



Covering Terror in the Philippine Press

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INTRODUCTION

News reporting is a site for hegemonic control. Hegemony is “the process of domination, in which one set of ideas subverts or co-opts another” (Littlejohn 1999, 229). In this process, the dominant ideology is presented as the “universal” ideology. However, this ideology must not be perceived as being unduly imposed. Rather, it must be seen as “the natural scheme of things.” The process is also marked by “resistance” and “negotiation” with opposing ideologies. Antonio Gramsci best explained the idea of hegemony as follows:

“Undoubtedly, the fact of hegemony presupposes that account be taken of the interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that a certain compromise equilibrium should be formed – in other words, that the leading group must make sacrifices of an economic-corporate kind. But there is also no doubt that such sacrifices and such compromise cannot touch the essentials.” (Hoare, Q. and Noel, G. 1971)

Stuart Hall’s cultural studies investigate the processes in the struggle of ideologies. Knowledge is produced by those who have power and those who challenge that power. The power bloc maintains hegemony through negotiations and compromises with those who contest that power. In times of crisis, force is used by the powerful but as Gramsci explained in the *Selection from Prison Notes*, such use of force must be based on the “consent of the majority”.

With the end of the Cold War, the world was left with only one superpower: the United States. The US maintains hegemony through its armed forces which are the strongest in the world and through the media – Hollywood films, television (*ABC, NBC, CBS, CNN* and *Fox News*, and magazines like *Time, Newsweek*, etc.). The U.S. defense budget exceeds the combined defense spending of the United Kingdom, Germany, France, China, Russia, Japan, Taiwan, North and South Korea, among others. The US needs an enemy to justify its huge defense budget and massive war industry.

In 1993, Samuel Huntington in his now famous essay *Clash of Civilizations* presented the prime candidate for enemy number 1: Islam. It is the perfect enemy—big enough (composed of some one billion people) but quite weak (no standing army) and its members are scattered in many nation-states.

Two years prior to Huntington's work, the US tested the waters. It called on the world and obtained "the consent of the majority" (through the United Nations) to declare war on Iraq, an Islamic country, which had taken over its former territory, Kuwait. Interestingly, only a decade before, the US was the prime supporter of Iraq in its fight against Iran, another Muslim country. Most of the war material of Iraq came from the US.

The mass media declared that the huge Allied invasion force, including 696,626 troops from the US, was needed to counter Saddam Hussein's one million-strong army. Yet during and after the war, the question that nagged everyone was: "Where was the million-strong army of Saddam Hussein that the media said existed?"

Then on September 11, 2001, the World Trade Center twin towers collapsed as a result of a suicide mission by young, Western-educated Arabs from America's satellite state in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia. The Americans were furious that anyone would dare humiliate them by bringing down not only a landmark in its prime city but a symbol of capitalism. The World Trade Center housed the world's financial center.

But the enemy was not another country or nation. It was a rag tag group of Arab nationalists calling for the withdrawal of American presence in Saudi Arabia where Islam's two holiest cities – Mecca and Medina—are located. The world's superpower could not declare war on a mere group of fanatics. Instead, it declared

a “War against Terror”. The enemies are anyone and everyone who dare challenge the hegemonic control of the United States. The ideology of the terrorists is Islam. But not all Muslims (practitioners of the Islamic religion) are terrorists. Washington has showered cooperative Muslim institutions and states like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia with economic and military aid packages to ensure their continued support. Only those who are against US interests are terrorists – a classic example of hegemonic compromise.

To demonstrate its military might, the US bombed an underdeveloped Muslim country, Afghanistan, because its leaders refused to surrender Osama bin Laden, the Saudi Arabian leader of the Al-Qaeda group that was tagged as the culprit of the World Trade Center’s destruction. It must be noted however that the Taliban never barred the US or anyone from going to Afghanistan to arrest Bin Laden. The media transformed Al-Qaeda from a small group of fanatics to an “international terrorist network.”

Typical of the hegemonic process, America emphasized that the attack on Afghanistan was not against the Afghanis but only against the ruling Taliban party that was allegedly protecting the “evil” Bin Laden.

When bin Laden survived the American invasion of Afghanistan, the US turned against its favorite whipping boy, Saddam Hussein. Again, the US tried to get the “consent of the majority” through the United Nations. But this time, there were few takers. Many realized that there was no connection between Hussein and bin Laden. As Muslims, they belonged to opposite poles—Bin Laden was a fundamentalist while Hussein was a socialist. So the US invented an excuse to attack Iraq – Hussein’s alleged “weapons of mass destruction”. And like the “million-strong Iraqi army”, the weapons of mass destruction turned out to be nothing more than a creation of the US government and media.

Iran would have been America’s next victim. Bush had declared it as one of the three countries in the “axis of evil.” Perhaps realizing that Iran would be a more formidable foe, and because obtaining the consent of the world’s majority would be a difficult task particularly after the non-existence of Hussein’s “weapons of mass destruction”, the US announced a new list of enemies — the so-called terror organizations. Most of these groups have Muslim members.

All throughout this scenario, the Philippines was America's staunchest supporter, perhaps next only to England. In gratitude, the US declared the Philippines as its "major non-NATO ally".

The Philippines supplied two more names to America's hit list – the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) and the communist New People's Army (NPA). The US wanted the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) included in the list, but the Philippines refused because the MILF was part of its own hegemonic compromise.

THE BANGSA MORO

The US war on terrorism could not have come at a more opportune time. The Philippine government had declared an "all-out war" against the MILF in 2000 and as a result, the government gained points in the eyes of the Christian Filipino majority. But the MILF remains a force with which to contend. Leaving their big camps like Camp Abu Bakar, the MILF cadres simply created smaller camps all over Mindanao and thus became more elusive.

In addition, the Abu Sayyaf group, allegedly created by the military in the early 1990s¹ to counter the MILF, became an internationally notorious kidnap-for-ransom gang that gave the Philippines a very negative image in the world press. The huge income gained from the kidnappings encouraged other Moros to put up their own kidnap-for-ransom groups like the *Pentagon*.

The more "legitimate" Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), an armed group recognized by the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) as "the sole representative of the Moro people", is now divided into factions. One faction is led by Nur Misuari, now in government detention. The other factions are fully armed and waiting in the sidelines.

Since the late 1960's, the Philippine government has been engaged in a war with the Moro rebels in the Mindanao and Sulu archipelago. Once the principal inhabitants in those islands, the Moros, or Muslim Filipinos, have now become the minority in their ancestral land. Their attempts to regain either autonomy or independence from the country they were suddenly annexed to in 1946² resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands, the exodus of Moros from their lands and the destruction of so much property. It has hindered the growth and development

of Mindanao and Sulu and has drained the coffers of the Manila government due to the massive military budget.

With America's war on terrorism, the Philippine government has resumed a parallel war against the Muslims. But this time, the enemies are called "terrorists".

MEDIA AND TERRORISM

What exactly is "terrorism"? And who is a "terrorist"? For years, scholars have debated the different meanings of terrorism. To U.S. counterterrorism expert Brian Jenkins, terrorism is the use or threatened use of force designed to bring about political change (White 2002, 8). But others do not find this definition sufficient to describe all acts and movements that are deemed to be of "terrorist" origin. Its meaning depends on different social and historical contexts. According to Sederberg, "The aphorism 'one man's terrorist is another's freedom fighter' suggests that all attempts to formulate the concept will be hopelessly compromised by essentially arbitrary personal biases" (1989, 22). Rarely would a political movement, whose members use violence to get media and political attention for their cause, agree to being labeled as "terrorist". To them, the "terrorists" are the repressive state and government. The Irish Republican Army, the Palestinian Liberation Front, the Spanish ETA, the MILF and the New People's Army (NPA) are all fighting to correct perceived injustices. None of these groups look upon themselves as "terrorists".

