Questions

1. Please provide information about the societal attitudes (particularly among Muslims) to inter-religious and inter-racial de facto relationships in Bangladesh. Is there any evidence of those involved in such relationships being harmed?
2. Please advise how the authorities/police are likely to deal with any instances of harm due to an inter-religious or inter-racial de facto relationship?
3. Are there any areas in Bangladesh (perhaps with non-Muslim population) where an interfaith/mixed couple and their children could reside safely?
4. Please advise what the requirements would be for a Bangladeshi national to obtain residence status in the Philippines on the basis of being in a relationship with and father of a Philippine national.
5. Please provide any other relevant information.

RESPONSE

1. Please provide information about the societal attitudes (particularly among Muslims) to inter-religious and inter-racial de facto relationships in Bangladesh. Is there any evidence of those involved in such relationships being harmed?

Information was found to indicate that de facto or ‘common-law’ relationships are considered socially unacceptable in Bangladesh; unmarried couples attempting to live together would face immense familial pressure to marry, or at worst face ostracism and/or be subjected to physical abuse. No legal reference was located in the sources available to indicate that
couples in ‘common-law relationships’ could face prosecution, though one source notes that certain displays of affection constitute a public offence in Bangladesh. Reported incidents of women being publicly flogged and/or killed for having sexual relations outside of marriage exist in rural areas. The information set out below does not distinguish between religions; reports discussing societal attitudes towards unmarried couples are assumed to involve Muslim men and women, unless stated otherwise. A number of reports appear below that illustrate the situation for unmarried couples in Bangladesh; followed by information on Inter-religious marriages, which may also be of relevance.

The Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) addressed the issue of “common-law” or de facto relationships in a 2003 Response to Information Requests (RIRs) for Bangladesh. The pertinent extracts follow in detail.

According to a representative of the Bangladesh National Women Lawyers Association (BNWLA), an organization that provides legal support, counselling and advocacy for women, common-law relationships are non-existent in Bangladesh (3 Aug. 2003). Even in the capital city of Dhaka, a common-law relationship is considered both socially and legally to be an “unsocial activity” that creates a public nuisance” (ibid.). However, no legal reference was provided to support the representative’s statement.

The representative added that because a couple wishing to live in a common-law relationship would “face a lot of trouble,” they would likely choose to live as if they were a married couple (ibid.). Moreover, if a common-law union was exposed, the “social elites” may demand that the couple marry (ibid.).

The representative also mentioned a 2002 case of a common-law couple studying at Rajshahi University who were evicted from their rented house and arrested after the owner of the house complained that the couple had lied to him about their relationship (ibid.).

According to the representative, there is no legal protection offered to common-law couples in Bangladesh (ibid.) (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, BGD41764.E – Bangladesh: Treatment and protection available to common-law couples, especially in Dhaka, 5 August – Attachment 1).

Following are a number of articles from international news sources which discuss the conservative attitudes of Bangladesh’s predominant Muslim society; the ostracism faced by unmarried women and mothers; and subsequent abandonment or killing of “illegal” children born to unmarried mothers due to fear of familial rejection and/or violent repercussion. The articles appear in reverse chronological order.

On 1 February 2007, Reuters published an article describing Baldah park in Dhaka in relation to its reputation as a haven for “young lovers… to escape the watchful eyes of a conservative, predominantly Muslim society where kissing and hugging is a public offence” (“Downtown Dhaka park offers a fine romance for lovers” 2007, Reuters News, 1 February – Attachment 2).

A January 2007 article by Reuters illustrates the enforcement of moral behaviour in Cox’s Bazar, south-eastern Bangladesh, allegedly by members of Jamaat-e-Islami. While discussing the world’s longest stretch of beach and the lack of tourism in the area – allegedly due to the rise of the Islamist political parties – Jamaat-e-Islami’s district chief states that “[a] couple
can do anything if they are married… but we wouldn’t allow unmarried pairs to come to the beach”. The report continues:

Although Jamaat does not patrol the beach enforcing the Islamist party’s moral code, local people say its mere influence was enough to ensure compliance at a time when fears of religious extremism have risen in Bangladesh (Rajesh, Y.P. 2007, ‘Feature-World’s longest beach hidden in Bangladesh’, Reuters News, 31 January – Attachment 3).

