The Philippine Population Policy and the Catholic Church

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Philippine population policy has been a product of international and national development of the 1960s and the 1970s. Foreign sources provided the resources to fund and operate a contraceptive-based family planning program. The Catholic Church with its stand against artificial contraception successfully prevented the adoption of abortion as an accepted contraceptive method. International dissension on the "Humanae Vitae" and domestic problems weakened its stance to oppose the growing acceptance of the Philippine Government's family planning program based on artificial contraceptive technology.

Population policy could be considered as "a specific set of government objectives relative to the population magnitude and/or composition along with the instruments by which it may be possible to achieve those objectives." Eldridge provides a more practical definition: population policies are "legislative measures, administrative programmes and other governmental action intended to alter or modify existing population trends in the interest of national survival and welfare." These definitions provide the parameters on the contribution of the Catholic Church in the formulation and implementation of the Philippine population policy.

This paper will briefly review the Philippine population policy and the role of the Catholic Church in its formulation and implementation. It is concerned with Philippine government involvement in reducing the rates of population growth through laws, programs, and other governmental means vis-a-vis the Catholic Church's position. The government's involvement has boiled down to the contraceptive family planning/birth control approach. The Philippines, with more than 80 percent of its population being Catholics, has a National Population Program dispensing artificial contraceptive technology. Officially, the church is against all forms of artificial contraception. Its official position, however, did not present serious obstacles to the formulation and implementation of a contraceptive technology-based population policy for reasons to be discussed later.

In this connection, Ness points out that "at the level of policy-decision, the role has been negative and somewhat important. At implementation, religion has played a weak and negative role. At impact, in the area

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of mass acceptance of contraceptive behavior, the role appears mildly positive." Would these observations be accurate?

These observations may be related to a study done in Colombia and the United States. A survey of Catholic parish priests in Colombia, with a fertility control policy since 1970, and the United States, with no such policy on the question of birth control, shows a picture of confusion, division, strain, and inconsistency. In Colombia, about one third of the priests disagreed with the ban on contraception; in the United States, about one-half. These two cases provide reference points for comparison with the Philippine case.

Historical Background

The late sixties and the seventies provide the temporal dimension of the official acceptance of the population problem as a major concern in most developing countries. Concerns in the second United Nations development decade narrowed down to the population problem after it had been realized that purely economic solutions do not work. The rapid population increase, brought about primarily by the gains of medical science, has been identified as a major hindrance in economic development. Given the political and economic unpredictability of rapidly increasing populations, international organizations started to tighten the screws on countries characterized by high rates of population growth. The leaders of the developing nations, given the motivation to minimize future national instability, had to join the bandwagon.

The 1960s

The present family planning program is a product of the 1960s with the pioneering work of introducing family planning done by the Methodist missionaries in the 1920s. The government admitted the urgent need to study the population situation in the country by establishing the University of the Philippines Population Institute in 1964.

Before 1967, no laws were enacted directly dealing with unplanned rapid population growth, since no population problem was considered. Legislations related to population and family planning were for other purposes. The Tariff and Customs Code and the Postal Law prohibited access to and information on means of family planning. It was Republic Act 1365 (amended by P.D. No. 79) which legitimized family planning activities.


Developing countries in Eastern Asia which adopted a family planning policy

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through the influence of the United States Assistance for International Development (USAID). It was in 1967 when President Marcos, with other heads of state, endorsed the need for universal action to curb population growth. This endorsement provided the impetus for a fullblown population program. In the following year, official government participation in population activities began with the opening of the Project Office for Maternal and Child Health (POMCH) in the Department of Health, with USAID assistance. In 1969, President Marcos established a 21-member Commission on Population (POPCOM), one of whose functions was to formulate policy and program recommendations on population relating to socio-economic development. The USAID was active in locating the population planning activity and the activities of the POMCH with the POPCOM. 7 Also in this year, the Department of Justice legalized the importation of contraceptives.

The 1970s

Institutionalization of the family planning program occurred in the 1970s. The National Population Program, aimed at reducing the population growth rate of 3.01 percent per annum, was launched in 1970.

In 1971, President Marcos signed Republic Act 6365 (The Population Act of 1971) establishing a national population policy. The importance of religion is thus clearly acknowledged in this policy statement.

