weigl, 2007)

Particularize theology hypothese approach islamic attitude and behaviour connected to fertility. To the result, is to find islam as pronatalist religion by marriage pattern of islam. Islam permits a man to married until 4 number of wives and a man as fathers large number of children (Weigl, 2007). In Saudi Arabia point, as the pro natalist country that promotes population policy, is used to observe restrictions on import of contraceptives and attribution of birth control as against Islamic values. (Salam, 2013).

For examples of family planning program implementation in the Muslim world is Iran, where the national family planning program is “considered a model for developing nations and other Muslim countries” due to its success spread of family planning methods and reducing rates of fertility through the muslim who underwent sterilization. In Bangladesh, Muslim leaders support family planning and modern contraceptive use as well (Weigl, 2007). That example proves that there is islamic doctrine by Governments and Muslim leaders play a role to anti natalist religion.

To conclude the section on islamic teaching of fertility, it can be assessed that islamic teaching for the fertility behaviour affected both in the role of muslim women and islam as pronatalist religion prohibited family planning or anti natalist religion permission family planning promotes by Government, Muslim leaders and Sharia Law).
3. **Muslim fertility in developing countries**

   In this section, I provide the comparison data on Muslim fertility in developing countries. According to Pew Research Center’s (2015) publication “The future of World Religion: Population Muslim Population Growth Projections 2010 -2050” estimates, Muslims accounted for about 23% of World’s total population in 2010; that is about 1,6 billion of a total population. The majority of the Muslim, about 62% Muslim live in Asia and The Pacific in 2010. The Muslim share of the population in Middle East- North africa is 19,8%. In Sub – Saharan Africa there are about 15 % of the population, and there are about 3,8% Population Muslims living in Europe. Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of Muslim is about 3,1 children per woman due to young age muslims (Median age of 23). This is above the replacement rate of 2,1 children per women to sustain population levels. According to World development indicators, The crude birth rate muslim was significantly higher than world average 21,5 per thousand in 2000 (William,2008).

   The present data here according to trends major muslim countries namely 3.1, shown data on underdeveloped countries with experienced increased fertility followed by 3.2 those countries in high income countries decline fertility. This region underdeveloped and has the highest Total Fertility Rate. For this purpose, I will focus on underdeveloped countries with highest fertility and followed by the socio economic trends in fertility change for the muslim major countries through the data at major muslim developing countries, given from high income countries.
3.1 Underdeveloped countries with highest fertility

Most muslim countries are known as pro-natalist policies. In underdeveloped countries with highest fertility in Sub Sahara Africa, families desire children for their labour and as caregivers for their parents in old age. Fertility rates are also higher due to the lack of access to contraceptives, stricter adherence to traditional religious beliefs, generally lower levels of female education and lower rates of female employment in industry (Agadjanian, 2009). In the Appendix 1, UNDP has reported all 48 muslim majority countries decline over three decades.

According to UNDP, In Niger, 80% of Niger's population are Muslims and many reject family planning. Muslim have TFR of 6.9 children per woman the highest fertility in the world. From the late 1970 are Muslim fertility decline. The same phenomenon as the others Sub Sahara Africa muslim countries Mali (6,1), Somalia (6,3) and Nigeria (6,5). The rapid continue to have higher fertility of Sub Sahara - and West Africa is the effect of education and marriage timing. Reasons for large families include tradition, religion, the low status of women and the cultural desire to have several sons. (Hanks, 2006)

In Bangladesh, Muslim population is 90.4% in 2010. Total fertility rate of muslim decline from 3.17 in 2000 to 2.18 of children per woman in 2014. (World Bank, 2014). There is difference between living in rural or urban in Bangladesh. Women muslim living in urban adopt better education and Women living in rural have poor education that because women's work opportunities continue to be severely limited in
rural Bangladesh. Opportunities for women to travel outside of work are also extremely limited in Bangladesh. (Kaivan Munshi, 2006)

Muslim in Nigeria is number 4 in the Muslim World population in 2000. The birth rate began to decline from 1960-1982. The Birth Rate 37.3 births/1000 population and the total fertility rate 5.65 of children per woman in 2014 (World Bank, 2014). Nigeria also one of the highest fertility rate among muslim countries because underdeveloped and poor educational development. Muslim in Nigeria desire large families and muslim women in there doesn’t have power to decision making about family planning (William, 2002)

3.2 Developing countries with decreased fertility

Following the data, in this section I present different the countries that have experienced fertility decline. Majority are located in Middle East and North Africa, central Asia and Indonesia. Those countries are developing countries and had lowest fertility rates rather than other muslim countries. I use it to compare with underdeveloped countries above. See Appendix 1, th muslim major countries dropped of 2.6 births per woman between 1975-80 and 2005-2010.

