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Master's Thesis of Public Administration

**Policy Types and Democratic Governance
Values in Presidential Speeches:
Content Analysis of Philippine State of the Nation Addresses
from 1973 to 2015**

**대통령 연설에 있어서 정책 유형과 민주적
통치의 가치:
필리핀 국정 연설 내용 분석, 1973-2015**

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Abstract

Policy Types and Democratic Governance Values in Presidential Speeches: Content Analysis of Philippine State of the Nation Addresses from 1973 to 2015

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Presidential studies are an important component of public administration and governance scholarship. More particularly, presidential addresses provide a glimpse to executive decision making, presidential relations with institutions and the people, and the president's involvement in public policy issues. By analyzing presidential communication, political scientists and public administration scholars could glean into democratic or authoritarian thinking of presidents, especially with regard to which policies and democratic values he or she prefers, and could ultimately hold leaders accountable for the comments and pronouncements they make in public. To contribute to Philippine presidential research, this study examines the State of the Nation Addresses of Philippine presidents from 1973 to 2015 and identifies the various policy types and democratic governance values embedded in these presidential speeches. The investigation seeks to understand the emphasis given by Philippine presidents to certain types of policy and democratic governance values according to the political climate at the time of their leadership.

Using qualitative content analysis, this study threshes out the dominant and most frequently cited public policy types and democratic governance values during and after the martial law period. Public rhetoric serves as a theoretical framework, that is, presidential speeches such as the State of the Nation Addresses are means of persuasion to Congress and the people to adopt, approve, and support the policies advanced by the president, in addition to other communication and political theories relevant to each of the regimes. To ensure objectivity and reliability, inter-coder reliability tests were done by asking help from fellow graduate students to code a sample of the presidential speeches. MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis program, was used to help out the researcher in coding, analyzing, and presenting the results.

Results show that State of the Nation Addresses delivered during martial law in the Philippines cite significantly more domestic policies than economic and foreign policies, which run consistent with the informational theory of dictatorship which postulates that dictators try to convince the public that they are competent in order to stay in power. Democratic governance values related to government institutions are also considerably high, especially the representation system due to mentions of Marcos' legislative councils and assembly; it is also significant to note that free media as a democratic governance value got zero mention in the presidential addresses during martial law. On the other hand, domestic policies comprise two-thirds of the total number of policy-related statements in the addresses after martial law, characteristic of the institutional choice theory which assumes that democracies establish anti-corruption policies as integral part of government reorganization and public policy. Among the six democratic governance values, check and balance–separation of powers dominates them all, while the value of the electoral system follows at second and three other values with practically the same number of frequencies are closely behind.

Keywords: public policy types, democratic governance, democratic institutions, presidential speeches, State of the Nation Address, martial law in the Philippines

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Democratic Governance History of the Philippines

In the Philippines, democracy is a sacred social value. With centuries under Spanish colonial rule and decades under American influence, Philippine society considers a treasure the democratic institutions it has established throughout the years. The Philippines was colonized by Spain until 1898 and was then taken over by the United States which gradually helped in the transition toward a working democracy. After the Second World War, the Philippines was among the first in Asia to lead a democratic government. Patterned from the democracy of the United States, the Philippines adopted western style democracy and slowly recovered from the damages of the war. A major setback in the democratic environment in the country came when martial law was proclaimed and blanketed the country in 1972. The authoritarian rule weakened democratic institutions and took power from the people and other vanguards of democracy such as the media. Democracy was restored in 1986 because of a peaceful and popular revolution. The restoration of a government by the people brought along with it the reestablishment of democratic institutions. Since then, the Philippines has been trying to undo the effects of almost two decades of authoritarian rule. Hutchcroft and Rocamora (2003) succinctly described how Filipinos collectively feel about the promise of democracy and the challenges of making democratic structures and institutions work: for more than a century—transitioning from the first revolutionary republic born in Malolos in 1898 to the People Power uprising staged along Manila’s major thoroughfare in 1986—Filipinos endured the hard work toward a working democracy.

Where this struggle to build a lasting democratic governance comes from is obviously entrenched in history. Spanish colonization in the Philippines started in 1565 when Miguel Lopez de Legaspi built a permanent Spanish settlement in Cebu, a province in the central part of the archipelago.

In the centuries that followed, Filipinos tried to fight for independence and democracy by breaking out into scattered uprisings in different provinces. It was not until 1898 when Filipinos united to declare independence and established a republic, but the United States, the new colonial master of the Philippines, did not recognize it, and neither did the rest of Asia. Spain might have given the Philippines nationhood but not independence and sovereignty. The United States, however, introduced democracy and built a national system ready for democracy and independence, albeit not immediately. In the early years of American occupation, United States President Theodore Roosevelt's policies and action involved quelling insurgencies, embarking on "civilizing" the citizens, and professing intention of staying in the Philippines until Filipinos were fit to rule themselves. As a result, the United States helped establish the Philippine assembly with elected members, subsequently pronouncing that the Philippines was on the way to receiving independence within a few generations (Wertheim, 2009). But along with the new system, elitist democracy and patronage politics came with it. When Americans finally handed back the Philippines to the Filipinos in 1946, the political and economic institutions had already been controlled by the elite and the same situation has been happening ever since (Tuazon, 2013; Hermida, 2015).

In his study on public opinion and democratic governance, Velasco (2002) enumerated the factors and conditions that shaped and continue to shape democratization in the Philippines. Filipino nationhood can trace its liberal and constitutional origins to the independence models of the United States and the French, and the outright resistance of Filipinos against the switching of colonial master from Spain to the United States proved this entrenched ideals. A strong Catholic Church in the Philippines likewise contributes to the Filipino spirituality and optimism in times of political turmoil and uncertainty. Since American occupation, the country had a long experience on democratic politics and governance, learning to build democratic institutions such as legislative bodies, electoral systems, civil societies with impressive women empowerment, political parties, and a

working and independent press. It also helped, according to Velasco (2002), that the stint of authoritarianism gave dictatorship a bad name for Filipinos, giving them a painful memory of oligarch rule and false development. Close relationships with developed democracies also made Philippine democracy mature not only because of economic cooperation but also because of the educational and government policy exchanges. Lastly, Philippine political economy benefited from its integration to the global economy and information technology, causing positive effects on governance and policymaking.

1.2. Martial Law in the Philippines

The recent and significant blow against democratic governance in the Philippines came when it tried authoritarian rule in 1972, a time when many countries in Asia were experimenting with iron-fist leadership to justify the need to accelerate economic progress. Ferdinand Marcos, who was first elected as president in 1965 and re-elected in 1969 under a democratic constitution, promised free enterprise and stronger cooperation with the United States in the Vietnam War. In this period, the Philippines had already nursing some anti-imperialism sentiments among its people, which exacerbated due to Marcos' collaboration with the economic and military policies of the United States. As a result, rebellion and protests elevated into crisis level, which drove Marcos to declare martial law in 1972 (Mananzan, 2002).