For the purpose of furthering national development, increasing the share of each Filipino in the fruits of economic progress, and meeting the grave social and economic challenge of a high rate of population growth, a national program of family planning which respects the religious beliefs of the individuals involved shall be undertaken.

Full official recognition of the population problem can be seen in the 1973 Constitution of the Philippines which is one of the few Constitutions containing a population policy: "It shall be the responsibility of the State to achieve and maintain population levels most conducive to the national welfare." 8 The next section maintains the condition of respecting religious beliefs: "The State shall consider the customs, traditions, beliefs, and interests of national cultural communities in the formulation and implementation of state policies."

The Philippine Population Policy

Since the late 1960s, the Philippine government adopted the twin solution of economic and family planning in a context of overall development. It formulated a population policy of non-coercion, integration, multi-agency and sectoral participation, and partnership of the private and public sectors. The family planning program professes to be voluntary and respects "the religious beliefs and values" and "free choice" of the people. 9 That such declarations are


8 Article XV, Sec. 10.


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easily forgotten in the face of meeting quotas or targets, officially or unofficially established, of acceptors must be kept in mind.

The Philippine population policy must be seen in terms of identified factors which shaped it:

1. Assistance from USAID and donor agencies. The USAID provided assistance to the population program through the method of least resistance. Instead of channeling its resources through the National Economic Council (NEC), with a director who was opposed to family planning, it went to a better disposed government agency. The USAID played a major role in the development of the Philippine population policy by providing massive financial and technical support.

2. The private sector with its pioneering initiative in establishing family planning in the country as shown by the fore-runners, namely, the Family Planning Association of the Philippines and the Planned Parenthood Movement of the Family Planning Organization of the Philippines.

3. The lack of interest of the NEC Chairman and the Congressional leaders, with the NEC chairman opposed to family planning and the members of the Congress raising serious objections to the population bill.

4. The position against contraceptive technology of the Catholic Church which is the focus of the paper, and

5. The public’s favorable attitude towards family planning as seen in surveys conducted by different institutions.¹⁰

Of the five factors presented above, the fourth one will be discussed at length.

The Universal Church’s Position and the Philippine Hierarchy

The Encyclical “Humanae Vitae” issued by Pope Paul VI on July 29, 1968 reaffirmed the Church’s stand against artificial contraception. The Encyclical rests on a basic assertion of an “inseparable connection, willed by God and unable to be broken by man on his own initiative, between the two meanings of the conjugal act: the unitive meaning and the procreative meaning.” (par 12). Thus, contraception is evil since it breaks this unbreakable link.

The Encyclical went against the conclusions of the papal commission assigned to study the Church’s position on the means of birth control, against an emerging consensus of theologians, on the bishops who asked the Pope not to issue the Encyclical, and against the great mass of married lay people. A resulting trend of dissent from the Encyclical continues. A crisis of authority faced the priests disagreeing with the papal pronouncements on artificial birth control.¹¹

¹⁰Maria Elena Lopez and Ana Maria Nemenzo, op. cit., p. 434.

¹¹An editorial from National Catholic Reporter, August 7, 1968.
The Catholic hierarchy of the Philippines issued a pastoral letter on the Encyclical Letter “Humanae Vitae.”\(^{12}\) The Philippine clergy was expected to accept the Encyclical with loyalty and obedience. The Pope was thoroughly supported by the Philippine hierarchy.

On December 8, 1974, the Philippine hierarchy issued a pastoral letter on the population problem and family life. This letter presents the population problem as the problem of the care of peoples. The question of numbers is identified as a possible problem but the question of scarcity of goods refers more to a distributional imbalance among nations. The letter touches on the goal of population control in improving the quality of human life, but not at the expense of conscience, freedom, and moral integrity. The evils resulting from a contraceptive mentality are considered. Thus, the call for sexual control and not only for conception control.

On July 1975, the Episcopal Commission on Family Life issued a clarification of the official Church policy.

1. The Church agrees with the government on the need for family planning. The Church has always advocated responsible parenthood.

2. The Church respects the Government’s responsibility in making available to the citizens means of family planning that would not violate their conscience or of those employed by the government in its program.