To understand the word "terrorism", one must look at its evolution from the original use of the word to describe the "reign of terror" in Paris during the French Revolution (1789-1795) to the present. During this period, "terrorism referred to the French government's slaughter of French nobles, their families and sympathizers." (White 2002, 67) Within years the term terrorism gained notoriety in Europe. It was used to describe the subversive violence committed by radical democrats who went underground and sought social revolution by terrorizing the capitalist class and their supporters (White 2002). The term terrorism was also used in the Russian Revolution, the struggles of the Irish Republican Army, the Zionist movement, the Palestinians' fight to regain their homeland and the drug-related violence in Latin America.

Today, the United States has used the “terrorist” tag to refer to people, Islamic “fundamentalists” or “extremists” in particular, who use violence on public officials and civilians to achieve their political and religious goal of establishing a pan-Islamic state and eliminating their perceived enemies. The airplane attacks on the Twin Towers in New York and the Pentagon on September 11, 2002 have been ascribed to Muslim “terrorists”.

But contradictions in the use of the word in media persist. The word defies definition because of such contradictions. When a group of Saudi Arabian extremists killed a few thousand in New York, it was labeled a terrorist act. But the US response of killing tens of thousands of Afghans and devastating their land through high-technology weapons and bombs was labeled as a humanitarian act or the equivalent of the Christian Church’s doctrine of the “just war”. Yet only a few years earlier, the Americans had trained and funded the Afghans, specifically the Talibans and other Muslim volunteers like Saudi Osama bin Laden and Filipino Abdurajak Janjalani, to fight the Russians. Janjalani was one of the founders of the Abu Sayyaf (Ressa 2003).

When the Anglo-American forces dropped hundreds of tons of bombs into Iraq in March 2003 to destroy Saddam Hussein’s alleged weapons of mass destruction, most US media establishments made it almost seem like an act of mercy; i.e., an act to liberate the Iraqis from the clutches of Saddam the dictator. Now that no such weapons have been found and the Iraqis are killing the Anglo-American soldiers in Iraq, these “liberated” Iraqis are called “terrorists”. By publishing wire stories that adapt this point of view, the Philippine press is subtly showing its support for the Philippine government and the dominant class that, in turn, favor the U.S. presence in Iraq.

THE ROLE OF MEDIA

Media have a vital role to play in the “terrorist” scenario. In fact, contradictory roles – that of controlling the flow of information and that of giving entertainment value to the news so it will sell (White 2002). Since terrorism sells, media establishments will always want terrorist-related stories published in their papers. But in the process of gathering news and trying to get a good “scoop”, reporters

often clash with security forces who want to limit press coverage in order to conceal their strategies, surprise the enemy and rescue or protect the innocent victims (White 2002).

With all this in mind, this paper seeks to understand the role of the press in the current realities involving Muslims in the Philippines and the ongoing conflict in Muslim Mindanao. It will also take a look at how the press represents this conflict. Can the Philippine media be expected to facilitate the peace process or are they mere instruments to perpetuate the conflict?

The *raison d'être* of journalism is the public interest. "The primary purpose of journalism is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and self-governing," according to journalists and academics Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001, 17). This paper will therefore take a look at whether journalists of the country's leading newspaper have fulfilled this purpose while reporting on Mindanao and the Muslim Filipinos.

THE GATEKEEPING PROCESS

Key to the production of news are gatekeeping and the gatekeepers. Gatekeeping is the process by which published and broadcast news are selected and shaped daily by decision-makers in the media industry. Pamela Shoemaker (1991, 1) describes gatekeeping "as the process by which the billions of messages all over the world are chosen and transformed into the hundreds of messages that reach a specific person daily." This would mean gatekeepers are responsible for choosing the message or the news item, deciding on its treatment, sourcing and presentation as well as overseeing its transmission through the selected medium.

In theorizing gatekeeping, Shoemaker posits five levels of analysis; i.e., "the individual communication worker (e.g. attitudes), the routines or practices of communication work (such as deadlines or the inverted pyramid), the organizational level (looking at variables such as ownership patterns), the social and

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institutional level of analysis (including the mass media, advertising and interest groups), and the social system level (looking at variables such as ideology and culture)”. (Shoemaker: 1991 p.32)

The gatekeeper, therefore, is “any person in the news-gathering process with authority to make decisions affecting the flow of information to the public” (Sandman *et al*: 1972, p.103).

With the gatekeeping process underlying the production of news, it is no longer a surprise that many consider objectivity as a myth in the news business. In its original concept, however, objectivity referred to the method, not the person in the role of journalist. According to the *Elements of Journalism*, “The key was in the discipline of the craft, not the aim.” (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001, 74.) It was the process of gathering data that was supposed to be objective. Thus, journalists could attempt to be objective by interviewing all sides to a story and gathering all the data they can get on the subject without pre-selection. Reporters who choose sources to express their own ideas and then write the story in a neutral cum objective tone are only fooling the public by passing off their own agenda and version of the truth (74).

AGENDA-SETTING IN THE PRESS

The mass media pervade practically all our waking hours. In today’s world, trillions of information sources vie for our attention – books, newspapers, magazines, TV, radio, films, the worldwide web, text messages, billboards, etc. The power of the mass media to influence society’s thoughts has been universally acknowledged. The media set the agenda for the daily discourse of society. Thus, agenda-setting is an important hegemonic tool. Douglas Shaw and Maxwell McCombs explained the agenda-setting theory succinctly:

Considerable evidence has accumulated that editors and broadcasters play an important part in shaping our social reality as they

go about their day-to-day task of choosing and displaying news... This impact of the mass media—the ability to effect cognitive change among individuals, to structure their thinking—has been labeled the agenda-setting function of mass communication. Here may lie the most important effect of mass communication, the ability to mentally order and organize our world for us. In short, the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about.” (Littlejohn 1999)

The mass media “mentally order and organize our world for us.” In the Philippine setting, the Moros have little access to mainstream media. They own practically no media outfits. It can be assumed therefore that the Philippine media’s agenda would not be pro-Moro because of the following reasons: 1) Most gatekeepers are non-Moros, 2) the long historical fight between the Moros and the Spanish wherein Filipinos, then known as *indios*, fought side by side with the Spaniards during the so-called Moro Wars, are still deeply embedded in the Filipino Christian psyche 3) the very close post-colonial relationship between the United States and the Philippines. With the U.S. war on terrorism, it is easy to understand that the media’s representation of Muslims and Moros as terrorists is inevitable.

ORIENTALISM AND THE PHILIPPINE PRESS

A discussion of the coverage on Mindanao and Muslim Filipinos will inevitably lead to the Orientalist discourse. According to O’Sullivan *et al*, Orientalism is “the historical construction of eastern cultures and people as ‘foreign’, often alien and exotic objects of western scrutiny or contemplation” (1994, 212). In Orientalist thinking, there is a big difference between a western or occidental “us” and an oriental “them” (O’Sullivan et al. 1994, 212).

US and European, or Western, scholars set the difference between the “Orientalist”, a Western expert on matters relating to the “Orient” and the “Oriental”, who is characterized as “a biological inferior that is culturally backward, peculiar, and unchanging – to be depicted in dominating and sexual terms” (Said 1979).