Marcos had many names for the martial rule that he had imposed. He used terms such as “command society,” “constitutional authoritarianism,” and “crisis government,” which political oppositions and foreign observers thought was a mask that hid the true nature of martial law. Marcos stood by his decision and made it appear that authoritarian rule was legitimate, upheld the primacy of the rule of law, and adhered to constitutional directives to ensure the continued support of Filipinos. Indeed, martial law in 1972 was revealed to be a disguise—it was not just a response to escalating tensions between rebels and the government. The reason behind the sudden shift to

authoritarian rule came to the fore when, on the first day of martial law, Marcos imprisoned his political opponents, starting with his staunch critic Senator Benigno Aquino, Jr., and other journalists and members of the media. Martial law was put in effect by virtue of Proclamation No. 1081 dated September 21, 1972, but implemented on September 23. The military, which was mobilized by Marcos, shut down mass media, cancelled flights in and out of the country, and prohibited incoming overseas calls, effectively and swiftly clamping down democratic institutions in the country. It was the mass media that was hit and transformed dramatically during martial law, despite the Philippine press being regarded as one of the freest in Asia. The government strictly controlled the press and all mass communications media and left only one government-owned radio station, one newspaper, and one television station running just to broadcast the president's announcements, including the declaration of martial law (Rosenberg, 1975).

With one man in power, the people's right to determine who should be the leader was quashed. Competitive electoral systems in the Philippines was also martial law's first casualties. Before martial law, the electoral was already having problems, but it was, at least, free. Elections then were dominated by issues on scarce resources and participated in by competing elites, with the civil society, especially urban dwellers, exerting pressure on the government to lay down better social services. The society, in turn, could be described as robust, with increasing birth rate, people migration to urban areas, and capital-intensive industrial growth. Elections cost more and bureaucracy ballooned as a result, which then worsened inflation, slowed down economic growth, and promoted societal conflicts. But still, the voice of the Philippine electorate remained small and relied on the existing and ruling elites to provide education, public works, welfare, jobs, and other social services in exchange for votes (Nowak, 1977). Marcos, as he reasoned that his dictatorship should appear legitimate, still went on and held elections, especially for the Batasang Pambansa (National Assembly) several years after the declaration of martial law. Observers pointed out that it was a move to

prove critics wrong and that it would serve to demonstrate that he still had the people's support and his rule was legitimate (Muego, 1979).

Marcos' martial law was imposed successfully because he had full control of the military. Wurfel (1977) described the Philippine armed forces as an institution dependent on the elected politicians. Marcos knew that he had to have the continued support of the military and so, after he declared martial law, he increased the base-pay of all commissioned officers by 150 percent and skillfully used his power of appointment and promotion to dissipate groups that would cause a break in the chain of command. Marcos also subsidized commissaries and housing and appointed high-ranking officers to executive boards of government corporations. He also ignored the growing corruption in the military, which was caused by the provision of a big chunk of the national budget, which in turn tripled the size of the armed service and saw the rapid promotion of loyal officers.

On the policymaking dimension, Marcos now had a free hand to push forward all the reforms that he wanted to do, as he was now ruling by decree and without a congress to prolong the passage of much-needed changes. Richter (1980) found that Marcos' land reform policy, one of the highlights of his administration, was based on the assumption that properly managed agrarian structure will result in "great equity, increased productivity, and political and economic independence for the masses." For Marcos, an aggressive infrastructure plan would also result in a healthier foreign exchange and boost employment, whose results would eventually go to the public. Furthermore, Durdin (1975) discovered that Marcos policy on suppressing the Muslim rebellion was premised on the country's dependency on oil from the Middle East—he held back from suppressing the rebellion for fear of cutting off oil supply and instead combined military operations with social welfare, or programs in exchange of surrender, such as building roads, offering fishing livelihood and education, satisfying Muslim land claims, and ensuring self-government in certain areas but of course with full cooperation with the capital. Foreign observers, however, despite Marcos' benevolent

policies toward the rebels, said that those who had surrendered were the “less militant and often the older leaders.” The same research by Durdin (1975) also illustrated Marcos’ foreign policy as a tool to bolster the economy by elevating the status of the Philippines in the international arena. Marcos, with already a healthy relationship with the United States, expanded diplomatic relations with China, Russia, and other Soviet countries. Diplomatic ties with Taiwan were also cut, but a liaison office continued to operate in Taipei. Western Europe also figured in Marcos’ international trade strategy, in a move that decreased Philippine dependence on traditional economic allies such as Japan and the United States. The newly formed Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was also in the crosshairs of Marcos as a major development partner, and it served as a message that the country was dismissing the image of being a client state of the United States and was pursuing a more independent foreign relations.

As a whole, Godkin and Montano (1991) described policymaking during martial law as fragmented. Marcos was getting inputs, information, and opinion from elements who were separated and isolated one from another. Also, these information were most likely detached from reality because inadequate measurements and some problems on monitoring. But still, Marcos made decisions unilaterally, and his close advisors were just limited to limited and intuitive suggestions. For example, in the implementation of the agrarian reform program, governmental decision-making was characterized by “audience learning, superstitious learning, learning under ambiguity and role-constrained learning.”

Marcos transferred all powers to the president and from then on until his exile into the United States in 1986 he would rule by decree. The Philippines failed miserably in its venture into authoritarian regime and instead plunged into debt and a drastic overhaul of its democratic institutions. After the popular revolt in 1986 that ousted Marcos and ushered in a turning point in the democratic history of the Philippines, democratic transition was not easy. Seo (2013) identified the elite groups who have dominated

Philippine politics since the Spanish colonial period as having important responsibility in the transition, followed by the newly emerging political elites, and then the mass public who could push the former two to move in the right direction toward democracy.

The familiarity of Filipinos with the struggle to establish a stable and effective democratic governance may have given them political maturity, which at its peak helped throw out the Marcos dictatorship and bring down another leader in 2001. This political maturity too also made Filipinos become vigilant today, watching out for totalitarian tendencies from its leaders and policymakers. How people stand guard against autocratic tendencies may be shown in many ways, and one is through tuning into presidential speeches—spoken address by the president to the public which may or may not contain policies and agendas that concern the country. Although presidential speeches, according to Sides (2011), are doubted to shoot approval ratings up nor persuade people on policies, what it can do is to “facilitate change in favorable environments.”

