



**THE POLITICS OF POPULATION POLICY-MAKING IN THE PHILIPPINES:  
INSIGHTS FROM THE POPULATION/REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH  
LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS**

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## Rationale (Puzzle)

- The lack of a stable and coherent population policy in the Philippines
- The need to ‚deconstruct‘ the Church-centric explanation for this situation



## Scope (Research Focus)

- The role of politics – „policy actors, processes and contextual factors“ (Lee et al., 1998) – in population policy-making
- Legislative proposals on population/reproductive health filed in the 13th (2004-2007) and 14th (2007-2010) Philippine Congresses, in both the Senate and the House of Representatives

	13th Congress		14th Congress	
House of Representatives	HB 16 HB 2029 HB 2042 HB 2550	} → HB 3773	HB 17 HB 812 HB 2753 HB 3970	} → HB 5043
Senate	SB 62 SB 70 SB 81 SB 112 SB 118 SB 904 SB 1280 SB 1281	SB 1478 SB 1480 SB 1522 SB 1546 SB 1639 SB 1661 SB 1708 SB 1816	SB 40 SB 43 SB 187 SB 622 SB 1256 SB 1299 SR 376	} → SB 3122



## Research Questions

- **Research problem**
  - » What factors account for the form and direction that population legislation has taken in the Philippines?
- **Research questions**
  - » Who are the stakeholders in the population/RH legislative proposals and what are their specific positions and views on the proposals?
  - » What advocacy and/or lobbying strategies have the actors adopted to push their legislative agenda?
  - » How do the different actors compare in terms of the different factors that could potentially affect the outcome of policy initiatives?
  - » What factors account for the seeming dominance of the Catholic Church and the morality discourse in population policy-making?



## Field research

- **Key informant interviews (23)**
  - » National and local-level actors
  - » ‚Pro-choice‘ and ‚pro-life‘ advocates
  - » Government, NGOs, academe, church, media
- **Document collation**
  - » Bills text
  - » Minutes of Congress public hearings and TWG meetings (11)
  - » Congress journals (16)
  - » Position papers/statements of stakeholders (57+)
  - » Relevant media reports (150+)



## Theoretical Foundations

### *Macro* Bourdieu

- Theory of practice
- Critique of political field

### *Micro* Baumgartner et al.

- Policy advocacy and policy change



## Analytical Framework: Other Inputs

- **The global context of the population/RH debate**
  - » Goldberg, M. (2009). The means of reproduction: Sex, power, and the future of the world
  - » Connelly, M. (2008). Fatal misconception: The struggle to control world population
  - » Kulzycki, A. (1999). The abortion debate in the world arena
- **The political dimension of population policy-making in the Philippines**
  - » Lush, L. et al. (2000). Politics and fertility: A new approach to policy analysis
  - » Lee, K. et al. (1998). Family planning policies and programmes in eight low-income countries: A comparative policy analysis





## Significance of the Research

- **Testing new propositions on policy advocacy and policy change**
- **Highlighting the local context of the global-local link in the population debate (‘shifting agency’ from global to local actors/structures)**
- **Examining the politics of population policy-making in the legislative arena**



## Organization of Findings and Conclusions

<p><b>A. The population debate context</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>•Philippine government and politics: overview</li><li>•The legislative system</li><li>•The organizational setup for population and RH services</li><li>•The population/RH legislative proposals</li></ul>	<p><b>B. The principal policy advocates: Profile</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>•The proponents of the legislative proposals</li><li>•The pro-choice group</li><li>•The pro-life group</li></ul>	<p><b>C. Policy advocacy: Discursive strategies</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>•Key arguments for and against the legislative proposals</li><li>•Shifts in arguments over time</li><li>•Assessment of pro-choice vs. pro-life strategies</li></ul>
<p><b>D. Policy advocacy: Tactics, resources, allies</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>•‘Inventory’ of tactics, resources, allies</li><li>•Changes over time</li><li>•Assessment</li></ul>	<p><b>E. Demystifying the clout of the RC Church: The strength of the status quo</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>•Factors facilitating and hindering advocacy success</li></ul>	<p><b>F. Implications</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>•Theoretical</li><li>•Research</li><li>•Governance</li></ul>