3. The Church advocates the family life program of the Responsible Parenthood Council, Inc. and of the Asian Social Institute, which upholds human dignity, healthful marital love and family relationship, and which teaches that the means for family planning is the natural method.

4. The Church maintains that the individual conscience, which must be in accordance with the official teaching of the Church, is the ultimate arbiter in the choice of the means for family planning.\(^{13}\)

The clarification issued by the Episcopal Commission shows the areas of agreement and disagreement between the Church and the Government. There is perfect agreement on the need for family planning and on the Government’s responsibility on this matter. The issue rests on the acceptability of means of family planning according to conscience and religious beliefs. A conscience in accordance with the official teaching of the Church is the same as one in accordance with “Humanae Vitae.” Thus, the Church can advocate only the family-life program of the Responsible Parenthood Council, Inc. and of the Asian Social Institute. This program is claimed to be characterized by human dignity, healthful family relationship and marital love, and the national method of family planning is the natural method.

\(^{12}\) Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines (CBCP), October 12, 1968.

\(^{13}\) The Times Journal, August 1, 1975.
Philippine Population Policy and the Church

Four surveys conducted during the 1967-1971 period showed that:

1. The official Catholic Church in the Philippines has not campaigned against the general idea of family planning;
2. Neither has she taken a decisive stance favoring family planning, and
3. Therefore, her position has been neutral.

It was during this period, in January 1970, that the Catholic Bishops expressed their surprise that the newly re-elected President did not bother to discuss the Bishops' Program for Responsible Parenthood. The President did shortly declare that he had decided to propose legislation making family planning a policy of his administration.

The President supported the Catholic bishops' program by the following month. The program underscored the following premises: (1) The primary role in responsible parenthood belongs to the parents, (2) Rhythm is more consonant with Filipino values; and (3) Family planning is a small part of a program to help families raise their income and improve their social condition. When the POPCOM declared the national program in 1971 emphasizing artificial methods in family planning, the CBCP withdrew its membership from the POPCOM lest it give any impression that the Church was approving artificial contraception.

The 1975 Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Bishops of Western Visayas on Family Life was stronger in its criticism. In July 1975, the President and the CBCP agreed on certain Church and Government policies on family planning. The agreement to leave the methods of family planning to the Filipino couples' conscience was ambiguous. This resulted in a letter on conscience from Archbishop Sin and an official clarification from the CBCP. The resulting agreement was one of closer cooperation in implementing the population program. The Church and State relationship on this issue is a series of dialogues, confrontations, and closer cooperation.

What was the main issue in the population controversy between the Government and the Catholic Church? It is the morality of the methods of population control and family planning. The lack of a vigorous stand against artificial contraception on the part of the Catholic Church may be seen in terms of internal Church developments.

The year 1969 is considered as a year "marked with all the segments of
the Church throughout the country steadily and articulately making themselves heard and felt as living members of the Catholic community. 19 A number of organizations was established which began to demand Church reforms in the light of the Second Vatican Council: Laymen's Association for Post Vatican II Reforms (LAPVIIR); Christian Social Movement (CSM); and the Philippine Priests' Inc. (PPI). For 38 days (March 27–May 4, 1969), Catholic student leaders held demonstrations against Church dignitaries asking for structural Church reform and the intensification of her social action program. 20 For the first time, the authority of the Hierarchy was questioned. The credibility of the Church in relation to society was the main preoccupation of the "reform" organizations.

The student-protest movement in the Philippines addressed itself to the Catholic Church, especially through a "marathon demonstration" before the palace of the archbishop of Manila. This event is of great significance since for the first time in over four centuries of Catholicism, Catholic students spoke publicly and challenged the hierarchy for reforms in the Church. The students presented demands to the local Church leaders proposing ways to make the Church credible to society and return to the Church the meaning of "People of God." One response of the Church was to organize the "Action Leaven" social action program in 1970.

Two documents of great importance in this period were "Gaudium et Spes" (1966) and "Populorum Progressio" (1968). The concern for "Humanae Vitae" was not that prominent in the Philippine situation, except for the highly educated laymen and the clergy. 21 The population question received lower priority in terms of practical steps to concretize support for papal teaching.