According to Edward Said, a scholar who studied the interest in the Orient in Western writings from the 18th century onwards,

The discourse and visual imagery of Orientalism is laced with notions of power and superiority, formulated initially to facilitate a colonizing mission on the part of the West and perpetuated through a wide variety of discourses and policies. The language is critical to the construction. The feminine and weak Orient awaits the dominance of the West; it is a defenceless and unintelligent whole that exists for, and in terms of, its Western counterpart. The importance of such a construction is that it creates a single subject matter where none existed, a compilation of previously unspoken notions of the Other. (Said 1979)

Perhaps a lot of the fear and misunderstanding of Islam, which has always been associated with the Orient, lies in the basic difference between Islamic ideology

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and Western secularism. In the West where the Christian religion dominates, there is a clear separation of state and religion while in Islam, religion, politics, culture and economics are very much intertwined in the daily lives of believers. Anti-Islamic thinking and attitudes can be traced all the way back to the Crusades when European knights traveled to the Middle East to fight the Muslims.

Said also talks about labels like the “West”, “modern”, “Islam”, “Islamic” and “Muslim” which he says are complex and “loaded” words. He wrote:

To a Muslim who talks about ‘the West’ or to an American who talks about ‘Islam’, these enormous generalizations have behind them a whole history, enabling and disabling at the same time. Ideological and shot through with powerful emotions, the labels have survived many experiences and have been capable of adapting to new events,

information, and realities. At present, 'Islam' and 'the West' have taken on a powerful new urgency everywhere. And we must note immediately that it is always the West, and not Christianity, that seems pitted against Islam. Why? Because the assumption is that whereas 'the West' is greater than and has surpassed the stage of Christianity, its principal religion, the world of Islam – its varied societies, histories, and languages notwithstanding – is still mired in religion, primitivity, and backwardness. Therefore, the West is modern, greater than the sum of its parts, full of enriching contradictions and yet always 'Western' in its cultural identity; the world of Islam, on the other hand, is no more than 'Islam', reducible to a small number of unchanging characteristics despite the appearance of contradictions and experiences of variety that seem on the surface to be as plentiful as those of the West." (Said 1981, 9-10)

Scholars have identified Orientalist thinking as a key element in journalistic reporting on the Middle East, on the other so-called Islamic countries as well as the Gulf War and the recent U.S. wars against Iraq. In the Philippines, Muslim Mindanao is considered as an extension of the Islamic rule that Western scholars have always misunderstood and distrusted.

When the Spaniards encountered the Muslims in the Philippines, they immediately called them Moros, the same word they used for the Arab conquerors of Spain. They called the non-Moro inhabitants *indios* or *naturales*. When the Americans came to the Islands, they ruled the Moros separately from the *indios*, who by that time had appropriated the term Filipino from the resident Spaniards.

Indio / Filipino arts and literature including zarzuelas, *moro-moro* and even films continued to portray the Moros in Orientalist terms, with the Christian Filipinos taking on the values of the West. Muslim Filipinos are thus considered "the Other", different from the majority in many exotic ways. It is evident to all that Christian Filipinos, who comprise about 90 percent of the country's population, relate more to their former colonizers, Spain and the United States, than to their fellow Malays, the Moros of Mindanao.

The Christian Filipinos were under Spanish colonial rule for about 350 years. American colonial rule lasted for some 47 years. But Spanish institutions and values remained, with the Catholic Church as their guardian. On the other hand, U.S.

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thinking, culture, politics and economics continue to shape Filipino society and politics even after the United States officially granted Philippine independence in 1946.

It is thus natural that the standards in the Philippine press would follow trends in the Western media, the United States in particular.

A case in point: much of our foreign news come from Western wire agencies whose correspondents subscribe mainly to Western thought and practices. During the Gulf War of 1991 and 2003 and the “attack on America” in 2001, much of the stories published in the country’s national dailies were taken from wire services like the Associated Press (AP) and the Agence France Press (AFP). In many of these stories, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein was demonized to justify the U.S. intervention. On many occasions the Western press labeled him as “evil”, a “butcher”, a “Hitler”. Alternative viewpoints to the wars presented by alternative news agencies like the Rome-based *Inter Press Service (IPS) Agency*, which seeks to give a voice to the developing world, hardly saw print. In television, viewers got their news from the US-based *Cable News Network (CNN)*, the London-based *British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)* and media mogul Albert Murdoch’s *Fox Channel*.

In the 2003 U.S. war on Iraq, media networks, including Arab and Philippine media, were prepared to cover “the best show in town”. *ABS-CBN* and *GMA7* sent reporters to Iraq and Kuwait to cover the war.

There was glaring difference in the coverage between the Western (including Philippine) media and the Arab media. The former portrayed a sanitized version where there was no resistance, no civilian casualties and only specific targets were bombed with pinpoint accuracy. On the other hand, the Arab networks, especially *Al Jazeera*, showed bombed-out civilian areas like a marketplace, dead civilian bodies, dead US soldiers and American prisoners.

In the first three days of the war (March 20-22), the Western media claimed there were no casualties on their part, that Umm Qasr, Basra, Nasiriyah, etc. were secured without resistance from the Iraqis. There were reports in the western media that about 8000 Iraqis had surrendered with 200 tanks although in their TV broadcasts, there were no accompanying video images.

Philippine media's portrayal of the war was very telling about prevailing attitudes towards Muslims. Filipino correspondents said that there was no Iraqi resistance. Filipino anchors and correspondents were gung-ho about the seeming US success and they were editorializing with abandon and thus showing their bias. The *Philippine Daily Inquirer* published in its front page a photo of some 200 Iraqis and captioned it as the "8000 surrenderees".

When the Arab media presented American prisoners and showed dead American bodies, the US/UK forces finally gave a press conference in Doha on the fourth day of the war. They admitted that there was on-going resistance and there were dead, captured and missing American soldiers. There was absolutely no mention of the alleged 8000 Iraqi surrenderees.

Edward Said would probably say that the coverage of the last Gulf War was Orientalist, to say the least. In his book, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*, Said wrote:

Today Islam is defined negatively as that with which the West is radically at odds, and this tension establishes a framework radically limiting knowledge of Islam. So long as this framework stands, Islam, as a vitally lived experience for Muslims, cannot be known. This, unfortunately, is particularly true in the United States, and only slightly less true in Europe. (Said: 1985 p. 155)

Spanish fear and hatred of the Moors who ruled Spain for more than 700 years was aggravated by the 350 years of intermittent wars with the Moros of Mindanao and Sulu. This fear and hatred have been transferred to the Christianized natives.

In the Visayas and the Bicol region, for instance, parents and nannies used to instill discipline in their children by warning them that the Moros would come and

get them if they did not behave properly. This thinking was passed on from generation to generation and even reinforced through oral culture and school textbooks. Thus it would not be surprising for journalists and the public to have this frame of mind when covering and reading about events in Mindanao or those that involve Filipino Muslims.

HEGEMONY AND THE MEDIA

Antonio Gramsci's hegemony theory explains how most – if not all - of the so-called neutral institutions like the Press or Mass Media that now exist in democratic societies actually serve to protect the interests of the elite. Hegemony basically refers to the ability of the dominant classes to rule through social and cultural leadership rather than through “direct coercion of the subordinate classes” (O'Sullivan *et al* 1994, 133).

The supposedly democratic institution known as the press may occasionally publish stories on abuses in government or the country's economic system, but there are more stories that show how the corporate capitalism system encourages individual initiative and how it is providential rather than exploitative. The press, which is often referred to as the “fourth estate” due to its watchdog role on government, has a vital part in maintaining the hegemony of the elite class and the capitalist system itself (Parenti 1986). Owners of media establishments are, after all, members of the dominant and ruling class and so it would be normal for them to protect their interests at all times. They may publish or broadcast investigative stories in the belief that these would help rid the country of a corrupt bureaucracy. But they will not come out with stories that will have a negative impact on their personal lives, their businesses and that of their circle of friends and family.