## Timeline: House of Representatives - 13th Congress (2004-2007)

<i>Jul 04</i>	HB 16 filed, read, and referred to Gov't. Reorganization Committee (First Reading)
<i>Aug 04</i>	HB 1808 filed, read and referred to Population and Family Relations Committee HB 2029 and 2042 filed, read and referred to Health Committee HB 2550 filed, read, and referred to Population and Family Relations Committee
<i>Nov 04</i>	HB 16, 2029, 2042 and 2550 referred to Committee on Women (CW)
<i>Dec 04</i>	HB 3422 filed, read and referred to Population and Family Relations Committee
<i>Jan 05</i>	CW holds first public hearing on four bills
<i>Feb 05</i>	CW holds second public hearing on four bills CW holds consultation with medical experts re conception, abortion, and related issues CW holds first executive meeting to discuss HB 3773 (consolidated bill) CW holds second exec meeting; endorses HB 3773 HB 3773 filed for Second Reading
<i>Jun 05</i>	HB 3773 calendared for floor deliberations
<i>Dec 05</i>	Four bill proponents deliver their sponsorship speeches (Period of Sponsorship)



### Timeline: House of Representatives - 14th Congress (2007-2010)

<i>Jul 07</i>	HB 17 and 812 filed, read, and referred to Health Committee (First Reading)
<i>Se 07</i>	HB 2753 filed, read and referred to Health Committee
<i>Apr 08</i>	HB 3970 filed, read and referred to Health Committee (HC) HC holds public hearing on the four bills
<i>May 08</i>	CH holds joint committee meeting with Population and Family Relations Committee to discuss HB 5043 (consolidated version); bill endorsed in the second meeting lasting only seven minutes
<i>Se 08</i>	HB 5043 filed for Second Reading HB 5043 calendared for floor deliberations Seven proponents deliver their sponsorship speeches (Period of Sponsorship) in two plenary sessions Interpellation by one HOR member (1) in three plenary sessions (Period of Interpellation)
<i>Nov 08</i>	Interpellation by two HOR members (1, 2) in four plenary sessions
<i>Jan 09</i>	Interpellation by one HOR member (2) in one plenary session
<i>Feb 09</i>	Manifestation by two HOR members in one plenary session
<i>Mar 09</i>	Interpellation by one HOR member (3) in one plenary session



## Timeline: Senate - 13th Congress (2004-2007)

<i>Jun 04</i>	SB 62, 70, 81, 112, 118 and 904 filed
<i>Jul 04</i>	SB 62 read and referred primarily to the Youth, Women, and Family Relations Committee SB 70, 81, 112 and 118 read and referred primarily to the Health and Demography Committee (HDC)
<i>Aug 04</i>	SB 1280, 1281, 1478, 1480, 1522 and 1546 filed SB 904 read and referred primarily to HDC SB 1639, 1661 and 1708 filed
<i>Se 04</i>	SB 1280, 1281, 1478, 1480, 1522, 1546, 1639, 1661 and 1708 read and referred primarily to the HDC
<i>Oct 04</i>	SB 1816 filed, read, and referred primarily to the HDC
<i>Jun 06</i>	Joint committee public hearing on the 16 bills conducted, with HDC as the lead committee



**Timeline: Senate - 14th Congress (2007-2010)**

<i>Jun 07</i>	SB 40, 43 and 187 filed, read, and referred primarily to the Health and Demography Committee (HDC)
<i>Jul 07</i>	SB 622 and 1299 filed, read, and referred primarily to the HDC SB 1256 filed, read, and referred primarily to the Labor, Employment, and Human Resources Development Committee
<i>May 08</i>	First public hearing on SBs conducted, with HDC as the lead committee
<i>Aug 08</i>	Second public hearing on SBs conducted
<i>Oct 08</i>	Technical Working Group (TWG) meeting on SBs held, with HDC as the lead committee
<i>Feb 09</i>	TWG meeting held to discuss draft substitute bill (consolidated version)
<i>Mar 09</i>	SB 3122 filed for Second Reading
<i>Apr 09</i>	SB 3122 calendared for floor deliberations Sponsorship speech by lead proponent (Period of Sponsorship) Manifestation by a co-author
<i>May 09</i>	Interpellation by two (1, 2) senators (Period of Interpellation) Interpellation by one senator (2)