DUBLIN CITY UNIVERSITY

School of Communications

The Political Economy

of Development News:

Analysing News Coverage Under Aquino

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by

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DECLARATION

I, Meldy Pelejo, being a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts as awarded by Dublin City University declare that while registered as a candidate for the above degree I have not been a registered candidate for an award of another university. Secondly, that none of the material contained in this thesis has been used in any other submission for any other award. Further, that the contents of this thesis are the sole work of the author except where an acknowledgement has been made for assistance received.

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ABSTRACT

Analysis of development news research up to the present reveals that the field has not progressed from studying development messages' effects to a broader outlook on media and the structures in which they operate. For this reason, the present study has strived to account for how the political and socio-economic context of Philippine society influences the operation of a governmental journalism policy.

This study set out to do two things. Firstly, it aimed to clarify the widespread idea that the use of communication for development purposes is not unlimited. Information dissemination - the objective of development news - is not the sole solution to development problems. Hence, the study of development news cannot be confined to correlating the amount of development content in the mass media with the level of development achieved within a certain period as most previous development news studies have done. This study aims to show that such correlations are futile unless seen within the context of the political economy of the media. News, especially in the press, is governed by policies that are influenced by the socio-political situation of the society in which it is produced.

Secondly, by focusing the analysis on the socio-economic and political context in which news restrictions under Aquino emerged, the study can point out parallelisms

between Marcos' and Aquino's news policy. The study of communication and development, in particular, development news can then move from the linear model of communication to the political economy model.

As a first step, the author examines the early theories on communication and development in order to present an overview of the underlying principles in many development communication programmes. Chapter two discusses cases or illustrations of the application of the theories of media and development. The chapter also points out the shortfall of these projects which the author attributes to seeing information dissemination as the solution to development problems. Chapter three then deals with the concept of development journalism, and the misunderstanding surrounding the concept. In this chapter, the author points out that the emphasis placed on content analysis has led to the failure to see development news as a policy arising from the immediate socio-political context of society in which media operate. Chapter four looks at the case of the Philippines under Marcos and how developmental journalism was the policy that oriented the practice of journalism during this period. The last chapter then looks at the Philippine press under Aquino and strives to assess the use of the same policy of governmental journalism. The study strives to achieve this through the use of qualitative analysis of news coverage of issues surrounding the insurgency, the land reform and the US military bases, combined with contextualisation of the content analysed.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In the study of communications and development, it is impossible to avoid the analysis of economic and political structures within a national or an international context. Yet, a look at the vast amount of literature on development and communication reveals that the study of the political economy of the media, especially, in relation to development has frequently been overlooked. This is particularly evident in the field of development journalism where research has been confined to content analyses of national media systems.
It is only in the last two decades with the call for a New World Information Order within UNESCO debates, that the study of the role of communications in development was brought within the sphere of the political economy of the media.

This study of the political economy of development news in the Philippines begins by looking at the various theories on the role of communications in development. The aim of reviewing these theories is to give an overview of the theoretical foundations on which the various uses of the mass media in development are based. With this overview, it is easier to see that media and development schemes that are based on a linear perspective of communication and socio-economic development fail to address the root of development

problems. Then, an illustration of the different uses of the media in education, health and information projects follows in order to show that information dissemination is not the sole solution to the problem of poverty. There are two reasons why information dissemination is not seen as the simple solution to development problems. Firstly, because development problems are not rooted simply in ignorance or in the underdevelopment of the economy. It is only now that development scholars are slowly recognizing that development is not only economic. Secondly, because media messages about social change are not produced in a neutral environment. Hence, while all news can be geared towards development by disseminating information relevant to daily life, one cannot overlook the fact that the production of of news is governed by policies that are shaped by the social, economic and political situation of the particular society. These policies, in turn, can also flow from the prevailing political ideologies and/or are moulded by these ideologies. Development journalism, therefore, cannot simply be an object of quantitative study. Governmental journalism (that is development reporting controlled by the state), in particular, has to be seen as a policy that results from the government's perception of its own legitimacy.

To achieve this, there is a need to examine the assumptions of development journalism. The paper hypothesises that

development journalism's theoretical bases are so content orientated that they hinder examination of the socio-political and economic context behind media content.

What seems to be a common thread woven into the majority of development news studies is the assumption that producing more and better development news through trained economics journalists would stimulate national development. It is evident from the varied writings on development news that this assumption is continuously and uncritically made. (Chapter three will deal with this in greater length). This is because of the failure of studies in development journalism to define what the media's role in development should be. Too often, such studies accept the view, propounded by leading advocates of the dominant theory on media and development such as Lerner, Schramm, Pye and Pool, that the media are a crucial catalyst of change and an index of development (Elliott & Golding,1974,229).

This is precisely what this study is about --- to present a "diversion" from the mainstream content analytical studies on development news. It looks at the content plus the socio-political setting in which news policies arise. As Schlesinger et. al. (1987,xxiii) puts it, news "... may also be analysed as part of a broader set of relationships concerning the flow of sensitive information between the media and the 'secret state'."

The aim of this thesis is to examine how the current political and economic situation of the Philippines under Aquino affect the policies governing the news. This is achieved by analysing the perspective given prominence and the vocabulary used in news items on issues surrounding the land reform, the future of US military bases in the country and the insurgency movement. The news items analysed were taken from a leading Manila paper - The Philippine Star.

The choice of the Philippines as a specific case is derived from the author's familiarity with this society. The second reason is that development journalism is credited to have originated from Asia --- specifically from the Philippines.

This research takes its cue from Encanto's (1982) study of development news under the Marcos government. Her findings reveal that development news during Martial Law was reduced to reporting on the positive development actions undertaken by the Marcos government or to promote a favourable image of the government. According to Encanto, among the factors that could account for this reduction of development journalism to "promotional work for the government" is the lack of press freedom. The present study tests the kind of development journalism practiced under the Aquino government by examining the perspective prevailing in news reports then, it explores the factors which account for the type of development reporting currently exercised.

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In the first place, before any discussion of the role of media in development, it is necessary to look at the development problems which the "media" are supposed to address.

1.2 The Dimension of Development Problems Today

Poverty, unemployment, urban congestion, rural stagnation, food shortages, illiteracy and lack of other basic human rights are some of the most outstanding problems of developing countries today as well as industrialized nations.

After World War II, many new states achieved autonomy. The achievement of autonomy led these new states to strive for development and economic growth following the western model. Development and economic progress, during this time, meant to develop and to grow like the western economies which concentrated on the growth of incomes.

More than two UN development decades have already passed and the continuing underdevelopment and dependence of these new states on their former colonisers has provoked many economists, world leaders and development scholars to reexamine their strategies and indeed the concept of development itself. It was evident that in spite of industrialization there was "unemployment, urban congestion, rural stagnation, food shortages, widespread poverty, etc." (Oshima, 1987,17).

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Some argue that the failure of development efforts during this period is due to an economic-growth oriented strategy, the benefits of which were hoped to "trickle-down to the rest of the populace". Instead, the benefits were and continue to be retained by those who posess the capital.

1.3 The Economic Theory of Development

The equation of development with per capita income has its roots in the industrial and agricultural developments in the middle of the eighteenth century, the spread of which brought about the conversion of Europe's economy into a free market system. The "increased acceleration of the development process" as a result of these developments in turn brought the rise in incomes to "levels beyond any in history". Between 1960 and 1970, per capita income in the less developed countries was between $80 - $100, while in Northern Europe and the US, it was $1,500 - $2,000 respectively. This theory argues that incomes will rise as more technological inputs are placed in "accumulating capital".

The actual development strategy economists posit, could be summed up in this: "if growth of per capita GNP was sustained at rates of about 2 or 3 per cent, the benefits would spread throughout the economy and eventually reach all groups" (Bill and Redgrave,1973,46; Americana Encyclopedia, 1979,596).

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However, economic developments in the 1950s and 1960s showed unsatisfactory results despite industrialization. The gap between the rich and the poor within societies, and on the larger scale, between rich and poor nations continued.

Others argue that the fault lies in the capitalist system itself. Nigel Harris in The End of the Third World contends that the capitalist system "had been so transformed to the point where it could no longer repeat the process of the dispersal of development that had occurred in the nineteenth century" (Harris,1986,26).

Although capitalism has accrued to some formerly undeveloped countries a certain degree of economic progress --- by building up their manufacturing industries, --- the same system has left the other countries underdeveloped. The reason for this is that free trade always favoured the more developed. Therefore, there is always inequality.

Baran (1957), meanwhile explains that this is because capitalism though formerly a powerful force in economic development is now only an obstacle to human progress. Others argue that inherently, capitalism has not allowed growth in the periphery. From the beginning, Europe had imposed the underdevelopment of the periphery through "unequal exchange", whether seen as "virtual robbery, as an accident of the structure, or as a phenomenon whereby the exports of the periphery were undervalued while their

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imports were overvalued" (Harris,1986,25).

1.4 The Nature of Development Problems

It is not within the limits of this paper to discuss the contentious topic of how liberal capitalism had imposed the underdevelopment of the developing countries. However, it is generally recognised that the history of liberal capitalism has made complex the development problems of both the developed and the developing countries by creating a "dual economy", such that, as one document of the Catholic Church states, "the frontiers of wealth and poverty intersect within the societies themselves ..." (John Paul II,1988,21).

What exists as a matter of fact in underdeveloped as well as developed countries is the existence of a "periphery" (made up of the urban poor, or the community of working immigrants) within the CORE countries, and a "core" (i.e. the class of wealthy individuals in the metropolitan centres of undeveloped countries) within the PERIPHERY countries.

It is precisely this dual character of societies which makes the problem of development difficult to address. Hoogvelt (1978) attributes this "duality", especially in former colonial countries, to the history of Western dominance of their economies (and on the other side of the coin -- the developing nations' "dependence" on the West) which is typified in the theory of dependent

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underdevelopment.

In the history of economic ascendancy of nations, one group according to Hoogvelt (i.e. Western Europe) "has disturbed and prevented the process of indigeneous societal evolution of another group of nations -- and indeed, continues to do so up to the present time." Hoogvelt asserts that the contemporary problems of developing countries can be best understood at the "crossroads" of that society's internal development and the arrival of Western influences. He identified two distinct periods of Western influence which led to the problems of developing countries today: the merchant period and the colonial period.

The history of Western dominance of the developing parts of the world date back to the merchant period. European traders in search of spices and gold dominated the trade in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The surpluses accumulated from the trade made a substantial contribution to "Western Europe's capital accumulation", and especially to the financing of its industrial revolution, hence contributing much to Europe's economic development.
The West's superiority in world trade during the fifteenth to the eighteenth century while helping to advance the progress of Western Europe had an adverse and "degenerating" effect in the progress of societies in Africa, Asia and Latin America where the West traded and "plundered" (Hoogvelt,1978,65-66).

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The proliferation of the slave trade in Africa for instance, according to Curtin (1969,69), accounted for a decrease of about 10-15 million in Africa's population. Apart from this, in those areas where European trade dominated, economic activity declined. Goods exchanged in the slave trade, Hoogvelt maintains, did not induce diversification of activity but rather the opposite. To illustrate, iron smelting was abandoned during this time (Hoogvelt, 1978,79). From the exploitation of Africa's, Asia's and Latin America's goods, an administrative system suited to the economic needs of the mother country gradually developed. Some would tend to view the colonization of these territories as maintaining the underdevelopment of the ravaged economies of the conquered territories. However, Hoogvelt states, this is only partially true as in the process of adapting the territories to suit the needs of the mother country, the West had to transfer its technology, socio-political organisations, ways of production, and cultural ideas, thereby leading to the acceleration of the colonised territories' progress. Neveretheless, it is equally true that this "diffusion of ideas" tended to be concentrated only in areas where Europeans settled. This explains the "duality" of colonial and post-colonial societies (Hoogvelt,1978,71).

The underdevelopment of developing countries' economies, however, does not stem from this duality but from

the integration of its economy with that of the mother country. The process of integration would have involved (a) a tax system whereby the people had to earn the money to pay for the tax either by planting cash crops or by working for a white man's plantation; (b) the "direct organisation of the production and marketing of the colonies' raw materials"; (c) a guaranteed outlet for the manufactured goods of the mother country in the colonies' market and (d) "monetary adjustments" where currency zones were established and the colonies were made to pay with foreign currency. Over all these, the most enduring heritage of colonialism was the cultivation of one or two suitable crops which made the colonies' economy unviable in "bust " periods in the world market (Hoogvelt,1978,71-73).

A UN Report stated that "almost 90% of the export earnings of the developing countries derive from primary products. Moreover, nearly one half of these countries earn more than 50% of their export receipts from a single primary commodity. As many as three quarters of them earn more than 60% from three primary products (Pearson, et. al.,1970,81).

After World War II, power was transferred from the colonisers to newly independent governments. And, with independence came the assertion for development where the West was looked up to as a model. Even without political or administrative control, ties with the mother country continued with the export of capital, aid and foreign loans.

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Today, it is no longer the imperialist or the colonizing powers which devastate the Third World but the transnational corporations (TNCs) "which determine the economic, political and social reality of the world today" through various practices such as "transport pricing, double accounting, protection by patents, calculation of equity capital, control of market, defensive investment, patent suppression, export control and organisation of the entire production" (Hoogvelt, 1978,84-88) aided by political "arrangements".

The role of communication is central in all these, and also in the TNCs' continuing dominance of developing countries' economies. Hence, the TNCs influence in the communications industry is also very much felt.

Against this background, the problem which has been the central theme of debates on the New World Information Order remains unresolved. "How should Third World development be defined ? How can communication resources be mobilized for its support ?" (Stevenson, 1988,29).

1.5 Towards a Definition of Development

To answer these two questions is, in actual fact, to try to answer the questions : what is development and how can it be achieved ? In the following discussion, a definition of development will be formulated which will form part of the critique in the later chapters.

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"Development", for MacPherson (1982,18) is "a complex and elusive concept" which in spite of the increasing literature has remained undefined for lack of agreement.

It is aptly described as "an elastic term whose meaning expands or contracts according to your point of view. For a Brazilian businessman it may mean freewheeling investment, for a Zambian peasant it may mean a reliable village water supply" (New Internationalist, May 1988, 16).

But the common agreement in the vast literature on development is that it must improve living standards. (New Internationalist, May 1988, 16; Brandt, 1980, 48; Vilanilam, 1979,2).

The Brandt Report expands this tenet further to say that improved living conditions are necessary for economic growth and industrialisation. One cannot speak of development if equal attention has not been given to the "quality of growth and social change".

"It is now widely recognised that development involves profound transformation of the entire economic and social structures. This embraces changes in production and demand as well as improvements in income distribution and employment. It means creating a more diversified economy, whose main sectors become more interdependent for supplying inputs and for expanding markets for output. The actual patterns of structural transformation will tend to vary from one country to another depending on a number of factors

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--- including resources, geography, and the skills of [the] population" (Brandt,1980,48).

However, to take the suggestion that development simply means the improvement of living standards, is indicative of the common pitfall in development studies where development is confined simply to the economic arena. The opposite, however, is true as more and more development scholars are beginning to realize.

Taking these into consideration, any definition of development therefore, should strive for a global and holistic analysis of development which includes a development strategy which begins and returns to the object of development efforts -- which is how human development can be achieved in spite of the contradictory workings of a capitalist world market.

"Modern underdevelopment is not only economic but also cultural, political and simply human .... we have to ask ourselves if the sad reality of today might not be at least in part, the result of a too narrow idea of development, that is, a mainly economic one" (John Paul II,1988, 25).

Poverty takes various forms; material privation is one. The limitation of human rights such as the right to religious freedom, the right to share in the building of society, the freedom of speech and the freedom to form unions and to take initiative in economic matters are among its other manifestations. All these impoverish the human

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person much more than the lack of material goods. Development, without the full affirmation of these rights is not authentic development.

It would be a mistake to consider development as simply economic. However, the "existence of economic, financial and social mechanisms which although they are manipulated by people often function, almost automatically thus accentuating the situation of wealth for some and poverty for the rest", (John Paul II, 1988,25) are not being discounted. These mechanisms, which were referred to earlier must be taken into consideration in defining development and in formulating development strategies.

1.6 Media and Social Change

There is no doubt that the media are related to social change. The media carry messages about social change. But, we cannot be blinded by a view that the media are neutral or exist in a political and economic vacuum.

Media's messages about social changes are influenced by the socio-political and economic situations in which they exist. There is no question especially today about the power of the media and their capability for carrying messages about change. This is partly why various models of media's role in development came about.

The importance of the study of communications in development today is highlighted by the recognition of

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information as a new medium of wealth and power. This, therefore would require a different way of confronting the problems.

In Media Imperialism Reconsidered, Lee's analysis of the different theories of communication and development reveal three phases of change in studies of Third World development. Lee states that the "sociology of national development in the Third World . . has shifted from psychological dispositions to social differentiations --- to international dependency relationships among nations ...." (Lee,1980,17).

The range of development theories, from Lerner to Schramm, to Rogers, and then to proponents of dependency theories notably Schiller, Mattelart, Nordenstreng illustrates this shift described by Lee.

1.7   Media and Development -- Early Theories on Modernization

One of the earliest studies of the process of development is Daniel Lerner's The Passing of Traditional Society which is based primarily on his study of tradition and modernization in traditional societies in the Middle East around the 1950s. Lerner's fundamental hypothesis is expressed in these terms: "Increasing industrialisation has raised urbanisation which has tended to raise literacy; rising literacy has tended to increase political

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participation in economic and political life."

After urbanisation has reached 10%, literacy increases; and then urbanisation and literacy increase together until they reach 25%. Once society is 25% urbanised, literacy increases independently followed by an increase in media usage. This increase, Lerner supposes, would then be followed by "media participation" which would facilitate a democratic process of government (Lerner in Pye,1963,345). In practical terms, Lerner asserts that development can be achieved in this way: "The modernization process begins with a new public communication --- the diffusion of new ideas and new information which stimulates people to want to behave in new ways. It stimulates the peasant to want to be a freeholding farmer, the farmer's son to learn reading so that he can work in the town ... In this way new public communication leads directly to articulation of private interests" (Lerner in Pye,1963,348).

This process according to Lerner can be compared to the economist's growth model (see diagram).

A. economist's Growth model   B. Media initiated growth

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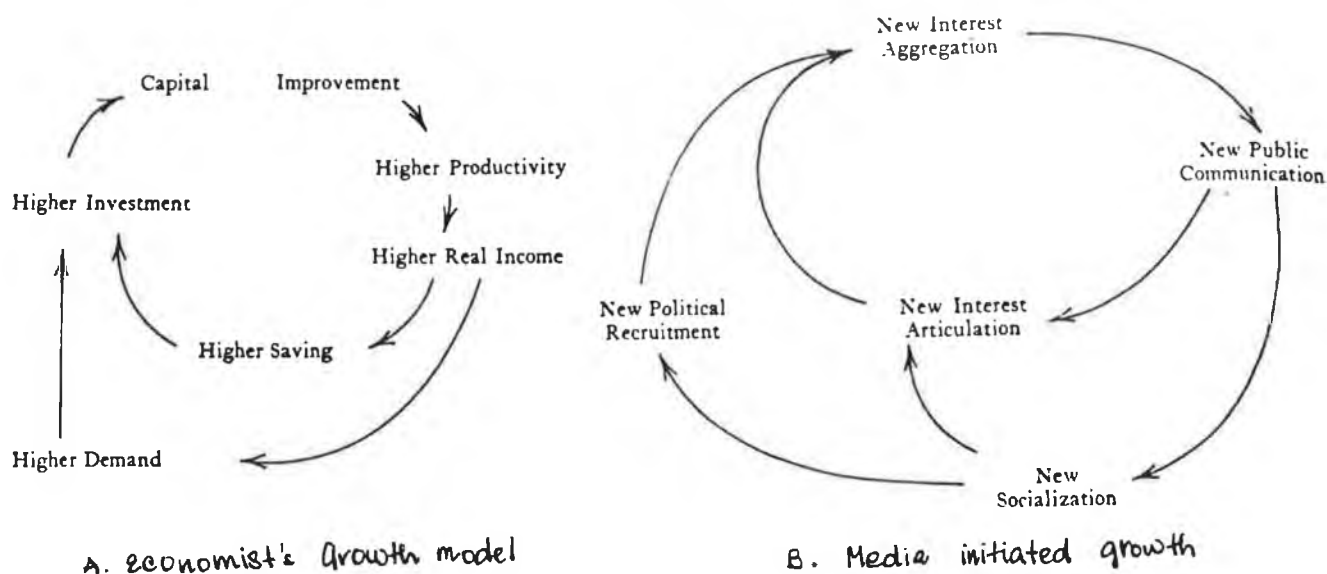
The newly expressed interests represent demand, while new ways of behaving could be paralleled to saving which makes possible new input. Consequently, while the media plant and foster the expression of new interests in the present generation, they also prepare the coming generation who will implement these interests. The start of this growth cycle will establish new ideas, behavior or practices in society. Furthermore, these innovations will grow firmly if they are transformed into public institutions.

The important psychogical element in Lerner's theory is empathy, which enables individuals to imagine themselves in the place of another, for instance, in the place of a person with a big house and a nice car and properties. Communication in this sense acts as a stimulator cultivating the interests, curiosity and imagination of the people.

The problem with this modernization theory of Lerner which greatly influenced the thinking on development in the 1960s, is summed up by Lee in three points. Lerner, he maintains, overemphasizes the role of "empathy" to explain societal change. Lerner's theory also assumes that modernity is incompatible with tradition. The opposite, Lee maintains, is true. "Tradition and modernity are not mutually conflicting or exclusive and not all tradition will disappear with modernzation. There are multiple facets of tradition and modernity responding to unique social and historical circumstances, of which some elements are

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conducive to social change while others may hinder change"
(Lee, 1980,20).

In other words, "a creative synthesis between the new
and the old" is possible; there is not only one option open
to nations.

According to Lee, Lerner emphasizes a social
evolutionist view that all nations will eventually become
like Western industrialized countries. Various studies like
Tilly (1975) and Portes (1974) have shown that the
development of western nations was not one of simple
evolution. Tilly's historical study of Western European
states shows that their development was not just a result of
"continuous rationalization of government, broadening of
political participation and pacification of the masses" but
a result of central consolidation of power and of massive
efforts "to build an army and exact taxes --- an extractive
and repressive" process which is not inevitable as Lerner
seems to pose.

Portes states that Third World development and European
states' development are vastly different in many respects,
for instance, in the manner in which development strategies
are carried out. "Third World development strategies,"
Portes stresses, "tend to be purposive and planned according
to predefined ends, elite initiated, collective and
compressed into a shorter time frame." Portes concurs with
Tilly that Lerner's modernization theory totally overlooks

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this timing and the sequence of modernization of countries and the multiple routes open to various nations (Lee, 1980,21).

Just after the publication of Lerner's The Passing of Traditional Society, the UN commissioned a survey of the Third World's mass media capabilities. The results of the survey led to the UN General Assembly's call for a program to help the developing nations to expand their mass media systems thereby setting the stage for mass media's role in development. The United Nations declaration of 1960 as a development decade further legitimized the growing interest in mass media's role in development began by Lerner. In 1962, the UN General Assembly urged its members to put the media in their national development plans. The UN assembly resolution states that: "... information media have an important part to play in education and in economic and social progress generally and that new techniques of communication offer special opportunities for acceleration of the education process" (UN Reports and Papers in Mass Communication No.49, 1967, 8). UNESCO then authorised a study on the application of mass media in development programmes. The results of this study appeared in the book Mass Media and National Development written by Wilbur Schramm who was asked to undertake the study.

Schramm, following Lerner's footsteps, expounds the arguments for media's role in development and their relation

to government, which he considers as the primary force in directing national development. For Schramm, communication is closely linked with the process of development. As countries move from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy, progress in their communication takes place. "From one point of view, developments in communication are brought about by the economic, social and political evolution which is part of national growth. From another point of view, however, they are among the chief makers and movers of that evolution" (Schramm in Pye, 1963,30).

Since, social communication is so much part of society, it is possible to "track" the structure and development of a society by looking at the structure and development of its communication system. This also means that the extent of communication, the growth of mass media and their audience and the transfer of individual roles to organization (e.g. the town crier's role transferred to the newspapers or news agencies) reflect the economic development of society (Schramm,1964,34).

However, to prove a causal relationship between communication and development would be a task similar to solving the egg and chicken dilemma. But as it has been pointed out above, to a large extent, any development in one affects the other. So that, if society wants the economy to grow it must do something with communication. For communication to extend, certain "arrangements" must be laid

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out in the economy. Government legislation on the development of the national mass media system is one way of ensuring the growth of the communication system.

Schramm sums up the function of communication in developing countries as facilitating the integration of all the citizens within the "modern state", and encouraging the participation of the people in national development programmes. How will development in the long run, following this theory, be achieved ?

In order to attain growth and development, communication must fulfill six functions. Communication must cultivate a "feeling of nation-ness" by making the people of different ethnic, religious and political groups feel that they "belong to one nation". Through the media which will act as the "voice of national planning", the people will get information to arrive at a consensus to make plans and goals. Communication must teach basic skills such as literacy and vocational skills. It must also help to extend markets, depending on the policies for private enterprise, and this includes also improving the telephones, telegraphic and postal services. Lastly, communication must prepare people for their new roles and the role of their "nation among nations". Simply said, it means that communications ought to help change people's town outlook to a universal outlook; making them interested in what happens in the world and not only in what happens to their small village.

Communication can do all these through the information it disseminates. Schramm asserts that, "The mass media can contribute substantially to the amount and kinds of information available to the people of a developing country. They can widen horizons and thus help to build empathy; they they can focus attention on problems and goals of development; they can raise personal and national aspirations and all this they can do largely themselves and directly" (Schramm, 1964,101).

