ipc Culture and Development Series
No. 10

THE RH WARS

FRAMING THE POPULATION AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH DEBATE

Clarissa C. David
Antonio G. M. La Viña
Jenna Mae L. Atun

THE RH WARS

Framing the Population and Reproductive Health Debate

NOL NAS ID 6524
CIRC NO NAS -15-0277

THE RH WARS

Framing the Population and Reproductive Health Debate

Clarissa C. David
Antonio G. M. La Viña
Jenna Mae L. Atun

Institute of Philippine Culture
School of Social Sciences
Ateneo de Manila University
Quezon City
2014

Institute of Philippine Culture
School of Social Sciences
Ateneo de Manila University
Loyola Heights, Quezon City
P.O. Box 154, 1099 Manila, Philippines
E-mail: ipc.soss@ateneo.edu
Website: www.ipc-ateneo.org

Copyright 2014 by Institute of Philippine Culture,
School of Social Sciences, Ateneo de Manila University

Cover design by Reamur David

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the written permission of the Publisher.

The National Library of the Philippines CIP Data

Recommended entry:

David, Clarissa C.
The RH wars : framing the population and reproductive health debate / Clarissa C. David, Antonio G.M. La Vina, Jenna Mae L. Atun. -- Quezon City : Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, c2014.
p. ; cm.

ISBN 978-971-8610-64-0

1. Population -- Philippines -- Political aspects. 2. Reproductive health -- Philippines -- Political aspects. 3. Family planning -- Philippines. 4. Debates debating. I. La Vina, Antonio G. M. II. Atun, Jenna Mae L. III. Title.

363.96 HQ766.5.P5 2014 P420140215

Contents

Contents *v*
List of Tables and Figures *vii*
Acronyms *x*
Acknowledgments *xii*

Chapter

1 From Population to Reproductive Health 1

From Population to Reproductive Health 4
The Final Push 11

2 Framing as a Communication Activity 14

Effects of Frames 17
Elements and Functions of a Frame 20

3 Framing the Population/Reproductive Health Debate: Methodological Issues 24

Sampling/Population Universe 24
Framing Analysis 28

4 Framing National Policies 37

Framing Population in National Policies 38
The Rhetoric of Population Legislation 54

5 Framing by Interest Groups: Struggle for the News Frame **61**

Supporters of Population Management 63
Opposers of Population Management 66
News Framing of the Population Issue 69
News Frames of the Population Issues: Elements 72

6 Characterizing the Debate **89**

Mapping out the Debate 89
Supporters, Opponents, and News Coverage 94
Recommendations 96

7 The RH Law and the Supreme Court Decision **104**

Petitions against the RH Law 108
The Supreme Court Decision on the RH Law 111
Addressing Conscientious Objections 113
Not the End of the RH Wars 117

Appendices *120*
References Cited *223*
About the Authors *231*

Tables and Figures

Table

1	Distribution of news and opinion articles in the final sample, by newspaper and sampling period	26
2	Distribution of legislative documents sampled from the Senate, by type and congressional term	29
3	Distribution of legislative documents sampled from the House of Representatives, by type and congressional term	30
4	Distribution of bills and resolutions from the Senate and House of Representatives, by topic and function	40
5	Population management word clusters	42
6	Reproductive health and family planning word clusters	46
7	Anti-abortion and anti-family planning word clusters	49
8	Population management policy of the Executive word clusters	52
9	Level 1: Values	56
10	Level 2: Specific arguments	58

11	Level 3: Policy	60
12	Word groupings of text supporting population management	64
13	Word groupings of text opposing population management	67
14	Word groupings of news articles on population and family planning	70
15	Percentage distribution of news articles, according to topic and theme	74
16	Percentage distribution of news articles, according to the primary actors	76
17	Percentage of news articles that mentioned other actors and topics	78
18	Percentage of news articles, according to the mentioned benefit from addressing the population issue	80
19	Percentage of news articles, according to their mentioned benefits and benefit attribution	80
20	Percentage distribution of news articles, according to the risks mentioned	82
21	Percentage of news articles, according to their mentioned risks and risk attribution	84
22	Percentage distribution of news articles, according to their proposed solution to the population issue	85
23	Percentage distribution of news articles, according to their treatment or argument for family planning programs or population management	86