Philippine media establishments come up with a lot of stories on the Moros, but many of them talk about the activities of the notorious Abu Sayyaf, the peace talks, and the occasional violations of ceasefire agreements between government and the MILF. The Moros are rarely represented as ordinary, productive citizens. According to Liebes, “the role of the press is crucial in these delicate maneuvers, whether in reinforcing the dominant ideology, or in anticipating emerging trends, in

interpreting them, and in mobilizing support for the change, which will insure establishment stability or mark its downfall”. (Liebes 1997, 11)

RESEARCH DESIGN

Case Study of the Philippine Daily Inquirer

To show the typical coverage, a qualitative study was done on articles written about Mindanao and Muslim Filipinos from the country’s leading newspaper, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. All Muslim / Moro – related articles for the months of March and April 2004 were examined for their sources, manifest and latent tendencies whenever present, as well as their framing mechanisms. Stories written by wire agencies were not included since they were not written by Filipinos although their mere presence in Philippine dailies already reflect Filipino thinking

The manifest and latent tendencies could either be neutral, critical or supportive of the Philippine military or government or of the subject matter discussed in the article. The tendency of the article was determined through its sources and placement of quotes, pictures as well as the content of the statements. The framing mechanisms, on the other hand, are patterned after those used by Tamar Liebes (1997). They include the following:

1. *Excising* refers to the strategy of portraying a conflict without showing the other side, ignoring it or even obscuring it. The adversary becomes the “absent enemy”, usually “symbolized but not seen”.
2. *Sanitizing* means understating the extent of the violence or damage in a given situation. Refraining from showing blood and limiting the body count would be examples of sanitizing. Government and media usually resort to this when they want to boost morale during a crisis.
3. The *equalizing* mechanism gives both sides in a conflict equal might even if one of them does not have the same level of weapons technology or number of men as the other. “The latent function of building up the enemy, of course, is to contribute to make the victory all the more glorious,” Liebes says (p.73).

It also serves to justify the firepower that one group might decide to unleash on a weaker enemy.

Liebes cites the Palestinian *intifada* as an example wherein Israeli forces, armed with high technology weapons and protective uniforms, have been battling the Palestinians who fight back with “stones that kill”.

4. *Personalizing* means giving a “human face” to either the soldiers, the rebels or the victims. It entails showing them in the hospital, at the frontlines, or with their friends and families.
5. The *demonizing* mechanism portrays the enemy as an unfeeling or demonic *other*. The demonization of former Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein by the Western press, for instance, included comparing him to Hitler and labeling him as “evil”, a “murderer” and a “butcher”, among others.
6. *Contextualizing*, the last mechanism, refers to the provision of background or context, history or otherwise, for a story. (Liebes 1997)

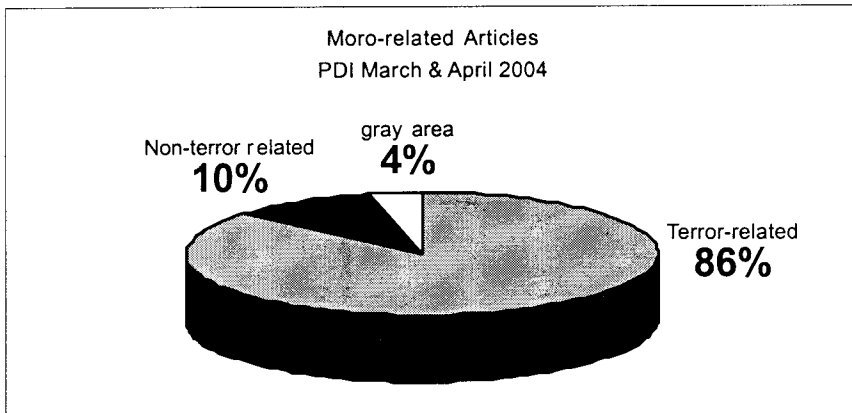
The *raison d’être* of journalism is the people. “The primary purpose of journalism is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and self-governing,” according to journalists and academics Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001, p.17). This paper will therefore take a look at whether Filipino journalists have fulfilled this purpose while reporting on Mindanao and the Muslim Filipinos.

For the months of March and April, a total of 81 articles (excluding wire service reports) were found to be Moro-related. Twenty-two of them were on the front page, with five of them featured as headline stories. This shows that Moro-related issues are given importance by the local media.

Seventy of these articles are terror- related, eight are non-terror related while three are considered in the gray area; i.e., they could go either way. Figure 1 illustrates this in graphical form. From this, one can see that in the Philippine media, Moro-related stories are usually terror-related stories.

The word terror and its derivatives (terrorist, terrorism, etc.) appeared 270 times in 81 articles or an average of 3.33 times per article. The words Muslim or Islam appeared 233 times or an average of 2.88 times per article. In other words, it appears that Terror issues necessarily relate to Islam. To put it in proper perspective,

Figure 1



one can compare it to newspaper articles that use the words Christian / Catholic and Christianity / Catholicism. Stories covering the country's Christian majority rarely mention the words Christian or Catholic. For example, the numerous kidnap-for-ransom gangs in Metro Manila are not referred to as Christian gangs.

GATEKEEPING

In the articles gathered for the period of study, military and police sources were the most popular sources (43%), with government sources coming up second (23 %). Together, they comprise 66% of the sources for news.(See fig. 2) More importantly, in more than half of the articles (51%), the sources were purely from the government and military/police (See fig. 3). Though most of the stories dealt with the government's "anti-terror" campaign aimed at the Abu Sayyaf, rarely were the victims, their relatives or the residents of the area interviewed (sanitizing/excising).

Perhaps it may be attributed to the element of access. For most Manila-based journalists, it is much easier to access the military and police documents and sources than the ASG members or their victims. The same holds true even for provincial bureaus. It is neither easy nor safe to seek out the ASG members for interviews. The time element, or more specifically deadlines, also acts as a constraint to the objective collection of data. As discussed earlier, there is also the possibility of the gatekeepers' biases coming into play. These biases could be personal or could refer

Figure 2

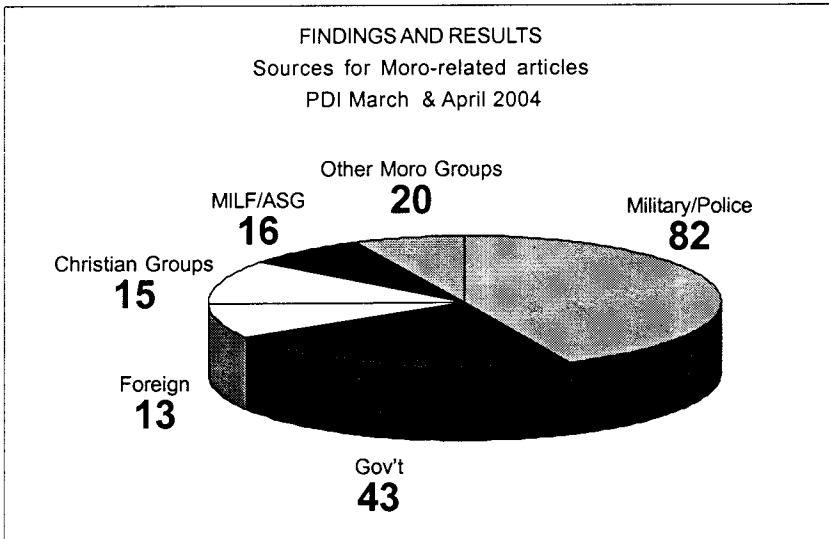
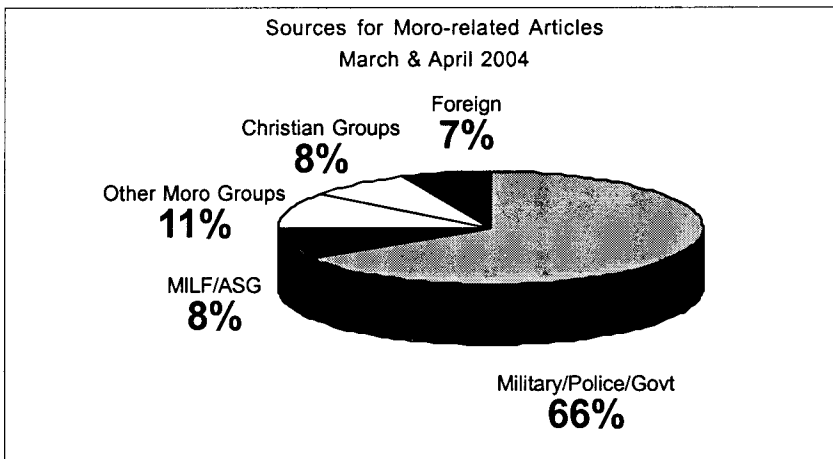


Figure 3



to the media organization’s ultimate goal: to make huge profits or gain political influence.