It is more evident at this point how from a psychological perspective, media are seen to engineer the development process. It is in this atmosphere and based on the above assumptions of what media can do that development journalism was "born". John Lent (1979,21), one of the early scholars of development journalism, states its principle in this way: "as national development depends so heavily upon economics there should be better trained and informed economics specialists among journalists to cover fully, impartially and simply the myriad problems of a developing nation."

The problem with setting out the role of communication in development in this way is that it assumes uncritically that the media and the people in it will and can produce development news, and the production of development news will stimulate development.

Although much criticism is leveled against Lerner and

Schramm's emphasis on the psychological variable "empathy", and the consequences that follow from its arousal, the significant role of information dissemination cannot be denied. There has been a rediscovery of the powerful potential of information today with the prominence of new information technologies. Perhaps the great emphasis laid on the instruments of transmitting information by Mcluhan's "The medium is the message" theory, in the early years obscured the importance of this discovery.

1.8   Rethinking on Media and Development

The beginning of the second phase in the study of media and development has its roots as early as the 1964 East-West conference.   In that conference, Chaudry Inayatullah, a Pakistani development official,   charged Third World leaders with becoming westernized and seeking new power through the western formula of development.   He also indicted them with avoiding guilt that their own countries are poor and decayed.   Inayatullah proposed then that the answer to Third World enslavement was severing aid programs.

Everett Rogers in the Second East-West Conference in 1974,   articulated some of the growing dissatisfaction against the dominant paradigm on media and development. Rogers criticized Schramm's theory for the invalidity of its assumptions.   Although "mass media exposure on the part of

individual developing nations was highly correlated with their modernization as expressed by their exhibiting modern attitudes and behavior", he countered that in the diffusion of new technologies especially in agriculture, interpersonal communication was the key to the successful diffusion process. Quoting Grunig, he points out that "unless the social structures are changed, communication cannot do much for development" (Rogers, 1976,136-143).

Rogers, who succeeded Schramm in Stanford University, articulated other factors -- particularly world events --- which challenged the old notion of the powerful role of media in development.

Rogers noted first among these events the phenomenon of environmental pollution which questioned the appropriateness of high technology as a tool for Third World development. Secondly, the world oil crisis in 1973 showed that Third World nations with oil reserves could shift power from the industrial countries to the developing nations. Thirdly, China's emergence from its closed-door policy as a "developed" country opened the possibility that has always been there to develop independently of both the West and the Soviet Union.

Peter Donaldson, in Worlds Apart also points to these developments noted by Rogers: the shift in the balance of international economic power brought about by the

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emergence of the oil exporting countries and the newly
industrializing countries with their growing manufacturing
sectors. The world recession in 1973 and then again in 1979
led to mass unemployment and greater social divisions
(1986,9-12).

1.9 Media and Dependent Development

The increasing dissatisfaction with economic
development efforts provoked renewed studies of development
and communication's role in development, which emerged as a
body of knowledge exploring the "international dependency
relationships among nations".

This body of knowledge came to be referred to as the
school of dependency and development. This theory sees
economic development in the developing, nations as shaped by
the developed countries through the activities of TNCs in
strengthening their economic domination and the developing
countries' dependence.

Earlier, in the discussion on the nature of development
problems, mention has been made of the different economic
measures by which transnational corporations (TNCs) strive
to ensure the economic domination of developing countries'
economies. In the following discussion, focus will now be
given to the cultural measures by which TNCs maintain the
underdevelopment of developing countries.

Hamelink (1977,1984) and Schiller's (1976) studies
document TNCs' penetration of the communication industry as

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one of these cultural measures. The logical basis which underlies TNCs' penetration of the communication industry rests on the necessity to cultivate receptivity in the importing countries to the TNCs manufactured goods. Hamelink (1977,8) states that "transnational economic activities require a global marketing strategy which desseminates in a persuasive manner sets of ideas supporting and legitimizing their interests. The international media industry provides the adequate tools for such marketing." He goes on further to explain that, "control of communication opens important perspectives for the engineering of consumer needs and the legitimation of business interests." Hence, "the most important firms in communication belong to the world's largest industrial corporations."

Schiller's theory of cultural imperialism points to the same idea that, transnationals' economic expansion in the communication industry is an ideological ruse to use cultural-communications output to subjugate people. For Schiller, "cultural-informational outputs represent much more than conventional units of the ideological features of personal consumption goods; they are also embodiments of the ideological features of the world capitalist economy" (Schiller,1976,9).

The role of advertising agencies, in the promotion of messages which have their roots in the marketing needs of

TNCs, is highly important. Moreover, advertising requires total access to the mass media. Developing nations are culturally and economically dominated by TNCs not only through the loss of control of their mass media, but also through foreign advertising agencies' penetration of their "marketing mechanics" (Schiller,1969, 126-127).

Educational values transfer, especially in the field of business and journalism, is another cultural measure by which TNCs support their continuing economic domination. Through educational institutions, TNCs ensure the transmission of their philosophies, organizations and structures of work (Schiller, 1976,10-12). So that, as Schiller (1976,1) asks, "what does it matter if a national movement has struggled for years to achieve liberation if that condition, once gained, is undercut by values and aspirations derived from the apparently vanquished dominator?"

Obviously, the solution to this problem is not an easy one. Several theorists propose that the solution lies in a development and communication policy which has self-reliance as its core principle.

This chapter has sought to look at the nature of development as well as the various models on media and development which have emerged to address development problems. Chapter two will examine cases or illustrations of the use of mass media in education and development

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projects and the shortfall of these projects which the author attributes to the myopic focus on information dissemination.

Chapter three will look at the concept of development journalism, one of the uses of media in development, in detail. It will point out how the emphasis placed on content analytical studies has led to the failure to see development news as a news ideology arising from the government's perception of its legitimacy.

Chapter four will examine the case of the Philippine press under Martial Law and how developmental journalism was the policy that oriented the practice of news reporting during this particular period.

The last chapter will look at the Philippine press under Aquino and will strive to draw evidences of the use of governmental journalism. The study strives to achieve this objective through a qualitative content analysis of news coverage of issues surrounding the insurgency movement, the future of US military bases in the Philippines and the land reform, combined with a contextualisation of the content analysed within recent Philippine developments.

CHAPTER TWO

Following the discussion of various development and communication theories which have emerged to address development problems, this chapter now turns to the application of those theories. It points out in particular how, with the encouragement of the United Nations, radio, television and the newspaper were applied to development programmes following Lerner, Schramm and Pye's formulae.

Looking at case examples of the application of development communication theories helps to illustrate the fallacy of looking at information dissemination as the simple solution to development problems. The early formulations of the relationship between communication and development failed to account for the social and political dynamics of change and they also lacked "an adequate conception of the relationship between ideas and action, between culture and social structure" (Hartmann, Patil & Dighe,1989,23).

Development as a process does not occur in isolation from the society one seeks to develop. Hence, any proposed solution to development has to be sought within the context of the particular society in which media operate. This requires an understanding of the social context of the media under study.

2.1 Development Communication and the United Nations

Most development communication projects which emerged in the years immediately after World War II placed a lot of emphasis on installing and developing radio and television systems in the less developed countries to present modern skills and outlook and induce new ways of living (Hornik, 1988,ix-x; Stevenson, 1988). This was because slow development of poor people in developing countries was seen to be due in part to lack of education, skills, training and modern attitudes. Development theorists perceived that the solution to these problems lay in stressing more formal education which will help develop people's intellectual capacities and more adult training which will teach new skills and practices and encourage mobilization. These solutions proved to be difficult to carry out however. Implementing face to face instruction in developing countries proved inapproriate with the thin supply of teachers, field agents and inadequate budgets to support this work.

This led development theorists to argue for the use of mass media to reach these vast audiences otherwise beyond the reach of government resources.

In theoretical discussions of media and development, Daniel Lerner's The Passing of Traditional Society (1958) is generally referred to as the stepping stone towards the

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legitimization of the use of media in development. One of the bases of his study is his observation of modernization in the village of Balgat. Besides Lerner's work, another influential study which fueled the enthusiasm for the use of media in development projects was Wilbur Schramm's <u>Mass Media in National Development</u>.

But more than any other factor, it was the UN involvement in the issue of mass media and development which gave legitimacy and worldwide acceptance to such projects. At the end of the 1950s, the UN commissioned a survey of developing countries' mass media systems. The survey results led the General Assembly to call for a program to help the developing nations expand their mass media systems. Hence, the projects which emerged during these years placed emphasis on installing and developing radio and television in the less developed world to help induce modern attitudes and present new ways of living. The Voice of Zaire Radio is an example of this type of project built with French aid (Stevenson, 1988,22).

Throughout the sixties, UNESCO, one of UN's leading agencies sponsored various conferences on the issue of mass media and development. In 1960, a conference was held in Bangkok on "Developing Mass Media in Asia" and similar conventions were held for Africa and Latin America (UNESCO Report No. 30, 1960).

In 1962, a UN General Assembly resolution highlighted the important role of communication in economic and social progress and the UN urged its members to put development of the media in their national development plans. The UN General Assembly resolution states that "information media have an important part to play in education and in economic progress generally and that new techniques of communication offer special opportunitites for acceleration of the education process" (General Assembly Report quoted in Stevenson, 1988,22-23).

But it was not until 1966 that the phrase "mass communication in the service of education and development," which is the key feature of most development communication projects, was formally expressed. UNESCO convened a "Meeting on Radio and Television in the Service of Education and Development" in Bangkok, Thailand in May of that year. This meeting concluded that radio and television have specific contributions to make to education as well as to socio-economic progress. Therefore, the promotion of these media should be placed on the national agenda along with the promotion of other aspects of education and agriculture, health, housing, industrialization and other aspects of social and economic development (UNESCO Report No. 49, 1967,50). The way this promotion of the media in national development can be systematically undertaken was by establishing national communication policies.

The recognition that radio and television have significant contributions to make to the tasks of development is underlined by the acknowledgement that they not only fulfill an entertainment function, but also through careful planning of broadcast programmes, promote national development. The Report of the Meeting stated this idea as follows : "particularly in developing countries the opportunities for using the broadcast media purposefully for education and development should be borne in mind in all fields of programming. Information programmes may have a profound influence on attitudes and understanding of national problems and help mobilize public opinion and cooperation in the tasks of community and national development" (UNESCO Report No.49, 1967,47).

2.2 Media in Education and Information

The early examples of development communication projects centre on disseminating information to achieve such objectives as reducing birth rate, improving crop production through better agricultural techniques and improving health practices. These projects usually begins with a test phase in a limited location, as in an isolated village, in order to derive conclusive evaluations. Typically during the test phase, information explaining and advocating the change is introduced through a change agent

or through an authority figure. The change agent could be an extension worker or a specialist from the city. Through the aid of information leaflets, trials, and encouragement by the extension worker and the authority figure in the village, the villagers are encouraged to adopt the innovation. As the benefits become more apparent to others, the numbers of those who begin to accept the innovation are also expected to increase until the innovation becomes part of village life. The change agent can now move on to other villages to apply the same innovation (Rogers, 1983).

Lerner and Schramm's theory predicted that mass media will be the multipliers of these innovations. Radio and television can do in hundreds of villages simultaneously what a single agent could do in a single village. With the advent of mass media, radio and television came to take the place of extension agents most of the time. The following are examples of the use of mass media in education and development projects.

The Nicaraguan Radio Mathematics Project

The Radio Mathematics Experiment was a thirty minute radio broadcast used to teach maths to students in primary schools. The overall aim of the programme was to organize the classes and give maintenance to the whole educational process which was in danger due to shortages of primary school teachers.

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The project began in 1975 when a group of AID sponsored researchers and mathematics curriculum specialists began to work with Nicaraguan counterparts in Masaya, Nicaragua on radio programmes to teach maths to grade one pupils. The maths radio program consisted of a daily 30 minutes radio presentation followed by 30 minutes of teacher-directed activities. These activities were all laid out in a project-developed teacher's guide. No textbooks were used only one page printed worksheets which were given to each child to write their names and student number on. The radio was then turned on for the broadcast lesson. The radio programme for each lesson consisted mainly of two main characters who were joined by two others to sing, play and talk mathematics. The aim of the lessons was to get the children to respond orally, and in writing as many times as possible throughout the 30 minutes. The children were also asked to count and group small concrete objects.

New mathematics lessons were introduced through dialogues between the two characters. The children were asked and they responded orally. These exercises were again repeated in later lessons and the children were asked to write them down on the worksheets.

The actual aims of the project can be summed up as these: to find out whether maths can be taught effectively on radio, whether teaching mathematics through radio can reduce the per pupil cost of education, how costly is such

an instructional strategy and lastly, whether this strategy can be generalized to other settings. If the costs are low but the dissemination of results are difficult, then the project has limited value (Jamison and McAnany, 1978,37-40).

In 1975, an evaluation of student's performance was carried out by Searle, Matthews, Friend & Suppes (1977) and revealed that students with radio scored 67% while the students with no radio scored 58%. However, an evaluation of the project in 1976 provided more conclusive results. The sample size was larger and treatment and control groups were composed of randomly assigned students. The radio students scored 65.6% and the non-radio students 40.6%. Although the results of this study showed a significant difference in the learning achievement of the two groups of students, no follow-up study has been done to assess students' progress after the experiment.

Project plans in 1977 involved expanding the project to third grade and to higher levels and implementing the curriculum throughout the whole of Nicaragua (Jamison and McAnany, 1978, 37-38).

In El Salvador, educational programmes are broadcast to seventh to ninth graders through the use of television.

Mass media for education in development communication projects fulfill not only a teaching function but also an equalizing function. Limited human and material resources

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for education in rural areas are expanded through instructional television and through radio. The fact that an experienced teacher is attracted to an urban school does not limit the access of students in the rural areas to that same resource. And the fact that the same broadcast signal is used by another school does not limit the other urban or rural schools from receiving the same signal as long as they have the receivers (Hornik,1988,8).

Rural Radio in Bolivia, Tanzania and Bangladesh

The case study of two Bolivian rural radios (Gwynn, 1983,80-87) showed that radio can also be effective in the dissemination of development information. A nutrition promotion campaign launched from October 1978 to July 1980 aimed to encourage the use of soybeans as a low-cost source of proteins by the rural people. The campaign involved one minute announcements in both Spanish and Quechua on Radio Continental in Punata and Radio Armonia in Cliza and in Radio San Rafael. It also involved demonstrations on how to prepare soybeans. Demonstration teams travelled to the different provinces to give information on soybeans and show the various ways of cooking them.

The first evaluation surveys on the nutrition campaign showed that more than eighty per cent did not know anything about the campaign. An audience survey revealed that the heaviest radio listeners were young people while the

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campaign announcements were directed to married women. When the announcements were tailored for young people the campaign results showed that eighty per cent (80 %) of the sample knew about soybeans. Radio was also effective in encouraging radio listening and directing the people to demonstration areas.

In Tanzania, an adult education programme was launched to teach adults about health. The programme was entitled "Man is Health". It was a national campaign to make adults more aware of health issues by forming discussion and listening groups. These groups were required to listen and to act on weekly radio broadcasts on health matters.

Radio for development has also been used to encourage family planning. A "Population Planning Cell" department in Radio Bangladesh functions mainly to promote family planning. This department produces a twenty minute serial called "Happy Family" which was broadcast six days a week. Another daytime programme brought the total of Radio Bangladesh's broadcast hours devoted to the promotion of family planning to 70 minutes daily (Katz & Wedell, 1978,320).

All the aforementioned projects share a significant element, that is, they are all centred on giving information about nutrition, education and health. In other words, the stimulus for change in these projects comes from outside. A major drawback of this type change, however, is that the people concerned are often not consulted.

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2.3 Mobilization of Media at National Level

Development communication projects however, have also been applied at a national level. The chances of success and the benefits of these projects are argued to be greater than the localized projects discussed above. The reason is that most projects at a national level are greater in scale. They avail more of government support and combine the use of different media. Projects like these which are geared specifically towards "mobilization" seem to be most effective in achieving development goals. The use of different media help in concentrating national attention on a particular problem. The strength of the media in these instances is based on their capacity to repeat messages (Hornik, 1988,19).

The most evident examples of such use of media can be found in communist countries.

(i) The People's Republic of China

The mobilization of media for "development" takes a different form in countries like China and in states formerly under communist governments. The media are the tools of the Communist government's policies. The "development" of these countries is measured according to their adherence to the political, social and economic goals set by the central government.

The Chinese media, like the media in other communist

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countries, are considered as "tools of the revolution". Their aim is to bring about a classless society and to bring about a better economic situation for the average citizen. Radio, Mao believed, was "the most important tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat". Hence, wired loudspeaker systems, and wire exchanges were built everywhere beginning in 1951. The establishment of wired radio systems made mass communication and interpersonal persuasion possible. Mao also believed that it is important for people to participate in the rationalisation of proposed policies. He gave great importance to feedback from the people to understand what policies were acceptable and how policies implemented were working. This was made possible through radio and newspapers, although as such these media are means of administration by the Party. The Chinese believe that their media functions as a two way channel between the government and the people. Guanzchou (Canton) Yang Chen Evening Daily is an example of an interactive media in China. Xu-Shi, deputy editor-in-chief, states that the paper reports on the peple's livelihood and criticizes government bureacracy and inefficiency.

The People's Daily with a circulation of six million serves also as the voice of the people. The paper receives an average of 2,400 letters daily. Some are published while some are passed on to state councils and government agencies for action. The policy of the paper is to print a letter

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criticizing an editorial if it is judged to be correct. A criticism of the letter on the other hand is published if it is judged to be wrong. Deputy editor An Gung, in an interview by Robinson stated that "journalism should serve the people by furthering the progress of the revolution in creating a better society" (Robinson, 1981,62).

But while the People's Daily does serve as an informal voice of the people, it is still the official voice of the Chinese Communist government. Its primary task is to explain and publish the current administration's policies.

Upon Deng Xiaoping's coming to power, various changes in China's national political and economic policies came about. China's economic policy was directed to participation in the world market. As a consequence, the role of Chinese media in "development" also underwent changes.

Deng's goal for China was to achieve a high standard of living by the year 2000. As of 1981, China's per capita income stood at US $200 or about one fortieth of the US average while the US's was $7,686. To achieve a higher standard of living, China has to earn $1,200 billion by the year 2000. China's GNP in 1978 was $352 billion. Deng's policy for achieving this goal was to increase production of consumer goods for export and for domestic consumption. This could be done in two ways: by keeping the national income spread evenly among the people and letting a consumer

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society develop slowly or by giving the income to a few groups and build a consumer society more quickly. The latter strategy can be done by giving government subsidies or financial incentives to individuals or groups who can produce more goods for export using a lot of labour and very little capital. By introducing a less progressive tax system or imposing less tax on the earnings of these individuals or groups, the government can concentrate the national income in this sector. With more surplus income, these groups will have more propensity to consume goods. A demand for basic and luxury goods will be present and a market for such goods will emerge to answer the demand. Growth of the economy is expected to result from this development. Deng has chosen to achieve China's modernization by letting a few peasants and only some localities of the country prosper first.

The Chinese media's role in view of these changes has shifted to facilitating the movement towards a consumer society through "rapid development of television, changes in basic media functions, and concommitant shifts in media content" (Robinson, 1981,67).

Hence, Chinese news and advertising are becoming more Westernized in response to these new economic and political priorities. What constitutes news has changed from its focus on government or group achievements to investigative reporting of government mistakes. This redefinition of news

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has been encouraged too by American training of Chinese journalists. In the period 1979-1981, for instance, two US journalists worked with student and working journalists in Beijing.

Media editorials reflect this "conversion" and are oriented towards the idea that "people have the right to engage in production and improve their living standards." Newspapers mobilize people to act in the common interests when they publish and support the national goals.

Television sets in Beijing in 1980 rose from near zero to 2.2 million. Factories and communes were installed with television sets to enable the people to watch television every night for several hours. The government advocated not only the buying of televion sets but also the buying of products advertised on TV. According to a Beijing article, "ads are helpful in cementing ties between production and marketing and in activating the market" and "play a useful role in disseminating knowledge about various commodities and arousing the interest of potential customers" (Robinson, 1981,65).

China's strategy of using the media to inject consumerist values and activate the market draws attention once again to the early modernization theories already referred to. The drawback of these development models is that they failed to account for the fact that the media do not operate in a vacuum. Advertising and commercial

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programs can show alternative ways of life to the Chinese population. However, China's transformation to a consumer society will depend not only on media content but also on corresponding changes in the structures of production and the distribution of income.

(ii) Afghanistan

Afghanistan in the late seventies provides another example of the use of media in disseminating development information. Afghanistan's only national radio service in 1970 was devoted solely to development purposes, with a clear focus on improving agricultural skills. Afghanistan is a country of harsh terrain and climate. Its farming population back in this period was largely bound to traditional farming methods. Its Ministry of Agriculture took care of the agricultural extension service of the entire country. The country itself is divided into provinces and to extension units which cover groups of villages.

At the start of the agricultural programme, the Afghan government announced land reform measures which gave the radio service a new goal and enabled it to secure people's interest and support for the measures. The original idea was to establish farm forums but owing to the variety of agricultural occupations due to different climates within Afghanistan, a single radio programme was impossible.

Different programmes catering to the different interests of

the audience had to be made. However, broadcasting of these programmes was limited. Topical programmes could only be transmitted to one portion of the audience at the one time. To localize and deepen the information transmitted in the radio programmes, these programmes were recorded in audio cassettes which were then distributed to different villages.

The provinces of Wardak and Logar were selected as starting sites of the project, and within these extension units were also selected. Non-participating units acted as control groups. A survey of the topics considered by the farmers and the Ministry experts to be important for improving farming determined the themes of the radio programme. For six months, the radio programme "Village, Home and Agriculture" broadcast every Wednesday evening explored the topics which surfaced in the preparatory consultations with farmers. The field extension workers, supplied with radio visited their villages on the day of the programme and encouraged group listening and the use of radio. The programmes were in familiar radio formats such as interviews, discussions, lectures and local music. Farmers, extension workers from the two provinces as well as experts from the Ministry were among the contributors to the programme. Field extension workers supplied with radio receivers visited their villages on the day of the programme and encouraged group listening and the use of radio. Among the topics treated in

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the radio programmes were how to grow wheat, how to get rid of mice and how to prune fruit trees - all specific problems for the farmers to act on.

Audio cassette tapes of these programmes were then circulated to the different villages at appropriate seasons. Results showed an increased awareness of techniques regarding the topics treated in the project and increased intention to practice these techniques (Postgate et al., 1979,17-20).

It has been noted in the case of the Chinese media that unless corresponding changes are made in the structures of society, there will not be any real change. The same applies to the case of Afghanistan. Even so, it must be pointed out that development is not simply structural. Development is also a "process of self-determination" (Berrigan, 1979,12). Although results of the experiment showed an increased awareness of new techniques on the part of the farmers, this does not necessarily lead to application of the techniques learned. As Daniel Benor stated in an interview by Hornik (1988,69), "farmers may listen but they won't follow."

In a country like Afghanistan, mobilization of media at the national level was facilitated by financial assistance from the government and from commercial advertisers. Tax duties on radio sets and grants from foreign countries made up the other sources of revenue for development communication projects in Afghanistan (Katz and Wedell, 1978,51).

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The above examples dealt only with the use of radio and television. But the newspapers too, were applied to the tasks of education and development. In developing countries, rural newspapers particularly were aimed to promote literacy.

(iii) Rural Newspapers in Africa: The Forerunner of Development Journalism

Rural newspapers started in Liberia in 1963 and in Niger in 1964. They appeared as one paged mimeographed news sheets in support of literacy projects. The circulation of these papers averaged 2,000. Because they were linked with literacy projects, the language, format, content and style were greatly determined by this purpose. In the UN Report on rural journalism in Africa,the rural newspaper in Africa was defined as neither a metropolitan-based newspaper with a wide circulation nor a provincial city-based newspaper with a regional outlook. Its content and style were oriented to the specific information and learning needs of the African community. Its sophistication was determined by the prevailing literacy levels ; in fact, most newspapers were launched as tools for literacy retention.

The phenomenon of rural newspapers, the UN Report on Rural Journalism in Africa (1981) asserted, should be seen in the context of low literacy levels, multiplicity of languages and the unavailability of basic infrastructures such as roads, electricity and other services beyond the cities (Ansah,1981,7).

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Most rural newspapers were started through government sponsorship or some public agencies. For instance, Mali's Kibaru was launched in March 1972 under the Mali National Agency of Information (ANIM). The daily newspaper L'Essor and Togo's GameSu followed Kibaru in September 1972 with sponsorship from the Ministries of Social Affairs and Information and also through UNESCO's assistance. Sengo in Congo was set up by the Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Mission d'aide de Cooperation Francaise (MAC).

The origins of the different rural newspapers all over Africa vary in each country. Kisomo in East Africa was launched with UNESCO's help in 1975 while Liberia's Gbaraga Gbele News was established in April 1965 as a result of the rural population's demand for a rural newspaper. Some like Kenya's Bumanyati launched in June 1976 was a result of an agreement between Kenya's government and the government of the Netherlands.

Although these rural newspapers were intended for literacy promotion, many later included other development objectives such as diffusion of general information and popularization of government policies, provision of channels for dialogue between the government and the rural population, provision of practical information on health, nutrition, agriculture and rural mobilization (Ansah,et.al, 1981,9-13).

Terre et Progresin Ivory Coast was created by the National Office of Agricultural Development in 1973 to disseminate

agricultural news consisting of high level technical articles with many illustrations. Others like Niger's Gangaa and Rwanda's Kinyamatika and Hobe were set up by the Ministry and by the Catholic Mission respectively. They were intended at the outset to promote literacy but expanded later on to report on national and international news. Open dialogue between the rural audiences and the government of Niger was also encouraged in the newspaper as a result of the government's awareness of the importance of information in development and progress (Ansah et.al.,1981,17-25).