24 Percentage distribution of news articles, according to the labels used to refer to the population issue and programs 86

25 Percentage distribution of news articles, according to their overall argument 88

Figure

1 Population management word clusters 43

2 Anti-abortion and anti-family planning word clusters 49

3 Population management policy of the Executive word clusters 53

4 Word groupings of text supporting population management 65

5 Word groupings of text opposing population management 68

6 Word groupings of news articles on population and family planning 70

7 Scope and relationships of population sub-issues 89

Acronyms

BFAD	Bureau of Food and Drugs Administration
CBCP	Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines
DA	Department of Agriculture
DepEd	Department of Education
DOH	Department of Health
DSWD	Department of Social Welfare and Development
FP	family planning
GDP	gross domestic product
HIV/AIDS	human immunodeficiency virus /acquired immuno-deficiency syndrome
HOR	House of Representatives
IUD	intrauterine device
LGU	local government unit
MCH	maternal and child health
MDG	millennium development goal
NEDA	National Economic and Development Authority
NFP	natural family planning
NGO	nongovernment organization
PFPO	Philippine Family Planning Organization
PFPP	Philippine Family Planning Program
PLCPD	Philippine Legislators' Committee on Population and Development

PM	population management
POPCOM	Commission on Population (formerly, Population Commission)
PPMP	Philippine Population Management Program
RA	Republic Act
RH	reproductive health
STD	sexually transmitted disease
STI	sexually transmitted infection
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Acknowledgments

The authors acknowledge the assistance of Ms. Yla Paras in the legal research. This research was supported primarily by the Merit Research Award Program of the Institute of Philippine Culture, School of Social Sciences, Ateneo de Manila University. It also benefited from a grant provided by the Office of the Vice-Chancellor of Research and Development of the University of the Philippines, Diliman. Portions of this volume have appeared previously in the *Asian Journal of Communication* and *Population Research and Policy Review*.

Clarissa C. David
Antonio G. M. La Viña
Jenna Mae L. Atun

INSTITUTE OF PHILIPPINE CULTURE
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ATENEO DE MANILA UNIVERSITY

The Institute of Philippine Culture is a research organization of the School of Social Sciences of the Loyola Schools, Ateneo de Manila University. Founded in 1960, the IPC advances the University's mission and goals by generating knowledge that helps deepen the understanding of cultures and societies; improve the quality of life of disadvantaged groups; and build a peaceful, just, and equitable society in the Philippines, Southeast Asia, and the world. It is open to collaboration with local and international partners. Enjoying academic freedom, the IPC investigates what it wishes and publishes what it finds.

The *IPC Culture and Development Series* disseminates the results of research conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Philippine Culture, School of Social Sciences, Ateneo de Manila University. A refereed publication, this series seeks to make a scholarly contribution by focusing on questions concerning the relationship of culture and development.

For decades population has been one of the most contentious issues in the Philippines, and its framing and reframing by different stakeholders present various ways of interpreting whether it is a problem and what solution is best to address it. This study takes a systematic look at the different frames that have been used to discuss population and reproductive health in public discourse from both communication and political perspectives. Different types of frame analysis were conducted on various population-related texts that appeared in public and policy content from 1987 to 2007. A combination of semantic network analysis and discourse analysis of legislative documents revealed the use of distinct political rhetoric and semantic approaches to frame population and reproductive health. Analysis of official presidential policy documents on the Philippine Population Management Program indicated implementation or action strategies consistent with the direction sought by the Executive. Analysis of texts from supporters and opponents of population management as well as population-related news articles showed that supporters adopted a "development frame," opponents used "anti-abortion" and "sex education" frames, and the news media, while reflecting both views, presented the issue as a conflict between the Church and government. Findings from descriptive analysis based on manual coding are also described. The study then provides a map of the different frames used to discuss population in public and policy discourses and provides recommendations on how to frame the solutions, among others. It ends with a discussion on the various provisions of the RH Law and its journey after it was enacted in 2012.

ISBN 978-971-861-064-0