The following 2004 article, published by the *Journal of Marriage and Family*, contains a pertinent section on the stigmatization of unmarried mothers in Bangladesh and the importance of marriage within society and the family. The researchers interviewed 120 mothers employed in garment factories in Bangladesh, most of whom were married and some unmarried. Although the section addresses “separated and deserted mothers”, the content is relevant in terms of the societal implications for unmarried mothers and their children. The pertinent extracts follow in detail.

Unlike married mothers who are challenging the patriarchal system from within, the separated and deserted mothers of minor children are, by definition, outside the patriarchal system. In Bangladesh, every woman is expected to be under the authority of her husband until his death, when she is then expected to be under the authority of her adult son. In Islam, there is no monastic life available as an alternative. An unmarried daughter is a sign of failure on the part of her parents. Muslim law permits a man to marry more than one woman so that, in theory, every family can provide a husband for their daughter, even though she may be the second wife. Muslim law also permits a man to divorce his wife. In case of divorce or desertion, the woman returns to her family of origin, and her parents arrange for another marriage. Her father is responsible for the divorced or deserted daughter’s remarriage. There is no traditional role for the unmarried daughter to care for her parents in their old age (e.g., Hareven, 2000) because that is the responsibility of the daughter-in-law (Ahmed, S. & Bould, S. 2004, “One Able Daughter Is Worth 10 Illiterate Sons”: Reframing the Patriarchal Family’, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Volume 66; Issue 5, 1 December – Attachment 4).

On 10 August 2004, the *United News of Bangladesh Limited* reported the sentencing of an unmarried couple to life imprisonment for the murder of their eight-month-old baby near Naogaon, around 200km north of Dhaka. The couple allegedly killed the child due to the “illegitimate” nature of their relationship (‘Murder-Trial’ 2004, *United News of Bangladesh Limited*, 10 August – Attachment 5).

In October 1999, the *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* published a report illustrating the reasons why women abandon infants in Bangladesh. The most common reason given by women is the child was born “out of wedlock” and the subsequent stigmatization the child and mother would suffer by society. The pertinent extracts follow in detail.

…Being born “out of wedlock” is the most common reason given. Throughout this paper, the term “out of wedlock” child is used to designate a broad category of infants routinely abandoned to the CTRDW including: 1) those born to unmarried mothers and 2) those “illegal” infants born to married women but of extramarital unions.

…In 10 of 54 cases (19%), the family demanded that the child be abandoned. The majority of these cases (6 or 10) are also “out of wedlock” children and many of these mothers remarked that they “cannot go home” with the child and expressed fear that they would be “stigmatized by society.”
A pattern emerges from these data which demonstrates separate constellations of related reasons given for the abandonment of “out of wedlock” and “legal” infants. “out of wedlock” pregnancies are often referred to as “unmarried” pregnancies, a reference to the mother’s marital status at the time of conception. Following this reference, separated and divorced women are also considered to be unmarried—a condition generally unacceptable for any woman let alone one who is pregnant—and therefore deserving of the stigma which accrues to both mother and child.

The two Bangladeshi terms commonly used to describe an “out of wedlock” child aptly reflect prejudices toward these children: oboidho (a derogatory term) translates as “illegitimate” or “bastard,” while jaroj (an extremely derogatory term) translates as “perverted.” An “out of wedlock” child provides tangible evidence of a woman’s sexual indiscretion and of her family’s inability to effectively curtail her sexuality. In Bangladesh, women’s behaviour and more specifically their sexual behaviour is taken as a metaphor for family and community honour. A woman who behaves in an unacceptable way places the reputation of her family members and community at risk. Beyond this, sexual behaviour is considered to be inherently polluting (even within the marriage bond) and sexual intercourse outside of marriage confers a non-reversible, permanent form of pollution on the woman and any child born of such a union (Maloney, Aziz and Sarkar 1981). Pollution contagion radiates along lines of kinship and physical proximity placing the family, friends, employers and communities of such women or children at risk as well.