The expansion of rural newspapers' development objectives to include communication of government messages and policies and reporting of various development oriented features on religion, agriculture, youth and civic education is one of the early forms of development journalism. (The next chapter will deal in more depth with the concept of development journalism and its use).

Development journalism, here, refers to the use of media in support of government efforts for development. Slawski, Bowman and Johnstone have referred to this type of development journalism as "support journalism" while others have referred to it as "government-say-so-journalism". Although pioneers of the concept and the term -development journalism- insist that it is independent of the government, in countries where the government owns and controls the

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media, it is impossible for development journalism to be independent and non-political. Media content tends to be constructed in favour of those who control the media especially, when the legitimacy of those in control are in doubt. Access and control, not only content, tends to converge as one (Zaffiro, 1988,118). The case of the media in Botswana is illustrative of this.

Development Communication in Botswana

The media in Botswana reflect very much the open and democratic character of its political institutions. Compared to most of its African neighbours, Botswana enjoys more freedom of the press. The mass media in Botswana since pre-1984 have been free to print or broadcast items critical of official policy (Zaffiro,1988,110).

Several reasons seem to account for this relative freedom that Botswana enjoys. Firstly, the press in Botswana never participated in the struggle for independence unlike the press in other African countries. Aludin Osman, editor of the Gazette (Gabonne), in an interview by Zaffiro in 1985 stated that, "the press was never used to fight for independence. In fact, press and broadcasting were created within the territory; independence was given on a silver platter." Secondly, because legitimacy and credibility of political authority were inherited through traditional sources of authority in the country or through ties with

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former officials in the government, the national media system were not seen as necessary for government. Thirdly, because traditional lines of communication in cities or villages remain the crucial means of political communication, it was not necessary to control the press or radio or other existing means of communication. Hence, Botswana's leaders did not see the media as vital in forging national unity and in promoting their government's legitimacy (Zaffiro, 1988,111).

Since it gained independence from Britain in 1966, it has enjoyed fair and free elections, enduring political institutions, and a fairly efficient civil service. The Botswana Democratic Party has been in power through five free elections since independence and has never been seriously challenged by opposition parties. Botswana has a number of opposition parties namely, Botswana National Front (BNF), Botswana Independence Party (BIP), Botswana People's Party (BPP) and the Botswana Liberal Party (BLP).

Botswana, unlike most of its West African neighbours is relatively homogeneous. Tribalism is not considered as one of its major problems. Economic and military vulnerability to South Africa, however, is a major preoccupation. Foreign revenues from employment abroad is one of Botswana's main sources of revenue. Botswana has 70,000 workers employed in South African mines. Recently, South Africa has been directing economic pressures against

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Botswana by forcing the latter to cooperate in a $300 Sua Pan Soda Ash project in the northeast of the country. Since 1985, the South African Defense Force has been conducting commando raids and border harassments. These developments have given way to increased tension between the government and the public. These and increasing criticism and pressure from opposition parties for greater access are among the present challenges to BDP's legitimacy. BNF, in particular, has increased in political strength so that in the words of former Botswana Guardian editor Kgosinkwe Moesi, "they can no longer be ignored....so we try to cover them." But on the whole, the opposition parties have received minimal coverage. BDP claims against the opposition parties are always printed by the Daily News without getting the opposition side first (Zaffiro, 1988,109-114). Other opposition parties have charged both private and government media for "perpetuating false images of BPP."

Faced with these pressures, Masie's government has become more media conscious and has tried to "incorporate a developmental journalism perspective into Botswana government media policy and administration" (Zaffiro, 1988,112).

What emerges from the preceding discussion is the recognition that the dynamics of social change or development are far from simple and there is no clear formulae which explains the part that mass communication play in developing societies (Hartmann, 1989,31).

2.4 The Failure of Communication and Development Programmes

From the examples of development communication programmes in the preceding discussion, it is clear that a large part of communication and development projects were centred on information dissemination. This type of development projects laid particular emphasis on teaching and telling the people what to do. This emphasis laid on distribution of information and the one-sided approach to planning explain partly the failure of development communication projects to achieve particular aspects of development. Drawing from Hornik's (1988) evaluation, these failures can be categorized into three: theory failure, programme failure and political failure.

A. Theory Failure

Development communication programs fail because they are based on the assumption that development problems are due to ignorance. Therefore, the solution to these problems is amenable simply to information dissemination. Hornik pointed out that small farmers are highly efficient users of resources. Therefore, the assumption that ignorance is the root of underdevelopment in agriculture is not appropriate. Productivity in agriculture not only relies on knowing how to use resources. It also depends on availability of credit, marketing support, and favourable climatic conditions.

In a cultural sense, this assumption of ignorance dominating people in the rural areas or in the developing countries is

also inappropriate. One aspect which has been overlooked in the early development communication projects is the element of "participation" by the people who are supposed to benefit from the programmes. Development communication projects which use the mass media to achieve their development goals usually lack this element.

Projects are usually centrally planned by a group of people. Most of the time emphasis is placed on telling and teaching the people what to do rather than facilitating the exchange of ideas. As a consequence, feedback on the development of the project and on the reaction of the people affected is limited. The continuity of the project is always at risk once the "animator" or the change agent has left.

Coupled with the perspective that ignorance is the root of most developing countries' problems is the predominant view that development problems can be solved by the simple application of Western technology. Such a view, however, often overlooks the suitability of high technology to the development tasks in less developed countries. There is enough evidence of the inappropriateness of high Western technology to the local or regional circumstances of underdeveloped countries. In some cases, overlooking this consideration has brought other problems such as the destruction of indigeneous cultural expressions (Katz and Wedell, 1978), or what is known as "cultural imperialism".

Studies by Schiller (1976) and Boyd-Barett (1977) show how the application of Western technology has led to an exploitative economic relationship between the more developed and the less developed countries.

Hence, it is no surprise that over the last decade there has been a shift of emphasis in development communication projects from inducing modern attitudes to raising the political consciousness of people in the less developed countries. The latter type of development communication projects puts stress on the element of participation on the part of the people who cannot wait all the time for the elite's paternalistic goodness or the more advanced countries offer of "aid".

President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania stated the significance of participation in the overall national development. "The extent to which a country can be "developed" by such processes as industrialization, agriculture, reform, medical services, transport, community projects is limited by participation in development" (quoted in Berrigan,1979,10).

This recognition of the importance of the element of participation in development projects is a consequence of a major change in the very concept of development itself. The emergence of community media, for instance, community radio, etc. in the mid-70s, and its widening application in the 80s is a sign of the changing "notion" of development (Berrigan, 1979,42). The UNESCO meeting in Belgrade (1977)

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on "Self-Management, Access and Participation in Communication" is, perhaps, the landmark of this change. The meeting is of particular significance "because of the issues involved and the effort to give a conceptual definition [to] "access", "participation" and "self-management" (O'Sullivan & Kaplun, 1977,16). But, moreover, because the application of the concept of "participation" does not apply only to communication. The change in the concept, over two decades, is a product of the overall sociological change in modern political systems, from the representative form of democracy to "participatory democracy" (Berrigan, 1979,26).

Berrigan cites three major changes in the concept of development. The first evident change is from a static concept to a dynamic one, as manifested in the terms used from "developed" and "underdeveloped" to "emergent" or "developing" and "more developed". The second change is the inclusion of qualitative aspects in the concept of development such as increased freedom, leisure, self-improvement and opportunities for learning. The third major change is the perception of development not as a state but as a process. "Development is a process of change, the directions of which can and should be determined by the people affected by it" (1979,11).

B. Programme Failure

Development communication projects fail also as a result of lack of program planning. Communication projects normally rely on research based information. A project proposing the adoption of new nutrition sources assumes that the existing sources of nutrition are inadequate. Research has to give evidence that such assumption is true. However, research has to go beyond identification of a problem and prescribing a solution. Mexico's Radio Primaria project is a case in point. The aim of the project was to overcome the lack of educational opportunities in many rural areas of Mexico. It began in 1969 in the Valley of Mexico with 29 schools as participants.

The planning of the Radioprimaria project in San Luis Potosi, Mexico failed to foresee where to find the resources to maintain the radio receivers being used in the schools after the initial stage. It also failed to assess the distance of the schools from the children's homes as a possible factor for absenteeism. It was also used to serve schools with only four teachers to teach all six grades in primary school.

A group of eight teachers prepared the lessons in Mexico City. Afterwards these lessons were brought by bus to the University of San Luis Potosi radio station. About five programmes of 14 minutes each were broadcast each day within a 30 mile radius. The lessons were based directly on the

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primary school curriculum and on the text books. Teachers received a mimeographed sheet every night which contained the lessons for the next day and the suggested acitivities for broadcast activities time.

An evaluation of the radio project revealed that radio classes gained higher scores than non-radio schools. But these conclusions were not highly conclusive as the two groups of students were mixed. But among the setbacks to the project which eventually led to its decline were the breakdown of receivers, lack of funding for the maintenance of receivers, non-usage of the radio programmes and student tardiness during the first 30 minutes of the programmes (Jamison and McAnany, 1978,46-48). To sum up, development communication projects fail because of poor formative research.

C. Political Failure

Another explanation why development communication projects only rarely succeed is the lack of substantial commitment from major political interests. Development communicators have frequently overlooked this factor. Many had hoped that the awesome power of radio and television would somehow circumvent political interests. They assumed that by simply changing the organization and speed of transmitting information, the unequal distribution of wealth and power in society would also be changed (Hornik,1988,24).

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Four decades of experience have shown that media technologies, awesome they may be, are under the control of political interests. Therefore, the nature and organization of information to be transmitted are determined indirectly by these interests.

Hartmann (1978,54) makes this point when he illustrated the political economy model of communication in the question: "who is communicating to whom and in whose interests ?" This point is particularly significant in relation to the present study which has development news as its focus. Disseminating development information is at the core of development journalism's principle. But in view of the influence of various political interests on the construction of media messages, development information is sometimes converted into mere propaganda for the state. This study defines this phenomenon as governmental journalism. For this reason, it is essential to take into account the political factors, especially the role of the state in the practice of development journalism.

Referring to the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) in India, Hartmann (1978,53) argues that "communication on its own cannot solve problems where the problems are structural and political". The vague results of the SITE project showed that television has limited capacity to produce the social and economic change needed for rural progress. The Report of the UNESCO meeting on

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"Self-Management, Access and Participation in Communication"
in Belgrade also confirms this point when it stated that
"... there was general agreement on the fact that effective
participation, even more, self-management, implies a basic
transformation of communications and media policy, and in
many societies probably could not be envisaged without some
fundamental social changes, and that these would not occur
through media alone or at a single level" (O'Sullivan &
Kaplun,1978,15).

Certainly, there are exceptional cases to this
principle. For instance, when social forces or movements
are already moving toward change in a particular direction,
information strategies using the mass media can have a
tremendous influence as the 1986 Revolution in the
Philippines show (Gonzalez, 1988).
With regard to development communication programmes,
educational projects using radio or television can improve
education only if there is a decided political commitment to
change. Unless this commitment is reflected in salaries
adequate to attract and maintain trained personnel to create
quality programs, in incentives to encourage teachers in the
program and in sufficient resources to maintain and expand
the project, radio and television will not improve
education.

2.5   In Brief

    From the discussion above, it becomes more evident why
development communication projects which stress information
dissemination were not appropriate solutions to developing
countries' problems. Development theorists have mistaken
"information dissemination which is unidirectional and non-
simultaneous [for] the communication process which is multi-
directional and simultaneously a reversible process" (Osae-
Asare 1979,72).   The emergence of radio forum projects in
India, Ghana, Tanzania and Senegal, and the development of
community   radio   in various parts of the   world are
manifestations of the need to see the communication process
as interactive or reversible.   The mass media, radio
particularly, has been shown in those instances as an
interactive medium, that is, a means for a two-way flow of
messages.

Consequently, the people's participation in the projects is
again an essential factor. Also, the influence of the state
or of different political interests in the production and
distribution of development messages cannot be overlooked.
For this reason, this study strives to examine development
journalism within the socio-political perspective.

CHAPTER THREE

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a
comprehensive look at development jounalism "per se", how
it began, how it is defined by its major proponents, how it
is perceived by its critics and how it is actually practised
in different countries.

3.1 Development News: The Status of the Concept

It was already stated that the development press which
emerged in Africa appears as the forerunner of 'development
journalism'. However, in reality development news or
development journalism is a much misunderstood concept.
Development news,as some would argue, "is not what it used
to be" (Machado, 1982,13). In the early seventies, changes
in the trend of development thinking, in the perception of
the role of information in society and in the politics of
international relations (that is, with regard to the flow
and nature of information) have all contributed to the
evolution of a new view of development journalism. This new
view that states control reporting is not clearly
differentiated from the old one, being buried as it were in
the rhetoric that has inundated discussions on a New World
Information Order in the last two decades. There are other
factors that contribute to the lack of understanding of the
concept. A major factor is the terminological
inconsistencies that flow from the varied approaches to the

role of communication in the development of society. Campbell (1984,24) states that the relation between media and society is open to many interpretations. Theories on the role of media in society can be normative or prescriptive. Such theories argue that media institutions and technologies as well as messages can be planned and guided to support the goals of national development (Parker & Mohammadi, 1977,167). Other theories offer other versions of the relationship between mass communication and social change. Each offers attractive ways of relating three basic elements: the technology of communication, message or content and changes in society (i.e. institutional arrangements, public beliefs, values and opinion). These elements are not all mutually exclusive or expected to apply universally (McQuail,1983,39). From these varied approaches have grown developmental theories on the use of communication which were already discussed in the first chapter. Consequentially, it is from these varied approaches and from those opposed to them that terminological inconsistencies regarding development journalism arose. Among the plethora of terms associated with "development journalism" are "development support communication", "developmental journalism", "guided journalism", "support journalism" and "development communication". Rarely will one find in the literature of communication and development precise descriptions of what these concepts really mean and how they differ.

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The other major factor in the lack of understanding of the concept is the lack of a clearly defined theoretical framework. This study argues that the notion of development journalism is based clearly on a linear view of mass communication which looks at media messages as operating in a vacuum and looks at the public as passive receivers of information. To view communication in this way is to look at information as following a one-way flow. This perspective fails to see that mass media operate in a nexus of mediating factors in society (Klapper, 1960,8). Even at a personal level, individual psychological factors such as a person's beliefs, values, personality and educational background are present to influence the reception of media messages as demonstrated by Cooper and Jahoda's Mr. Bigott experiment.

In this experiment, prejudiced people were fed anti-prejudice propaganda. The end result of the experiment was that anti-prejudice information was used by the controlled subjects to reinforce their existing prejudices (Schramm, 1977,8-9). One can conclude that information can have effects opposite to what was intended. Depending on the interplay of individual factors, media messages may get a "preferred reading".

At a social level, the status of the sender of the message, the credibility of the media through which the message is sent plus the consensus of the group one belongs to can also

influence the acceptance or rejection of the information.

Hence, the study of development news or development journalism cannot be viewed within a linear model of communication. In this study, we propose the examination of news, in particular, development news in the Philippines within the political economy model.

3.2 Defining Development Journalism

Development journalism in fact is variously defined as a new type of journalism, a government policy and a press theory.

For those who see it simply as a type of journalism, Narinder Aggarwala (1980:21) states its definition in this way : "nothing but the use of all journalistic skills to report development processes in an interesting fashion." It is the "reporting of development processes" rather than events, that is, what is happening over a period of time. It is journalism which is applied or related to projects and programmes in an economically developing country to improve the standard of livelihood of its people (Quebral, 1985,25). News which deals with efforts to improve the quality of life of a people, with the environment, education, economy, with health or social services is called development news (McDaniel, 1986,168).

Development journalism was expected to widen people's horizons and give them new hope through the reporting of

efforts in solving development problems. Through this kind of reporting, it was thought that people would be able to formulate actions based on sound and in-depth analysis of political and economic problems; people in developing nations could participate in government projects like controlling and eradicating endemic diseases such as river blindness, bilharzia and tuberculosis (Aggarwala,1980,26-27). This new journalism also includes reporting on better ways to improve agricultural productivity, improvement of nutrition, health or ways to achieve a better quality of life.

John Vilanilam (1979,34), who made a study relating the ownership of Indian newspapers to their development content, classifies the subjects included in the development category into three categories: primary, secondary and tertiary needs of a developing country. "Primary needs are food, clothing and shelter. Secondary needs are development of agriculture,industry and of all economic activity which lead to the fulfillment of the primary needs plus development of education, literacy,healthy environment, medical research, family planning, employment, labour, welfare, social reforms, national integration and rural and urban development. Tertiary needs are development of mass media, transport, tourism, telecommunication, arts and cultural activities."

Those who perceive development journalism as a

government tool meanwhile define it as "the systematic use of mass media to support and promote the development programmes of the government" (Yunyanodh, 1979,82). This definition, is believed to be inseparable from the ideology which sees the press as an instrument of basic unity or national integration. The role of the press in countries of Africa like Kenya and Nigeria, for instance, is rooted in this goal of national integration.

Luter and Richstad (1983,179) define development journalism as one of the "major philosophies in Asia ...new and not fully defined press theory, which mixes authoritarian with libertarian and social responsibility theory principles. The new form is classified as development journalism, which generally means that the role of the press is to support national interests for economic and social development and to support such objectives as national unity, stability and cultural integration."

Two Configurations

While the above mentioned definitions conceptualize development journalism in three distinct ways, they actually share a common element which is using the press for national development goals. Some have placed the dividing line between these concepts in the larger area of press freedom and government control. So, proponents who assert that development journalism is akin to investigative journalism argue that the concept is independent of government control.

Others like Leonard Sussman (1978) and Altschull (1984) assert that development journalism is simply government propaganda or policy. Ogan (1982) argues that there are at least two conceptual definitions for development journalism. The first meaning refers to that form of the concept which Aggarwala defines. This type of journalism requires the journalist to report accurately, critically and simply the problems of a developing nation, and of the efforts to solve these problems while maintaining the press' independence from the government. The second meaning refers to the form of development journalism which Ogan (1982,10) defines as "the communication process used to serve the development goals of the government in power". The core of this latter form is the central role of the government as chief planner and implementor of development programmes. The government determines the development plan through its agencies, and the role of the press is to assist these plans, and help the government achieve its economic, social and political goals. Ogan equates this latter form of development journalism with "development support communications".

Development Support Communications (DSC) is a phrase used in United Nations circles to refer to another concept - developmental journalism. The latter term was coined by Leonard Sussman, executive director of Freedom House to describe "the control of the press by governments in the name of mobilizing economic growth. Developmental

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journalism, is by definition, the handmaiden of government"
(Sussman, 1976,25). Development support communications and
developmental journalism, in other words, are one and the
same.

Some other writers would even argue that development
journalism is but part of the larger field of development
communication, the genesis of which is traced to the
agricultural extension programmes which started in the US
and then became popular in the mid 1940s,1950s in the
developing countries (Machado in Atwood et.al., 1982,14;
Encanto, 1982,34).

But this study argues that a distinction exists between the
two terms not only in theory but also in practice. The
distinguishing line, however, between the two concepts is a
very fine one and is difficult to draw. Development
journalism, and its counterpart - developmental journalism
can only be understood if studied within the framework of
development journalism's origins, its background principles
and how it is actually practiced in different countries.

The Beginnings

Lent identifies its origins in Asia - more specifically
in the Philippines through the efforts of Juan Mercado and
Alan Chalkley who promoted the concept of development
journalism in the 1960s.

During this period, there was a phenomenal preoccupation
with the use of communications for development among

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governments of developing countries. Such preoccupation appears as a result of the United Nations' encouragement and is also partly an offshoot of the "development mania" that arose from Lerner, Schramm and Roger's legitimization of the role of media in national development.

And among journalists, there was a widespread dissatisfaction with the direction journalism was taking. The tendency of the press towards sensationalism, and the glorification of crime and violence was observed in many sectors of Philippine society. Writing in 1967, Amando E. Doronila, a leading Filipino journalist and editor, described the state of Philippine journalism after World War II as "a period of hard hitting, irreverent and racous journalism ..." (National Press Club Trade Journal,7 May 1967; cited in Del Rosario, 1967,272).

But the root of dissatisfaction really stemmed from Filipino journalists' belief that they have a vital role to play in national development - in ironing out the socio-economic and political problems the country was facing at that time. First and foremost, Philippine-American relations in the sixties were undergoing adjustments. The Philippines was involved "quasi-militarily" in the Vietnam war. Besides this involvement, the country faced its own dissidence problem. At this time the Huk rebellion was at its peak. "There is the problem of economic development, still the old problem of corruption, and there is the spectre of

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criminality and general breakdown in the respect for law. In all these issues, the journalists, particularly the columnists should be involved, or cannot avoid being involved" (Doronila in Del Rosario, 1967,274).

Doronila believed in the enormous power of the press to make or break public figures, to give credence to leading figures in business and industry, but above all to attain national development. Then Press Secretary Jose D. Aspiras appealed to the Philippine press to "enter wholeheartedly into the business of nationbuilding, particularly in the zones of socio-economic development, where a salient weakness lies in the lack of initiative, conviction, or unity among the rank- and file drafted into the work and on whom rests finally the success or failure of the programs of development" (Aspiras, 1967,275).

The press could do this by galvanizing the people to participate in a food production drive, in the drive to combat graft and corruption in government, and by encouraging the people to support the resources of government through honest and prompt payment of taxes,etc.

It is against this background, we contend, that Juan Mercado and Alan Chalkley began to promote the concept of development journalism. The term, however, was not coined until 1968 after the Press Foundation for Asia, an organization supported by Asian newspapers and by the Ford Foundation, completed its first training course for

development economics reporters.

The Philippine Press Institute, headed by Juan Mercado merged with the Philippine News Service in order to execute policies on news coverage which helped report development. These institutes held seminars on development topics, and trained reporters to analyse national development plans and academic research on economic and social problems in order to translate them into lay terms. Alan Chalkley, meanwhile organized seminars and wrote manuals about development journalism (Lent, 1979,21-22).

These efforts, however, did not remain confined to the Philippines. Japanese and Indian Press Institutes undertook similar projects (Righter, 1978,188).

In the face of mounting social problems which accompany slow economic growth (as in the case of the Philippines during this time), there was a definite perception among journalists that these problems persist because of their lack of treatment not only bureaucratically but also publicly.

Thus, a consensus was formed among Asian journalists and heads of media institutions that changes were needed in the manner of reporting in Asia. Among those at the forefront of this battle for change in Asian reporting were Chanchal Sarkar, director of the Press Institute of India, Amitabha Chowdhury, head of Asian program of the International Press Institute (IPI),Masuki Kasagi of Nihon Shibon Kyokai and Muchtar Lubis, editor of Indonesia Raya (Lent, 1979,21-23).

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The Press Foundation for Asia was established in 1967 by publishers and editors from HongKong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand, and India. Its express aim was to develop a corps of development journalists to direct "journalism towards (an) informed discussion of the economic and social problems central to developing countries' situations" (Righter,1978,188).

One of PFA's targets then was to offer 250 journalists during the following three years training as development journalists through the operation of a news agency - DEPTHNEWS (Development Economics and Population Theme) which by 1970 had already 200 outlets.

Instituting Development News in Asia

The operation of DEPTHnews was highly instrumental in the institutionalization of development journalism in Asia. DEPTHnews provided a weekly news and features service on political and economic trends in Asia from an Asian perspective. DEPTHnews Asia (DNA) and DEPTHnews Special, which came out in 1972, are two special services aimed at providing a broader and more commercial coverage of political and economic issues. DEPTHnews' first weekly service began in 1969. By 1977, DEPTHnews was being published in ten separate editions: DEPTHnews in English for the whole of Asia, DEPTHnews Philippines in various

Philippine dialects, DEPTHnews Indonesia (in Bahasa), DEPTHnews India (in English and Hindi) and DEPTHnews Thailand (in Thai). The largest and heaviest used service among these is DEPTHnews Philippines which has a circulation of 1.4 million (S.M.Ali, 1978,191).

It has to be acknowledged that strong United Nations support is what gave DEPTHnews a strong development orientation. UNESCO and UNFPA (United Nations Fund for Population Activities), two leading agencies of the UN gave PFA support during its founding years along with other international bodies such as the Ford Foundation, the Thomson Foundation and the International Development Research Centre (S.M.Ali, 1978,188).

Population became part of the development story in PFA after UNFPA contracted PFA to promote population control. As part of this agreement, DEPTHnews translated and published in different Asian languages, was produced with a pictorial edition and a weekly bulletin called Data for Decision (Lent, 1979,21-23).

Some of the newspapers subscribing to DEPTHnews services are the Mainishi Daily News, Japan Times (Tokyo); Asian Wall Street Journal, HongKong Standard (HongKong); Times Journal and Daily Express (Manila), Bangkok Post, The Nation (Bangkok); Business Times and The Star (Kuala Lumpur); Bangladesh Observer (Dacca) and Kayhan International (Tehran). Its acceptance by newspapers such as

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Asian Wall Street Journal, The Business Times of Kuala
Lumpur, and The HongKong Standard was seen as an indication
of its professionalism and credibility. DEPTHnews produces
about 18 features a week - all written and prepared by
DEPTHnews correspondents based in different parts of Asia.
These are copyedited in Manila and sent to the different
users in the eight major capitals of Asia (Ali, 1978,193).