Another set of events occurred in 1969. 22 There was the integration of family planning in medical schools, the creation of POPCOM, the repeal of the old anti-birth control law, and the merging of the Family Planning Association of the Philippines and the Planned Parenthood Movement of the Philippines to form the Family Planning Organization of the Philippines. Although not as dramatic as the demonstrations of that year, these events provided the basis for further developments in the Population Program of the Philippines.

From the above discussion, two major factors appear to have prevented the Catholic Church in the Philippines from making a solid stand against the Philippine contraceptive-oriented family planning program:

1. International dissension on the "Humanae Vitae," and
2. Domestic problems brought about by new organizations and students demanding for Church reforms.


21 This situation is suggested by the publication of articles on the "Humanae Vitae" in the Philippine Studies with 1,200 subscribers in July 1969.

Besides this inability to make a solid stand, a few more observations can be made on the Philippine-population policy and the Catholic Church. Given the support provided by the Philippine Catholic hierarchy to the Pope, a serious obstacle to a strong implementation of this support was the internal developments in the Church leaders-members relationship. A major criticism against the bishops' position on "Humane Vitae" was the absence of definite practical steps for making it possible for Filipino couples to follow the papal teaching and to limit the size of their families. This criticism was later minimized with the participation of the Asian Social Institute (ASI) and the Responsible Parenthood Council (RPC) up to 1972 in the program.

A perceived division between the Catholic Church leaders and theologians must also be brought into attention. In spite of what the Catholic bishops stated in their pastoral letter on "Humanae Vitae," a group of Philippine intellectuals raised seven questions on the population issue and the Church addressed to the theologians of the Philippines. Thus, the episcopal position was disregarded, suggesting that the bishops did not consult the theologians in the preparation of the pastoral letter.

The Catholic Church's role in the population policy formulation is negative in terms of its influence on the rejection of abortion as an acceptable means of contraception. This would be important since abortion is the most effective means of preventing births. In this sense, the Church's influence in the formulation of the policy is negative and important. It is only in the rejection of abortion as an acceptable means of family planning that the Church has definitely influenced the formulation of the Philippine population policy.

In terms of implementation, the Catholic Church is supporting the Asian Social Institute. The family life education program of the Church has its beginnings in Mindanao and now has three family-life centers in Metropolitan Manila. In terms of promoting a method in family planning, the influence of the Church could be described as positive, even though weak in number and in effectiveness, compared to the acceptors of the contraceptive techniques. The opposition of the Church to the artificial methods of family planning has a weak and negative influence. The rhythm method has the lowest number of acceptors (since 1976) of the major acceptable methods of family planning.

Myrdal noted that "any official move in favor of birth control there (Philippines) is prevented or made difficult, even though the Catholic position is no longer so solid." The

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expected Catholic Church opposition preventing or making difficult the introduction of artificial contraceptive technology did not materialize in the Philippines.28 This is ascribed, on the international level, to the disagreement of Catholic Church leaders and theologians with the papal teaching on artificial contraception, and the domestic problems met by the Catholic Church in the 1968-1969 period. Thus, the Catholic Church which was expected to question the Government population policy was having its share of questioning itself. It was in no position to offer a solid stand against the Government program. What it did was to cooperate with the Government by propagating the natural family planning method.

On the abortion issue, where there is complete agreement in the Church, opposition was very effective. Due to an informational seminar on abortion, the Archbishop of Manila issued a “Pastoral Letter on Abortion (February 1975). The resultant publicity prompted the POPCOM to reassure the CBCP of the continuing and definitive national policy against abortion.29 This policy reduced the chances of the Filipinos in replicating the Japanese experience of rapid fertility decline after the war.

The second factor, domestic problems, which prevented the Church from making a solid stand against contraceptive technology is now gone. The fact remains that officially the Church is against the artificial means of birth control. Lynch’s observation that its position has rather been a neutral one, teaching practically nothing officially about family planning remains basically true. This statement would be clearer if the Church’s position is compared to that of the USAID which goes all out for artificial contraception.