Because most of the sources in the articles gathered are military and police personnel and officials, the stories always come out as “success” or “partial success” stories for the military and the government. Such stories usually paint the Moros as

the “villains” even when no real evidence has been found. When journalists adopt the victory frame for such stories, the military and police are painted as the victors and their failures become difficult to spot. Liebes says:

To discover such criticism in the press – when the press does not intend it – also takes hard work. First, the only criticism labeled as such is army criticism of itself, which is mostly formulated in positive terms such as ‘partial success’ rather than failure. Second, criticism is hidden in the body of reports which start and end in praise, and the most explicit criticism is to be found in the weekend reviews which have the least news value. Third, when criticism is expressed it is not voiced by the reporters but is delegated to eyewitnesses. Fourth, unlike elements which fall within the frame, critical remarks which do not fit are not elaborated on. (Liebes 1997, 64)

AGENDA-SETTING

As figure 1 shows, 86% of the Moro-related articles were terror-related, with an additional 4% that could be considered terror-related. This is a clear case of agenda-setting. The media tells the public what to think about. In this case, the media tells the public: “When it comes to Moros, think TERROR.”

In the sample articles, about 95% implied MILF’s connection to the Abu Sayyaf, the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and Al Qaeda groups. In its struggle against the Philippine government, the MILF claims to represent the Moro people. The MILF has always categorically denied links to supposed terror networks but the constant quoting of military personnel promotes the military’s and the government’s agenda – that of painting the Moros as being sympathetic to fellow Muslims all over the world whether they be terrorists or not. This then would justify a bigger military budget and rally the Filipino people around the government in the fight against a common enemy.

FRAMING MECHANISM

“Victory framing”, i.e., portraying the military/government in a victorious framework, is generally used. The victory framing strategies used were: 1) directly quoting the military’s statements with or without attribution, 2) focusing on the alleged suspects and the political implications of the event and ignoring military or government failures or lapses, 3) introducing naive witnesses, sources or participants without interpreting their statements (Liebes 1997). Other framing strategies used included building up the myth that the MILF, the Abu Sayyaf and the Moro people as a whole pose a public threat even in Metro Manila, making the military successes also seem like victories for the Filipino people and putting the articles beside photos of the President or a ranking Defense official. For instance, a picture of anti-kidnapping czar Angelo Reyes was included in the article dated March 6 and titled “Nabbed MILF man in bomb attack linked to kidnaps”. Reyes, who was beside a laughing Teresita Ang See, was grinning while carrying a child who had been rescued from his kidnappers.

Contextualizing
stories means
“context
avoidance”

As most of the sources are from the military and/or government, the Moro side is hardly given space. If the statements are critical of the military / government, they are immediately followed by statements from authority figures.

Using Liebes’ framing mechanisms as the yardsticks in content analysis, the study showed that 65 articles used the contextualizing mechanism while 46 articles excised the side of the Moros. With the reporters’ heavy dependence on the military / police / government sources, it is but natural to expect that the side of the Moros would be neglected or ignored.

Contextualizing stories also means “context avoidance”. The articles did not present the “over-all context”. This is understandable because 1) the reporters do not actually know the proper context, i.e., the real situation regarding the Mindanao conflict. 2) the authorities, who are usually the sources of the articles, do not want to remind people of the over-all situation; i.e., the real causes of the Moro conflict, 3) the authorities, as part of the hegemonic process, need to show that the situation is under control and 4) events are reported as a series of disconnected incidents,

instead of being part of an entire picture or process, and therefore were “isolated” and not threatening.

A good example would be the series of articles on the bombing of the *SuperFerry* 14 on Feb. 27, 2004. The Abu Sayyaf immediately claimed responsibility, even giving details of the bomb location and the carrier. The group gave the bomber’s name as Arnulfo Alvarado, passenger number 51, whose real name was Abu Muadz. The government’s immediate response was denial. In a press statement, President Arroyo stated that “allegations that the terrorists were behind the disaster came from pranksters and other non do-gooders...” (PDI 03/01/04). Investigators declared that “there was no proof of terror attack” (PDI 03/02/04). In the March 9 issue, the “authorities were ... quick to rule out sabotage as the cause of the blaze.” By the 12th, PDI’s front-page article was titled “Ship captain tells probers he smelled gunpowder” but “officials played down the Abu Sayyaf claim.” In the March 19 issue, more than 20 days after the bombing, a PDI article still said that investigators “had found no evidence to back the Abu Sayyaf claim.”

Incidentally, in the article, “77 bodies found; recovery operations may be stopped” (03/19/04), Elaine Rafael, guest service officer of the *SuperFerry*, told the Board of Marine Inquiry that she “encountered two Muslims aboard the ferry”. She said that she knew they were Muslims because they “wore tunics and one of them sported a turban.” Ms. Rafael said that the man with the turban “looked like Osama bin Laden”. When asked if she knew bin Laden, she answered, “He is a Muslim.” She did not know bin Laden’s nationality.

Ms. Rafael’s answer typifies the average Christian Filipino’s idea of Muslims; i.e., all Muslims are the same. They belong to one group, one nation. In fact, many Christian Filipinos often ask Muslims if they speak “Muslim” as if there is such a thing as a Muslim language. Indeed, it is funny that Christian Filipinos, although Orientals themselves, regard the Muslims / Moros in Orientalist terms.

On March 20, in an inside page (A4) article titled “Abu Sayyaf man in Schilling kidnapping arrested in Zambo”, the last paragraph stated: “But authorities said they were investigating a claim by the Abu Sayyaf that it put a suicide bomber on board a ferry that caught fire on Feb. 27...”

On 31 March, the PDI, in a front-page article titled “GMA announces arrest of 4 Sayyaf terrorists”, featured the *Superferry* bomber who was one of those arrested. Amazingly, a certain Redendo Cain Dellosa, a Muslim convert, allegedly confessed that he had planted a TNT bomb in the *SuperFerry* and that he was a member of the Abu Sayyaf..

But when was Dellosa arrested? Did the reporters/editors even bother to find out? He must have been arrested much earlier to be able to confess to the deed. He did not voluntarily surrender but was arrested. Was there a warrant for his arrest? This incident raises suspicion because for weeks, the government had played down the Abu Sayyaf claim of having caused the ferry tragedy.

This is a classic example of the contextualizing mechanism. For weeks, the government refused to acknowledge that the Abu Sayyaf could bomb a *SuperFerry*. The power bloc had to show that it had not lost control. But when the government found a fall guy, the media trumpeted the triumph of the government / military with the sudden arrests of suspects from the Abu Sayyaf. Media seemed to conveniently forget that the Abu Sayyaf claimed to have done the bombing in the first place and it was the government that had vehemently denied such claims. The fact that the name that the Abu Sayyaf had given as the suicide bomber was not the same as the names of the arrested suspects was not given importance. Also, the fact that at least two of the alleged bombers were converts to Islam - and therefore not Moros - was not even discussed.