Clearly, the beginnings of development journalism and
its institution in Asia was a result of the effort of
professionals in the media and of the United Nations. Its
aim can be summed up in the challenge to uplift the
standards of journalism in Asia by addressing the economic,
social and political issues paramount in national
development and to address the need to generate news and
information from and within Asia. Long before the cry for a
New World Information Order, Asian journalists and editors
promoting development journalism had already recognized the
existing imbalance in news flow.
Besides DEPTHnews, actual examples of this critical and
independent type of development journalism are few. The
Christian Science Monitor, an American daily, however, has
always carried articles on economic and social development
in the Third World (Aggarwala, 1980,27). In general, most
Western journalists have negative attitudes about
development journalism. The difficulty faced by journalists
in its practice seems one of the major factors. Editors in

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western newspapers often prefer "crisis" news - news of disasters, wars, conflicts, earthquakes, etc.- over development stories.

In Africa, the objective difficulties faced by development reporters fall into a different category. The danger of contracting diseases or illnesses such as malaria and typhoid in covering farwaway villages, the lack of transport, shelter and food and the suspicion of villagers all act as obstacles to development reporting in Africa. McParland (1988,5) writing on rural reporting in Africa cites the example of William Lobulo, a Tanzanian print journalist. Lobulo was assigned to write about the way of life in Kingongoni, a village five hours bus drive from Arusha, a capital city in Tanzania. In this village, few had ever seen a journalist and no one had ever been asked for an opinion. Literacy was low and for the villagers, newspapers were simply for wrapping packages or rolling tobacco. Most journalists in Tanzania, however, remain in the cities, confining themselves to politics or crime beats. Rural reporting or news on issues such as food supply, environmental degradation, health and education if not readily accessible by local transport are received with little enthusiasm.

McParland also cites the instance of Francis Mwanza, who was threatened twice with violence by villagers while gathering stories in northern Zambia. A Zimbabwean journalist

meanwhile discovered that the village he was covering was an area frequented by armed rebels.

The last section has just outlined what development journalism is and how it began. Summing up, development journalism originally means the application of journalism to advance the economic development of a country by addressing the issues that pertain to national development. It is a type of journalism (closely akin to investigative journalism) which aims to translate economic issues and problems into lay terms. It was an initiative of professional journalists who wanted to upgrade journalism in Asia by doing away with sensationalism, crime reporting, glorification of personalities and extreme partisanship. The media work independently from the state. They take on the role of the government watchdog for the public, and thus, are accountable to the people and not to the government. The central principles of this concept are derived from the social responsibility theory and the libertarian theory of the press.

3.3 Development Support Communication and Development Journalism

The subsequent use of the concept by governments to further their economic as well as political goals led to a change in the conceptualization of development journalism. Current studies provide few clues as to how the concept

evolved from its critical and independent form to a government policy. What the literature suggests simply is that development journalism's "success alerted governments' to the importance of economic and social reporting and its potential usefulness if systematically applied to mobilizing mass support behind government policies. Intended to enlarge the area of free debate, the concept has been taken over by governments to cover all communication and integrated into an official variant of new journalism" (Righter, 1978,189).

Other theorists (Sussman, 1976) argue that Third World governments came to realize that communication is the principal instrument of economic development. Third World officials reasoned that the government is responsible and the only agency who can asssure the proper use of communication for the purpose of economic development. Thus, the widening of the concept communication for development came to involve not just the press but also the interference of the government in the development and use of the media. This governmental form of development journalism is characterized by emphasis on positive news, that is, on the government's achievements, programs, and policies, on ceremonial events, on presidential or ministerial statements and proclamations. Positive newsreporting, on the other hand, is not a policy that stands on its own. It often forms part of government

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guidelines on newsreporting.   In developing countries ruled
by one party (or family), government censorship is an
indicator of the use of developmental journalism.   As a
consequence of government control of the press,
newsreporting can also be marked by a lack of criticism or
critical evaluation of the issues reported on.   The lack of
freedom to gather information often leads to dependence on
press releases from the government.   In multi-media
comparisons, the impact of government control of the news
can be seen in the distinct homogeneity of news reports.
The echoing rationale of most Third World governments which
control the press is that a liberal press is inappropriate
in a developing country.   They reason that the structure of
government in their societies, made more fragile by
political instability and lack of national unity, will
crumble beneath a press critical of government policies and
actions.   Therefore, there is a clear necessity to control
the news, in order to limit political competition in the
media.   This is clearly illustrated in the notion of
journalism for development in Tanzania -- which is expressed
as follows:

> All national resources - including the resource of
> information - must be directed toward development.
> If information is allowed to cause dissent or
> lessen international prestige, it detracts from
> the greater goal.   By this reasoning, the control
> of news is not only a legitimate right, but also a
> national necessity (Mytton, 1983,37).

Overall, the press is expected to "act as a conservative force and a stabilizing influence by giving the impression of continuity and stability amidst uncertainty and apparent upheaval" (Mytton, 1983, 37). The press acts as a "conservative" force rather than a "progressive" force since it functions to maintain the current order.

In Tanzania, therefore, development communication means the freedom of the people to seek solutions for development problems but, within the framework of socialism. Development is seen as coterminous with socialism (Righter 1978,189). Information, in Tanzania, is an essential part of the country's total development plan. All information must be used in conjunction with the government's planned communication programmes (Ogan, 1982,7).

The use of developmental journalism in India is also characterised by government control of the press which began in the 1970s. The government took the lead in promoting development through the media since the private sector was perceived as not inclined to it. The monopoly press of India which referred to newspapers associated with big businesses were perceived by Indira Gandhi's government as anti-government, unsympathetic to the poor and in support of vested interests of any kind.

A statutory body called the Press Council was established in 1971. It defined the standards and the parameters of press freedom. Although the Indian government did not bring any

case before the Press Council, it applied various pressures on the papers. For instance, it placed a ceiling on the number of pages newspapers could print, and it also tried to remove or discipline critical newsmen and women. An emergency was declared on 25 June 1975 as the press became more critical of government economic policies and of pervading political corruption, and became more supportive of anti-government movements in Gujarat and Bihar. Electricity supply to newspapers in Delhi was cut off and newspaper offices in a number of cities were raided to prevent the country from learning of the mass arrests of political leaders.

Besides such measures, legal pressures were also put on India's papers. The Guidelines on Press under the Defense of India Rules prohibited the publishing of news "that contributes to demoralization about the general situation or the public interest in all respects as determined by the central government". News that "contributes even in a remote way to affect or worsen the law and order situation" was also prohibited. "Any action or statement or event that is likely to cause disaffection between the government and the people" or that is "likely to convey the impression of protest or disapproval that might bring into hatred or contempt the government established by law" was also disallowed (Verghese in Horton, 1978,220-223).

In effect, these prohibitions covered anything that put the

legitimacy of the Indian government in question. From the point of view of the Congress Party, the whole exercise of censorship in India was necessary for the security of the state, the maintenance of public order and for economic progress.

The conception of the press as one of the engines in nation building alongside the government creates problems when those in the press do not identify themselves with the aims of the government. Violation of human rights, violence against people in the press, stricter censorship of press content whether by members of the press themselves or by government censors are often the logical consequences of this kind of developmental media policy. This perhaps, is one of the strongest objections against development journalism. The case of the Philippines in the Marcos era is another example which will be explored in detail in the next chapter.

The Practice of Developmental Journalism: The Case of Guyana

Among the countries in the Caribbean, "Guyana has been the most explicit in its advocacy of development journalism and of DSC" (Campbell, 1984,25).
DSC or developmental journalism was introduced in the mid 1970s following the coming to power of a socialist government. During this period, Guyana suffered huge economic setbacks as evidenced by low investments. The contraction of private businessess had a virtual negative

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effect on private media. Decline in advertising led to losses in private media businesses. Among these was the Guyana Graphic which was sold by its owner Lord Thomson to the Guyanese government. From 1976 onwards, Guyana was left with only one daily newspaper (The Chronicle) and a Sunday newspaper. The Chronicle which is government owned has a circulation of 50,000 on weekdays and 90,000 on Sundays. Foreign exchange difficulties and newsprint shortages have placed even the survival of this paper in danger as seen in the reduction in the number of pages. The Chronicle used to have 16-24 pages on weekdays and 40-48 on Sundays. Now it only has 8 and 16 pages respectively.

In 1978, a radio station owned by Rediffusion, a UK company, was sold to the Guyanese government. Guyana Broadcasting Co. - the government owned radio institution now owns both channels.

Then, as part of efforts to correct the perceived news flow imbalance, the government established the Guyana news agency on 4 January 1981. GNA has the monopoly of foreign news flow to the government owned media. GNA subscribes to Associated Press (AP) and the Inter Press Service in Rome. It edits the materials from these services and transmit then by telex or newsletter to their customers.

The events surrounding the introduction of DSC in Guyana are a clear example of justification of government control of news as a result of the imperative need to "accelerate

change" to achieve the sought after development. As Guyana's Prime Minister (later President) Forbes Burnham stated in 1974, "the government has a right to own sections of the media and the government has a right as a final arbiter of things national to formulate a policy so the media can play a much more important part than it has played in mobilizing the people of the country for the country" (Campbell, 1984,26).

Developmental journalism in Guyana took the form of a support mechanism, that is, as a publicity board for government projects such as the Upper Mazaruni Hydro Electricity Scheme. The role of DSC was to promote development projects like these at local and at national level. The Upper Mazaruni Hydro-Electricity project was just one among the similar dams the Guyanese government wanted to build in order to lift Guyana "out of backwardness and on to the road [of] development as a modern society." Territorial conflict with Venezuela and other factors obstructed the government from carrying out the project (Campbell, 1984,25).

Strict political control of Guyanese media has led to the desertion of the best journalists in a brain drain to work in professional exile in other countries or in private businesses. Others remained to practice what Western media call "government-say-so journalism". Distortion and withholding of information still prevailed as a result of a

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pervading fear of antagonising the government. Even while control was lifted in the 1980's and a new policy was enforced, self-regulation among Guyanese journalists continued. Having been accustomed to altering photographs to make the illusion of a crowd in party congresses, professional journalists continued to do so even with a more lenient policy enforced. A contributing factor here was the refusal of professional journalists to accept any new policy as anything but politician's rhetoric. Articles continued to revolve around or begin with a Minister's declaration or speech about what is being done or what ought to be done for development (Campbell, 1984,26).

3.4 Governmental Journalism - Inevitable ?

We would argue with Ogan (1982) that in theory development journalism has only two configurations namely: independent journalism and governmental journalism. The former refers to the critical and independent type of writing while the latter refers to correspondence controlled by governments. The independent and critical form of development news from our perspective is no different from the serious and simple everyday reporting. Its aim is no different from the objective set forth by the proponents of development news from the very beginning which is to to upgrade the quality of Asian news coverage. Independent journalism is simply the communication of

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relevant information on all issues that will help the public to be aware politically and socially of what is going on in their societies. The practice of this kind of reporting can help people make informed and intelligent decisions on political, economic and social questions which will in the long run contribute to the highly sought for "development".

Development, here means the authentic and integral growth of each individual. Development is not just limited to economic growth. It is a transformation that covers the cultural and social aspects. Any alternative development model must include these aspects. Owing to the difficulty in measuring the cultural and social progress, development classicists have for years avoided including these in their definition of development (Sharp, 1979,19). Hence, the formulation of a definition or a strategy that will encapsulate all these elements are only beginning to emerge from various strands of research, analysis and discussion.

This study argues with Shah (1988) that all news can be geared towards "development" as defined above. However, all news can be developmental only if it serves the "public good"; if it serves to inform rather than misinform; if it tries its utmost to avoid partisan views or that it makes plain to readers at the outset what side of the issue it is with and if the information in it is objective and accurate. Some sociological studies of news argue that "objectivity' in news is non-existent; that "bias" is inherent in the news

(Hackett, 1984). In contrast, professional journalists argue that within the limits of time their coverage is objective. The Glasgow University Media Group states that professional practices in the newsroom affect the nature of news coverage. "Facts" gathered, according to their study, are "situated in dominant story themes". Stories are built on "basic assumptions about society viewed in particular ways ..." (1976,4). Such assumptions to our view however, are necessary for the news gathering process. If not, there will be no basis on which news stories can be constructed. These assumptions form the "latent structure of news" (Tuchman, 1978,ix) and determine the process by which newsworkers decide what news is, what they should cover and what they should not, and why, and how they decide what their readers want to know.

But while objectivity "may be epistemologically impossible .. it can exist as a journalistic intent" (Gans, 1973,315). This means the search for accurate information should always be a paramount objective. "In as much as story selectors cannot include every perspective or source, their decision to include or exclude must be free of political intent" (Gans, 1973,315).

In practice, however, it seems inevitable that the critical and independent form of development journalism will be absorbed into the governmental form. Development journalism lacks a clearly defined theoretical framework or

view of how communication operates in society. Most development news studies do not define development, development news and the relationship between development journalism and national development (Fair, 1987,170). The author attributes this absence of a theoretical framework to the failure to identify the roots of development journalism in a linear (that is, vertical and exogenous) perspective of communication and socio-economic development provided by the dominant modernization theories of the 60s. A significant aspect of these modernization theories includes laying the responsibility for development on the government. This study will strive to prove this point through the analysis of development news studies over two decades (1967-1987) in the following discussion.

3.5 Analysis of Development News Studies

Development, news studies as a field of research began
in the late 1960s. Some of the earliest studies were
carried out by Nair (1967), and Simmons, Kent and Mishra
(1968). But the surge in development news studies did not
occur till the mid-70s. Of this period, John Vilanilam was
one of the early pioneers along with John Lent. He made a
study correlating ownership of Indian newspapers with
development news content. He analysed four Indian
newspapers: two independent ones -- Aj (a paper in Hindi)
and Hindu (an English language paper), and two corporately
owned by people with major financial interests in cement,
sugar, chemicals, rubber, plastics, and other products --
Malayala Manorama (in Malayalam) and the Times of India (in
English). In his study, he assumed that if a newspaper
gives more space to development stories, one can conclude
that the paper is interested in developmental activity. He
also assumed that quantitative measurement of developmental,
governmental and political news is a good test of the
audience's interest in these type of news.

His findings revealed however, that although the
independent newspapers Aj and Hindu devoted more space to
developmental news than the corporately owned Manorama and
Times, as a whole,the four newspapers irrespective of
ownership gave more space to government and political news.
All newspapers had as their top ten priorities news items on

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parliament and state legislature proceedings, foreign relations, intraparty feuds, intraparty affairs, personal news and changes relating to persons in authority, police, law and order, strikes .... In contrast, vital developmental issues that were not among the priority news items were communication, health, hygiene, medicine, housing, employment, labour, welfare, and national integration, administrative reforms and rural and urban development. Vilanilam theorized that the "traditional practice of pre-independent India of reporting what the persons in authority say or do is what seems to be guiding these newspapers" (Vilanilam,1979,39-46).

The obvious preference for political or governmental news by the four Indian newpapers irrespective of ownership is be due to the fact that no sphere of society is unaffected by political developments. All social institutions are inherently political. Thus, irrespective of the social system, politics or government is always a major topic. Where each system would differ would be in the central issue given emphasis and in the manner of reporting which are consequences of the ideological orientation and social structure of the particular system (Haque, 1986,84). In societies which follow a free market approach to media, emphasis is given to criticism of govenment policies, actions and of government officials' conduct. While in societies where an authoritarian government system is

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enforced, focus is placed on the positive accomplishments of the government.

Various factors such as editorial and financial constraints, limitations of format, public taste and demand, not to mention goverment control or censorship would often be more pressing concerns for most newspapers than deciding whether a particular story is development-oriented or not.

Although the results of Vilanilam's study did not support the notion that independent newspapers gave more space to development news than to government or political news, his study is very significant. Vilanilam in his attempt to correlate ownership and development news content was able to pioneer the study of a political economy of development news. The assumption underlying the correlation of political economy and content is that certain patterns of press ownership will give more attention to development problems or socially relevant issues.

Vilanilam (1979,34) strived to prove that small, independent newpapers will give more newspace to development stories. Corporately owned newspapers, on the other hand, will give less space because their objective is to serve the needs of big businesses.

Correlations between newspaper ownership and content is an important achievement in development news studies. It is an important step in order to see that development news is not simply a type of journalism or news. But, as this study

of Philippine news under the Aquino government will strive to show, it is a policy that arises from socio-economic and political factors in society in which the press operates.

The Lack of Development News in "What" Media

Other studies which followed in Vilanilam's footsteps - Mustafa (1974), Osae-Asare (1976), Yunyanodh (1977), Lent and Rao (1979) with the exception of Ogan and Swift (1984) and Shah (1988), closely followed Vilanilam's methodology and conceptualization of development news. The apparent assumption of these studies is that the different news media can and will produce development oriented information (Shah, 1988,1).

Mustafa's research on Malaysian newspapers, though taken from a different angle, (basing it on Malaysia's Rukunegara and New Economic Policy), sought to measure the space devoted to development news using Vilanilam's categorization. His findings showed, in contrast to Vilanilam, that two of Malaysia's newspapers, Utusan Malaysia and Melayu, devoted more newspace to development news while The New Straits Time devoted only one third. From these results, Mustafa recommended the further study of opinion leadership and development news diffusion to substantiate assumptions about what development news is doing (Mustafa in Lent & Vilanilam, 1979,57).

A look at Osae-Asare (1976), Yunyanodh (1977), and Lent and Rao (1979) will reveal similar assumptions and findings:

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(a) the established assumption of the role of the "media" in development and (b) the finding that these "media" provide little space for development news. However, unlike Vilanilam's, these studies failed to give any emphasis to the political economy of the press.

Careful attention must be paid to what is included in the term "media". As mentioned above, most development studies frequently assume that there is too little development news in the "media" --- which could mean radio, television, newspapers, magazines, including film, weeklies, records, etc. It is very clear that different means of communications have different functions and varying applicability. In speaking of mass media roles, Wiio insists that we query first and foremost "the role of what media" (1983,86).

Television, because of its audiovisual component is a powerful medium for communicating the extent of the problem of poverty, of illiteracy, of crime or to show productive methods in farming. However, in countries where televison does not reach the rural areas, it cannot be a suitable medium to use for development programmes - unless prior measures are made to make television available.

Wiio's criticism of early communication models is therefore, significant in this respect. Communication models are not absolute explanations of the mass communication process. "They have two main weaknesses: (a)

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they imply that the mass media are one entity; (b) they imply that the mass media function in some idealized social system, typically an American type Western country" (Wiio,1983,85).

Correlating Development Information and National Development

Towards the eighties, a recognizable shift in the study of development news took place with Barney's (1986) study of the role of media in development over time, based on Lucian Pye's "Inspector General" theory of the media. This theory states that the media can help achieve national development in new states, especially the building of political and social institutions, if they follow certain measures or criteria in "designing" media content.

The findings of this study reveal that per capita income in Fiji had increased by 60 per cent after twelve years as economic information in the two papers i.e.information on prices of commodities,exchange rates, advertising,etc.) had increased.

Table 1

Percentage of Increases in the Number of Media in Fiji between 1970-1982.		
	1970	1982
radio	12%	47%
cinema	7.11%	40%
newspaper	5.33%	5.70%

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An increase in the number of media had also taken place during the period. From 1970-1982, the statistics for radio, cinema and newspaper had increased from 12 per cent to 47 seven per cent, 7.11 per cent to 40 per cent and 5.33 per cent to 5.70 per cent respectively. In this study, the assumption is that a correlation exists between economic information in the two papers and the increase in national indicators of development like the increase in the number of media. The implication of Barney's correlation is that increase in development content in Fiji's newspapers is the cause of Fiji's progress over twelve years. However, it must be emphasized that correlations do not necessarily mean causality. As Beltran has pointed out in his criticism of much of US communication research, correlational analysis do not tell much about causality. The results of Barney's study point to the fact that other national statistical indicators like illiteracy, did not reflect the same growth. Although secondary school enrolment had gone up by 117.0 per cent illiteracy had increased by 12.3 per cent. The conclusion is that the media are not the cause of national development since Fiji did not develop rapidly in spite of the increase in economic information in Fiji's newspapers.

Barney sought to correlate the development content of The Fiji Times and The Fiji Sun to the progress of Fiji over twelve years by basing his content analysis on eight

practical measurements derived from Pye's observation of the
media's "Inspector General" role. These measurements which
are recommended to media institutions for adoption are
assumed to help the process of institution building in new
states. They are: redirecting recruitment, rewarding
individuals or groups for innovation, pushing the government
to act according to their words, providing a sense of cause
and effect, providing "elucidation of the obvious",
providing scope for controversy, providing economic
information and cooperating in the building of new media
institutions or simply promoting other media or encouraging
the use of other media (e.g.advertisement of
radio and television schedules).

The objective of these measurements is simply to guide
the production of media messages toward the attainment of
certain national development goals such as reducing
unemployment and maintaining peace and order. The media can
do this by directing public's attention to certain
occupations where shortages exist as in agriculture, or
stabilizing society by portraying the "process" nature of
government decisions and actions. In effect, development
oriented messages can be designed to contain dissatisfaction
among society's members, making it appear that something is
being done to solve society's problems, and thereby
maintaining the current social order.

Part of Barney's study also involved a comparison of

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The Fiji Times and The Fiji Sun's development content after
reporters   from   both   papers   undertook   a   development
journalism training course in 1983.   The results of the
comparative   study   show that The Fiji Sun's developmental
content   doubled significantly after its staff completed the
course while,   The Fiji Times' whose staff did not   complete
the   course,   did   not increase in volume as compared to its
1981 figures (Barney,   1986,171-184).   At this point, Barney
overlooked   the   fact that other factors could   explain   why
Fiji   Times whose staff did not complete the course did   not
increase its output of development content.   Change in
editorial policy, for instance, is a factor to be taken into
account.

Barney suggested that training in development journalism can
help increase development consciousness in newspapers   where
policy   makers   have   no conscious development   orientation
(Barney, 1986,171-184).

     This   study is the only one which tried to relate the
amount   of development news to economic growth over a period
of time.   It is unlike other studies carried out previously
on development news.   However, the national statistics
indicators used in his study do not give a clear picture of
the development that has taken place in Fiji. His study does
not   show where those increases have taken place.   In   order
that   the   correlation of the amount of   development   news

content to national development figures (such as increase in per capita GNP, infrastructure spending, growth rate) reflect accurately the progress that has taken place, national statistics indicators must show where precisely economic growth and media increase (i.e.increase in no. of radio receivers, TV sets, newspaper circulation) have occurred.

It should also show whether such growth is evenly distributed in the country. The increase in the number of media and economic growth have tended to be confined only to the cities where commercial activity already abounds - far from the rural areas which are the main targets of development.

In one way, Barney's study is very significant because it attempts to correlate media content with corresponding development indicators based on national statistics. His study could be the pioneer in making media content and consequent effects measurable, although a direct causal relationship would be very difficult to establish. It is possible to make correlations between development media content and level of village participation in self-development or between media exposure and literacy. But, one cannot measure or prove that a particular media message was the cause of increased village participation in development programmes or better communication patterns or better social interaction. "Cultural aspects are difficult

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to measure accurately and meaningfully" (McPhail, 1981,70).

From correlating development information with national development, previous development news studies have shifted its focus to comparisons between human interest stories and development news stories.

The Preference for Political News

A study by Haque (1986) on the Indian press aimed (1986) to find out whether Third World news media adhere to what they preach about the need for development news. Haque believed that although media personnel in the developing countries cry out for development news, in practice, they still follow the traditional Western concept of news which is characterized by negativity, elitism and event orientation, emphasis on human interest, drama, conflict, etc. Therefore, he hypothesized that Indian dailies would provide more newspace for human interest stories over development news stories; and that political news would have the most space (Haque,1986,85).

The major Indian dailies studied by Haque were The Times of India, The Statesman, The Hindu and The Hindustan Times, The Indian Express, The Amanda Bazar Patrika, and The Navbharat Times. His development category included news about physical projects, and progress and retrogression in the area of health, education, literacy, communication and transportation, agriculture, industry, housing, national integration, energy and ecology.

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The findings of this content analytical study by Haque revealed the same findings as Vilanilam. Five of the seven Indian dailies gave more space to human interest stories although overall, political news ranked number one in coverage in all the dailies. The analysis showed clearly that the Indian dailies prioritize political and governmental issues. Obviously, politics and government issues would feature prominently in news coverage irrespective of the social system in which the various media operate. It was reiterated in the beginning of this section that no sphere of society is unaffected by political developments, hence, the priority given to political news (Haque, 1986,84).

Development News - Conceptual and Methodological Problems

Hemant Shah's (1988) study on "The Production of Development News at Four Indian News Organizations" sought not only to content analyse the development news of Indian newspapers quantitatively, but it also sought to measure news qualitatively and to account for the reasons why there is little development news. To do all this, he used a multiple method approach combining content analysis with survey, interviews, and nonparticipant observation.

Shah's study refutes the assumption of previous studies that mass media can and will produce content capable of stimulating national development. He suggested that

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previous studies in development suffer from "conceptual and methodological problems" which could be broken down into the following: (a) the failure of previous studies to recognize that all news can be geared towards development (b) concentration on quantitative content analysis, (c) a lack of qualitative study of development news and (d) the obvious neglect of the study of radio and its development content.

A closer look at these criticisms will reveal their validity. Firstly, most development news studies from Vilanilam (1979) to Haque (1986) defined as development news only those items which deal with efforts to improve the quality of living, with the environment, education, economy, health and social services. These studies have excluded society features, human interest stories, entertainment pages as developmental. Secondly, there is ample evidence to prove how research in this area has been confined to content analytical studies. The foregoing analysis of different development news studies showed this. Fair's (1987) meta-research analysis of twenty development journalism studies which provides a deeper and more comprehensive examination of development news studies, affirmed the same conclusion. Nineteen out of twenty development news studies used content analysis to determine the amount of development news items in newspapers, radio and television (Fair, 1987,170).