1.3. Presidential Speeches and State of the Nation Addresses

The transition from one president to another in the Philippines has been marked by inaugural speeches, usually detailing his or her platforms of government for the whole duration of the term. Unlike the inaugural addresses, which are too far apart because Philippine presidents serve for six years under the latest Philippine Constitution, more reliable in gauging presidential the success and failures of presidential agenda and government policies are regular political speeches during press briefings, diplomatic receptions, and the more formal State of Nation Addresses. These presidential speeches and addresses are communication forms usually delivered in some solemn fashion during special occasions. Sometimes, the words of these leaders become the policy of the government.

This study focuses more on the State of the Nation Addresses, which since the relinquishment of American governance at the end the Second World War, are an annual speeches delivered by the president of the Philippines where he or she reports on the state of the country, proclaims his or her agenda for years ahead, and proposes to Congress specific legislative projects. At present, the Philippine 1987 Constitution—in Article VII, Section 23—requires the president to address the Congress at the opening of its regular session, which, is constitutionally prescribed to be on the fourth Monday of July. Before the present constitution, there was the 1935 Constitution, which—in Article VII, Section 5—commands the president to give to the Congress information on the state of the country and recommend measures that the president deems necessary. It was from that time that the annual address to the legislative branch was known to be State of the Nation Address.

For the president of the Philippines to appear before the legislative branch, which is composed of the House of Representatives and the Senate, Congress invites the president to a joint session at the halls of the House of Representatives. It undertakes all preparations, including the issuance of tickets. During their respective sessions in their respective chambers, both chambers of Congress elect their officials and then file a concurrent resolution stating that both chambers are ready to hear the State of the Nation Address of the president.

Presidential speeches, especially State of the Nation Addresses, are a big part of the historical tradition of policymaking and democratic governance in the Philippines. The Presidential Communications Operations Office (PCOO, 2017), which publishes the *Official Gazette*, provides a complete history of these addresses. During the early years of American occupation of the Philippines, the precursors to formal presidential addresses, which took the form of reports, contained an annual report of all the receipts and expenditures to the Secretary of War of the United States. These then evolved into reports and speeches containing reviews of the progress of the Philippines

and hopes of American administration for the country. But in 1935 during the Commonwealth era, when the State of the Nation Address was starting to become a formal tradition, President Manuel Quezon delivered the State of the Nation Address with one specific purpose: the expression of the urgent need to establish a national defense policy. After the establishment of a free and independent republic in 1946, State of the Nation Addresses became a venue for others kinds of similar messages.

Presidential speeches are indeed effective tools in communicating presidential agendas. It is a political communication tool that involves the careful construction, sending, receiving, and processing of messages that potentially have a significant direct or indirect impact on politics (Graber, 1993). In this cycle, politicians, interest groups, and citizens may either be senders or receivers of this message, and the message a significant impact on individuals, societies, and institutions with regard to political thinking, beliefs, and behaviors. Along with the long history of democracy, presidential speeches and their messages and effects have been well documented in research literature. In the conduct of American foreign policy, for example, a president pursues a course of action to shape public opinion using presidential rhetoric. In his book, Dimaggio (2015) illustrated how US presidents gained and lost public support with each military action. In ten case studies examined from 2001 to 2013, seven cases—including the Iraq and Afghanistan wars—translated into presidential success in gaining public support, while three—including Barack Obama’s intervention in Syria—were presidential failures. From this study, it can be gleaned that when a president uses rhetoric of fear and hope (for example, giving promises that United States’ military intervention and action would promote democracy and human rights in foreign lands), he or she attains considerable success in shaping public opinion.

1.4. Holding Presidents Accountable for Their Words

From a broader perspective, world leaders nowadays have become the topic of world media and among diplomatic circles due to the sudden rise of populist views and nationalist rhetoric. This bold and straightforward approach to communicate governmental change has gained sympathy and support from voters. For example, Donald Trump won the United States presidential election in 2016 through a different approach to campaign language and communication. According to Wood (2017), Trump's pre-political career is a salesman, and he makes speeches that both attack opponents and appeal to supporters. These speeches are unscripted and usually written on the run, unlike traditional political language that is too close to the script. Trump's language is parenthetical, which some people find attractive. However, these words that come out of the president bear some legal implications too. Just recently in June 2017, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in the United States upheld an injunction placed on his travel ban using as basis for the judgment a tweet which said "That's right, we need a TRAVEL BAN for certain DANGEROUS countries, not some politically correct term that won't help us protect our people!" (Mindock, 2017).

Presidents do get held accountable for their words and their speeches even though they wield considerable power and freedom in the conduct of executive functions. For example, US President Andrew Johnson was impeached by the House of Representatives for two charges: firing his Secretary of War and delivering a series of political speeches attacking Congress. Impeachment proceedings at the time were very rare in the United States, happening only around 50 times and 12 of those cases have reached the Senate for trial. Although Johnson was acquitted of all the charges in the Senate, it demonstrated that the chief executive could be held accountable and put to into more rigorous public scrutiny (Shaffer, 1973).

1.5. Statement of the Research

Given that democracy is a result of hard-fought battle by Filipinos for a long time, there is a need to give premium to democratic governance and the types of public policy related to the execution of these democratic governance values, and what better way to determine these issues from the country's premier policy actor through the political communication tools he or she uses. In addition, it not enough to derive the policy types and the democratic governance values from presidential speeches, but there is also a need to compare whether these rhetorical instances are more or less pronounced during specific times in the history of Philippine democracy.

Per the researcher's knowledge, literature on democratic governance values extolled from presidential speeches is not as extensive as other democracy-related studies in the Philippines. Several journals in the Philippines that feature public administration only have specific topics in or very narrow coverage of presidential speeches (Serquina, 2016). Instead, Philippine research literature on this topic ranges from presidential veto power and elections to presidential orders and issuances. Studies that directly deal on presidential speeches are also lacking or are extremely rare.

1.6. Significance of the Study

This study examines the State of the Nation Addresses of Philippine presidents from 1973 to 2015 and identifies the various policy types and democratic governance values embedded in these presidential speeches. The investigation seeks to understand the emphasis given by Philippine presidents to certain types of policy and democratic governance values according to the political climate at the time of their leadership. As a result, this study will paint a picture of which policy types and democratic governance values prevail or are deemed important during a particular era of Philippine democratic history and will identify trends, if there is one, in the strengthening or weakening of democratic institutions.

With current international events dominated by presidential speeches and rhetoric, this study shines a timely spotlight on presidential studies, specifically presidential speeches, which are an important component of public administration and governance. Presidential studies cover executive and state-level decision making; the operations and administration of the executive branch of government; presidential relations with parliament or peoples' representatives, courts, the bureaucracy, the public, and the press; and, most importantly, the president's involvement in public policy issues whether domestic or international. Ultimately, it is but the obligation of the people, including political scientists and public administration scholars, to hold leaders accountable for the comments and pronouncements they make in public.