In terms of factors determining group influence,30 internal cohesion appears to be the primary consideration in looking at the role of the Catholic Church in Philippine population policy. The Catholic Church has the numbers, the wealth, and the access to decision-makers in its favor. The organizational strength and leadership are factors which appear needing improvement for a more vigorous role in the formulation and implementation of the population program.

In general, Ness’ observations, stated earlier in the paper, would be accurate given the necessary qualifications. The negative role of the Catholic Church in policy-decision could be pinpointed to its success against abortion. The weak role in implementation could be related to the small percentage of acceptors of rhythm and the low effectiveness of the rhythm method. Thus, the Church has a negative role at this level since it could spend its efforts


supporting rather than preaching against the artificial birth-control methods. At the level of mass acceptance of contraceptive behavior, the Church has a midly positive role due to the acceptors of the ASI and RPC clinics.

In this connection, why would the Philippines lag far behind the other countries in the region? Questions like, have the people really perceived any population problem, must be explored further. That the political elite and technocrats launched a family planning program does not assure its success. How does the perception of the people of a population problem affect the success of the family planning program? Has the Church, through its frontliners, the priests and nuns in the parishes, affected this perception? Blaming the "weakness of the political administrative system" is merely scratching the surface of a complex phenomenon.

On an individual level, the top government officials involved in population policy-making are Catholics. They have access to the top Church leaders and vice versa. The question is: how come they do not go along with the official Church position?

A major reason of this contradiction is foreign influence, primarily in terms of funding. From 100 percent (P33,802,000) foreign funding in Fiscal Year 1971 to 44.8 percent (P58,887,000) of Family Planning Program costs in Calendar Year 1977, the influence of foreign agencies was substantial. The number of jobs generated, the expected benefits brought about by averted births, and the international acceptability of having a family planning program would have weighed more for the Catholic government officials than the Church’s teachings on artificial contraception. As private citizens, the top government officials may be wholly in accord with the Church’s teachings; as public officials, their logical choice was to decide for a contraceptive family planning program, particularly, in view of the principle of separation of Church and State.

Conclusion

The Catholic Church in the Philippines was unable to provide a solid stand against a contraceptive based family planning program. The reasons are:

1. The international dissension on "Humanae Vitae,"
2. In the Philippines, the absence of practical steps to follow the papal teaching; and
3. An apparent lack of episcopal consultation with theologians in the Philippines, and
4. The demands for Church reforms.

The resulting situation was that the Church was successful in preventing

32Ibid., p. 2.
abortion to become an acceptable contraceptive method; while on implementation, the Church supported only the natural method. To the credit of the Church, it has offered a stand on a very urgent contemporary issue and influenced the Philippine population policy on the abortion issue. That it has not provided a satisfactory answer to the question: "which is more immoral, to apply artificial contraception (to better insure less children) or to raise malnourished and unhealthy children due to lack of resources?" is another way of presenting its ineffectiveness beyond the abortion issue. The divine order of things of an "inseparable connection, willed by God... between the two meanings of the conjugal act: the unitive meaning and the procreative meaning" ("Humanae Vitae," par. 12) must have some appeal to Catholic policy-makers. The scarcity of resources to support a very large population, on the other hand, does call for drastic measures if some form of resources - population equilibrium is to be maintained. The present Philippine population policy is a product of this dilemma. Its implementation depends more on the resources available to the Government rather than on the support of the Catholic Church.

This situation can be better understood in the light of Murray's observation:

...the imperatives of political and social morality derive from the inherent order of political and social reality itself, as the architectonic moral reason conceives this necessary order in the light of the fivefold structure of obligatory political ends-justice, freedom, security, the general welfare, and civil unity or peace... It follows, then, that the morality proper to the life and action of society and the state is not univocally the morality of personal life, or even of familial life. Therefore, the effort to bring the organized action of politics and the practical art of statecraft directly under the control of the Christian values that govern personal and familial life is inherently fallacious. It makes wreckage not only of public policy, but also of morality itself.

Closer to home, Gorospe notes:

Think of the conflict between individual freedom and state authority in the present Martial law situation or the conflict between the individual couple's conscience and the teaching authority of the church. On the one hand, it is immoral for the state to legalize abortion; on the other hand, the State should not make the Church's position against artificial contraception or divorce the law of the land. This would be an unjust violation of religious freedom.

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