A sexual double standard allows men, on the other hand, considerably more sexual freedom. If caught in sexual indiscretion (that is, if a pregnancy occurs) men may dissipate any resulting stigma (which is rarely permanent) through purification rituals and/or by rendering an apology. Although risk of pollution exists in this case too, it is more easily set aside. In the case of a young unmarried man, a speedily arranged marriage to another woman whose honour has not been sullied is the most likely course of action. In this way, family and community honour is preserved. In the case of a more mature man, a public apology usually suffices although occasionally a cash settlement is required as well (Aziz and Maloney 1985). For the man, then, sexual indiscretion renders him merely foolish, never responsible.

Similarly, society also refuses to accept the unmarried mother and her “out of wedlock” child. Unmarried mothers are routinely evicted from their place of residence and fired from their jobs as their dishonour would reflect badly on the community or their employer. Government attitudes regarding “out of wedlock” pregnancies range from indifference to outright denial and one official has said that although this problem does not exist in Bangladesh, if it did, those women should be stoned in front of the mosque (Wilson, M. 1999, “Take this child”: Why women abandon their infants in Bangladesh’, Journal of Comparative Family Studies, Volume 30, Issue 4, 1 October – Attachment 6).

A December 1998 article by the South China Morning Post reported the arrest of an unmarried mother for the murder of her newborn baby, “apparently fearing ostracism and public flogging”. The report continues by stating:

In this conservative, predominantly Muslim society, sexual relationships between unmarried couples are considered sinful.

In many cases, especially in rural Bangladesh, couples face public flogging (Mahmud, A. 1998, ‘Mother in fear kills newborn’, South China Morning Post, 23 December – Attachment 7).
Similarly, a 1997 article by the Inter Press Service states that “[i]n traditional society, unmarried women are considered a social embarrassment [in Bangladesh]” (Islam, T. 1997, ‘Bangladesh: Young women are choosing careers before marriage’, Inter Press Service, 1 April – Attachment 8).

**Inter-religious marriages**

Information was found to indicate that there is no legal barrier to inter-religious marriages, and such marriages are reportedly becoming more common in the larger cities of Bangladesh. However, couples in inter-religious marriages still experience problems, ranging from family pressure to physical attacks. The sources suggest that the more extreme instances of violence occur in rural areas. Inter-religious marriages are reportedly recognised under the Special Marriages Act of 1872. Information indicates that a non-Muslim woman wishing to marry a Muslim man is required to convert to Islam. However, if she refused to convert to Islam, and the family accepted this decision, the marriage may be reportedly solemnised under the Special Marriages Act.

On 28 November 2005, information on the situation for persons in mixed marriages was received from Dr Kazi Nurul Islam, Professor and Chairman of the Department of World Religions, University of Dhaka. Dr Islam stated the following in relation to inter-religious marriage:

> Bangladesh has been a country of interreligious harmony for centuries. But in the recent past particularly after the change of the Govt. in 2001 the fanatics have got an upper hand. It is unfortunate that some fanatics have been made even ministers in the present Govt.

> Interreligious marriage is not uncommon in Bangladesh. But according to Muslim rule the non-Muslim spouse will have to be converted into Islam first. If a Muslim boy marries a Christian or Jewish girl conversion is essential. If they are not converted, neither the family members, nor the society nor even the civil court accept this marriage. As a result the couples concerned face immeasurable harassment and there are certain cases where they are kidnapped and killed.

> Not only as President of International Association for Religious Freedom, Bangladesh but also as a man of conscience I feel that this kind of discrimination, torture, harassment in the name of religion has to be stopped.

> At this moment the situation in Bangladesh is very grave. The entire world knows that the fanatics are killing even the judges. The nation is heading towards a civil war between Fanatics and Moderate Muslims. That is why I do hereby strongly urge upon you to help this couple and save them form an absolutely uncertain life (Nurul Islam, Dr Kazi 2005, Email: ‘Re: Refugee Review Tribunal Information Request: BGD17686’, 28 November – Attachment 9).

An October 2006 RRT Research Response dealt with the issue of inter-religious marriages and posed several questions to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) for comment. Following are pertinent extracts from DFAT’s response addressing the legal and social situation for persons in inter-religious marriages:

A. The Post talked to the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate and the Deputy Attorney General of Bangladesh to seek statistical information about mixed religious marriages. Both sources
indicated that no official statistics are available on the incidence of mixed religious marriage in Bangladesh. Marriages are registered at the District level and not recorded centrally.