The Middle East and North Africa region has the largest concentration of countries with populations that are more than 90 percent Muslim and they are relative high income countries. The region experienced fertility decline since 1962 (William 2008). Today, Iran, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Turkey (all in the Middle East North Africa region) have completed their demographic transition, reaching total fertility rates
(TFR, the average number of children per woman) at or below 2.1 children per woman ("replacement level") (PEW Research, 2015).

For Indonesia, Iran and Egypt fertility transition 1960-1992. Fertility decline in Iran period 1982-1992 because of the war. After the war Government of Iran promote high fertility policy and increase Iran birth rate. By the End 1989, Government of Iran adopt Family Planning Program and TFR decrease from 6.8 to 2.6 of children per woman in 2000. (William, 2008). these countries have a "young" age structure, and their populations will continue to grow. (Pew Research, 2015)

In India, one of major muslim population. Age at first conception important than age at marriage related to fertility transition. Education and female labor participation related to fertility. „Educated women marry late because of their educational and professional carees and desire to have small family size“ but In India muslim life influence by Islamic traditional life. Muslim women prefer working inside home and have poor educational background and the son preference widespread in India for many years, As the result the fertility is high. (Asghar, 2014)

In the past 30 years Turkey`s birth rate continue to decline and fertility rate of children per woman has dropped from 4.07 in 1982 to 2.08 in 2010. Tunisia has dropped from 4.82 in 1982 to 2.14 in 2010, Indonesia has dropped from 4.17 in 1982 to 2.51 in 2010 and Morocco from 5.4 in 1982 to 2.52 in 2010 children per woman. (World Bank, 2014). Caldwell(1980) argue that the reason for the rapid decline in fertility in some developing countries mainly due to government influence or rule by islamic law and a massive investment in education both by governments and parents.
Saudi Arabia and Pakistan is two of the highest income countries. According to CIA World Factbook (2016), The population in Saudi Arabia is 100% muslim and Pakistan 95%. From 1950 until now Saudi Arabia keep raising the population. William (2002) find there is no family planning and birth control in Saudi Arabia because Saudi Arabia as pronatalist country. That impact of fertility rate slowly decline and continue rising the population. Pakistan has different government program. Pakistani Government have Family Planning Program and support that program to control fertility transition.

To summarize the previous: some muslim countries, government policies have focused on reducing birth rates by improving women's rights, sexual and reproductive health. Typically, high birth rates are associated with health problems, low contraceptive use, don’t adopt family program, low social status for women and low educational levels. Many muslim countries accepted modern birth control methods such as the birth control pill while opposing abortion. High birth rates may stress government welfare and family programs. Additional problems faced by a country with a high birth rate include educating a growing number of children, and dealing with the environmental impact of a large population.

To conclude this section, i provide the data underdevelop muslim countries and developing muslim countries with the high fertility and experienced fertility decline. Some are in the Sub Sahara Africa underdeveloped and in Middle East and North Africa. The data also have the information about fertility trends and social norms in muslim countries. Moreover there is evidence Islam impact on fertility and reproductive behaviour in muslim countries.
4. Islamic determinants of fertility

Religion is a factor of determinants of fertility by the level of social and economic structure. How religion influences fertility is via social norms about family size. This section will give an introduction to three major hypotheses to explain religious differences in fertility that have been proposed by Goldschneider (1971): 2.1 particular theology, 2.2 social characteristics, and 2.3 proximate determinants. I will give a short overview of the hypotheses and focus on Islam as determinants related to those hypotheses.

4.1 Particular Theology

This section begins with the particularized theology hypothesis as determinants. Despite the strong theoretical arguments for the role of Islam in fertility behavior (Chamie, 1981) being the researcher dealing with religion as determinants of domestic violence. He finds evidence that the reason high fertility of the Muslims is high tenacity with which old beliefs and Islamic practices, the persistent resistance of Muslims to change and to modernity, the strong patrilineal of the Muslim family, the unusually subordinate place of women in Muslim society and conformity to religious and social practices in Muslim life.

Weigl (2007) finds evidence for particular theology about Islamic teaching and family planning. Islam has different ideas against contraception use and the family planning program. On the one side, Islam as a pro-natalist religion rejects the family program; on the other side, Islam permits the use of modern contraceptives to reduce fertility. It becomes evidence while Islamic teachings, the complex relationship between Islamic
doctrines and Muslim traditional life, linking to high fertility of Muslims. Islamic leaders and Qur’an also have influence on determining the reproductive behaviour of Muslims. The reproductive choice and planning of the women such as age of marriage, childbearing and the role of women in fertility rather than from Islamic teaching, there is relevant from socio-cultural norms. Women benefit to desire family size and son preference. Muslim women limit access to making decision on fertility in the family.