In the March 31 article, the lead paragraph stated:

A plot by the Abu Sayyaf to bring its campaign of terror to Metro Manila had been thwarted.

President Macapagal-Arroyo said yesterday security forces had arrested four members of a deadly Abu Sayyaf cell, seized 36 kilos of explosives from them, and foiled their plan to bomb trains and malls around Metro Manila on the scale of the Madrid attacks, which killed nearly 200 people. (PDI 13/31/04)

After weeks of denying the Abu Sayyaf's hand in the *SuperFerry* bombing, the government suddenly had in its custody the "suicide bomber" himself (alive and not a suicide at all) with three other fellow members of a "deadly" Abu Sayyaf cell, whose mission was to create, in Manila, havoc of the same magnitude as the Madrid attacks. This is an example of demonizing and equalizing. These suspects were made to appear "evil" and capable of sowing terror even before they were found guilty of any crime.

The press did not bother to investigate who these people really were, how they were arrested, and how they were made to "confess".

On April 1 (April Fool's Day), the *PDI* headlined "Metro bomb targets listed: 2 more Abu Sayyaf terror suspects fall." The demonizing and equalizing continued with vigor. These suspects were allegedly involved "in a plot to bomb trains and malls in the capital, including a big shopping center." In addition, they were also supposed to bomb the 2 light railway systems (LRT and MRT) and the Pandacan oil depot. Moreover, they were also allegedly plotting to kidnap "the scion of a wealthy businessman."

According to the authorities, the bombing targets "were listed on a piece of paper in the wallet" of one of the suspects. And like a good TV melodrama, the authorities seemed to be telling the public to watch out for more dramatic events as an AFP official promised that the arrests "could lead to the discovery of more secrets of the Abu Sayyaf here in Metro Manila". The victory frame was made all the more glorious by elevating these suspects to the same level of power as the military.

Aside from demonizing and equalizing, the gatekeepers excised the suspects by not interviewing them, their relatives, lawyers or even the Abu Sayyaf leaders who are quite accessible to the media. In using the contextualizing mechanism, the gatekeepers conveniently did not mention the fact that for weeks the authorities had refused to admit the possible presence of an Abu Sayyaf bomber in the ferry.

By contextualizing stories, the readers get bits and pieces of information and lose the big picture. The conflict in Mindanao is basically a Moro struggle. The Moros are fighting for their lost lands, lost privileges, and the right to practice their faith – Islam. But when the Philippine media point to Muslim converts and non-

Moros as the prime suspects for bombings that would rival the Madrid attacks, the whole premise of the Mindanao conflict is being changed - subtly.

For decades the government has been maintaining that the so-called Moro Problem is not a religious conflict but one that has its roots in socio-economic and political conditions. But now, the government with the help of media seems to be saying that it is a religious problem after all. Thus, the Moros' struggle for national self-determination is now subtly being changed into an Islamic fanatics' fight against non-Muslims; in other words, terrorism. And this gives the Philippine government the excuse to welcome US troops to help fight this "war on terror."

On the front page of the April 1 issue, there was also the first part of a special report titled "Abu: We have long line of bombers" by contributor Arlyn de la Cruz. Ms. De la Cruz is known to have direct access to Abu Sayyaf head Khadaffi Janjalani. In her report, she interviewed Janjalani and another Abu leader. Janjalani boasted of the success of the *SuperFerry* bombing, adding that there was a long line of would-be suicide bombers. While noting that Janjalani's claim "coincided with the arrest by security forces of six suspected Abu Sayyaf members," Ms. De la Cruz did not bother to ask the Abu leaders (or even if she had asked, it was not mentioned in her 2-part report) if they knew the bombing suspects, especially Mr. Dellosa, the alleged "suicide bomber." Neither did she question how authorities could have ended up with a confession from the alleged bomber named Dellosa when the Abu Sayyaf had given their ferry bomber's name as Abu Muadz alias Arnulfo Alvarado, a native of Pata Island, Sulu.

On April 2, *PDI* ran 2 Abu stories on its front page. The first was the concluding part of de la Cruz's Special Report and the other was titled "Abu terror suspects framed, say kin."

The second article combined two stories. First was the arrest of 4 Turks in Cotabato City by the Immigration Bureau "upon the request for action filed by a concerned citizen about the presence of suspected terrorists." The Turks are teachers in an Islamic school. Luckily for the Turks, the owner of the school was a government official – Datu Zamzamin Ampatuan, head of the Office of Muslim Affairs. And of course, the Turkish ambassador "had voiced concern over the arrests." The Turks were immediately released unlike the other suspects arrested earlier.

The second story in the article was about 2 of the suspected Abu Sayyaf bombers, Dellosa and Villanueva, whom relatives claimed were innocent and had been tortured while under police custody. Unlike the Turks, they did not have powerful patrons. Their voices were heard because *Suara Bangsamoro*, a party list group, organized a press conference so they could air their appeals through the media.

In a rare occasion, the article is manifestly critical of the military / government. But then, it would be difficult to write about the innocent Turks' unlawful and arbitrary arrest in a way that would be supportive of government. On the other hand, sheer decency demands that the relatives of the Filipino suspects be given a chance to voice their side of the issue. After all, the suspects had already been demonized by top officials for the past two days. They were presumably arrested without warrants, allegedly tortured, were not given legal counsel and were kept in detention without formal charges.

While the manifest tendency is slightly critical of the military / government, one can argue that the latent tendency is supportive of the authorities. First, the criticisms against the authorities were not elaborated. Second, the criticisms were voiced by the interviewees and not by the article itself. Perhaps in other countries, the media practitioners themselves would take the cudgels for these people whose basic human rights were manifestly violated.

Careful scrutiny of newspaper reports reveal a seeming pattern in the arrests of Moro/Muslim suspects. A suspect is arrested without warrant, tortured in order to confess, presented to the media as a terrorist, allegedly identified by an eyewitness and before any legal proceedings can take place, he escapes detention and is later killed in a fight with security forces. Fathur Al Gozhi, who was a suspected terrorist, and a host of other alleged Abu Sayyaf members have suffered the same fate. Journalists "doing journalism" should be able to detect patterns and link related incidents in order to give the whole picture.

In a March 16 article, "RP safe from terror – PNP", Philippine National Police Director for Intelligence Robert Delfin said that "the Philippines' own 9/11" was the "bloody Rizal Day bombings on Dec. 30, 2000."

Yet that case is still far from being closed.

INTERVIEW WITH THE RIZAL DAY BOMBING SUSPECT

As part of this study, this writer interviewed the very first Rizal Day bombing suspect. His story verified the seeming pattern of the police/military's arrest of alleged terrorists.

On 3 January 2001, Ismael Abbas, 42, was picked up by 4 plainclothesmen as he parked his FX taxi in front of his rented apartment in Pasig City at 9:30 am. When his neighbors who had witnessed the scene tried to help, they were told not to interfere as it was a "police matter". Blindfolded, he was brought to a safehouse where he was repeatedly punched in the stomach and in the lower back. Other methods of torture inflicted on him included stabbing his toes repeatedly with a billiard stick and wrapping his head in cellophane then filling it with water to simulate the effect of drowning. Abbas said he endured the pain, insisted on his innocence and adamantly refused to sign any "confession". This continued for several days and stopped only when his story had been picked up by the mainstream media and his relatives were interviewed on TV, all announcing his abduction by the police/military and calling on the authorities to release him. It seems that the authorities did not realize that Ismael Abbas is cousin to the more prominent members of the Abbas clan from Mindanao.³

When the police finally presented him to the media, he was tagged as the Rizal Day bomber and a high ranking MILF leader. An eyewitness was supposed to have identified him. The evidence against him included a video footage of him driving a car in Manila and a piece of paper supposedly found in the MILF's Camp Abubakar. The police's smoking gun was that piece of paper which contained an alleged itinerary for a trip to Manila with corresponding amounts in pesos (similar to the piece of paper containing a list of bombing targets found in the wallet of one of the *SuperFerry* suspects – see above). The police filed charges against Abbas together with Hashim Salamat and other MILF leaders in several courts in Manila. All the charges against Abbas were later dismissed and his cousins filed counter charges against the police officers including then PNP Director-General Panfilo Lacson. Abbas was fortunate to have a prominent family name. Otherwise, he would have gone down in history as the Rizal Day bomber and probably would have been subjected to extra-judicial "punishment"..