B. The High Commission routinely monitors the media in Bangladesh including the major Bangla and English language newspapers. While the focus of the monitoring is on political and economic affairs, the three officers who undertake this task cannot recall any reports of problems arising out of mixed religious marriages. Media reports on difficulties in marriages reflect the broader problem of violence against women in Bangladesh, particularly at the hands of their spouse, in-laws or disgruntled suitors.

C. Since the 1999 report, there have been two additional high-profile mixed religious marriages between celebrities in Bangladesh. In early 2000 two popular Bangladeshi singers were married – the woman being a very famous music artiste from a Muslim family, and the man from a Hindu family. Another celebrity mixed marriage was between a leading female television actor, a Muslim, and an Indian model/actor, a Hindu. While both the marriages ended in divorce there was no indication that these marriages broke up for social, religious or political reasons. These marriages both attracted public attention on the basis of the celebrity nature of the union, rather than the religious identities of the people involved.

D. We are not aware of public comment on this issue from religious leaders. Post contacted a number of respected religious leaders of the Christian and Hindu communities and were advised that there had been no public comment on this issue from their denominations. We have been informed by Christian church leaders that mixed religious marriages are neither encouraged nor discouraged. Since there is no legal barrier for mixed religious couples to get married, the Churches have an understanding approach to the issue. Hindu individuals have informed us that Priests do conduct mixed religious marriages at temples. The Post was not able to get a response from the Director of the Islamic Foundation Dhaka because of his tight schedule during Ramadan.

E. Marriages between people from different religions are recognised under the Special Marriages Act of 1872. Two marriage acts exist in Bangladesh. Generally, a non-Muslim wishing to marry a Muslim is required to convert to Islam and then the pair can be wed under the Muslim Marriages Act. However, if the non-Muslim party declines to convert to Islam, the marriage may take place under the Special Marriages Act. This Act was enacted during the British colonial era specifically for inter-caste and inter-faith couples. Marriages under the Special Marriages Act are registered before the Metropolitan Magistrate, to whom the inter-faith couple declares, “We do not follow any particular religious denomination and therefore want to marry each other before the Metropolitan Magistrate”. The Magistrate then solemnises the marriage and registers it on a standardised Registration Form. There are no statistics or data on the impact of mixed religious marriages. While it is possible that in rural Bangladesh communities may not look upon such marriages favourably, in the urban areas such a pairing is not considered a big taboo. If problems arise in such marriages, it is generally personal first and familial second. Post is not aware of any incidents of social, religious or political repercussions towards these mixed marriages in Bangladesh…

An October 2005 RRT Research Response deals with the issue of mixed marriages in Bangladesh, including protection afforded to persons in mixed marriages by the state (RRT Country Research 2005, Research Response BGD17577, 25 October – Attachment 12).

3. Are there any areas in Bangladesh (perhaps with non-Muslim population) where an interfaith/mixed couple and their children could reside safely?

The issue of internal relocation in Bangladesh for people who fear harassment or violence in their local community was addressed by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) in October 2006. The pertinent extracts follow in detail.

A. Is relocation to Dhaka an option for people who fear harassment or violence in their local community? What social or other impediments might there be to relocating from rural to urban areas?

While individual circumstances may provide some impediment to relocating from a rural to urban area, there is ample evidence to indicate there is a large and sustained movement of people from rural into urban areas. The current rate of growth of the urban areas within the six major metropolitan areas of Bangladesh is around 3.5 percent per annum. Given that the natural rate of population increase in Bangladesh is estimated to be 1.3 percent per annum, the difference (ie 2.2 percent per annum) can be attributed to rural-urban migration. The growth rate for the Dhaka urban area indicates that in absolute terms the population of the Dhaka metropolitan area is growing at around 320,000 people per annum.

On the basis of our discussions in Dhaka we are not aware of any legislative or official impediment for a person moving from a rural to urban area.

B. Is relocating from one rural area to another rural area an option? What social or other impediment might there be to such a move?