Whether or not presidential speeches make concrete public policies is still a hot debate among scholars. Yet, it is recognized that one of the greatest powers of the president is the ability to speak directly to the public using what Teddy Roosevelt called the "bully pulpit." Public reactions to presidential speeches are sometimes polarized, but it is undeniable that these forms of communication have a direct effect to both the public and other government branches. To Congress, the president's speech could only sound like a request but the president also has the power to make his or her ideas popular and legislature's refusal unpopular (Klein, 2011). President Barack Obama, charismatic and eloquent compared to past presidents of modern history, effectively used speeches to help him win public support (Sides, 2017). By making presidential agenda gain popular support and approval, presidents through their speeches could increase pressure on members of Congress. Brandice Canes-Wrone (2005) also supports the idea that presidential speeches substantially influence domestic budgetary appropriations (de Neufville 2016).

This research also presents a golden opportunity for the field of public administration to delve anew into presidential studies crossed with democratic

governance scholarship, given the present global political climate of misinformation, protectionist sentiments, and ideological adventurism.

1.7. Research Questions

Developing the proper research questions is key to content analysis. Therefore, the researcher gives emphasis to the content that is being analyzed, in this case the State of the Nation Addresses. The relevant research questions that this study tries to solve are the following:

Research Question 1: Do State of the Nation Addresses during martial law cite more domestic policies than any other policy?

Research Question 2: Do State of the Nation Addresses after martial law mention more domestic policies than any other policy as a way to rebuild democratic institutions?

Research Question 3: How does the composition of policy types during martial law compare with that after martial law?

Research Question 4: During martial law, are there more government-related democratic governance values (representation system, electoral system, check and balance–separation of powers) in the State of the Nation Addresses than the society-related values (civil society, free media, and civilian superiority over the military)?

Research Question 5: After martial law, are there more society-related democratic governance values than the government-related values as a way to counterbalance the risk of too much power in the government?

Research Question 6: How do prevailing democratic governance values during martial law compare with those after martial law?

1.8. Hypotheses

In stating the hypotheses to the research questions postulated above, it is important to provide the basic assumptions of this study, which are also based on the theoretical framework expounded later in the next chapter. Aristotle's treatise on rhetoric generally relates to the persuasion power of words and speeches. In his classifications of the types of speaking, two of the three types relate well with presidential speeches, which are both ceremonial and political. While scholars still argue whether presidential speeches have a direct measurable impact on popular opinion and even policymaking, presidential speeches, particularly State of the Nation Addresses which are directly addressed to Congress, are considered to have great potential to sway and persuade the public and the legislature to adopt and support presidential agenda contained in those speeches.

The units of analysis used in this study are the individual State of the Nation Address by Philippine presidents from 1973 to 2015. This was the primary consideration in choosing the specific theories that would help draw predictions to the research questions postulated above. Naturally, communication theories and political theories will play roles in answering the research questions because the presidential speech cannot be separated from the political actor who delivers it; the presidential speech, after all, is government policy or, at least, contains presidential agenda.

The following hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 1: [Do State of the Nation Addresses during martial law cite more domestic policies than any other policy?] Guriev and Treisman (2015) recently developed an informational theory of dictatorship, and according to their theory, dictators try to convince the public that they are competent in order to stay in power. Since the declaration of martial law in the Philippines was a response to quell the rebellion that the

president had perceived to be a threat to the country and his presidency, the theory predicts that the speeches would feature more domestic policies related to defense and peace and order than any other policy. Moreover, this informational theory of dictatorship may account for the situation where domestic, economic, and foreign policies in the State of the Nation Addresses might appear to be all mentioned in a relatively equal manner because dictators, according to the theory, use co-optation with the elites and censorship to portray that he is doing a good job and that all his policies succeed.

Hypothesis 2: [Do State of the Nation Addresses after martial law mention more domestic policies than any other policy as a way to rebuild democratic institutions?] According to Bernhard's (2005) institutional choice theory as applied to democratic survival, democracies, especially new and newly recovered ones, will strengthen democratic institutions to prevent another dictatorial government. As such, institutional theory predicts that domestic policies, especially those relating to the establishment and strengthening of democratic institutions, will be more frequently cited in the presidential speeches than any other policies. Bernhard's institutional choice theory also presupposes that policy crafters pick specific institutions to minimize the breakdown of democracy. Accordingly, State of the Nation Addresses after martial law would feature domestic policies strengthening institutions of civil rights and internal defense.

Hypothesis 3: [How does the composition of policy types during martial law compare with that after martial law?] Mulligan and colleagues (2004) developed a model that postulates that democracy has little impact on certain public policies and that

democracies and authoritarian governments (or non-democracies) are both likely to introduce social welfare programs. As such, this model predicts that State of the Nation Addresses both during and after martial law will feature domestic policies related to the provision of social welfare and public order, there being no difference whether a president is authoritarian or not.

Hypothesis 4: [During martial law, are there more government-related democratic governance values (representation system, electoral system, checks and balance/separation of powers) in the State of the Nation Addresses than the society-related values (civil society, free media, and civilian superiority over the military)?] As in Hypothesis 1, the informational theory of new authoritarianism states that dictators try to convince the public that they are competent instead of relying on force or spread of their ideology. In this study, this theory predicts that the speeches would mention government-related democratic governance values so as to portray that the president is capable of running the government alone and that democratic institutions are only useful if under his control or are simulated to work through propaganda and colluding with the elite.

Hypothesis 5: [After martial law, are there more society-related democratic governance values in the State of the Nation Addresses than the government-related values?] According to institutional choice theory, democracies, especially new and newly recovered ones, will strengthen democratic institutions to prevent another dictatorial government. As such, institutional theory predicts that democratic governance values such as the restrengthening of representative systems, electoral systems, and checks and balances will be more

frequently cited in the presidential speeches than any other democratic governance values.

Hypothesis 6: [How do prevailing democratic governance values during martial law compare with those after martial law?] As in Hypothesis 3, the Mulligan model assumes that both democratic and authoritarian leaders give priority to the delivery of basic social services in order to maintain popular support and that there is no difference in the formulation of policies except those that involve ensuring success in the elections and ways of maintaining power. Therefore, this model predicts that government-related democratic governance values, especially values pertaining to the electoral and representation systems, would figure more prominently in presidential addresses both during and after martial law.