Incidentally, Dellosa's wife said her husband "was snatched by members of the PNP intelligence group at their home in Quezon City. She added: "He (Dellosa) told me the police were careful not to leave any marks so they also used cellophane on his face."

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It seems from the results of this research that the Philippine mainstream press, as represented by the *PDI*, has been lacking in critical thinking and lax in the pursuit of truth when covering Muslim Filipinos and the ongoing conflict in Mindanao. The widespread use of the military / police / government as the single source in a story, the lack or absence of context and background whether intentional or not and the unchallenged claims of the power bloc would lead many readers to think that most Muslim Filipinos are somehow linked to so-called "terror" organizations like the Al Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah. The most logical conclusion for the reading public, therefore, would be to favor a clampdown on Muslim Filipinos, both the innocent and the guilty. For as Parenti said:

News distortion is both a product of shared cultural values and deliberate acts of disinformation. Political beliefs do not automatically reproduce and sustain themselves. They must be (at least partly) consciously propagated. And with time, yesterday's propaganda becomes today's 'shared cultural values and beliefs'. (1986)

Anyone can be a journalist but not everyone can be a credible and respected one. According to Kovach and Rosenstiel, it no longer matters whether one is called a "journalist." What matters is whether or not the person "is doing journalism" (2001, 17) The principles of journalism require an adherence to the truth and fairness to the facts when presenting them. The truth referred to is not abstract, philosophical truth but functional truth – the facts about government, the private firms and daily events and how they impact on people's lives. Journalism "creates a map for citizens to navigate society" (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001, 164) and in this

particular case, the press acts as a guide to understanding the often misunderstood and misrepresented Muslim Filipino.

Some recommendations are therefore presented here so that researchers may help ensure a fair and truthful coverage of Muslim Filipinos and all other minority groups, for that matter. Research is proposed on the following topics:

1. The relationship between journalists, gatekeepers and the military in order to trace the roots, extent and effects of military journalism.
2. The effects of promoting intellectual diversity in the Philippine newsroom. Just like an ecosystem whose survival depends on the amount and diversity of plant and animal species present, the newsroom can ensure greater balance, originality and credibility in the news if more people from different, social and ethnic groups would contribute to the news production process. (Kovach and Rosenstiel: 2001, p.188-90)
3. Media coverage (print, television, radio, online) of the different social, ethnic and cultural groups.
4. Ways to encourage an open mind and a thirst for learning about new subjects and unfamiliar people among journalists, media owners, and the public. In this case, journalists and the public should learn more about the Moros, and other indigenous groups, their societies, cultures and religion so as to debunk myths and correct stereotypes.
5. Level of critical thinking among members of the press and the reading public. Key to the protection of citizens' rights is a careful reflection of who controls the media and an understanding of who benefits from published or broadcast information (media literacy).

The journalism industry in the Philippines is far from providing the ideal profession - the pay is low and the opportunities minimal. For conflict reporters, the risk to life, limb and reputation is constant. Yet these cannot be considered excuses for poor reporting. Journalists are very much part of the society they live in and so must give the citizens information that they themselves would like to have. Critical thinking is essential so that media do not become simply a hegemonic tool. And the Filipino reading public must assume a more active role by giving feedback to

media organizations and owners. But to do this, they must first learn to “read (the truth) between the lines”. After all, “the first principle of journalism – its disinterested pursuit of the truth – is ultimately what sets it apart from all other forms of communication” (Kovach and Rosentiel 2001 p. 42).

ENDNOTES

- 1 Edwin Angeles, a military man and co-founder of the Abu Sayyaf admitted as much in various interviews he held before he was killed after he had surrendered to the government.
- 2 Contrary to the official dominant nationalist discourse among Christian Filipinos, Moros claim that Mindanao and Sulu’s inclusion in the Treaty of Paris was illegal, proof of which was the Bates Treaty signed by the US and Sulu. If the US believed that the Paris treaty was sufficient, there would have been no need for another treaty. Throughout the American stay, the Moros petitioned the US many times, saying that they did not wish to be part of the Philippine nation-state if the US would give the Filipinos independence. But in 1946, the US included Mindanao and Sulu in its grant of independence to the Filipinos. (See Tan, S. *The Filipino Muslim Armed Struggle: 1900-1972* (1977) Metro Manila: Filipinas Foundation)
- 3 Interview with Ismael Abbas on April 19, 2004 in Quezon City

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF MORO-RELATED ARTICLES

PDI - March 2004

TITLE	DATE	PAGE	TENDENCY	FRAMING
We bombed ferry, says Abu chief: GMA says pranksters behind terror claim	03/01	A1 Headline To A 20	Supportive	Demonizing contextualizing
Abu names ship bomber: No proof of terror attacks says probers	03/02	A1 Headline To A 16	M- neutral L- critical of govt	Personalizing Demonizing Contextualizing
MILF appears keen on peace pact, says Army general	03/02	A 15	Supportive of military	Excising Sanitizing Contextualizing
Probers zero in on terrorist a ngle	03/03	A1 TO A22	Supportive of govt	Sanitizing Equalizing Conceptualizing
US gives 'Robot' tipster P550,000	03/06	A 10	M-supportive of govt and military L-supportive of US govt	Equalizing Contextualizing
2 bandits killed, 4 marines hurt in clash*	03/06	A 15	Supportive of military	Equalizing Personalizing Contextualizing Demonizing
Nabbed MILF man in bomb attack linked to kidnaps*	03/06	A 15	Supportive of military	Contextualizing
'Robot' bares infighting among Sayyaf bandits	03/08	A1 EAR TO A 9	Supportive of military	Excising contextualizing
Janjalani: From ASG to BCJ	03/08	A 24	Supportive of govt	Personalizing Contextualizing Excising

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TITLE	DATE	PAGE	TENDENCY	FRAMING
Only 2 more bodies recovered: Heavy debris in ship hampering operations	03/09	A2	Supportive of govt	Contextualizing Excising
6 Abu Sayyaf bandits slain*	03/09	A5	Supportive of military	Demonizing Contextualizing
Soldiers rescue daughter of sergeant from bandits*	03/10	A 19	Supportive of military	Personalizing Contextualizing
Army to send more troops to Davao for city fiesta *	03/11	A 15	Supportive of military	Excising Equalizing Contextualizing
Account for P100M, ARMM execs told (non-terror)	03/11	A 15	M- Neutral L - Critical of ARMM officials	Contextualizing Personalizing
Muslim religious leaders support family planning (non-terror) *	03/12	A1 EAR TO A 21	M – neutral L-supports govt	Excising Contextualizing
Ship captain tells probers he smelled gunpowder	03/12	A1 TO A9	Neutral	Excising Contextualizing
Security heightened anew in wake of Madrid bombing	03/13	A1 EAR TO A 20	Supportive of military	Contextualizing Equalizing
Fight terrorism, poverty, cadets told	03/15	A1 TO A 20	Supportive of government/ military	Contextualizing Excising
RP safe from terror- PNP	03/16	A 2	Supportive of military	Excising Contextualizing
Gov't troops, Moro rebels to secure team of Malaysian	03/16	A 8	Neutral	Equalizing Sanitizing