Relocating from one rural area to another could not be ruled out as an option. According to a 2002 UN report, rural-rural migration between 1982 and 1996 accounted for approximately 10 percent of all migration movements in Bangladesh (cf 24 percent for international, and 63 percent for rural-urban). However, to undertake such a move successfully would most likely require the person to have some social connection to the receiving rural area. For example, some rural-rural movements can be attributed to women relocating for the purpose of marriage.

There are no official impediments for a person moving from a rural to rural area.

C. Under the current emergency situation, have there been restrictions or otherwise on freedom of movement within Bangladesh? Is this likely to change in the near future?

There are no restrictions to movements within Bangladesh under the current State of Emergency. We would not expect this arrangement to change in the near future, and although the political situation remains fluid, the imposition of further restrictions appears unlikely. We would note that at the commencement of the State of Emergency a curfew was enacted, but was lifted within 24 hours. The curfew did not restrict internal movement, but rather required people to be off the streets after a certain time.

Additional Comments
Internal migration in Bangladesh should also be seen in the context of its demographic profile, being one of the most densely populated countries in the world with strong population growth. The population is overwhelmingly Muslim with minorities of Hindus (10.5 percent), Buddhists (0.6 percent), Christians (0.3 percent) and other religions (0.3 percent). The Buddhists are largely concentrated in the Chittagong area while the other religious communities are spread across the country. There are 27 indigenous groups, accounting for 1.13 percent of the population concentrated in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and northern areas of Bangladesh. With a strong feeling of homogenous Bengali nationalism among the people, mixed societies are very common (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2006, DFAT Report 641 – Bangladesh: Mixed Marriages: RRT Information request: BGD31606, 19 October – Attachment 13).

A research response by the Canadian IRB in August 2006 discusses the situation for Christians in Bangladesh, including the availability of internal relocation. The pertinent extracts follow in detail.

**Availability of internal relocation**

Christian Freedom International (CFI) reports that in July 2005, a Bible school was forced to move from its location in Khulna District due to threats from Islamic militants (CFI 17 Oct. 2005). The school relocated to South Sayabithi, 15 kilometres north of Dhaka; however, once at the new location, the school reportedly received new threats from local Muslims (ibid.).

No further information on the availability of internal relocation for Christians could be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate.

In its 2006 annual report, Human Rights Watch (HRW) claims that, due to the rise of religious intolerance, hundreds of thousands of Christians, Hindus, and Buddhists have fled Bangladesh over the past few years (Jan. 2006) (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, BGD101510.E – Bangladesh: The situation of Christians; the availability of state protection and of internal relocation (2004 – 2006), 9 August – Attachment 14).

No further relevant information was found in the sources available regarding internal relocation in Bangladesh.

4. **Please advise what the requirements would be for a Bangladeshi national to obtain residence status in the Philippines on the basis of being in a relationship with and father of a Philippine national.**

Information found suggests that for a person to have any right of residency in the Philippines as a result of a relationship with a Filipino national, they must be married. According to the Republic of the Philippines Commission on Filipinos Overseas website, the spouse and/or children of a Filipino national are entitled to a ‘visa-free entry to the Philippines for a period of one (1) year, among other privileges’; under the Balikbayan Law. The spouse may also be granted an immigrant visa that entitles him/her to permanent residency. The pertinent details follow.

*As a Filipino citizen, can one’s spouse who is a foreign national live in the Philippines?*

An immigrant visa may be issued to a Filipino citizen’s foreign spouse which entitles him/her to permanently reside in the Philippines. Said visa may be obtained by applying at Philippine Embassies or Consulates. The validity of the visa, however, is contingent upon the Filipino citizenship of his/her spouse.
If a Filipino citizen chooses to travel to the Philippines with his/her foreign spouse and children, do the spouse and children need to secure additional travel documents from the Philippine Embassy or Consulate General beforehand?

Under the Balikbayan Law, a Filipino citizen’s foreign spouse and children traveling to the Philippines with him/her, do not need to secure other travel documents because they are entitled to a visa-free entry to the Philippines for a period of one (1) year, among other privileges (‘Dual Citizenship’ (undated), Republic of the Philippines Commission on Filipinos Overseas http://www.cfo.gov.ph/dual_citizenship.htm – Accessed 6 February 2008 – Attachment 15).