Chapter 2: Review of Related Literature

Literature on democratic governance abounds, having been around since humankind has organized itself to form a well-functioning society. The United Nations describes democratic governance as more than democratic procedures and establishment of democratic institutions. It also involves sustaining democracy through promoting separation of powers, rule of law, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and transparency and accountability. The United Nations further describes that a state with the culture of democratic governance embraces a wide and broad scope of political participation featuring “a pluralistic system of political parties, a vibrant civil society and media.” It also said that women and minorities figure prominently and are promoted and integrated in strong democratic institutions in all levels of the government and society. Likewise, this culture of democratic governance protects the rights and dignity of children (United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste 2017).

Also in another publication by the United Nations, particularly by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Yap (2009) claims that good governance is supported by the pillars of the participation by both men and women, which are evident from various means such as through either direct or legitimate institutions or representatives. He also stressed that representative democracy does not necessarily take into account the automatic participation of the most vulnerable sectors in the society in decision making. In order for participation to be informed and organized, freedom of association and expression is vital as well as an organized and functioning civil society.

Finding and extracting democratic values from communication materials start to get very tricky when finding the proper theories to base the assumptions from. A strong balance among the fields of democracy studies, communication theories, and political science should provide this study a suitable framework to conduct the content analysis with. A good theoretical

framework should provide a conceptual milieu for the researcher to examine the presidential speeches. Considering the method used in this study, the data and observations that will be obtained from the speeches to be examined will provide guidance to the solutions and will be analyzed on the context of the theoretical framework that will be discussed below.

In the study of communication, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is almost always a common a conceptual staple. In his work, Aristotle described rhetoric as the ability to see the available means of persuasion, and it has been a field of inquiry ever since because Greeks believed that public speaking is a vital part of their democratic responsibility. Romans, too, considered rhetoric as a survival skill, as public speeches could be heard every day in ancient Rome in the forms of legislative debates, religious sermons, political rallies and speeches during special celebrations. Rhetoric, applied to political studies, centers then on the intentional act of using words to have a political effect. By systematically exploring the interactions and effects among the speaker, the speech, and the audience, Aristotle raised the rhetoric to a science. Aristotle classified rhetoric into three. The first is courtroom (forensic) speaking, to which belong speeches that are addressed to a judge who is trying to decide whether a person on trial is guilty or innocent. The second is ceremonial (epideictic) speaking, whose purpose is to inspire listeners. The third is political (deliberative) speaking, which attempts to influence voters and lawmakers to decide future policy. Evidently, presidential speeches fall under two of these classifications in that presidential speeches are both ceremonial and political (Griffin 2006).

In order to provide a qualitative description the how president use and present policy types and democratic governance values in Philippine State of the Nation Addresses, there must be some general framework with which basic assumptions are based. Aristotle's rhetoric has traditionally been in the front and center of studies involving politics and communication. Political events are also usually tied to communication where research in literature have centered on processes by which humans exchange message, symbols,

power, and influence with one another. Because of this, the researcher is likely to use the methods of rhetoric to understand the event and the communication involved and to address questions about specific components aspects of communication events. This is the purpose of a rhetorical study, and it has been done since some 2500 ago with the works of Plato and Aristotle and other philosophers who were interested in the communication of one person to a crowd, or what we now call public speaking. These studies investigated the many factors that give public speeches its effectiveness and power of influence, and results are often prescriptive, meaning they prescribed the ways on how to make public speaking persuasive. The skills and knowledge on how to achieve effective public speaking was called rhetoric, or “the use of all available means of persuasion” (Stocks and Hocking, 1999; Frey et al., 1991).

Załęska (2012) have looked into how to inject political philosophy and political science into rhetorical methods and objectives. Politics, or activities done by free people in order to articulate, announce, and organize their competing interests, exclude phenomena where people exercise their power when their freedom is curtailed, such as in dictatorships. Rhetoricians in recent times have undertaken discourse and linguistic analyses, focusing on the speakers’ linguistic activities, and studies on communication activities that correspond to certain definitions and concepts. Also, rhetoricians have become interested in what counts as politics in communicative practices and in components of the communication cycle, particularly the source, the theme, and the manner of speaking. Studying rhetoric in and of politics is in line with the Aristotelian tradition of rhetoric, which sheds light on the interrelation between politics and the rhetoric or how speaking influences public choices. Traditional research on rhetoric and politics typically involve “power relations, legitimization, competing interests, and rights of large social groups, differing criteria and values, as well as the necessity to take consequential decisions” (Załęska, 2012). Studies on political messages whose subjects are democratic values such as

peace, institutions, freedom, justice, and other libertarian values are also under political rhetoric or political discourse.

With this rhetorical tradition now fit presidential studies including presidential communication. An active and vibrant field of study in the United States, presidential inaugural addresses, state of the union addresses, and annual messages have been the bulk of message and content analyses. For example, Lim (2002) investigated the trends in American presidential rhetoric, from the inaugural speeches of George Washington to Bill Clinton. He described presidential rhetoric as a reliable resource in understanding macroscopic stories about presidents, most particularly the inaugural address where a president for the first time speaks to his country as a leader. Further, he posits that inaugural addresses and other addresses, as a constitution-prescribed occasion to showcase presidential rhetoric, constituted 50 percent of all the major presidential speeches since Calvin Coolidge (circa 1923).

Zarefsky (2004) conducted eight case studies to explore how presidents from George Washington to George W. Bush have relied on rhetorical definition of the presidency. By employing tests done usually by a historically sensitive researcher who gathers evidence, conducts thought experiments, and advances arguments, he found out that presidential definition can be found in the texts of public statements, the audio and video records of presidential performance, comments by the president or his aides about his purposes, and the informed speculation of commentators. He also found evidence that shifts in public understanding of presidential definition include the repetition and chaining out of various issues. Zarefsky also argued that presidential rhetoric, from the perspective of the humanities, is a complex transaction among speakers or writers, texts or performance, audiences, and critics and is used to define social reality—whose effects are better understood as invitations to respond.

Another key research of presidential speech content analysis is that of Kinnier et al. (2004) who extracted values from US presidential inaugural

addresses in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where they found that the values most frequently extolled were liberty, belief in God, patriotism, justice, personal responsibility, and peace. Interestingly also, more references on lowering taxes and values such as truth and honesty were made during the nineteenth century compared with the twentieth century and by Republicans compared with Democrats. On the other hand, the value of courage was more frequently mentioned in the 20th century.