Thirdly, the lack of qualitative studies also reveals the

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buried assumptions that "(i) the mere presence of development news will contribute to development (ii) each item can contribute equally to development (iii) the greater the quantity of development news, the greater the contribution to development" (Shah, 1986,3-6).

A Linear View of Communication

In other words, the majority of development news studies assumed that producing more and better development news through trained economic journalists would stimulate national development. It is quite evident from a closer look at the above assumptions which underlie most development studies that a cause-effect relationship is implied betweeen development content and national development; between media messages and receivers. Such a view presupposes that development information facilitated in the press will be assimilated and acted upon by the readers and lead to national development. However, Rogers' (1983) and Barton's (1985) diffusion research which studied how information on innovations spread have shown that the role of the media in social change is minimal. Hartmann, Patil & Dighe's (1989) case study of three Indian villages has drawn the same conclusion. Pratt & Manheim's study of the agenda dynamics model as applied to less developed countries' development has concluded that, "... in the developing countries, the effects of the largely urban mass media on

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overall development are distinctly limited" (1988,83).

Media act to reinforce the messages but it is interpersonal communication (i.e. communication between change agents, opinion leaders and subjects) which play a dominant role in change behavior. Thus, development oriented messages by themselves play only a stimulus role for change as other factors can influence change behaviour such as the perception of benefits from the change.

This linear view of communication is termed as the "magic bullet" or "hypodermic needle" theory. This theory which came into vogue in the beginning of the 1900s and remained until the 1940s is grounded in the view of a "mass" culture and in a pessimistic view of man. Man was portrayed as manipulated, unfree and lacking individuality. Accordingly, the mass media audience was seen as passive, open to all influences and unable to react to media messages. "The audience was typically thought of as a sitting target; if a communicator hit it; he would affect it" (Schramm,1977,8).

Hence, the reference to hypodermic needle or magic bullet. It comes as no surprise that this linear view of communication led mass communication researchers to concentrate on empirical and quantitative studies. Communication research studies (those that are identified especially with administrative research in America)

concentrated on defining problems of message effectiveness, finding hard data on programmes and their short term effects without analysing deeply how these findings fit into the greater societal scheme. These studies failed to look at specific media purposes, messages, programmes and effects within the overall social processes (McPhail, 1981,75-76) The same could be said of what characterizes most development news studies. One can conclude that, in essence, development news is based on a linear view of communication and of socio-economic development. Put simply, the concept of development journalism overlooks the fact that media and their content operate within existing social, economic and cultural contexts. Media messages are not directed to a homogeneous social group. The cultural and historical background of societies provide the foundation for the current nature and organization of media institutions, and the values and practices upheld. Likewise, the politico-economic system determines the prevailing structure and flow of information in that particular society. Herman's study of US news is a case in point. News coverage of strife in Cambodia and East Timor and elections in El Salvador and Nicaragua "show selective use of criteria and attention in line with national political agenda" (1985,135).

From Quantitative to Qualitative Study of Development News

Development journalism, therefore, cannot be simply an object of quantitative study. As Arnaldo (1970,108) puts it, "national development is not merely a matter of multiplying media sources or messages. There is also the problem of understanding the dynamics of communication and of economic change: the cultural patterns of a particular nation, the leadership structures, the needs and aspirations of the people". Media content in order to be effectively communicated has to be "informative and persuasive" and should be based on values that will most likely attract people's free and willing cooperation Governmental journalism or reporting controlled by the state, on the other hand, has to be seen not only as a type of journalism producing a particular type of news. But as a policy arising from the government's perception of its lack of legitimacy. The analysis of Philippine news under Aquino will strive to illustrate this point.

A qualitative analysis, therefore is essential in order to check the slant of the news (was the article written as mere propaganda for the government or as an objective presentation and analysis of facts ?) its relevance and its readability. Development news studies should be able to measure whether development news items provide information on issues which in the words of Narinder Aggarwala of the UN Development Programme, "critically examine, evaluate, and

report the relevance of a development project to national and, most importantly, to local needs; the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation; and the difference between its impact on people as claimed by government officials and as it actually is" (Aggarwala,1986,26).

In trying to argue for a more qualitative approach to the study of news in the Philippines, it is not suggested that quantitative approaches are to be disregarded. In fact, our analysis of the Philippine case uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. Each approach has its own heuristic value. The aim of a quantitative approach is simply to describe the given information. The qualitative approach, on the other hand, aims to examine the process of its production (Jensen, 1987,32).

Various forms of qualitative research "supply some necessary complements and correctives to quantitative forms of audience research" (Jensen, 1987,31). This study adds that a qualitative approach also enhances the study of news coverage. The integration of a number of methods in data gathering and the drawing on external evidence about the structural framework of communication are ways of probing deeper into news as a political process.

The qualitative approach "is implicitly dialectic in the sense that the analysis traces the process of establishing the units of meaning, and it does so by studying the

interplay between media codes and audience codes in a wider sense, by interpreting the origins of those codes in different sectors of the social context" (Jensen, 1987,32). This study of news under Aquino strives to identify what perspectives prevail in news coverage of specific issues. It also strives to interpret where those perspectives are rooted, or why a certain meaning prevails in certain news stories will be the main focus.

3.6 In Brief

Summing up, development journalism has two conceptual definitions: the critical and independent form and the governmental form. In theory, these two conceptualizations are distinct from one another. However, in practice, the critical independent form of development journalism inevitably takes the form of a government policy especially in countries under authoritarian regimes. In countries where the government owns and controls the media, it is impossible for development journalism to be independent and non-political. The media are inherently social and political institutions. Thus, media content tends to be constructed in favour of those who control the media. This generalization does not preclude the fact that there are alternative systems where government and private ownership exist side by side harmoniously, and where the practice of a critical and independent form of development journalism is more possible.

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CHAPTER FOUR

"The manner in which communication media exist and
function starts with an analysis of the social and
cultural structure within which communication
occurs" (Lihamba, 1988,36).

The study of news in the Philippines within the
political economy model of the media requires the study of
the history of this particular society and the history of
its press. This is premised on the fact that "the press is
an institution woven into the fabric of society" (Ofreneo,
1986,xiv). The relationship between the press and society is
so close that one cannot deal with one separately from the
other. The press does not operate in a social vacuum. Its
development, its difficulties, and its strengths reflect
those of the society in which it operates. Economic,
political and socio-cultural factors determine the patterns
and use of the press in that society.

The objective of this chapter is to explain the political,
economic and social environment within which the Philippine
press developed. Its specific objectives are as follows:
(a) to examine the nature of the Philippine economy in which
the press operates; (b) to examine the Philippine political
system and its relation to the press and (c) to examine the
socio-cultural factors which shaped the philosophy that
guides the Philippine press. This chapter also aims to look
at how development journalism was practiced under the Marcos
government.

4.1 A PROFILE OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines is located in the center of Southeast Asia. It occupies a land area of 115,707 square miles with the northernmost island barely 105,000 miles from the south of Taiwan. It is bordered on the east by Indonesia, on the north by Taiwan and on the west by the Pacific ocean. Its three largest islands are Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao (Tiongson, 1986,9).

This archipelago of 7,100 islands is inhabited by 59.5 million people (1988 figure) of Malay extraction and mixed with Chinese and European influences (New Internationalist, 1990,16).

The Philippine population may be further subdivided into 87 ethnolinguistic groupings of various sizes. Among the major dialects spoken in the country are Tagalog, Ilokano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Waray, Pampango, and Pangasinan which belong to the Malay-Polynesian group of languages with a number of them borrowing from Chinese, Spanish and English (Tiongson, 1986,16).

Tagalog, the basis of Pilipino which is the national language of the country, is used widely in schools and in government institutions, although English is considered the business language. Recent trends show that Tagalog, the language of Manila is increasingly taking over with 92% claiming to understand it as compared with 51% who understand English (New Internationalist, March 1990,16).

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4.2 A Brief Historical Perspective

Before the Spaniards came to colonize the islands, the inhabitants of the islands had been trading and dealing with the Chinese and the Japanese. The islands were "discovered" by Ferdinand Magellan for the Spanish Crown in 1521. Spain then ruled and evangelized the islands for more than three centuries. In 1898, the nationalist movement inspired by the French Revolution and supported by the Americans, revolted against the Spanish colonizers and declared Philippine independence on 12 June 1898. Spain, in her defeat ceded the Philippines to the United States. America held the country for the next 50 years planting and building the democratic institutions which form the backbone of Philippine democracy including the country's public school system where English was the medium of instruction (Braid, & Clavel, 1984,213; Hill, 1981,741).

Under Roosevelt's administration the Philippines was granted its independence under the Philippine Commonwealth Government Act of 1935 (Jackson, 1989,236). However, this independence was only an illusory one as the country continued to depend financially and politically on the United States. During World War II, the country was held by the Japanese. The Philippines regained its political independence in July 1946. In fact, however, Philippine political and economic development continued to be indirectly influenced by the United States (Ofreneo,

1986,10). Manuel Roxas' rise to power, for instance, was engineered through United States' intervention. This can be proved by the fact that Manuel Roxas along with Jose Laurel collaborated with the Japanese and were inaugurated as vice-president and president respectively during the Japanese occupation. Yet the two escaped prosecution after the war and even retained their political power.

Ferdinand Marcos was elected president in 1965, and was reelected in 1969. Increasing economic difficulties brought by the devaluation of the peso, the high dollar expenditures of US firms in the country, the unrestricted flow of imported goods and the overspending in Marcos' presidential campaign for a second term resulted in massive discontent among the people. After devaluation, the value of the peso to the US dollar was P3.90 to $1. This, however, was just the beginning of the country's woes. Overspending in Marcos' reelection campaign brought the Philippines to bankruptcy. This led the reinstated Marcos government to seek the International Monetary Fund for loans amounting to $37 million with very detrimental terms for the country. IMF conditions for this loan were floating the peso and devaluing it a second time. The value of the peso was brought down from P3.90 to P5.90 to US $1. As a result, domestic inflation went up from 1.3 per cent in 1969 to 14.8 per cent in 1970 making the Philippines the third country with the highest inflation rate in the world. The

Philippines registered negative growth that year and native firms went bankrupt (Perpinan, 1983,171-172).

Dissatisfaction with the state of the economy found its expression in student and other mass demonstrations particularly in leading universities in Manila and in subversive threats from the Communist Party of the Philippines and its army, the New People's Army. In addition, several organisations led by the Moro National Liberation Front began fighting the government for autonomy in Mindanao. To contain the rising difficulties in Philippine society, Ferdinand Marcos declared Martial law on 21 September 1972 (Braid & Clavel, 1984,213-214).

The declaration of Martial Law signaled the end of Western democracy. Marcos dismantled the constitutional structure of government inherited from American colonial rule. He dissolved the Congress and replaced the 1935 Constitution with the 1973 Constitution. All radio, television and newspapers were closed and placed under military jurisdiction. Marcos also immediately arrested everyone who opposed him - from journalists to senators and congressmen and various opposition leaders. The various newspapers,radio and television stations were allowed to resume operations after securing their control by taking them over directly or indirectly through official and non-official censorship. He also created his own constitution and rubber stamp legislature called the Batasang Pambansa (National

Assembly). He outlawed labour strikes, expanded the armed forces and allowed unrestricted foreign investment. In 20 years, Marcos also took over the coconut, sugar, tobacco, mining and other key industries and controlled companies involved in food and beverages, transportation, communication and construction through his family or appointed men (Tiongson, 1986,10).

In spite of the Marcos government's absolute control over the country, mass oriented groups stifled when Martial Law was declared grew in strength and continued their protests against the incumbent government throughout the seventies. Their protest efforts, however, remained disparate and failed to move the government to make reforms. Only when the protest movement attracted the upper and middle classes as a result of the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino Jr. on 21 August 1983 and the consequent acquittal of all the soldiers indicted in the murder case did the movement made itself felt. Students, professionals, businessmen, workers, all engaged in what was termed as the "parliament of the streets" even as suppression of human rights increased under the Marcos government.

To prove to the United States - concerned with the growing political instability of the Marcos government - that he still had the support of the Filipino people, Marcos declared a snap presidential election in February 1986.

Opposition groups and the protest movement saw this as an opportunity to oust the incumbent government. They united to launch the candidacy of Corazon Aquino - widow of Benigno Aquino Jr. - who had become the symbol of the opposition. Various other sectors of Philippine society gathered to support Aquino and vigilantly ensured that the election was clean and free. Aquino won the elections but the Commission of Elections and the Batasang Pambansa proclaimed the incumbent president winner. A military coup led by Marcos' Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Armed Forces General Fidel Ramos and "People Power" overthrew the Marcos government in four days (Tiongson, 1986,10-11).

Mrs. Corazon Aquino took control of the government on 25 February 1986. She immediately set about dismissing local officials appointed by Marcos and replaced them with her own appointed officers-in-charge until a proper local elections could be held. She ordered the sequestration of "ill-gotten wealth" or properties and money believed to have been illegally acquired from public funds. A Presidential Committee on Good Government (PCGG) was formed to oversee this "sequestration process" which involved freezing all the Marcoses and their associates' assets. This committee also had the task of "recovering all these wealth and selling all the government's non-performing assets, which refer to government agencies and corporations not generating any profit, to the private sector.

The new government of Aquino set as its first task the drawing up of a new constitution to replace the 1973 Constitution which supported the political mechanisms of the previous government. A Constitutional Convention was held and the new constitution was ratified in a plebiscite in February 1987. Following this New Constitution, senatorial and municipal elections were set in May 1987 and in January 1988 respectively. Over this period, the Marcos loyalists with the reform movement in the military attempted twice to destabilize the Aquino government. On 6 July 1986, military troops loyal to Marcos stormed the Manila Hotel and proclaimed Arturo Tolentino, Marcos' vice-presidential candidate in the February presidential elections, as president of the country. The uprising was subdued by troops loyal to President Aquino in two days. However, only four months after this event, the government unraveled another military plot organized by discontented sectors in the military (Hastings, 1989,4).

On 10 December, the government and the National Democratic Front agreed to hold a ceasefire. The agreement was seen as a break-through in the government's efforts to solve the insurgency problem. Amnesty programmes were offered to insurgents who would surrender peacefully. As a gesture of its commitment to pursue its proclaimed economic and political agenda - "Preferential Option for the Poor and Just and Lasting Peace" - President Aquino ordered the

release of political detainees. Among those who were released, some were known former officials of the Communist Party of the Philippines such as Jose Maria Sison and Satur Ocampo. Some sectors of the military, however, did not welcome the move as they viewed it to be detrimental to the insurgency operations.

On 22 January 1987, a group of farmers marched to Malacanang, the presidential palace, to protest against the Aquino government's delay on enacting a genuine land reform programme. Farmers belonging to the Kilusang Manggagawa ng Pilipinas (KMP or Workers Movement of the Philippines) camped in front of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform for one week and then marched on January 22. The protest was violently dispersed by a military contingent. As a result, nineteen unarmed demonstrators died and one hundred others were injured.

The event was feared to have diminished President Aquino's appeal to the masses. However, the overwhelming approval of the new Constitution in February showed that President Aquino was still popular. The campaigns for a "yes" vote for the new Constitution demonstrated the people's unfailing support for President Aquino. The slogan used in the campaigns was "Yes for Cory", "Yes to the Constitution."

Right-wing factions of the military, however, continued

to undermine the present government. Just before the Constitutional plebiscite, army troops collaborating with Marcos loyalists staged another coup d'etat by taking control of various civil and military installations on 27 January 1987. The intent was suppressed within sixty-one hours.

The setbacks to the efforts of the Aquino government to restore normality to the country were just beginning. On February 8, the ceasefire agreement between the government and the NDF expired without achieving its objective. With the failure of peace negotiations between the government and the National Democratic Front, the Aquino government declared a "total war policy" against communism. The President gave her support for the vigilante group Alsa Masa in Davao (PetitJean,1988,12). Vigilante groups are officially known as Civilian Volunteer Groups (CVOs). Alsa Masa is the largest of the CVOs based in Mindanao. It is fanatically anti-communist while other vigilante groups are more religious in nature (New Internationalist,March 1990,17). President Aquino also enjoined the civilian population to participate in this "battle against communism". This move was looked on negatively by some officials of her government. This later precipitated the break-up of the coalition parties in the present government. Deputy Minister for Social Affairs Karina Constantino-David resigned from her position after Aquino declared her

support for the vigilantes. Independent political leaders
and human rights movement leaders were moved to leave the
Partido ng Bayan (People's Party) and to unite with the
socialist organization Bisig (Arm) (PetitJean, 1988,12).

This "total war policy" meant giving the army a
freehand in counter-insurgency operations. The consequence
of this action unfortunately, has been the repression of
popular movements (which are automatically stereotyped with
the Left. Lean Alejandro, secretary of BAYAN, was
assasinated. Trade unionists and other well known leaders of
mass movements have suffered the same fate. Pressure has
also increased on other mass organizations like the
Volunteers for Popular Democracy (VPD) and on the Partido ng
Bayan. It is argued that this development is one of the
factors which stimulated discontent among the masses with
the present government.

In the May 1987 congressional elections, Aquino's candidates
won 22 of the 24 Senate seats (Canlas, 1988,81). In August
of the same year, rebel forces from the army commanded by
Col Gregorio Honasan, attacked the presidential palace to
overthrow the government (Canlas, 1988,85). It was the most
serious challenge yet to face the Aquino government. While
it was put down again quite easily by government troops, the
incident showed the persistence of serious divisions within
the military and the desire by some to have a greater say in
the running of the country and particularly on the

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insurgency problem.

Nineteen eighty-eight seemed to hold better promises for social change than the previous year. But it was also a crucial year for the Aquino government because it was during this year that issues like the land reform, and the review of the RP-US military bases agreement were to be decided on. Both issues are at the crux of the goverment's political and economic programme. First of all, municipal and provincial elections were held on 18 January to replace presidential appointees to the various posts in local governments. These elections were the last of the electoral constitutions provided for in the newly ratified Constitution to reestablish a democratic system. However the conduct and results of these latest elections reveal, on the contrary,the return to the "old politics" (Canlas, 1988). This turn of events crushed the people's hopes that a new political tradition was forthcoming. These latest elections witness the return of the "oligarchs" or wealthy families to the political arena. "Given the crude clientelist rule prevailing in the political arena," (PetitJean, 1988,11) mass organizations were excluded from the elections.

The latest coup d'etat attempt in December 1989 halted business in Manila for nearly two weeks. The coup was foiled with American military support. Nevertheless, the event made clear the dependence of the Philippines

on its US ally. This military rebellion led President Aquino to promulgate a presidential decree putting the entire country under a "state of national emergency". More significantly, the intervention of the United States, which ensured the victory of government troops, has disillusioned many and has shown the failure of the civilian government to establish its supremacy over the military.

The coup undoubtedly had a negative impact on the economy. Six months after the coup, the country's current account deficit showed the Philippines to be in greater debt. The situation prompted the seeking of new loans which ties the Philippines even more to foreign capital (Tiglao, 12 July 1990,70). To add to this, the country suffered an earthquake in July 1990 which devastated one of the top tourist cities in the Philippines, Baguio. Although the earthquake left most of the important economic regions of the country intact, the destruction of Baguio will certainly take a toll on the country's tourism revenue.

4.3 The Economy

The country's economy depends largely on foreign capital to finance its manufacturing industry and even its infrastructure development. This has to a large extent contributed to its continued underdevelopment. Unequal relations and trade arrangements with the United States is a significant factor in the country's economic development which goes back to the post-war period and to the country's

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colonial ties with the US. The bulk of foreign capital and loans come from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

The Philippine economy from 1946 has been dominated by US multinationals through local franchises which take advantage of cheap labour and resources to maximise profit which they repatriate to the States (Tiongson, 1986,10). This was a logical outcome of the Philippine government's decision to allow US citizens "parity rights" or equal rights with native Filipinos in the exploitation of the country's natural resources in exchange for much needed aid to rebuild the country after the war (Miranda, 1988,20). The Philippine economy relies to a great extent on its export earnings. Over 60 per cent of its foreign exchange earnings come from the export of coconut products, sugar, timber, copper, tropical fruits, handicrafts and other commodities (Miranda, 1988,33). It is therefore highly vulnerable to fluctuations in the world market.

Despite the country's large earnings from its exports, a big proportion of revenue goes to pay its outstanding debt. The debt burden of the Philippines at the beginning of 1987 was estimated at $29 billion (Ladayo, 1987,12). Repayment of this huge debt in accordance with the lending banks prescriptions are far too heavy for any reasonable economic growth. At least about 40 per cent of the country's export earnings has to go to service the interest

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alone. In 1987, ten per cent of the country's GNP went to service the debt (Miranda, 1988,33).

4.4 The Philippines Social and Political Structure

From colonial times to the present, Philippine society has been made up of a very small elite and a large population of poor masses. Social, political and economic control of society rested with this elite.

Business was often the platform from which to step into politics. Because of the huge outlay needed for election campaigns Philippine electoral processes automatically ruled out the poor and even the middle class from being elected into public office to have their interests represented. With the exception of Ramon Magsaysay, most politicians to date have been from an elite background. Politics, on the other hand, was the way to safeguard business interests. In Philippine political history, politics has tended to be the battle arena for competing elite families.

This intricate link-up of business and politics has produced a deep-seated patron-client relationship that pervades the two spheres, and in fact, all levels of Philippine society. The Philippine political system is based on the American democratic system of representative government. The electoral process is also largely patterned after the United States. Voters elect their public officials by secret ballot. The House of Congress is made up of elected members from two hundred legislative districts. In the 1987

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Constitution, a modification was made in the allotment of seats. Twenty five seats were allocated for the party list system. Political parties get a percentage of seats depending on their performance in the elections. The members of the Senate which numbers about twenty-four are elected nationally.

Graft and corruption for the most part in government bureacracy is rooted in the electoral process. Since the election campaigns require huge financial outlays, most candidates come from wealthy families. But upon assumption into office, some politicians use their office to regain what they have spent in their election campaigns. Big financiers or supporters, on the other hand, expect big favours from them. This seems to account for the endemic problem of graft and corruption. (In the last May 1987 elections, each senatorial candidate spent on average P9 million or US $450,000). Hence, election results are determined by patronage and influence. Vote buying, harassment and manipulation of results form part of the political game (Canlas, 1988,73).

From the post-war to the pre-Martial Law period, Philippine politics has been characterized by a two-party system: the Nationalista Party and the Liberal Party. The two parties are not distinct ideologically, being made up as it were by the landed and business elite. Political parties are not radically distinguished by their political

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programmes but rather by their allegiances to particular persons or groups who happen to lead the party at a particular period. The declaration of Martial Law and the immense concentration of power on the president which developed into a constitutional authoritarian government led to the emergence of a one-party system. Politics in the Marcos era was dominated by the party - the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (New Society Movement). In contrast, politics in the post-Marcos period is marked by a multi-party system. The emergence of pluralist politics spelt hope that a new political tradition was in the making. New election rules also facilitated this by allowing the participation of cause-oriented groups.

In the Senate elections in May 1987, Philippine politics was marked by a struggle of different political frameworks. It was characterised by the contest between the "old politics" and the "new politics" (Canlas, 1988,74). The former is represented by the parties supporting the ruling government or within the ruling coalition. The latter, on the other hand, is represented by the right-wing opposition, the progressive parties and the mass movement identified with the left.

The parties supporting or within the ruling coalition of the Aquino goverment are the Liberal Party (led by Senator Jovito Salonga), Partido Demokratiko ng Pilipinas-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban), National Union of Christian

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Democrats (NUCD), Partido ng Demokratikong Socialista ng Pilipinas (PDSP) and UNIDO (led by Vice-president Salvador Laurel).

The "opposition" in the Philippines is made up largely of the left wing and the right wing parties. The right wing opposition parties consist of the Liberal Party (led by Sen. Kalaw), the Grand Alliance for Democracy/Nationalist Party (led by Enrile), UNIDO (Espina faction), Social Democratic Party (led by Tatad), the Mindanao Alliance (led by Adaza and the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) - which is composed of Marcos loyalists. Meanwhile, Partido ng Bayan (People's Party), Kaiba (an all women's party) and Partido Kordilyera (Cordillera Party) constitute the Left (Canlas, 1988,73).

The results of the municipal and senatorial elections in 1987, unfortunately, showed that the "old politics" - of family alliances - still prevails. Two of the main national parties in the presidential coalition - the Philippine Democratic Party (PDP-Laban) and Lakas ng Bansa - known as Lakas ng Bayan (People's Power) are headed by relations of the President. Other members of the President's family present themselves as potential presidential candidates (PetitJean, 1988,11).

If the trend of politics continue in this direction the return of "political dynasties" would be imminent. History attests to the vulnerability of a political system based on family or clan alliances. The vulnerability of the

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incumbent government is underlied by this feature of Philippine politics. Present conflicts between the different family groups' interests if they intensify, can contribute to destabilizing this government especially with a new presidential elections coming up in 1992.

4.5 The Philippine Press

The Philippine press is largely colonial, that is, patterned after the West. Like other Philippine media institutions, it derives its origins and much of its philosophy from the American media (Guioguio, 1984,163). One of the most evident proof of this strong Western influence is the proliferation of English language papers in all major cities of Asia. Most leading dailies in Manila, for instance, are in English.

The forerunners of today's newspapers in the Philippines emerged under American colonial rule: Manila Times (1898), Daily Bulletin (1900), Philippine Herald (1920), Liwayway (1922), Tribune (1925), Philippine Free Press (1908) and Graphic (1927).

The dominance of English language newspapers could be explained partly as a result of the need to serve foreign businesses (mostly American businesses) which were concentrated in the urban areas. Some argue that this concentration of businesses in the cities has led to the development of a highly nuclear press.

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In 1967, 107 provincial newspapers were listed under the Philippine News Media Directory. But as shown in Table 1, nearly half of the total number of provincial newspapers were in Luzon, the main island.