TITLE	DATE	PAGE	TENDENCY	FRAMING
ceasefire monitors (Agence France Press with Alcuin Papa)				Contextualizing
ARMM teachers' fund scam may reach P700M, probers say (non-terror) *	03/16	A 15	Supportive of govt	Excising (teachers)
Soldiers say they found "hidden" Moro rebs' camp*	03/16	A 16	Supportive of military	Excising (MILF)
Abu Sayyaf men not in Metro	03/16	A 20	Supportive of military	Excising (ASG) Contextualizing Equalizing
'Madrid can happen anywhere in the world'	03/17	A1 TO A8	Supportive of military	Excising Contextualizing Equalizing Demonizing
77 bodies found; recovery operations may be stopped	03/19	A1 EAR TO A 21	M- neutral L – supportive of military	Demonizing Contextualizing Excising
Unexploded bombs threaten safety of Pikit villages*	03/19	A 18	L- supportive of military M-neutral	Personalizing Equalizing Contextualizing
Abu Sayyaf man in Schilling kidnapping arrested in Zambo	03/20	A 4	Supportive of govt	Excising Sanitizing
Metro Muslims to be issued IDs	03/20	A 19	Supportive of police	Demonizing Contextualizing
Nene raps ID systems for Muslims	03/21	A 2	M- critical of police	Excising

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TITLE	DATE	PAGE	TENDENCY	FRAMING
Muslim women rap Jinggoy for remarks (non-terror)	03/21	A 7	M-critical of Jinggoy L- supportive of govt since Jinggoy's opposition	Personalizing
Elite antiterror force formed	03/23	A2	Supportive of military /govt	Sanitizing Excising Equalizing Contextualizing
Increase in Muslim voters noted	03/23	A3	Critical of government	Contextualization
Muslims want say on Metro ID plan	03/23	A 17	M-neutral L- supports govt	Contextualization
Malaysian peace monitors won't probe JI camps	03/24	A 2	Supportive of MILF	Excising Personalizing Contextualizing
Guns silent as peace monitors arrive in South*	03/25	A 5	Supportive of MILF	Contextualizing Equalizing Excising
Moros welcome truce observers	03/26	A 6	Neutral	Excising Contextualizing
'Muslims not our target'	03/29	A 7	Supportive of govt	Excising Sanitizing Contextualizing
Foreign observers see bright prospects for Mindanao peace*	03/30	A 16	neutral	Excising Contextualizing
GMA announces arrest of 4 Sayyaf terrorists	03/31	A1 TOA 8	Supportive of gov't, military	Contextualizing Personalizing Demonizing Equaling

M – manifest (tendency)

L - latent (tendency)

* - written by the Mindanao Bureau of PDI

APPENDIX B

LIST OF MORO-RELATED ARTICLES

PDI - April 2004

TITLE	DATE	TENDENCY MECHANISMS	FRAMING
Metro bomb targets listed: 2 more Abu Sayyaf terror suspects fall	04/01	Supportive of gov't	Excising Equalizing Demonizing Contextualizing
Abu: We have a long line of bombers	04/01	Supportive of military	Equalizing Demonizing Personalizing
Abu recruiting teenagers for bombing missions Contextualizing Personalizing	04/02	Supportive of military	Demonizing
Abu terror suspects framed, say kin	04/02	Supportive of gov't	Contextualizing
RP accepts Republican apology for terror tag	04/02	Supportive of military, gov't	Sanitizing
Gov't taking Janjalani seriously	04/03	Supportive of gov't	Excising Equalizing Contextualizing
More Abu suspects fall in anti-terror crackdown	04/03	Supportive of gov't	Excising Equalizing Sanitizing Contextualizing
Robin Padilla's Abu Sayyaf bodyguard freed on bail	04/05	Supportive of gov't	Excising Contextualizing
Abu bomber loose in Metro Manila Contextualizing Demonizing	04/05	Supportive of gov't, police	Excising
Exec raises alert vs JI terrorists	04/05	Supportive of military	Excising Contextualizing Demonizing

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TITLE	DATE	TENDENCY MECHANISMS	FRAMING
Ermita accuses MILF faction of coddling JI, Abu militants	04/06	Supportive of military	Contextualizing
Victims tag Abu abductors	04/06	Supportive of military	Excising Contextualizing
Embassies, malls on Abu target list: Terror cell busted, says PNP Intel chief	04/07	Supportive of military	Excising Equalizing Contextualizing
US wants Abu suspect extradited for kidnap slay	04/07	Supportive of gov't	Contextualizing Demonizing
'No witch hunt against you' GMA assures Muslims	04/07	M- neutral L- supportive of gov't	Sanitizing
24 Abus bolt Basilan jail: Abu leader with \$1-M on his head slain in clash	04/11	M- neutral L-supportive of gov't	Excising Sanitizing Contextualizing
Top LRT blast suspect ordered	04/13	Supportive of military, police	Contextualizing
2 more Basilan escapees slain L- critical of gov't	04/14 Excising	M- supportive of military, police	Sanitizing Contextualizing
Abus seized Indons, Malaysians, Navy confirms	04/14	M- supportive of military	Contextualizing Excising equalizing
PNP arrest of Abu Sayyaf chief imminent	04/15	Supportive of police	Demonizing Equalizing
RP antiterror drive, a model	04/15	Supportive of military	Sanitizing Contextualizing

TITLE	DATE	TENDENCY MECHANISMS	FRAMING
Cops tighten security on Abu suspects	04/16	Supportive of gov't	Excising Equalizing Sanitizing Contextualizing
Nur asks Muslims to reject terror	04/16	Supportive of gov't	Excising Sanitizing
Violence hounds Mindanao campaign as polls near	04/18	Neutral	Excising contextualizing
US cites AFP chief for fight against terror	04/20	Supportive of military	Excising Sanitizing Contextualizing
Ali, Lanao Kingpin, dies at 95 Sanitizing	04/22	Neutral	Personalizing
Ferry fire: Bomb or gas leak did it	04/22	Supportive of military	Demonizing Excising Contextualizing
We're ready- Ermita	04/23	Supportive of gov't	Excising Equalizing Contextualization
RP lawmen to verify new terror threat	04/24	Supportive of gov't	Excising Equalizing Contextualizing
Muslims demand student's release	04/24	M-neutral L-critical of gov't	Excising Personalizing Contextualizing
Arrest of terror suspects embarrass policemen	04/24	M-neutral L-critical of gov't	Sanitizing Excising Contextualizing
Muslims ordered not to vote for GMA	04/26	Critical of GMA	Excising
DFA exec warns on RP pullout from Iraq	04/26	Supportive of military	Contextualizing

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TITLE	DATE	TENDENCY MECHANISMS	FRAMING
MILF seeks release of 3 JI suspects	04/26	Supportive of military	Excising Contextualizing
2 of 4 terror suspects admit JI links, say AFP	04/27	Supportive of military	Excising Equalizing
Muslims question FATWA vs GMA	04/27	Supportive of gov't	Excising Contextualizing
MILF splintered; says military	04/28	Supportive of military	Demonizing Contextualizing
Abu suspect in ferry fire cries torture	04/28	M- critical of police L- supportive of police	Excising Contextualizing
RP on high terror alert	04/28	Supportive of military	Excising Equalizing Contextualizing
Mindanao tribe leaders leave FPJ campaign	04/28	Supportive of GMA	Excising Contextualizing
GMA hands over P5M in cash to Abu informant	04/29	Supportive of gov't	Excising Sanitizing Contextualizing
US renews travel warning on RP	04/30	M- neutral L-critical of gov't	Equalizing Excising