In Korea, Choi (2011) made a historical analysis of Korean presidents' media and message management and media coverage of presidents during the period of 1948-2008. They analyzed interviews with 22 former presidential public relations staffs and former President's Office correspondents, including two most influential newspaper in Korea, namely, DongA Ilbo and Chosun Ilbo. Results of their analysis suggest that presidential communications focused on media management and control rather than on message management, which have endowed more power to political advisor staff, intelligence service, and tax service agency in controlling media. In addition, he found that presidential communication based on media control still runs today and has not changed heavily and that media have never been free in covering the presidents. At the other end of the spectrum, Choi found out that Korean media have usually take advantage of news sources from oppositional political party and citizen groups, while avoiding the President's Office's influence on the coverage. His recommendation is that democratic values and freedom of the press should take a vital role in formulating a sound and working relationship between the president and Korean media.

2.1. Other Theoretical Frameworks

For extracting policy types and democratic governance values from presidential speeches under two different settings—democratic government and authoritarian regimes—these study utilized several other theories.

Informational Theory of Dictatorship. Guriev and Treisman (2015) developed an informational theory of dictatorship which postulates that dictators stay in power because they convince the public that they are effective and competent leaders, and not because they can rule by force or they have a powerful ideology. Using propaganda and media that are held hostage, presidents rely on the broadcast of the message that he is control; otherwise, people realize that the dictator is not competent and stage a revolution. The theory also assumes that dictators resort to propaganda, censorship of media, co-optation with the elite, and use of force through police and military equipping to suppress uprisings, resulting in increase in popularity even though economic and living conditions fall.

The informational theory of dictatorship was built not under the setting of past authoritarian regimes when consolidating and monopolizing power involved closing the borders, spreading his ideology, and using violence and military force, but under today's setting when economies are interdependent and information and communication technology is everywhere. With minimal effort, dictators can maintain a societal equilibrium by manipulating communication and its components such as message, media, and environment. Only major economic woes could undermine this equilibrium, exposing therefore that the dictator is effective and competent, at which time the totalitarian government's response would be violence. This theory recently developed by Guriev and Treisman (2015) follows a growing literature on dictatorships. Very similar to this study, one research by Olson (1993) investigated the economic policies that dictators would choose and how these policies compared to those implemented during times of anarchy and democracy. Another study examined the role of institutions in authoritarian states. Done by Gehlbach and Keefer (2011), the study found out that dictators would resort to policies such as paying national debts, providing social welfare to the poor, and sharing power with the elite by creating certain institutions. Lastly, studies by Lohmann (1994) and Kuran (1991) found that

dictators could prevent the sharing of information my censorship and manipulation of media and criminalizing political opposition.

Institutional Choice Theory. Bernhard (2005) linked institutional choice to democratic survival and focused his study on newly restored democracies. He posited that institutional choice theory provides reasons why new democracies pick particular institutions and how selection of particular institutions have great and significant implications to the success or failure of democracy. The theory also assumes that a democratic government's institutional choices after its restoration greatly affect whether the democracy survives or fails. The selected institutions may also be affected by the complex of economic, social, and political conditions following the transition to democracy. Some institutions, furthermore, are usually avoided by newly restored democracies because these institutions have particular features that are prone to breaking down; therefore policymakers under a new democracy will tend to avoid these problematic institutions and opt for stability and survival.

Institutional choice are appropriate in explaining the processes involved and reasons why political actors like post-authoritarian presidents choose a specific set of institutions, and also why some political actors design institutions that suit or serve their own experiences or interests. Sisk (1992) also made a pioneering study on how institutional choices work in a democracy in transition and even offered institutions that democracies who have divide societies can choose. In this study, which regarded Philippines as a divided society, especially just emerging and recovering from a 20-year dictatorial rule, institutional choice answers the question of which kinds of political institutions best serve the state in regulating conflicts. When an authoritarian government is overthrown, the succeeding political actors make choices among alternative sets of political institutions make sure the polity stays intact. The selection of institution is also complex because it must fit the whole puzzle that is the government. Institutional choices, according to this theory, can move political systems in divided societies toward either success

or ruin, because institutions must also be considered to fit elite and constituency alignments and must be innovative and suited to the desires of the civil society which it will serve.

Sisk (1992) also argued that democratic institutions in divided societies can boost its legitimacy if the public perceives it to be truly representative. He offered the top democratic institutions that divided societies can choose. Firstly, elections are the key to a functioning democratic political system, and the system should consider the divisions of constituencies and the electorate, the electoral rules, and other basic elements. Another institution suitable for divided societies is the decentralization in governmental decision-making. The division of power serves as a precaution against too much concentration at the center.

Mulligan model. Mulligan and colleagues (2004) developed a model which answered the question of whether political leadership affects public policy and whether the government is run differently when its leaders are elected legitimately and fairly. Their study confirmed previous and existing literature in sociology, economics, and political science that democracy has little impact on certain public policies. The relationship between democracy and the introduction of pension and welfare programs, for example, may be due to economic development. They also found that democracies and authoritarian governments (or non-democracies) are both likely to introduce social welfare programs. The model also cited Lindert's (1994) study of some European and South American countries when these were still not democratic and found that both democracies and authoritarian governments were similar in spending for unemployment, pension, social welfare, and health. In contrast, while current literature enjoys improvements in the measurement of democracy and the accumulation of large quantities of data and case studies, the Mulligan model still found no significant correlation between democracy and public of spending on social welfare. They attribute the non-correlation to the fact that both authoritarian and democratic governments develop economic and social policies as outcomes of tradeoffs such as "efficiency,

conflicts among generations, or among industries and occupations.” However, they also clarified that both democracies and non-democracies are not always to be expected to have the same public policies, except of course for policies that involved ensuring success in the elections and ways of maintaining power. And, more interestingly, authoritarian regimes tend to adopt policies that censor the freedom of the press, strengthen the military, and increase taxes (to commensurate the extra spending on the military), while democracies focus on policies that toughen elections and systems of representation. The Mulligan model is supported by the study of Stevens et al. (2006) which found that authoritarianism has influence on economic policy only when it related to a possible breakdown in social order. Interestingly, Boix and Svobik (2013) also found that dictatorships establish certain democratic institutions, despite those constraining their leadership, so that they could facilitate the sharing of power with the elites. These institutions are usually political parties and legislatures in the form of advisory bodies, which help in the monitoring problems caused by the secrecy that is characteristic of authoritarian regimes. Kendall-Taylor and Frantz (2014) stressed the same thing—that the use of seemingly democratic institutions such as elections, political parties, and legislatures has become the strategy of autocratic regimes to prolong their power and make their dictatorship resilient. These democratic institutions make it appear that an authoritarian government adheres to these democratic values and thus enable them to maintain international and domestic legitimacy and attract foreign investments and international aid. Similarly, Sharp (2010) pointed out that dictators only resort to elections to appear democratic and that these elections simply controlled exercises to get the people’s endorsement of candidates already chosen by dictators.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1. Content Analysis as a Methodology

Content analysis is traditionally described as the scientific study of the content or message embedded in the process of communication. It studies content with reference to the ideas, concepts, meanings, contexts, and intentions embedded and contained in messages.