Table 2.

Distribution of Provincial Newspapers among
the three main islands.

Luzon	49
Visayas	26
Mindanao	32
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Of this number, seventy-five were weekly newspapers with a circulation of less than three thousand each. A Media Research Foundation of the Philippines (1966) study stated that 12 per cent of Philippine households had at least one newspaper everyday. In 1968, this ratio of newspaper distribution decreased to one newspaper for every fifty-eight persons, or 1.71 per cent of the population of 35 million people. however, this ratio is counteracted by the fact that 45.7 per cent of the 1968 population was below fourteen years. Hence, the number of people sharing one newspaper would have been smaller. Nevertheless, the concentration of news dailies in Manila upsets this balance. With 67 per cent of all daily newspapers in Manila (i.e. seven out of nine dailies in the whole country), the availability of dailies in the provinces is deplorable.

In addition, most of the English weekly magazines are published and circulated in Metro Manila. This means that more than half of the people in Mindanao and Visayas have no direct access to media.

These figures manifest concretely the nuclear structure of the Philippine press. The daily newspaper was considered chiefly as a Manila press. Provincial newspapers were also similarly oriented. Even if there was a high number of weekly provincial newspapers, most of them were confined to the more developed municipalities (Arnaldo, 1970,109).

The distribution of radio and television in the country follows the same pattern. Of the 208 radio stations throughout the country forty-three have their studios and transmitters in Metro Manila. Six of the thirteen commercial television stations and almost all of the moving picture companies are located in the capital. (Arnaldo, 1970,106).

The Press as a Business Enterprise

The Philippine press in the postwar period has always operated within the free-market system under which the means of production, distribution and exchange are to a large extent privately controlled. Profit or influence, or both seem the main motivations for going into business. Journalists are paid wages or salaries which most of the time are not commensurate with the work they do, which makes

them vulnerable to graft and corruption.

The development of mass media in the Philippines from the beginning, apart from being driven by private enterprise, has always been marked by the oligarchic character of business and politics. Unlike the BBC or media institutions in developing countries patterned after the BBC or the French system, the Philippine media were not rooted in the "public service" tradition.

As a former editor of the Evening News stated, "most newspapers here are extensions of business empires. We are a country where, unfortunately, keeping a newspaper is a good defense for good business" (Lent, 1971,207).

Newspaper chains, existed even before the pre-war period and they were owned by the leading families who controlled various business interests. The Roceses owned the Tribune, La Vanguardia, and Taliba. The Madrigals on the other hand, ran the Philippines Herald, Mabuhay, El Debate and Monday Mail. The immediate post war period saw the setting up of small newspapers. The big publishers of the pre-war period however, re-entered the scene and crowded these small ones. The Roces' newspaper chain included The Evening Post, Liwayway and The Manila Times; the Roxas family had The Daily News and The Light; the Osmena's Daily Publishing House, on the other hand, had The Daily Standard and Ang Pilipino (The Filipino). In the early 1960s, three more big businessmen entered the publishing field - Harry

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Stonehill who bought the Evening News; Hans Menzi, of Swiss parentage who bought the Manila Daily Bulletin and Andres Soriano who took over the The Philippines Herald (Ofreneo, 1986,190).

At the time of World War II, the Philippines had four radio stations. All four were owned by department stores to advertise their merchandise (Lent, 1978,178).

The Press Enterprise in Philippine Politics

The media were not only business enterprises but also served as political instruments for the same group of people who dominated businesses (Lent, 1978,179; Rosenberg, 1979,152).

In the early 60s and 70s, only the Manila Times registered a profit among all the newspapers. The cost of manpower, production and materials such as, newsprint, ink, film and chemicals which were all imported, had soared. There was also a pressing need for greater saleability because of stiff competition. Some newspapers were able to meet this need with offset machines which allowed for greater creativity in lay out and cuts, facsimile printing and computerized equipment. Only the Manila Times did well based on its strong advertising profit. The implication was that the other newspapers were subsidised by their sister corporations if only for the interests the newspapers served in the political sphere.

The Philippine press, in particular, had always had a tradition of political partisanship way back under Spanish colonialism and especially under American colonialism.

The immediate governments after World War II owned or indirectly controlled at least one news medium to use as their political instrument. Manuel Roxas, a presidential candidate in 1946 ran Daily News and Balita as organs of the new Liberal Party. Commonwealth President Sergio Osmena, whom Roxas defeated, ran the Morning Sun. Ramon Magsaysay who was President (during 1950s-60s) used the media extensively and systematically in his government (Rosenberg, 1979,155). Undoubtedly, his experience influenced government-media relations after his term. Political partisanship thus, is part and parcel of the development of Philippine media before and after Martial Law.

The ownership structure of the media remained the same toward the 1970s. Multimedia networks were developed by the families of Elizalde, Lopez, Roces, and Soriano.
The Roces family had publishing as their main business interest. Their chain of newspapers and magazines consisting of The Daily Mirror,The Times,Taliba, Weekly Women's Magazine, and their Associated Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) network consisting of one television station and six radio stations, were among the high ranking corporations in the Philippines.
Andres Soriano controlled Radio Mindanao Network and Inter-

Island Broadcasting Network, which consisted of one television station and sixteen radio stations, along with his other economic and print media interests.

Lopez had the ABS-CBN network which had four television stations, two television relay stations, twenty radio stations and the Sarmiento Telecommunication Network, which Lopez acquired in 1970. Lopez with this telecommunication network, acquired a further twenty-four microwave relay stations worth P20 million. ABS-CBN controlled television transmission from Manila to Negros, Cuby, Bacolod, Cagayan de Oro and Davao. Elizalde on the other hand, expanded his business combine to include the Manila Broadcasting Network and the Metropolitan Broadcasting Co. which had one television station and thirteen radio stations.

Media ownership in the Philippines after Martial Law was still hardly representative of multi-sectoral interests. The structure that evolved despite the Marcos government's avowed aim to dismantle the oligarchic structure of the press, did not allow for public participation in the operation or ownership of media. Efforts to broaden mass ownership of the media led instead to the opposite - the concentration of ownership among close associates of Marcos. General Hans Menzi, a former aide of Marcos, was owner and publisher of Bulletin, of two tabloids in Pilipino - Tempo and Balita, and the chain of weekly magazines Panorama, Who, Sine, Liwayway, Banawag and Bisaya.

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Roberto Benedicto, former ambassador to Japan, owner of large holdings in the sugar and banking industry, owned the Philippine Daily Express, the Weekend magazine and four of the five main television channels through his Kanlaon Broadcasting System.

Former ambassador to the US Benjamin Romualdez, a brother of Mrs Marcos, ran the Philippine Journalists Inc. chain - The Times Journal, The Times Mirror, and the tabloids People's Journal, People's Tonight, Pilipino Ngayon, Taliba and Chinatown News, Architectural Journal, Weekly People's Magazine, Parade and the Women's Journal (Ofreneo, 1986,190).

4.6 Media Under Marcos -- The Press as Government's Tool in "National Development"

Central to the New Society programe of the Marcos government under Martial Law was the transformation of Philippine society - a transformation which depended on reforming the communication system in order to mobilize the people to participate in national development. This in fact meant the control or seizure of the various news media from long standing oligarchic families.

The government declared that it was necessary to broaden the ownership of the mass media to prevent them becoming "tools of oligarchs" (Abueva, 1979,44).

President Marcos declared Martial Law nationwide on 21 September 1972 through Proclamation 1081. With the effective

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and loyal support of the military, the Marcos government closed down all radio and television stations, and press offices, arrested journalists, publishers, commentators critical of the president, senators, some members of the Constitutional Convention, labour leaders and thousands of activists.

It then also established directives for the operation of the media under Martial Law. These directives were contained in Presidential Decrees, in Letters of Instruction and in guidelines formulated by the Ministry of Public Information (MPI), the Mass Media Council (MMC), the Media Advisory Council (MAC) and the Philippine Council for Print Media (Encanto, 1982,34).

In February 1973, six months after the event, Francisco Tatad, then chairman of the Ministry of Public Information and the Mass Media Council reflected in his statement what this widening of communication for development meant. He stated, "From hereon, the development of media ... must solely be measured in terms of the advancement of society ... media as an active agent for social change ... [is] to help inculcate in the polity such values and attitudes that must precede the transformation of society" (Business Day, (Manila), 7 Feb. 1973, quoted in Sussman, G. 1982,379). This rationale was later enshrined in law on 11 May 1973 when it was proclaimed in Presidential Decree No. 191, that "media were to become 'an effective instrument in the

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[the] attainment of social change'" (Rosenberg 1979,169).

A MAC Advisory guideline dated November 1973 puts the new developmental orientation of Philippine media as follows: "media are encouraged to be development conscious --- to disseminate as much information as possible about the potentials of the country and the efforts exerted to fulfill these potentials and to encourage the public to participate in these efforts" (Encanto, 1982,34).

Although development journalism was not the term used in the directives the concept of development journalism was adopted as the journalistic orientation throughout the Martial Law period. The statements of former Information Minister Francisco Tatad reflect the values and goals of development journalism, that of fostering national unity and reflecting the current political economic system. Development journalism here means "away from the Western tradition of bad news, sensationalisation of crime, corruption and political bickerings" (Encanto, 1982,35).

The concept arose a year later, but this time under the umbrella of development communication. A Department of Development Communication was established in the University of the Philippines in Los Banos, Laguna in 1974. The communication faculty of the College of Agriculture proposed that development communication be established as a separate discipline with a graduate and an undergraduate programme. They looked on development communication as the use of all communication channels to promote and achieve development in

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all aspects (Encanto, 1982,36). The programme was geared to assist the government in communicating its policies on agricultural reforms (Ogan, 1982,4). Nora Quebral, first chairwoman of the department at Los Banos puts the aim in another way - to rescue the public from poverty to economic growth. Development communication, she defined is "the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater economic and social equality and the larger fulfillment of the human potential" (quoted in Mustafa, 1979,58).

This definition by Quebral was coined when Third World governments began to promote their ideologies and political programmes. The term development journalism was changed to "development support communications" in Los Banos (Altschull, 1984,151). Media were to be the instruments of development. The government was to create the plans and the press or media were to assist in the achievement of these goals. It was under this system that Filipino journalists were suppressed from criticizing the Marcos government, his family and his policies.

Encanto's research study of the understanding and practice of development journalism in the Philippines in 1979 reveals the practice of the governmental form of development news. A content analysis of the front page news items of the three largest circulating newspapers in the Metropolitan area: The Philippine Daily Express, Bulletin

Today, and Times Journal provided the basis of the findings.
Despite the formal lifting of media controls, and the
encouragement of self-regulation, in the press in 1979,
Martial Law was still in full force. Official and
unofficial censorship and discriminatory closures of the
press and other media still continued. The study revealed
that politics and government category obtained the highest
news coverage (see table 3).

Table 3.

Number and Proportion of Front Page Stories
in the The Philippine Daily Express,
Bulletin Today and Times Journal.

Type of News	Bulletin Today		Philippines Express		Times Journal	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Politics/ Government	19	15.7	11	14.8	11	14.8
Land Reform	2	1.7	0	0	1	1.4
Food & Nutrition	0	0	0	0	1	1.4
Agriculture	0	0	2	2.7	0	0
Health Care	1	0.8	0	0	0	0
Energy	3	2.5	2	2.7	9	12.1
Education	2	1.7	3	4.0	1	1.4
Economics/Business	9	7.4	11	14.8	6	8.1
Infrastructure	4	3.3	1	1.4	0	0
Environment	0	0	0	0	1	1.4
Transportation/	3	2.5	1	1.4	4	5.4
Labour	1	0.8	2	2.7	1	1.4
Justice	2	1.7	4	5.4	2	2.7
Social Welfare	1	0.8	0	0	0	0
Peace and Order	13	10.7	4	5.4	2	2.7
Crime	8	6.6	0	0	0	0
Relations with other countries	0	0	4	5.4	1	1.4
Trade Agreements	2	1.7	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	70	57.9	45	60.7	40	54.5

SOURCE: Encanto, Georgina, "Development Journalism in the
Philippines" in E. Atwood., et. al. International
Perspective on News. (Ill: Southern Ill. Press), 1982, p.39.

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Table 4 highlights the categories with the most number of items.

Table 4.
News Stories with the Most
Number of Items.

Type of News	No.	%
Politics/Government	41	15.1
Economic/Business	26	9.6
Peace and Order	19	7.0
Energy	16	5.9
Relations with other countries	10	3.7

Of the total sample of 270, 41 or 15.1 per cent of the news items were on politics and government. Under this category were news items on President Marcos and his family, on the work of the Batasang Pambansa (National Assembly), and on government efforts to eradicate graft and corruption and efforts to fight the New People's Army. Economics and business followed with 26 items or 9.6 per cent of the total sample. This category include items on the economic gains of the country under Martial Law, investments, efforts to curb inflation and foreign loans.

News items on peace and order came third with 19 items or 7 per cent of the total sample. The placement of these news items on the front page indicate the priority given to them in order to project the stability of the country. Social services and health care got 16 stories or 5.9 per cent of the total. Its observance also on the front page indicates the desire of the government to be seen as corresponding to the basic needs of the people (Encanto, 1982, 38-42).

Two characteristics of governmental journalism can be deduced from this study: the prominence given to positive political and governmental stories and the lack of criticism of local or national government policies or actions. Overall, news of the government and its projects tended to be portrayed positively. But the philosophy of developmental journalism in real terms cannot be reduced simply to putting emphasis on positive news. It appears that it was used as a promotional tool for the government, for which tight control of the press was a key policy. It was argued toward the end of chapter three that there is no society with absolutely no control over the press or the media. Some regulation of the press is necessary to safeguard the public and prevent excesses of the press. Each society, however, has to strike a balance in order to determine the nature and degree of controls over the press compatible with its particular culture. It is proposed that the two characteristics were logical consequences of excessive government control which resulted in a timid, inhibited and uncritical Philippine press. The proclamation of PD 1081 (Martial Law) and other decrees like letters of instructions, presidential directives to a great extent were among the factors that contributed to this development. Precensorship and revocation of licenses of any media that were considered "subversive or detrimental to national interest" were cases in point of the application of the directives mentioned above.

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MEDIA CONTROL

Control of the press during Martial law took various
forms. In the beginning, strict licensing and censorship
measures through various censorship bodies were enforced.
Later, they were lifted and replaced by self-censorship,
since most of the television and radio stations were
controlled by the first family or business associates close
to the Marcoses.

Among these government bodies established to supervise
the operation of all media were the Media Advisory Council,
the Mass Media Council and the Department of Public
Information. Before setting up the Media Advisory Council,
Marcos by a presidential decree established the Mass Media
Council (MMC) with Francisco Tatad as chairman. A
representative from the National Defense or its Secretary
acts as co-chairman of the MMC.
The MMC's functions were "to supervise and control the
'performance and conduct of all mass media relevant to the
promotion of closer coordination with the objectives of the
government'" (Lent, 1974,55).
The Media Advisory Council was established in May 1973 by a
presidential decree. Its function was to supervise all the
mass media, encourage responsible opinion writing on
Philippine social and economic conditions, "monitor" media
ownership, prevent monopoly, and allocate radio and
television frequencies.

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Its other tasks were to encourage the setting up of
newspapers in the provinces to check whether mass media
content answered national needs and to monitor the use of
the vernacular language in fiction writing, and the record
industry. It was also instructed to preserve Filipino
literary heritage and high professional standards in
journalism, seek higher wages for media people and
reasonable working arrangements between advertising agencies
and the media.

Under the MAC, was the Media Practices Board whose function
was "to administer and supervise a system that will enable
mass media to police itself."

In other words, the Media Practices Board acts as a press
council with powers ranging from seeking rectification or
clarification from erring media men to suspension or
criminal prosecution (Lent, 1974,56).

The forty five page MAC guideline, setting out its own
functions in supervising the mass media, prescribed a set of
rules on "what constitutes responsible opinion writing,
honour and freedom of others, independence and integrity of
media personnel" (Lent, 1978, 73) Under broadcast
guidelines, the rules and regulations of the MPB were set
out in a variety of headings, including the advancement of
education and culture, responsibility toward children,
communication responsibility, general programme standards,
treatment of news and public events, religious programmes,
general advertising standards, presentation of advertising,

and time standards for non-programme material.

Other guidelines and restrictions dealt with advertising agencies, public relations and research groups, film and special media.

In September 1973, the MAC proposed to take over the activities of foreign news agencies like UPI, Reuters, AFP, AP and bodies like the Textbook board, the Bureau of Posts and the Department of Public Information. But objections from the latter bodies prevented the implementation of this move (Lent, 1974,56).

Press control in the Philippines then developed into a "structure of unofficial censorship" through threats of arrest, detention, closure, harassment by libel suits and even death (Lent, 1974). Journalists feared losing their jobs but if they were to continue the practice of their professions, the journalists could not write on certain subjects such as the President, the First Lady and their family, government officials, the military and known "associates" of the president.

The press then fell into accepting passively "press release journalism" and "envelopmental journalism". The former meant that Malacanang and other government releases were printed in the dailies without editing the same headlines and texts appeared in all the other dailies. The latter meant that journalists who cooperated and obeyed government orders were rewarded with cash, a government position or

some other employment (Fernandez, 1987,184).

In sum, government control of the press was maintained in three ways after they were allowed to function again. The first was to recruit journalists to government information services or government agencies. For economic reasons, this was not difficult as the media had the largest share of unemployment after Martial Law with estimates of 15,000 to 20,000. Secondly, television commercials were restricted or limited to ten per hour. The rest of broadcast time was allocated to non-commercial messages advocating support for the New Society. Thirdly, press control was maintained through government threats issued through the military. The restraint of journalists was maintained by the military acting as censors (Lent, 1974,56).

Other Means of Control

Public Affairs programming was encouraged and emphasis was placed on Philippine development news to keep Filipinos informed of the country's progress on both radio and television. All news and public affairs programmes were broadcast simultaneously to ensure the attention of as wide an audience as possible.

The core of this policy under the Marcos government could be summed up as total restriction of the press to attain the stated objective of national development. Under the New Society programme of the Marcos government, this

restriction was justified as a necessary limitation for the development of national democracy. As Marcos stated it, "just as power can be democratized by popular representation, free speech and other free institutions, private wealth should be democratized by [its] regulation for the worthy ends of human society" (Marcos, 1970,119).

He stated further that while freedom of speech is one of the Philippines' strongest institutions, this ideal serves no purpose "when it abandons discussion for abuse" (Marcos, 1970,127). For Marcos, the institution of centralized controls over the media was necessary to transform the place of mass media in social life.

Militarism and the temporary suspension of press freedom, and other basic human rights were necessary to attain the "New Society". Western critics, Marcos implied, overlooked the fact that Western societies went through this period in their own development (Marcos, 1970,107).

CHAPTER FIVE

The 1986 February Revolution which overthrew the Marcos
regime broke the chains binding the Philippine media system
to the government. The new government which succeeded it -
the Aquino administration - vowed to be in contrast to the
previous government and promised to support freedom of the
press.

This chapter analyses news coverage of the insurgency, the
military and the land reform issues under the Aquino
government. Through the use of content analysis and through
a criticism of the existing socio-political environment in
which the Philippine press operates, this thesis strives to
show what perspective prevails in news coverage of the three
issues. From the results of the analysis of Philippine news,
this study also strives to point out the wider trends in the
current news policy operating in the Philippines.

5.1 The Philippines After the 1986 Revolution

February 1986 was a turning point in Philippine
history. It marked the liberation of the country from
twenty years of dictatorship. Corazon Aquino, who was the
only viable alternative to run against Marcos and to unite
the various factions in Philippine society, became the
symbol of this liberation. However, although Marcos had
gone, the country's political and economic problems

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remained.   It would be simplistic to assume that the Marcos government was the beginning and the end of the country's problems.   The Philippines' economic and political problems are more systemic and deeply rooted than the faults of an individual or a group of elite (Jackson, 1989).   Hence, while Marcos had gone, the problems that were there before and which quadrupled under his government remained and will continue to affect the Philippines for years to come. Looking at the Philippines in this context will enable one to understand its unique situation.

Politically, the country had been full of uncertainties and anxieties even before the events of 1986.   From the period 1982-1986, political ferment was already brewing from rumours about Marcos' deteriorating health.   Without a competent successor capable of holding together the various factions riddled with conflicts and hostilities, Marcos' death could have triggered a power vacuum.   In the end, Marcos' polarisation of the different political forces such as the Leftist opposition, some sectors in the military, the cause-oriented groups engaged in the "parliament of the streets" and dissatisfied politicians, worked against him. These groups united under Corazon Aquino, and are presently the contending forces behind her government.   Although, President Aquino was considered the symbol of anti-Marcos struggles and the unifying factor among these varied political   groups,   the uncertainties previously   there

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continue to exist. Various interpretations are put forward regarding the struggle and contradictions between these competing groups which installed President Aquino in power.

The Spirit of 1986: Three Interpretations

There are three existing interpretations which amount to three ideologies of political change in the Philippines. The discussion of these perspectives can serve to illuminate the understanding of later events that proceed from these viewpoints. For instance, the struggle for a share of power by right-wing sectors of the military (i.e. the Reformed Armed Forces Movement (RAM) and a RAM-splinter group called YOU) proceed from the argument that they were the ones who installed the Aquino government.

(a) The first interpretation of the February events argue that Aquino was the rightful winner of the February presidential elections. Thus, the government under her is duly constituted and mandated by the people. This interpretation explains President Aquino and Vice-president Salvador Laurel's claim to a six-year term in office.

(b) The second interpretation argues that the present government is a transitional government brought about by a military revolt led by former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and General Fidel Ramos. Therefore, the government that was installed was a coalition government and a modified military junta. This interpretation coincides with

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Enrile and Ramos' claim that it was the military rebels who installed Aquino in power. The implication is that the government is a partnership between the Aquino government and the military led by Enrile and Ramos.

(c) The third interpretation states that the Aquino government was brought about by People Power or popular uprising supported by the defecting faction of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) (Canlas, 1988,81-83).

The Analysis

A closer examination of these viewpoints will reveal that, in fact, the second and third interpretations are not exclusive. As later events demonstrate, these two perspectives lack substance. If the present government is a partnership between a civilian government and the military led by Enrile and Ramos according to the second interpretation, then Enrile should have remained in President Aquino's cabinet. As things stand, Enrile was forced to resign as Defense Minister in November 1986 after the second coup attempt within that year. The ratification of a new Constitution in February 1987 also implied the end to the transitional character of the current government and restored a Constitutional democracy. Although, the installment of Mrs. Aquino to power emanated from the revolutionary action of the people, a revolutionary government was not put in place.

The third view does not hold substance either if one looks at the current political set-up. People power after four years remains largely unconsolidated. The cause oriented groups who supported President Aquino in her candidacy and who played a key role in ousting Marcos were not galvanized as strong political forces to contend or challenge the traditional politicians in pushing political and social reforms. As Canlas (1988,83) argued, "A revolutionary government necessitates a revolutionary framework of government: a unified, single agenda, such as the restructuring of the economy and political sphere, must be set out and implemented; a revolutionary organisation that can defend, carry forward and consolidate the gains of the revolution is essential. ... In spite of the revolutionary basis of her power, her [Aquino's] leadership is more attuned to the same constitutionalist and legalistic framework of government" within which the previous government worked. Therefore, President Aquino as such has no political organisation to defend and carry forward the promised gains of the 1986 "People Power Revolution".

Popular Democracy: The Answer

In view of the Philippine's present political situation, four years after the February events, the first interpretation that Mrs. Aquino is the legitimate successor to the Presidency would hold more substance. During the

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first elections -the Senate elections- held under the present government in May 1987, President Aquino handpicked and supported the candidates for the LABAN party. Twenty two of these candidates won the 24 senatorial seats. BAYAN, the largest coalition of cause-oriented organizations, fielded only seven candidates and none won a seat in the Senate. Although officials of the cause-oriented movements were given cabinet positions or important government positions, these were forfeited afterwards in response to pressures from the Right.

Part of the growing unrest among sectors of the population come from the lack of channels for the relief of their grievances. As a consequence, President Aquino has realized that installing democratic institutions is not enough. In order to consolidate once more the people support that brought her to power, President Aquino has spearheaded in June 1990 an organization called Kabisig (Linking Arms Movement), the aim of which is to "act as a lobby dedicated to speeding up unfinished projects" (McBeth, 21 June 1990,11). Kabisig will draw on the support of governors, mayors, non-governmental organizations and civic groups to unclog the financial pipeline and bring more urgency to the delivery of basic services to the masses (McBeth, 5 July 1990,18-19).

The movement however, is perceived by sectors in the parliament as provoking an open split with the Lakas ng

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Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP), a coalition of political parties in the House of Congress, because it excludes the congressmen from the movement. However, groups outside the parliament perceive the opposite. They argue that the LDP has become obstructive of legislative measures for genuine social reform. Transportation and Communication Secretary Oscar Orbos, who headed the movement in its foundation, expressed this view, "Given the problems we have inherited and the need for adjustments everywhere, there are constraints in general that don't allow us to take immediate action to address the needs of the people. This is why people will consider a group. If they feel the government is no longer addressing their needs, they look for other alternatives" (McBeth, 5 July 1990,18). Kabisig is viewed as being established to do precisely this. The move, however, could also be viewed as a means to reprieve the growth of "other alternatives" like the underground movement -the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its armed wing, the New People's Army (NPA)- which remains a most potent political armed force ready to destabilize the present government. It was believed that the overthrow of the Marcos government would facilitate the dissolution of these groups. However, their continued existence and growth, despite President Aquino's offer of amnesty, raises the question of the viability of the popular democracy under the present government.

A Profile of the Different Political Groups

In order to attain a deeper understanding of the contending forces within the Philippines' political setting, this section presents a brief profile of the existing political groups.