5. Please provide any other relevant information.

Information has been included in relation to Bangladeshi citizenship, which is mandated by the ‘Bangladesh Citizenship (Temporary Provisions) Order 1972’. Information suggests that a child born to a Bangladeshi father would be considered to be a Bangladeshi citizen. However, there are certain conditions as the following extracts illustrate:

Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law, on the commencement of this Order, every person shall be deemed to be a citizen of Bangladesh

(i) Who or whose father or grandfather was born in the territories now comprised in Bangladesh and who was a permanent resident of such territories on the 25th day of March, 1971 and continues to be so resident; or

(ii) Who was a permanent resident of the territories now comprised in Bangladesh on the 25th day of March, 1971, and continues to be so resident and is not otherwise disqualified for being a citizen by or under any law for the time being in force:

Provided that if any person is a permanent resident of the territories now comprised in Bangladesh or his dependent is, in the course of his employment or for the pursuit of his studies, residing in a country which was at war with, or engaged in military operations against Bangladesh and is being prevented from returning to Bangladesh, such person, or his dependents, shall be deemed to continue to be resident in Bangladesh (‘Bangladesh Citizenship (Temporary Provisions) Order, 1972’, sourced from Mohsin, I. M. M. 1990, The Law of Citizenship and Passports of Bangladesh, Fibco Press, Dhaka, UNHCR web site http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rsddocview.htm?CATEGORY=RSDLEGAL&id=3ae6b51f10&page=research – Accessed 29 March 2004 – Attachment 16).

According to the Philippines’ Bureau of Immigration website, Philippine citizenship can be conferred to a person born abroad whose “…mother is a Filipino under the 1973 and 1987 Constitution”. The pertinent extracts follow in detail.

Recognition is an act of conferring Philippine citizenship to a person born abroad but whose father is a Filipino under the 1935 Constitution or whose father and/or mother is a Filipino under the 1973 and 1987 Constitution.

Who are eligible for Recognition?
Persons with dual citizenship, that is, any citizen of a foreign country whose father or mother was a Filipino citizen at the time of his birth shall be eligible for recognition as a Filipino citizen.

What is Dual Citizenship?

Dual citizenship refers to an instance where a child of a Filipino parent (at the time of child’s birth) acquires foreign citizenship because he/she was born in a foreign country that adheres to the jus soli principle (eg, the United States).

…Thus, a child, born to a Filipino parent in the United States of America is a natural-born Filipino because the Philippines adheres to the jus sanguinis principle, and at the same time an American citizen because the USA adheres to the jus soli principle (‘Recognition as a Filipino’ (undated), Philippines’ Bureau of Immigration website http://immigration.gov.ph/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=37 – Accessed 12 February 2008 – Attachment 17).

List of Sources Consulted

Internet Sources:

Search Engines

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Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/cgi-bin/foliocgi.exe/refinfo_e
UK Home Office http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/
US Department of State http://www.state.gov/
United Nations (UN)
UNHCR http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home

Non-Government Organisations
Amnesty International http://www.amnesty.org/
Human Rights Watch http://www.hrw.org/
Transparency International http://www.transparency.org/
International Crisis Group http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm

International News & Politics
Asia Times http://www.atimes.com/
BBC News http://news.bbc.co.uk
Rediff.com http://in.rediff.com/index.html
Reuters AlertNet http://www.alertnet.org/
The Daily Star http://www.thedailystar.net/

Databases:
FACTIVA (news database)
ISYS (RRT Research and Information Service Database)
BACIS (DIAC Country Information Database)
List of Attachments

1. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, BGD41764.E – Bangladesh: Treatment and protection available to common-law couples, especially in Dhaka, 5 August. (REFINFO)

2. ‘Downtown Dhaka park offers a fine romance for lovers’ 2007, Reuters News, 1 February. (FACTIVA)


5. ‘Murder-Trial’ 2004, United News of Bangladesh Limited, 10 August. (FACTIVA)


8. Islam, T. 1997, ‘Bangladesh: Young women are choosing careers before marriage’, Inter Press Service, 1 April. (FACTIVA)


17. ‘Recognition as a Filipino’ (undated), Philippines’ Bureau of Immigration website