According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1976), content denotes what is contained while content analysis is the process of analyzing what is contained in a message. Similarly, content analysis may be described as a method where the content of the message forms the basis for drawing inferences and conclusions about the content. Further, content analysis falls in the interface of observation and document analysis.

Kerlinger (1986) defined content analysis as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. Considered as an unobtrusive or non-reactive method of social research, it is defined as a method of observation in the sense that instead of asking people to respond to questions, it “takes the communications that people have produced and asks questions of communications.”

Also a pioneer of modern content analysis, Berelson (1952) described content analysis as a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication where, initially, researchers used content analysis as either a qualitative or quantitative method in their studies. Meanwhile, Holsti (1968) theorizes that content analysis is any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages. Krippendorff (1980), who studied the method comprehensively, defined content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context.

Prasad (2008) summed up well the definitions and suggested that content analysis is a careful examination of the definitions of the method show emphasis placed on aspects such as system, objectivity, quantification, context and validity—with reference to the inferences drawn from the communication content about the sender, the message or the receiver of the message. Thus, content analysis is all about making valid, replicable, and objective inferences about the message on the basis of explicit rules. The material for the content analysis can be letters, diaries, newspaper content, folk songs, short stories, messages in radio, television, documents, texts, or any symbols.

With regard to content analyses of presidential speeches, the body of literature is also of immense size. Kinnier et al. (2004) studied the value themes extolled from US presidential inaugural addresses during the 19th and 20th centuries, from which democratic values such as liberty, belief in God, patriotism, justice, and peace were frequently used. Chung and Park (2010) also used textual analysis on the inaugural addresses of two Korean presidents, in which they found that former President Moo-Hyun Roh talked about international affairs and politics more frequently, while President Myung-Bak Lee mentioned more on economy and construction of an advanced nation. As the head of the government, the president delivers an inaugural address outlining the intended course of the administration. When the president is first elected, citizens often focus on the inaugural address in order to gain a sense of the tone the president will set for the administration and the nation (Mio et al., 2005).

Presidents generally use rhetorical language that incorporates appealing functions and expressions with well-composed structure and clear arguments in order to garner citizens' support for their policies. Consequently, the communication process of inaugural addresses not only reflects the current political situation but also creates new forms of social, cultural and political communication.

Lewis (1997) conducted a content analysis of all major discretionary televised speeches delivered by presidents between 1947 and 1991, whose results indicate that there were two rhetorical presidencies: one for foreign policy and one for economic policy. When presidents speak to the nation on the economy, they tend to ask for the public's support, call on Congress to pass legislation, and appeal to citizens to contact their representatives on behalf of the White House.

Lim (2002) applied computer-assisted content analysis to all the inaugural addresses and annual messages delivered between 1789 and 2000 and identified and explored five significant changes in twentieth-century presidential rhetoric. He argued that these addresses qualifiedly support the concept of institutional transformation in a rhetorical dimension: that presidential rhetoric has become more anti-intellectual, more abstract, more assertive, more democratic, and more conversational. He further argues that these characteristics define the political dictionary, or his term "verbal armory," of a modern rhetorical president.

Coffey (2005), just like the preceding author, used computer-assisted content analysis of gubernatorial state of the state addresses in 2000 and 2001 to measure the ideology of state governors. He discovered that the governors' speeches gave an excellent direct measure of leaders' preferences, values, and ideology which distinguish the governors on the basis of their party affiliation. His research provided good direction for content analysis of speeches and other public pronouncements because these are a useful way of assessing the views and outlook of political leaders such as state governors into models of state policy and politics. In each of the governors' speeches, Coffey categorized sentences as to whether they are liberal, conservative, or non-ideological and then interpreted them into whether the leaders expressed a clear ideological position on a policy or whether the sentence conveyed an opinion or belief that the audience could be expected to infer as liberal or conservative. Coffey's contribution to the content analysis methodology is that content analysis could be a useful way to develop measures of the beliefs

and values of public officials and incorporate those directly into models of state policymaking and political behavior.

In Latin America, Andrade (2014) studied the communication strategies of the Brazilian government, particularly that of the administration of Dilma Rousseff, through content analysis. Supported by the concepts of government communication, public opinion, hegemony, and agenda-setting, the study looked into tools and government communication channels that focus on the presidency website and noted that while there is a predominance of political marketing in the past administrations, the Dilma administration gave greater emphasis to government communication and the way the presidency to communicate with society.

Looking at the Office of the First Lady, Wideman (2017) identified the way in which the rhetorical presidency should include additional actors that can help satisfy the popular craving for emotion. The author revealed that the potential to access the political capital and influence of the first lady is based on pathetic dimensions which comes primarily from the imagery of the tension between her private and political roles in public view. She also argued that the powers of the president and the first lady appear to be more intertwined in that the president has the power to speak about American life in front of the public while the first lady embodies that power to live the American life in front of the public.

Just more recently in Turkey, Güneyli et al. (2017) conducted a case study analyzing the Twitter messages posted between July and November 2015 by six political leaders in Turkey: President Erdoğan, AKP's leader Davutoğlu, CHP's leader Kılıçdaroğlu, MHP's leader Bahçeli, and HDP's co-chairs Demirtaş and Yüksekdağ. The authors found that the messages were primarily related to terrorism and that terrorism and political instability dominated Turkish politics, even before the elections held on 1 November 2015. Using a descriptive and qualitative approach as well as thematic content analysis, the authors used the total word amount and arithmetic mean (showed

through charts and tables) to conclude that the six Turkish leaders differed in their approaches leading to the domination of terrorism as a topic of political discourse during the electoral campaign.

Duggins (2017), in her thesis, did an online qualitative content analysis of communication messages from the administration of President Barack Obama regarding the Ebola and Zika virus epidemics between 2014 and 2016. She used this research method as it allowed her to explore themes occurring in the communication messages and subsequently uncovered questions relevant to future research as to the interpretation and success or failure of those messages.

Another content analysis in the digital environment, Davis (2017) examined the use of Facebook and Twitter by the Clinton and Trump campaigns to connect with voters. He argued that two modes of communication were used by the campaigns to advertise their campaign and take stances on a variety of issues. Using content analysis, data from social media profiles were examined and categorized into its respective groupings: mobilize voters, fundraise, take position on issues, encourage participation in the campaign process, attack the opponent, or promote themselves of their campaign. The study helped understand how social media has impacted presidential campaign and the election.