The People's Movement

The popular democratic forces associated with People Power are quite varied and divided. The largest and most militant among these forces is the movement BAYAN. It is a coalition of different trade unions and national peasant movements identifed with the Left. Groups identified with BAYAN played a key role in the anti-dictatorship struggle during the Marcos era by increasing the momentum of protest through "welgang bayan" or people's strikes. They are the main advocates of the "new politics" (Canlas, 1988,75) or the political struggle to serve the needs of the masses.

Bandila (Flag), Kasapi (member), Tambuli (horn), Partidong Demokratiko ng Pilipinas (PDSP) or the Socialist Party of the Philippines, comprise the second main political grouping of the mass movement. They are closely identified with the Social and Christian Democrats and with the ruling coalition. Several of these groups' leaders were given positions in the present government and in divested corporations. In other words, although their declared stance is one of critical support, they are strong supporters of President Aquino. They were active in campaigning for the ratification of the new Constitution (Canlas, 1988,75).

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Another force that forms a bloc in the people's movement are the Volunteers for Popular Democracy, BISIG (arm), a socialist coalition, KAAKBAY (support) and the Metro Manila People's Council. These groups rally for popular democracy as a political project. They are a potential political grouping to contend with.

There are other existing people's organizations such as the No Nukes Campaign, the Philippine Alliance for Human Rights Advocates (PAHRA), Gabriela (a coalition of women's organizations), and the Press Freedom Movement. However,most of them are single-issue organizations which are simultaneously members of other organizations. As such, they cannot be considered a political bloc.

There is also a bloc of people's movements closely identified with the underground political organisation - the National Democratic Front, which claims to pursue a "just people's war". Among the groups linked to it are the Kabataang Makabayan (KM or Patriotic Youth), KAGUMPA (Nationalist Teacher's Association), MAKIBAKA (Independent Movement of New Women) and the Christians for National Liberation (Canlas, 1988,76).

The Military

The role played by the military in the 1986 revolution and its strong presence in political developments over the last four years are evidence that it is a political force to

be reckoned with. Some argue that the military's development as a relatively independent political force is an outcome of recent historical events. Others posit that the military began to be politicised under Marcos, but it was the imposition of Martial Law that completed the process (Canlas, 1988,74).

Factions began to develop in the military when General Fabian Ver was promoted as Chief of Staff, over other generals who believed they were more deserving. A group of military officers in 1976-1979 such as Col. Gregorio Honasan, leader of RAM, and other officers who were talking of reforms, began to gravitate around Former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. But the real turning point of the military's politicisation was the assasination of former Senator Benigno Aquino. A former RAM adviser said, "it was very clear after 1983, that he [Marcos] was just using us to establish a dynasty at the expense of the people" (McBeth, 7 June 1990,24). This faction of the military became known as the "Reformed Armed Forces Movement. This group has claimed responsibility for the military challenges to the Aquino government. At the beginning, their declared stand was focused on intervention on the insurgency issue.

But persistent challenges to the current government demonstrate "a distinct power component to their agenda".(Cavanagh & Broad, January 1990,54). The leadership of this group

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does not appear to want to be under civilian supremacy. Hence, a continuing tension exists in the relationship between the military and the civilian government under President Aquino.

The Insurgencies

Three main groups of interrelated insurgencies can be identified within the Philippine political sphere. The National Democratic Front (NDF), with the New People's Army (NPA) as its armed component and the Communist Party of the Philippines, as its ideological wing, is considered the most extensive. The NDF is present in almost all provinces. The second group is the Muslim insurgency which is represented by the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) under Nur Misuari and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) under Hashim Salamat. These two Muslim groupings' official struggle is for an autonomous Mindanao state. Mindanao is the largest of the three main islands and is predominantly Muslim.

The third insurgency group is the Cordillera People's Democratic Front, which is considered part of the NDF. Their political struggle is centred on obtaining autonomy for the Cordillera region (Canlas, 1988,77). With the provision in the 1987 Constitution granting autonomy to this region (once the motion is approved in a referendum), this group has diminished in significance as a political threat.

The Present State of the Philippine Economy

From 1986-1990, there have been six coup attempts against the present government launched by dissatisfied factions in the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Undoubtedly, this continuing unrest and division in the military feeds the perception of continued political instability, and also has deep repercussions in the economy. The very last of these coup attempts, in December 1989, lasted for nearly two weeks and paralyzed the business district of Manila . A study of the economic impact of the 1989 coup attempt six months after the event, showed the country to be "in a deeper shade of red" (Tiglao, 12 July 1990,70). While the country's gross national product (GNP) rose by 6.3 per cent in 1990 from 4.7 per cent during the previous year, the gross domestic product or GDP, which is seen as a better indicator of the economy's health, went down from 5 per cent in 1989 to 4.7 per cent in 1990. GNP's impressive rise is accredited to the country's overseas revenue and to reduction in interest payments.

However, the trade deficit widened from US $422 million in 1989 to $877 million in 1990. Balance of Payments deficit currently amounts to US $371 million as compared to $9 million in 1989. To offset further setbacks in the economy with the lack of foreign exchange reserves to meet the import needs of the country's industries, the Philippines obtained foreign loans in the

first quarter of 1990. The Philippines' multilateral and bilateral loans at the end of that quarter stood at US $389 million, a substantial rise from the 1989 figure of $76 million in 1989.

Foreign borrowing is the way economic crises had always been tackled for years. This most recent move confirms the Philippines in its "debt driven" growth path.

Such developments were unlikely not to influence the media. As posited in chapter one, the media are inherently linked to society. They shape society and are shaped by it. Analysis of media and government relations under Aquino's administration reveals the operation of two news ideologies which are believed to be a reflection of socio-political and economic developments in the Philippines. Henceforth, qualitative analysis of news coverage of various issues, particularly of the insurgency issue, has to be made in the light of the preceding developments in Philippine history.

5.2 Two News Ideologies Under Aquino

"News ideologies can be studied on two levels: their impact on actual reporting and their verbal expression in statements about reporting" (Westerstahl, 1986,136).
News ideologies as demonstrated by Westerstahl et. al (1986, 136) in their study of Swedish news from 1912-72 and the 1980s, are the "outflow of other ideologies, transformed into prescriptions for reporting about society". They can

be the outflow of political ideologies. News ideologies as opposed to news values are "shifting over time". As economic, political and social agendas change with time, news ideologies may also change to reflect these adjustments. The Philippine case presents itself as an opportune example for analysis of how news ideologies flowing out of political ideologies can mould the news.

The first two years of the Aquino administration, can be characterised as a libertarian period. This period was a period of press freedom which was marked by the lifting of press restrictions and the return of habeas corpus. There was a strong tendency to rally around the new government. Controversial topics were avoided and news coverage reflected the positive efforts of the Aquino administration to tackle the country's economic, political and social problems.

The second period, from 1988 to the present, is characterised by the return of press restrictions. The liberty enjoyed by the news media began to be withdrawn. While an appearance of press freedom remains on the surface, the quality of news reporting seems to closely resemble the Martial Law period. Although the editorial pages are critical of the current administration and government officials' action, they fail to give a substantive criticism and rational explanation of the consequences of government policies.

The Media After the 1986 Revolution:The Free Period
1986-1987

The new government along with its goal of tackling the
poverty problem also vowed to "restore democratic rule". It
committed itself to respect human rights and press freedom.
It made this formal commitment in its adherence to the
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which
the Philippines ratified on 23 January 1987 (Article
19,1989).

Furthermore, press freedom guarantees were enshrined in the
New Constitution which was ratified on 2 February 1987.
Section 4 of the Bill of Rights of the 1987 Constitution
states that "No law shall be passed abridging the freedom of
speech and of the press." Section 7 of the Bill of Rights
also declares that "the right of the people to information
on matters of public concern shall be recognized". The
scope of the guarantee of freedom of the press goes as far
as to include "freedom from prior restraint, freedom from
government censorship of publications, freedom from
subsequent punishment, which exempts harmless publications
from liability and confers privilege with respect to
defamatory utterances against public officials relative to
their duties, freedom of information, which includes access
to public records and access to public proceedings; and
freedom of circulation" (Ofreneo, 1986,225).

Since February 1986, it was generally recognized that
the pervasive official censorship under the previous

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government had disappeared. Arlene Babst-Vokey, one of the leading Philippine women journalists who opposed Marcos wrote, "Today, the Philippine press enjoys the freedom to report anything it deems newsworthy. It is also grappling with the inevitable problems of media sensationalism, inaccuracy, mediocrity and vulnerability to corruption - old problems that will not go away even though Marcos has" (Babst-Vokey, 1986,30).

President Aquino reiterated this commitment to press freedom when she said, "I would much rather have a free press that goes overboard than a censored press" (quoted in Braid, 4/1986,17).

The Philippine press was truly free to report anything it deemed news worthy even to the extent of going to the extreme of sensationalism reminiscent of the pre-martial law era. As early as the first six months after the Revolution, the Philippine press was criticized by its members, by the military and by the government for sensationalising the news and trying every type of gimmickry to survive fierce competition.

Brig. Gen Luis San Andres, New Armed Forces Chief of Civil Relations claimed that the press was divisive of the nation, and that "because of the new athmosphere of freedom of the press, everybody is trying to flex his muscles." The Minister of Labour, Augusto Sanchez, also criticized the new press, specifically a Manila Bulletin correspondent, for

"spreading the report that while in Tokyo, he had received money from Communist organizations for a pro-labour campaign in the Philippines." President Aquino also accused some sectors of the press for nitpicking on every activity in Malacanang. She has demanded that the press act with more sense of responsibility and fairness. Even Jose Burgos, a prominent journalist and editor/publisher of Malaya, Midday, Tinig ng Masa and We Forum had concluded in one of his articles that "such gimmickry and sensationalism stretch the limit of truth and fairness and taste under the cover of the new press freedom" (Burgos, 1986,29).

In response to these abuses of the press, professional organizations moved to try and curb these abuses among their ranks. A movement within the news media industry in the Philippines called the Philippine Movement for Press Freedom, began working against the return of a restrictive policy. This movement, which grew out of the turbulent period under Marcos, pushed for an active and critical journalism free from any constraint. It stressed that all social and political perspectives should be presented to the public. In addition, this movement began working to upgrade the professional standards and ethics of newsreporting. Members of the movement are working on stimulating debate and new legislation incorporating media and telecommunication policy. The movement includes politicians, media professionals and concerned citizens.

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The success of such efforts are still to be seen but what is clear is that media professionals are convinced that the restrictions under Martial Law should not be enforced again.

Perhaps, the most immediate manifestation of regaining press freedom in the Philippines was the proliferation of newspapers and magazines. A few months after the Revolution, the number of dailies concentrated in Metro Manila alone was 17 (Ofreneo, 1986,181). These dailies competed to capture the small market of 1.2 million (Bodegon, 4/1986,28). In August 1988, the number of news publications natiowwide had gone up to 22 (Fernandez, 1989,4).

This increase in the number of news media has meant basically more jobs for reporters. As a positive consequence of this development, a new generation of young reporters has entered the field. This new group receives something between P2,500 to P4,000 basic pay per month (approximately US $130-$195) as opposed to the pay of journalists under the previous government of P300 to P600 (or US $14 - $30) (Philippine Agenda, August 1988,2).

However, the establishment of new dailies cannot be taken as a sure guarantee of this new "press freedom". Given the large number of newspapers and magazines competing for a very small market in a poor economy, strict competition necessarily exists. The survival rate among these new print media is very low. "The people, lacking

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purchasing power, cannot support that number of dailies. AT P2.00 (US$0.10) per copy per day, not many people can afford to buy newspapers. The bad state of business also cannot come up with enough advertising support to help the papers survive" (Burgos, 1986,29).

Unless political and economic stability are attained, the integrity of the press cannot be assured.

The Restrictive Period - 1988-1990s: Back to Governmental Journalism?

The period from 1988 to the present in the Philippine press presents a contrasting picture to the first period. Official and unofficial restrictions began to appear indicating a change in the government's attitude and policies towards the Philippine media.

On 20 December 1988, President Aquino signed a Memorandum Order No. 211 to the Airport Manager ordering the members of the media to be restricted to a 'media area', "unless they are actually engaged in the coverage of specific events" (Reyes, 21 January 1989,5-7). The memorandum order came after reports of unethical practices among media people covering the airport. However, this allegation did not necessitate such a radical action by the government. This memorandum order runs contrary to the Charter of the 1987 Constitution of the Philippines which dictates that, "No law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech and of the press" (Article 19, 1989). What the memorandum implies is that journalists are restricted from

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moving freely within the airport to cover stories. The memorandum clearly curtails freedom of the press as it places at the discretion of the airport manager when to detain reporters at the "media centre" and when to allow them on "coverage".

The unintended effect of this memorandum was the probability that it would be invoked as a precedent by government bodies elsewhere. PMPF conceded in a letter to Aquino that while the behaviour of the airport press corps left much to be desired, the responsibility of law enforcement and revenue collection falls squarely on the government and on its own personnel (Reyes, 21 January 1989,6).

Truthful acquisition of information was already jeopardized by a previous memorandum order by the Press Undersecretary Noel Tolentino. This memorandum ordered all cabinet secretaries to employ management techniques or to regulate information released to the media, owing to the proliferation of negative stories from particular departments in radio and print media (Reyes, 21 January 1989,8).

Another Memorandum Order No. 22 from the National Telecommunications Commission prohibited the "airing of rebellious/terrorist propaganda, comments, interviews, information and other similar and/or related materials and the airing of government strategic information." The memo also ordered "all radio broadcasting and television stations

... to cut off from the air the speech, play, act or scene or any other matter being broadcast and/or telecast, if the tendency thereof is to propose and/or incite treason, rebellion, or sedition, or the language used therein or the theme thereof is indecent or immoral" (Reyes,21 Jan.1989,5). In 1989, three radio stations DZEC in Manila, DYLA in Cebu and DXOW in Davao were closed. Among other consequences of this memorandum going into effect were that interviews with opposition parties or their spokespersons have been preempted or censored, or cut off while on air. Press correspondents have also experienced military harassment for writing critical or analytical pieces (Reyes, 1989,7-8). The President had warned that media found overstepping the bounds of public safety would be liable for closure. Military tribunals have also issued their own warnings that foreign and local journalists are under surveillance. The military have also warned that journalists found in the company of armed rebels will be treated like the rebels. Former Defense Secretary Rafael Ileto had called on advertisers to pull out or withhold advertising placements from those media that contribute to an anti-government mind set. DZXL Radio was prevented from airing an exclusive interview with Gringo Honasan, leader of the Reformed Armed Forces Movement (Reyes,Nov.-Dec. 1989,13). Basically, what the preceding instances show is that the Aquino government is ambiguous in its commitment to press freedom.

The author believes, however, that the onset of

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restrictive press measures did not come in isolation from the economic and socio-political factors which are at the root of the change in the Aquino goverment's political agenda. These restrictive measures which resemble Marcos' developmental journalism policy, arose to curb mass discontent and rebuff threats to the government. These two news ideologies correspond to two political agendas of the current administration under President Aquino which will be discussed in the sections following.

5.3 The Aquino Government's Economic and Political Agenda

The Aquino government's economic and political agenda at the beginning of its term in office can be summed up in two goals: "Preferential Option for the Poor and Just and Lasting Peace". The first goal consists of achieving the following: a comprehensive agrarian reform, creation of jobs in the rural areas, housing and services for the urban workers and the poor, better delivery of health and social services, increased wages, justice, removal of graft and corruption and decentralization of political and economic power. The second consists of jobs, justice and freedom, giving amnesty to rebels and freeing political prisoners detained under the previous government.

Since its ascension to power, this government had strongly pronounced a policy against poverty. The government's Medium Term Philippine Development Plan for

1987 -1992 aimed to reduce the incidence of poverty from the 1985 figure of 59.3 per cent to 45.4 per cent in 1992 (Miranda, 1988,37). To achieve this target it launched a rural employment programme to reduce rural poverty.

The Community Employment and Development Programme (CEDP) was launched in July 1986. The objective of the programme was to generate rural based projects which will give the rural population employment, and thus, increase their purchasing power. This 18 month programme was expected to create one million jobs. The resulting increase in the rural population's purchasing power was then expected to result in a "demand-based growth" which will direct the flow of money towards this area of the economy (Miranda, 1988,37-38).

While the agricultural programme of the government does try to address the problem of rural poverty, the means employed by the programme do not address its root cause, which is underdevelopment. The government proposed to create job opportunities in the provincial areas through agro-based industries. A study which examined the genre or category of agricultural development projects from 1950s-1980s show that all the development programmes of previous governments have been designed simply to upgrade agribased activities.

Lichauco (1982,4) pointed out that all previous governments' peripheral projects distinctly lack a technological component. The current administration's employment programme

do not belong to a different genre. Lichauco identified the durability and intransigence of the rural problem in the virtual ignorance of three decades of rural improvement efforts to recognize that the solution to rural poverty is the modernization of the agricultural production process. The only possible way to confront the problem of rural poverty and the human degradation that comes with it is through adding the use of machines to land. Only when machines are added to land that the peripheral areas can move from a qualitatively higher level of diversity, efficiency and productivity. Hence, only then can true rural development take place. People will then be mobilised to establish machine-based industries: metal works, fabricating shops, canning plants.

5.4 A New Agenda: Economic Development and Counterinsurgency

After two years a slight change in the incumbent government's agenda can be perceived. The author believes that among the factors which have contributed to this change are the failure of peace negotiations with the NDF combined with the US and the Philippine military's pressure for a tougher policy against the insurgents, threats to political stability from rightwing sectors and discontent among the masses arising from the government's failure to deliver on its promises of genuine land reform and social change. The

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new agenda was summed up by Rosca (1989, 839) in two concepts "economic development and counterinsurgency". These are two terms which according to him stands as both goal and process for the new government.

The following discussion outlines the economic and sociopolitical developments which brought about this change in the Aquino goverment's political agenda and which consequentially affected also its news policy. The discussion is focused on three subject areas which are at the core of the current government's economic and political programme: land reform, insurgency and the US military bases. The following section will then look at the impact of the government's restrictive policy on news coverage of the three issues.

Agrarian reform is widely recognized and accepted as the only real strategy for eliminating massive poverty. President Aquino acknowledged this when she said that land reform is "the most fundamental and far reaching programme of government for it addresses the economic well-being and dignity of many Filipinos" (Miranda, 1988,38).

Nevertheless, this same programme, which holds the key to economic development of the poverty stricken Filipinos and the key to peace in the countryside has been replaced by an import liberalization strategy combined with a military offensive. Import-liberalization, agribased development, foreign capital investment, debt-to-equity schemes and

privatization are the main constituents of this government's
economic programme.   Liberalizing the entry of imports into
the   country would necessarily extract a lot from the meagre
foreign exchange reserves of the country.   The Aquino
administration's economic plans bear close   resemblance   to
the previous government's programme with the emphasis placed
on import liberalization.   However, the former presents a
more liberal stand in that it allows unrestricted flow of
imports, even of luxurious and non-essential goods.   For
instance, US cotton which costs P15.0 competes against the
Philippine cotton which sells at P50.0 (Ladayo, 1988,83).
The implication of this unrestricted importation of foreign
goods would be the dislocation of local produce.

In order to achieve a reasonable economic growth, the
country has to achieve a rate of 15 per cent growth each
year to service and repay its debt.   There is also the
option of repudiating some of its debt or putting a
moratorium on its debt services until a reasonable economic
growth has been achieved (Philippine Agenda, June 1988).
Debt servicing requires the use of the country's savings and
its foreign exchange earnings.   If the country's few
resources and foreign exchange earnings can be conserved for
its economic recovery programmes, it would be in the
interest of the majority of the people.   Clearly the
country's economic recovery is prior and takes precedence
over the corporate profits of foreign banks.   The
Philippines would not be alone on this road as other

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countries in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa have taken steps in this direction (Ladayo, 1988,33).

Its decision to pay all its outstanding debt in spite of the social costs of this measure to the large majority of the people is an indication of its priorities.

Two of the factors that can account for this change in the government's priorities are the structure of Philippine politics and the constituency of the legislative body. As outlined in the previous chapter, the structure of Philippine politics do not favour the representation of the interests of the masses. The current legislative body - the Senate and the House of Congress - is made up mostly of landowning politicians. Although an agrarian reform bill has been passed, the process of passing the measure was too slow due to the obstructionist moves of some of the landowners in Congress. A genuine redistributive land reform programme could have been drawn up as early as 1987 before the Congress, met if President Aquino had not been indecisive about the issue.

From the analysis of policy statements on the media and news reporting under the Aquino administration the author identified two news ideologies: the libertarian and the restrictive period. Having shown that those policies arise from social, political and economic factors in Philippine society, the following section now turns to look at their impact, if any, on actual reporting. The main focus of our analysis is the restrictive period from 1988 to 1990.

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5.5 Methodology

This section employs qualitative content analysis, the object of which is to examine the perspectives given prominence in news items on land reform, the US military bases and on the insurgency. The resort to qualitative analysis as opposed to quantitative can help us to see to what extent restrictive policies shape the media picture of Philippine society. This will be achieved by analysing the perspectives given prominence and the vocabulary employed.

The advantage of using qualitative analysis combined with contextualisation, in the words of Jensen (1987,32) is that, "the analysis traces the process of establishing the units of meaning... by interpreting the origins of [media] codes in different sectors of the social context." Certain meanings in news predominate through the thematic structure and the vocabulary employed, as illustrated in the studies by Westerstahl (1986), Corcoran (1983), and others. The latter goal is achieved through the contextualisation of the content analysed within Philippine history. Data for this analysis is derived from what Rosengren (1981,18) terms as "extramedia data". Extramedia data are drawn from analyses of the Philippines' social, political and economic conditions. It is deemed relevant that the content analysis is placed within recent Philippine history in order to make solid interpretations. As Mckeon (1984,70) states, "the context within which the content is situated is invaluable

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when it comes to predicting or inferring on the basis of the content."

Unlike previous development news studies, this study did not examine the newspapers on the amount of governmental and political news as against the amount of development news. The objective is to test the impact of restrictive policies on newsreporting under the Aquino administration. If under Marcos, developmental journalism policy was marked by strict government control of the press and by emphasis on positive news, it is hypothesized that newsreporting under Aquino with the onset of restrictive policies will reflect the same characteristics. Newsreports will be marked by a lack of criticism and diversity. They will give prominence to the "official" perspective. Thus, provide the evidence for the continued practice of governmental journalism.

The Content Analysis

This study looked at one of the leading dailies in Manila - The Philippine Star - to prove the continued practice of governmental journalism in the Philippines under Aquino. It was argued in an earlier chapter that all news can be geared towards development (Shah,1988) if they are "accurate and objective", that is, if the news stories concur with reality. The aim is to examine the perspectives prevailing and the language employed in news coverage of specific issues.

During the tense and unstable situation after the February events and the first coup attempt in July 1986 by Marcos loyalists, more oppositional publications entered the market to grab a share of the agitated readership. The Philippine Star was one of those publications. It is published by the Philippines Today Incorporation, a private company which also publishes a tabloid daily, The Evening Star. The interests behind the Star are almost the same interests behind the widely circulated opposition publication - The Philippine Daily Inquirer. Maximo Soliven who appears as publisher in the Inquirer is publisher and chairman of the editorial board of the Star. Betty Go-Belmonte who is vice-president of the management of the Inquirer is also head of the Board of Directors of the Star. Luis Beltran who is editor in the Inquirer is a columnist in the Star. The Star, however, is not cooperatively owned unlike the Inquirer. Soliven and Belmonte appear to be the main owners of the paper. The interests behind the Star were militantly critical of the previous Marcos government. The Star like the Inquirer is in the center of the political spectrum, but professes to be independent and critical of the present government. The Star's motto proprio - "Truth shall prevail"- as printed on its mast head seems an expression of this intent.

Newspaper issues of The Philippine Star in 1988 were the main source of news samples. A date randomly chosen from

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each month made up the sample. The chosen dates were January 28, February 5, March 31, April 18, May 20, June 10, July 18, August 18, September 20, October 13, November 28 and December 7. All news items except the weather, announcements and advertisements were analysed. A total of 942 items made up the sample from The Philippine Star.

If an account is made of all the subject matters covered in The Philippine Star, a total of nineteen categories are available. Each one contains not less than ten news items and the highest number is seventy. Qualitative analysis of this amount of news samples is technically difficult to present and even more, to grasp in a limited study as this one. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify the influences of restrictive policies on newsreporting by analysing those subjects which by their very nature are directly affected by those policies. In this case, the author has chosen to limit the analysis to news items on issues surrounding the insurgency movement, the future of US military bases in the Philippines and the land reform issue. These three issues offer more occasion than other issues for varying perspectives to be present. Therefore, the impact of restrictive policies on these subjects would be more apparent. The analysis aims, in other words, to look at the presence of the variable diversity.

If diversity means being diverse, unlike, of different kinds and variety, then applied to news and news

interpretation, diversity means the representation of different views of various sectors in society. But how much diversity is there? Can the Philippine press present the viewpoints of opposition parties and various other sectors of society on critical issues like the land reform, the continued presence of US military bases in the Philippines and the insurgency movement ? What perspectives are given newspace ?

Using Schlesinger, et. al's (1983) four main ways of talking about terrorism: "official", "alternative", "populist" and "oppositional", the author looked at the perspectives prevailing in the selected news items and the language used.

a) The "official" perspective refers to the "set of views, arguments, explanations and policy suggestions advanced by those who speak for the state" (Schlesinger, 1983,2). The main advocates of this perspective are government ministers, conservative politicians and top military personnel. The aim of this perspective is to depoliticise terrorism by treating it mainly as a criminal matter. While it stresses the need to preserve law and order, it argues that terrorism presents an extraordinary threat to the state that it "requires an exceptional response which may entail suspending due process and the right to trial" (Schlesinger, 1983,2). This viewpoint denies that terrorism is rooted in political questions.

b) The "alternative" perspective, on the other hand, refer to those views, arguments and explanations propounded by "those who while dissenting from the official view of terrorism, accept that violence is not legitimate within liberal-democracies, though they recognise it may be so in other political systems" (Schlesinger, 1983,16).