Following this evidence for particular theology of Islam, I will argue that Islamic teachings as more pro-natalist rather than antinatalist. To conclude, it is proven that particular theology of Islam use Islamic teachings to influence the high fertility. Islamic teachings can lead the way to reduce fertility by following Governments or Islamic leaders, who permitting family planning program and use modern contraceptive. Furthermore, it should be conclude social characteristic hypothesis of Muslim to higher level of education especially for female education.

4.2 Social characteristics

Significantly more research is conducted about the social characteristics hypothesis and fertility decline. In this section, I will introduce social characteristics hypothesise by Goldscheider (1971) and their impact of fertility decline, in order to give an insight. Second, I will describe in more detailed mass education plays an important role in fertility decline (Caldwell, 1980).

Evidence from Nigeria suggests that the single most important determinant of a child chance of survival is mother’s level education (Caldwell, 1980). However Caldwell (1980) finds social characteristic by including an interaction term for
education and religion: creates dependency in the family and society and changing socio economic relationship. In this relationship between education and religion is affected major change in the society.

In the Caldwell (1980) study, it is deducted the objective of instilling moral values and the important values from west culture actually is major impact for social transormation and reducting fertility. Within in Caldwell in line with, (Salam, 2013) evidence in Saudi Arabia fertility decline because increasing education and increasing age at marriage. Due to this as determinants of fertility, education may affect to use modern contraceptive.

Education is variable socioeconomic determinants of fertility, especially female education. It seems female education tends to increase the age at first marriage, thereby decreasing the number of years that can be devoted to child bearing. This relationship between women's education and age at marriage has been found in almost all fertility studies. Akmam (2002) shown that in breast-feeding is significant impact as on contraception. Interestingly, with increases in the levels of education of women, the period of breast-feeding tends to decrease. Education have positive impact on fertility decline leads. Moreover the number of children is found to have influence as well as female education. Education affects desired family size

To conclude, the study by Caldwell shows that education relate fertility decline. He suppose that mass education have so powerful impact family on socio economic. Muslim major countries that use to increase the level of education can lower the fertility. I will present in the next proximate determinants of fertility.
2.3 Proximate determinants of fertility

Proximate determinants of fertility are relevant in explaining changing fertility behavior. Change proximate determinants can affect fertility transition. Bongaarts (1987) provided an analytic principal to understand the practice of contraception.

The high fertility must be found in unsuccessful family panning program. The proximate determinants of fertility are the level contraception use, marriage pattern and breastfeeding intensity (Bongaarts, 1987). In the countries, where contraceptive use high, the effect in the marriage pattern or in the duration on breastfeeding are modest because people can access effective birth control methods to adjust fertility to desired levels. (Bongaarts, 1987). Islam isn’t supportive regarding the use of contraception, strong opposition the practice of abortion, family limitation and sterilization (Weigl, 2007). There are number muslim countries, that have high fertility rates. For example in Sub Sahara Africa and Middle East.

In Arab region which majority muslim, marriage pattern is linked with religious rules and traditions. Age at Marriage provides the social setting within which almost all child bearing occurs. An arab woman’s role is reproduction, because that context ferility rate is high in arab region. Birth spacing is lagerly a function of the norm after birthchild. The duration of breastfeeding is short period, the preferance for large families, and the use of contraception is lower in Arab region. Arab women unlikely to use contraception because can terminate childebaring. (Samir,1984). Family planning program need to adopt in Arab region. Changing marriage pattern, increasing level of contraceptive use and longer duration breastfeeding can reduce desire to have large families and also decline the fertility (Majumdeer,2015)
5. Conclusion

This paper has structured the topic islam and fertility. It asks islamic perspective on fertility, and then islam has been proven to the role of woman in islam and islam as pro natalist religion. The comparisons data muslim major countries are important because fertility is significant higher in many of these countries and decline in fertility but at slower rate than world average. Subsequently account fort he determinants of Religion and Fertility focus on Islam. Apart from structuring the topic it draws important conclusion: Muslim fertility is higher because islam as pro natalist religion and familial roles of women. Moreover these two islamic traditional norms summarize all the fertility behavior in muslim countries. The section on islam as determinants of fertility has shown the Muslim grow slow levels of development and at slower levels of educational achievement. These patterns suggest that changes in attitudes and behaviors that influence childbearing and that accompany socioeconomic progress. Perhaps Islam’s has limited impact on familial roles of women influencing fertility behaviour.

Islam is associated with islamic teachings on reproductive behaviour, level of education, family planning, marriage timing, and contraceptive use. Goldscheider (1971) summarize the hypothese from a variety of sources including historical circumstances accompanying the particular theology, the social characteristic type of people attracted to islam, and teaching and proximate determinats of fertility. These factors must be taken into account to completely understand islam as determinants of fertility. Islam also has influence on the status of fertility since Muslim respondents have more children as compared to others.
6. References

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7. List of Appendix

7.1 Appendix 1


7.2 Appendix 2.