Critical academicians, civil libertarians, liberal politicians and journalists are among the proponents of this view. They do not radically challenge the official view regarding the legitimate use of violence but they question the implications of excessive repression of due process and human rights.

This viewpoint is also concerned with showing up media's shortcomings and at the same time their possibility for analytical coverage of "terrorist" issues (Schlesinger, 1983,24).

c) The "populist" perspective is very much like the state's hard-line policy of pursuing 'law and order'. Unlike the "official" view, the "populists", in contrast, take the 'metaphor of war' seriously. For them war against terrorism should be total; ".... combating terrorism and restoring order requires a tough and uncompromising response" (Schlesinger,1983,24). This perspective lends itself to the advocacy of "popular vigilantism as a way of combating violent street crime." The argument of those who

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espouse this view is that if the state refuse to take action, the people have a right to fight back and defend themselves with whatever means necessary. Parallel examples of this argument in the Philippine case is readily available. Vigilante groups or Civilian Volunteer Groups have emerged in the Philippine countrysides with the two-fold aim of fighting "communism" and protecting the people from military abuses.

d) The "oppositional" perspective refer to those viewpoints put forward by those who commit politically motivated violence or by those who share similar views. The official view always tries to ensure that this perspective receives little or no publicity. They rationalize that in this way the actions of those holding this perspective may "speak for themselves". The oppositionists, on the other hand, strive for the legitimacy for their "struggle" by offering calculations, motives and definitions of their offensive acts as part of wartime campaign. Media coverage of their activities is essential in attaining this objective. Holders of this view are often fully committed to an armed struggle. They hold a systematically contrary perspective to the official view on the legitimacy and rationale of political violence.

The official, alternative, populist and oppositional perspectives are the four main views in play in the political debate. Besides these four, however,

Schlesinger,et. al. (1983,32) offer two pairs of terms which show how the perspectives discussed are presented. This study also adopts these terms to reveal how and what perspectives prevailed in The Philippine Star.

These distinctions are (a) 'open' and 'closed' and (b) 'tight' and 'loose'. News presentations which disclose information only within the terms of the official perspective are closed. Other news reports are open if they allow the official view to be interrogated and if other perspectives are presented and examined.

Tight and loose refer to the arrangement of the elements in the programme and how they are presented. Programmes in which the images and arguments presented are arranged in such a way as to arrive only at a single preferred interpretation and other conclusions are closed-off follow a tight format. A loose format is one in which the contradictions generated within the programme are not fully resolved and which then allows the viewers to make their own judgements. Most closed programmes are tight; and open programmes are often loose. However, some open programmes are organised 'tightly' that they can mobilise the viewers toward the alternative viewpoint.

By looking at the vocabulary employed and the perspectives given prominence following the method outlined, one can infer whether there is diversity in news coverage of

the three issues mentioned above and whether news
interpretation of those issues are 'meaningful' (Herman,
1985, 135). The absence of the variable diversity can act as
a basis to test the nature and degree of governmental
journalism as news policy under the Aquino government.

5.6 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The following discussion of results is divided into the
three categories of news items analysed namely, land reform,
the insurgency movement and the US military bases.

Land Reform

Out of 942 items analysed from the twelve issues of the
Philippine Star, there were only ten news items dealing
directly with the land reform issue. These news items
include letters and news columns. Of the ten items
analysed, three were front page items, four were small news
items on the inside pages, two were commentaries and one was
a letter to the editor. Analysis of news coverage of the
land reform bill revealed that only the official perspective
was given prominence. Nine out of the ten news items had
legislators from the House and the Senate and President
Aquino as sources or as main actors in the stories. There
was only one instance when the perspective of a labour group
was given space. This one instance quoted the chairman of
the Federation of Free Farmers as urging the House of
Representatives not to approve a CARP bill that was full of

loopholes. The 2 x 1 col. inch news item states: "FFF president Jeremia Montemayor said the Congress' version of agrarian reform must surpass, or at least, match the progressive features of former President Marcos' PD No. 27, which governed agrarian reform in the past" (Banal,1988,5). Diverging viewpoints were presented but not necessarily those of the 'oppositionists'. For instance, disagreements among government officials are often the core of news stories. The conflict between the House of Representatives and the Senate on the Agrarian Reform bill is an opportune example. In this case, while more information was presented, there was still no substantive criticisms made. "CARP Showdown Looms in Congress" was the headline of this item. The news item dealt primarily with the probable disagreement that will take place as a result of differences between the House and the Senate on two issues namely (a) the retention level (i.e. on the amount of hectares that can be kept by any single owner) and (b) the payment scheme. The Senate Bill No. 249 was in favour of five hectares retention level and of giving priority to private agricultural lands in the implementation of CARP. The House's stand was completely the opposite. The House Bill states seven hectares retention level plus three hectares each for their legal heirs and fifty per cent cash and fifty per cent land bank bonds compensation. Private agricultural land was placed at the bottom of CARP priorities (The Philippine Star, 18 April 1988,1).

News items,on the surface seem to project the populist viewpoint. News stories on the land reform bill criticized it as "'mangled' with pro-landlord provisions" (Gomez, 31 March 1988,1). However, there was no further mention or explanation of what "mangled with pro-landlord provisions" meant either in the same item or in the editorials.

The lack of coverage of the perspective of labour organizations, and farmers' movements on the issue is very apparent. For instance, the peasant organization Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP) presented to the Philippine Government's Cabinet Action Committee a minimum program for land reform which centred on four areas, in which the Philippine government could act immediately. These areas are: Marcos and crony owned lands, idle and abandoned lands, forclosed lands and land rents (IBON, 1987,7). An important point of the KMP's proposal was that it suggested a direct and better way to address immediately the problem faced by the peasants and the urban poor. The KMP's call for a reduction or halt to all land rent payments meant giving them more purchasing power, ie. less deductions on their income - even on a temporary basis. This proposal had the advantage of being free from budgetary pressures that the government's CEDP face. It has the immediate effect of "transferring purchasing power from the landlords to the peasants" (Miranda, 1988,38). The government unfortunately chose to ignore this approach and this proposal was not reported in the press.

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The Insurgency Movement

News items on the insurgency refer to news stories on the NPA, MNLF, NDF and clashes between these groups and goverment troops. Straight news items, commentaries and letters were analysed. A total of thirty items made up the sample for this category. Of the thirty items, analysed, only four items presented the opinion of the NPA and MNLF group. These four news items quoted NPA and MNLF spokesmen on their views on efforts to renew peace talks with the Aquino government. These views, however, were quoted from wire services' reports and not from direct interviews with the NPA and MNLF groups. The policy of using only military sources for news stories on the insurgency is clearly manifest here. A majority of the thirty items gave only the "official" perspective on the counter insurgency operations and their success in clashes with the NPAs. News coverage of these clashes featured Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos and high ranking military officers perspectives on what happened in these clashes. There were only three instances where ordinary people's views were presented. All three views were favourable to the military's policy.

Other viewpoints such as the "alternative", "populist" and "opposition" were hardly present in these news items. Since most of the news stories presented only an account of what had happened in the clashes, how many died, and how they died, there were hardly any criticisms. The framework

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in which a majority of the items were presented was that they were the logical results of the government's "total war" policy. No questions were asked. There was no investigation or effort to get the views of relatives, for instance. One of the news items with this headline "NPAs Go on Killing Burning Rampage" reported the death of two people as a result of an NPA attack. The last sentence of the item stated that "the failure of the victims including Balasbas to pay their monthly contribution to the NPAs was believed to have triggered the incident" (Concha, 28 January 1988,1). Any effort to ascertain the real reasons could have been shown by getting the views of the relatives of the victims. But no such effort was made because the existing policy made such an effort impossible (Villavicencio, 1987,5).

Military Bases

This category refers to news items which deal with the presence of US military bases in the Philippines. The total sample for this category was thirteen. These included straight news, commentaries and letters to the editor. Of the thirteen items, six were on the inside pages, four were on the front page, two were commentaries and 1 was a letter to the editor. News coverage of this issue was given only from the perspective of the state. Of the thirteen items analysed only one item gave a substantive criticism of the issues involved in the presence of US military bases in the country. Almost all of the items dwelt superficially on the

issue and failed to give any "alternative" views.

Overall, the "official" perspective prevailed in all three isuues. Most of the newreports were constructed tightly since no diverging viewpoints were presented.

From the preceding analysis, there are some indications that a governmental journalism seem to exist under the Aquino administration. However, because of the limited size of the sample of this study, such a conclusion cannot be applied to the whole Philippine media system. It suffices to say that these findings indicate a general trend in the current state of newsreporting in the Philippines. However, this study goes beyond saying merely that there are indications that a governmental form of development journalism exists because of the onset of press restrictions. Such conclusion can be easily drawn. The nature of this study is that it tries also to explain that the development of such a policy is inherent in the Philippines socio-political history. The following discussion puts the content analysed in the context of recent Philippine developments. This study argues that contextualisation of the content will lead to an understanding of a "country specific perspective" (Zaffiro, 1984,117) which provides the framework for news coverage.

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Contextualisation of the Content Analysed

The Insurgency Situation

At present, the government and the military claim that the guerilla movement is weak. Although the New People's Army continues to be active, assasinating military officials and infiltrating the barrios, the military have made progress in containing their influence. According to the military's counter-insurgency programme, persuasion is their major arm in the task. Through explanatory pamphlets, conferences, etc. the authorites intend to convince the rural population that armed struggle is immoral and without hope and is promoted by a society without God. This way of confronting the problem seems to have its effect. According to data provided by the Ministry of National Defense, during the first three months of 1988, the places controlled by the guerillas have diminished. From a total of 41,864 baranggays [the smallest unit of local government which dates back to the pre-colonial times but which was brought back when Martial Law was declared, (Braid 7 Clavel,1984,215)] nineteen per cent of these were sympathetic to the NPA, (i.e. providing refuge and sustaining the guerillas). Of the nineteen per cent, seven per cent could be qualified as very sumpathetic, while twelve per cent actively support the movement.

Urban terrorism has diminished especially with the preoccupation by the NPAs with purging its internal ranks.

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At the beginning of 1989, numerous common graves were discovered with bodies of guerrillas. The rebels themselves, not the military, claim responsibility for these massacres. Each time one of the top leaders of the revolution fall into the hands of the army, the revolutionaries "purge" the ranks of the captured leader and remove suspected infiltrators. The military declares that these agents do exist and that they occupy high-ranking positions in the movement. The military believes this will progressively eliminate the guerilla movement (Hastings, 1989,3).

The Insurgency Operation: A Costly Enterprise

The success of the military against the insurgents is not without a cost (McBeth, 11 January 1990, 24-25). The decrease in urban terrorism is certain to have cost innocent lives especially those of human rights advocates and leaders of cause oriented groups.

By lumping an activist organisation together with the NDF, the CPP and the NPA, the military manages not only to scare away prospective supporters but also to mark members as open targets. "The most dangerous effect of this "lumping" process is that it makes advocacy for the poor into something disreputable. Community or social activism is something to be extirpated" (Rosca, 1989,842).

Human rights advocates, leaders of cause oriented groups, leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, and even non-

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ideological organizations fall victim to this policy (Villavicencio, 1987,5).

For instance, without justifiable evidence, the Emeritus Bishop of Bacolod, Antonio Fortich, was referred to by the military as "Commander Tony", a title which suggests a high ranking leader of the NPA. The Task Force Detainees of the Philippines which worked courageously during Marcos' time to chronicle human rights violations, have suffered credibility both at home and abroad (Rosca, 1989,842). The head of the Haribon Foundation, a nonideological group concerned with stopping logging in Palawan Island's rain forest has received death threats (The Economist, 18 February 1989,24). Media personnel, however, are among those who suffer most from this policy. In their efforts to present legal opposition views or expose human rights violation, they encounter harassment, threats and even death. The Philippine Movement for Press Freedom has documented various cases of violence against journalists under the current government (Clipboard, 29 Nov.-Dec.1989).

The military justify the suppression of legal cause-oriented groups as a means of depriving the revolutionary movement of its infrastructure or front organizations. The same means, however, serve to deprive "the majority of the population its voice and lobbying groups" (Rosca, 1989,841). Defense Undersecretary Fortunato Abat had declared the need to "outlaw" seven organizations, thus, disenfranchising

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women , teachers, students, workers, peasants, youth and their allied professionals of outlets for redress of their grievances.

The solution lies in an efficient system of civil and social services which will really serve the people's needs. The rampant graft and corruption in the civil service does not serve towards this end. The military, on the other hand, stubbornly asserts that the country at present is under "conditions of war". "The right of the state to protect itself is the dominant principle here; there are no ethical and moral considerations, simply the goal of remaining in power so that the socio-economic system may remain unchanged" (Rosca, 1989,841).

It is no surprise then that news reports reflect the same attitude of "lumping" the human rights movement and cause- oriented groups with the insurgency movement. While this may not necessarily reflect the attitude of press people themselves, they have no other choice but to restrict their sources on the insurgency issue to military sources.

A Two-Edged Sword

The insurgency problem is not a problem in isolation from the land reform and the US bases issue. When talks between the NDF and the government collapsed, President Aquino under pressure from right wing groups and from reactionary elements within the military for a tougher

policy on the insurgents declared a "total war" policy.
This "total war policy" of the Aquino government, however,
does not serve only to deal with the guerilla movement.
This policy "serves the dual purpose of insuring minimal
opposition to the bases treaty and only marginal challenge
to the power of the landed oligarchy, of which the President
herself is a member" (Rosca, 1989,841).

The military believes that by "containing" the insurgency
movement, which had increased its fulltime guerillas from
25,000 in 1987 to 30,000 in 1989, it will eliminate possible
overt and legal opposition to the bases treaty which comes
up for renewal in 1992 (Rosca, 1989,842).

But even without attaining this objective, the
Philippines debt problem and continued dependence on the
International Monetary Fund (IMF) for loans serves to tie
the country inevitably to honouring the bases treaty
agreement. President Aquino's state visit to the US where
she addressed the US Congress and requested financial
assistance politically and diplomatically implied the
continued stay of the bases. Moreover, with the acceptance
of the Multilateral Aid Initiative sponsored by
Representative Stephen Solarz, which will appropriate US
$200 million to the country, the continued stay of the
American bases is simply a matter of formal ceremony. The
same initiative stops the Philippines from "refusing to pay
full interest on the $30 billion debt, and repudiating loans

fraudulently obtained by Marcos and his cronies" (Rosca, 1989,840).

Perhaps, the biggest stumbling block to economic recovery program of the new government was its decision to honour all the foreign obligations incurred during the Marcos era (Canlas, 1988).

Instead of taking a critical stance on the debt issue, like the strategy of selective repudiation proposed by her Economic Secretary Solita Monsod, Aquino committed the Philippines to paying all its $30 billion debt. President Aquino made this commitment on her visit to the US and Japan in her request for funding assistance (Ladayo,1988,13). The rationale of the Aquino government in taking this position was that it was the only way to ensure the inflow of foreign capital Any disruption in the debt repayments would discourage foreign aid and investment and endanger rescheduling of mature loans (Miranda, 1988,35;Ladayo, 1988,13). The government believes that foreign capital is still the only way to economic recovery.

The government's medium term plan requires foreign capital in whatever form to achieve a target of 6.8 per cent growth for 1987-1992. The required financing package for this period is US $18 billion. The total interest payment, meanwhile, amounts to US $13 billion or 72 per cent of the $18 billion loan. After rescheduling of maturing loans of US $8.9 billion and getting new money, there is a deficit

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that needs to be covered up of $7.5 billion which is expected again to be obtained through foreign loans (Miranda, 1988,35-36).

This approach has put the Philippines largely at the mercy of foreign capital. The above economic strategy weakens the government's bargaining position on every crucial matter, for instance, the autonomy to decide its own economic austerity programmes and to accept or reject freely the continued stay of the military bases.

The strategy of relying on foreign capital to revive the economy enables the World Bank and the IMF to regain their control of the Philippine economy. It is widely believed in the Aquino government that these two key institutions would reopen the flow of private bank loans and corporate investments into the country. The IMF and the World Bank have revived their "export oriented" policy and structural adjustments they felt were interrupted by Marcos' corrupt relations, inefficient cronies and the upheaval in 1986.

The prevailing view of experts, however, is that neither continued faithfulness to IMF-WB policies or commitments to the outstanding loans will result in the inflow of foreign capital. Foreign banks are no longer interested in extending new loans to the Philippines or to any Third World country for that matter. New bank lending in the Third World had already been declining since 1983.

It had gone down from US $35 billion in 1983 to $3 billion in 1985. It continues to decline as these banks turn their interest to other investment areas, that is, to consumer and business debt in developed countries. Foreign investments in the Third World have also declined from US $14 billion in 1981 to $9 billion in 1983 (Broad & Cavanagh in Miranda, 1988,36).

Even with the interest of preserving democracy in Asia, the United States, its biggest supporter is itself limited by budget constraints. It is now unable to honour its previous commitment of $200 million aid to the country. So, the IMF-WB-inspired export strategy the current government has adopted, is unfortunately, is doomed to fail in the absence of an expanding world economy. World trade and output have been contracting since the beginning of the eighties. Annual growth in world output has fallen from 4 per cent within the period 1971-1980 to 2 per cent in the period 1981-1985. World trade, on the other hand, has also fallen from 5 per cent to 2.8 per cent in the two periods. Third World export incomes as a consequence has contracted. Third World aggregate GNP in 1985 was 3.2 per cent and went down to 2.7 per cent in 1986. In addition, an increased protectionism has been spreading in the West (Miranda 1988,37).

Institutional Bias

The lack of coverage of opposing views in the print media could be attributed to the inaccessibility of information that could be called alternative or

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oppositional. The most common sources of stories on the CPP-NPA or the MNLF are the military or the police. Besides, there is an implied danger that comes with covering these stories. Journalists can be in danger from either the military or the insurgents.

In the examination of news coverage of the insurgency issue, the author saw that the mainstream assumption in the print media is that the New Peoples Army or the CPP are labeled as terrorists, rebels or simply "enemies". This assumption, of course, is based on the fact that the Philippines follows a "democratic" system of government, that is, it adopts the political ethos of the United States. American democracy's firm anti-communist stance is also stamped on the Philippine political system and in the Philippine press. This stance is a mark of all Philippine governments, including the Aquino government. The subtle anti-communist stance of newsreports on the insurgency has to be understood in this light. The freedom of the press to report on this issue, in reality, is only the freedom to report within the framework or bounds inherited from America. Within the democratic system, the NPAs, the MNLFs or the NDFs work outside the legitimate political order and hence, are considered a threat to the public good.

The obvious uncritical bias of the Philippine press towards democracy is understandable. Any political order instinctively seeks to preserve itself. In democratic countries, the electoral process is the expression of the

people's will of the kind of political order they want.
This is the norm and rule of democracy. Radical groups who
work outside this norm or practice are "enemies" of the
current order. They illegitimately seek to establish their
own ends by striving to capture the public's attention and
sympathy by positioning themselves as representatives of the
oppressed and marginalized. But, in situations where the
electoral process is subverted by certain political groups
or by the government itself for their own ends, the people
ideally can seek to express their will by some other form
and establish a new government, as the 1986 Revolution has
shown. There seems to be evidence in the analysis in the
preceding section that the current mode of reporting in the
Philippine press is subverted by the priorities and needs of
the elite in the state.

Socio-cultural Bias

For the predominantly Catholic Filipinos, the atheistic
feature of communism is simply unacceptable. The other
element which cannot be put aside is that communism, before
the political changes in Eastern Europe, was directly oppose
to the free enterprise system which is the core element of
American democracy and which the US undoubtedly defend as
part of its foreign policy. Large US economic interest in
the Philippines, therefore, underlies the US' support for
the country's counterinsurgercy programme.

If the Philippine press shares the same basic
assumptions of the government, it follows that the kind of

critical perspective it can project will be limited. The Philippines for over two decades has been ruled by a one party system. Although other parties existed, they were regarded as minority parties and were not ideologically different from the main party. Representational democracy in Philippine politics is not based on party platforms but on individual party politics. This means that political allegiance is to individual personalities not to political principles.

News coverage of politics centres around the activities of Aquino, of government officials' movements, around legislative debates, etc. There is no established sense of impartiality. Rather, impartiality is viewed as simply reporting what happened without going to the underlying assumptions as to why an event happened this way or making connections to related events.

Until the Philippine press grows out of this one party mentality, "it cannot think of politics outside of the terms of reference which the acceptance of such a system provides" (Nieva, 1985,196).

The analysis revealed that prominence was given to the "official" perspective on the three issues namely, land reform, US military bases and the insurgency. The language used shows the portrayal of the "process" nature of events, that is, the idea that something is being done. These findings, if considered within the context of the Philippine

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situation can serve to suppress the dissatisfaction that is becoming more apparent.

Political instability as seen in the preceding discussions have pushed the current administration of Aquino to restrict the press with the view to silence "oppositionist's" viewpoints. Despite the Filipino public's desire for more open public debate of issues, such debate does not take place for several reasons. The climate of fear and the habit of silence taken on during the years of Martial Law still pervades the public's consciousness. Even mainstream opposition papers are cautious of criticizing the government. The lack of tradition of open debate in the public sphere is also a major facto).

Another factor is that freedom of the press as a right is not valued significantly by the public. "Press freedom, to be an issue, must be perceived as a value by the public; it must be regarded as important to a people's way of life" (De Jesus, 1983,34). The prevailing concern for their daily subsistence by most average Filipinos dampens the recognition of the long range implications of the lack of press freedom. Those who question privately the ramifications of muzzling the press form only a minority. Fear of harassments, threats and death - "norms" set under the Martial Law period - hang like a sword of Damocles on the ordinary citizen.

5.7 CONCLUSIONS

From the qualitative analysis of news coverage of the issues surrounding the land reform, the future of US military bases and the insurgency movement, it appears that what seems to be guiding the Philippine Star is the traditional practice of reporting simply what the persons in authority say or do. Even the columnists in the editorial pages only give superficial criticism of what Cabinet officials say or do.

Domestic pressure from political factions in the military, and declining People Power support has brought about the onset of press restrictions. These restrictions under Aquino although not as comprehensive (i.e. not total bureacratic control) as the Marcos goverment's could be related to the present government's perception of its own legitimacy. While Marcos was totally insecure of the legitimacy of his government as evidenced by his effort to eliminate all opposition, President Aquino states that her government is quite secure. On the occasion of the anniversary of her husband's assassination she stated, "It has been four years of almost monthly predictions... of the imminent meltdown of our democratic government" (McCarthy, 25 August 1990, 7). Not everyone, however, in her government shares the same perception. Senator Ernesto Maceda countered however that, "There is everywhere a sense that no one is in charge and that the policies in place are not the best" (McCarthy, 25 August 1990, 7).

As Zaffiro (1988,118) states, "politically significant variations in state media policies may exist between regimes with high self-perception of legitimacy and those that feel more threatened, domestically and internationally." Siebert (1957) expressed the same idea as follows: ~the more threatened a government is the less free the press and mass media in general."

This pattern suggests "a clear link between media freedom and government perceptions of its own legitimacy and security" (Zaffiro, 1988,108). The government's vulnerability to pressure from rebelling factions of the military has been evident several times, especially with attempted coup d'etats which were repeated throughout the four years since 1986.

A close resemblance between the Marcos' and the Aquino government's media policy is provoked particularly by the "state of war" argument. According to this argument, the country is under "conditions of war". Therefore, civil rights, particularly freedom of the press, are suspended. The President as Chief Commander of the Armed Forces possesses extensive executive and legislative powers.

Media-government relations under Aquino suggests the government's use of the media simply according to its needs and perceptions. The press is not allowed to report the negative effects of goverment policies in order to project an image of stability. This move is carried out despite

the consequence to the people who are left without a means to channel their grievances. Policy makers are also left without a source of critical feedback.

While the current media policy under the Aquino administration closely resemble Marcos' developmental media policy, there are also variations between the two that are significant to point out. With the proclamation of Martial Law, Marcos, in one move, imposed a restrictive news policy that was consistent with his plans to solidify his political power. Marcos eliminated every one who was in "opposition" to him, even those belonging to the elite. In comparison, media policy under Aquino is more implicit and do not appear as total bureacratic control, that is, an outright developmental policy is not enforced under the Aquino administration. In spite of continuous threats from the right-wing forces in the military and from the insurgency movements, President Aquino has refused each time to take on emergency powers. She has continually backed off from taking on the landed elite (to which she herself belongs) and the military forces who block her govenment's reform. Broad and Cavanagh (Jan. 1990.,54) sees the latter action as the only way to rebuild the social base of support for the current government and thwart future uprisings. "The all important allegiance of the people in the streets - the teachers, workers and farmers can be won back only through tangible action" (Broad & Cavanagh, Jan. 1990, 58).

President Aquino, if she decides, can use her emergency
powers to carry People Power agenda. But, up to the
present, moves in this direction are hardly to be seen.
In addition, high government officials' pronouncements under
the present government do not speak of a "mission" or
"roles" for the press or radio, or television unlike in the
Marcos era. Therefore, it can be concluded that attempts
to incorporate a governmental journalism perspective into
the present government's media policy is not all-embracing.
A margin of diversity in newsreporting still exists. It is
suggested that a further study could determine the extent of
this margin and how culture-specific factors and media-
government relations determine this margin of diversity.

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