In another use of content analysis, Ahmed (2017) examined the frequency of occurrences of Muslim news and issues in Tamil dailies and what images of Muslims are portrayed in the news. He hypothesized that news dailies give negative portrayals of Islam and Muslims and they cultivated a strong impact on its readers. He discovered that the images given to Muslims are as terrorists, disloyal, and criminal people and this trend changed the thoughts, attitudes, and opinions of the general public.

The content analysis methods done in this study follow that systematically described prescribed by Bowen and Bowen in their chapter “Content Analysis” in the *Handbook of Research Methods in Public*

Administration, which offers a comprehensive and easy-to-understand approach to content analysis. The authors explicitly detailed a sequence of steps for researchers to systematically organize elements and parts of text and to make meaningful interpretations and inferences about patterns found in it. The steps enumerated by the authors are the following: (1) identifying the relevant body of text, (2) stipulating a classification schema (also called *schedule* in this study) to use in analyzing that text, (3) classifying individual units of text in terms of the schema, (4) applying consistency tests to ensure that the units are consistently interpreted and assigned to a class within the schema, (5) and making inferences about patterns found in the overall body. As will be demonstrated below and in the succeeding sections, these steps will be followed until meaningful descriptions, interpretations, and conclusions will be achieved at the end of this study.

As important as the steps listed by Bowen and Bowen (2008) above, there are also requirements that a researcher should complete or ensure in order to produce a scientifically sound content analysis research. These are the requirements of **system**, **objectivity**, and **generality**, and according to the authors, these function as guidelines to discipline and ensure that the reasoning processes behind the analysis of the body of text remain logical and systematic. The numerous steps before completing a complete analysis also stands a safeguard so that units of analysis are classified, organized, and analyzed in a reasonable way and that analysts produce inferences and conclusions that are valid, credible, and coherent. This study intends to follow these requirements conscientiously so that the reasoning processes behind the classification of democratic governance values and policy types corroborate the resulting inferences found at the end of this study.

The following paragraphs will explain the requirements as explained by Bowen and Bowen (2008), followed by a discussion of how this paper conforms with and fulfils the said requirements.

The requirement of system addresses the researcher's ability to demonstrate sound reasoning in going from the research questions and to answering those questions. In order to establish the investigator's ability and credibility, he or she must have chosen which data to analyze and how those data are analyzed and must have determined the population from which the data are drawn, the context to which the data are analyzed, the boundaries of the analysis, and the target of the inferences. The requirement of system stipulates also that the system to be used in the analysis should be made explicit and well documented, which means that the categories included in the coding schedule should be clearly defined and that the assigning of the units of analysis to the categories should be consistent. In addition, the requirement of system demands that the research has to be verified by the academic community based on a standard intersubjective agreement, which means that a person in the scientific community understands the concepts, processes, and reasoning used in the content analysis the same way (or is nearly identical) that others in the same scientific community would understand the workings of the research. In other words, other members of the scientific community who have substantially understood the research may be able to replicate the content analysis and the come up with similar conclusions.

This paper has properly described and discussed the background and purpose of this study and has laid out clearly the questions to be answered and the concepts and constructs behind the content to be analyzed. As the reader will realize, the sections in this study have been well organized and sequenced so that the problem is easily identified, the background of the issue is well understood, the theoretical framework is properly applied, and the concepts, constructs, and coding system are well documented.

The requirement of objectivity, on the other hand, pertains to the impartial determination and assignment of units of analysis to the categories listed in the coding schedule and, in addition, to the systematic way that the set of rules are clearly stated and explicitly designed. This requirement aims that the findings reflect more of the content under analysis than the subjective

predispositions and biases of the investigator. The end result of the content analysis when it has fulfilled the requirement of objectivity is that only matters of fact are extracted from the content rather than the biases and predispositions of the researcher. It will thus complete one of the primary objectives of content analysis, which is to make valid and intelligible inferences about the body of text.

In this paper, the requirement of objectivity is fulfilled by an exhaustive exposition of the background and concepts laid down in the previous sections and, more importantly, the completion of inter-coder (or inter-rater) reliability tests, which will be discussed in detail below. This study ensures that the any other evaluator other than the present researcher can clearly and correctly understand the way the analysis is conducted.

Lastly, the requirement of generality stipulates that the content analysis must have some meaning and use after inferences have been derived from the body of text, whether in terms of theory or practice. First, for most content analysis, the inferences made from the body of text were used to test or prove a theory; in some other cases, content analyses are used in theory building and theoretical underpinnings are set aside so that future research may be conducted on the subject area being analyzed and studies. Other content analyses are also done to interpret a phenomenon or gain insights on specific social issues and concerns. Whether the content analysis is used to test or develop a theory, the answers to the questions in a content analysis must serve a purpose.

This study has laid out already in the earlier sections the purpose of this research and thus fulfills the third requirement. This study, in some way, contribute to democracy studies in that democratic governance values are extracted from political communication and in public policy studies in that policy types are determined from the same body of text. The outcome of and the inferences made of this study would also shed light on presidential

rhetoric presidency in the Philippines, especially during special eras in its democratic history, using public rhetoric as a theoretical framework.

3.2. Selection of Content

To answer the research questions, this study must select the contents with which the analysis will be performed. Since the time frame of the study is set at a definite period—from 1973 to 2015—the selection will be direct and purposeful and no sampling shall take place.

Texts and official transcripts of the state of the nation addresses will be downloaded from the *Official Gazette*, the official journal of the Republic of the Philippines which is traditionally a print publication but has been issued also in digital formats, including a browser-readable online version. These formats allow the text to be copied or converted into a digital file that can be fed into a computer program for text analysis, for example, Microsoft Word (.doc or .docx or .rtf) or Portable Document Format (.pdf). At the time this study was initiated and conducted, the Philippines is under a new administration and the website of the Official Gazette, as expected, has been revised and reorganized. As a result, for some reason, PDF files of the speeches were not available for download anymore. Nevertheless, this situation was resolved by copying-and-pasting the text from the webpages of the speeches into Microsoft Word (.docx) format, thereby making it easier to feed into a computer program by several steps like eliminating the need for text recognition and editing the usually jumbled results thereof. At the end of the collection of data, a total of 42 speeches were gathered from the Official Gazette.

3.3. Units of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the individual unit of content and varies with the nature of data and the purpose of research. Examples are a single letter, character, word, phrase, symbol, theme (a concept based on a particular topic or subject), a news article, a time period, an interaction, a story, or a film,

poem, or song. Neuendorf (2002) defines the unit of analysis as the “identifiable message or message component” that serves as the basis for reporting analyses and basis of identifying the population and drawing a sample. In this study, the unit of analysis is the individual presidential speech.

In this study, it is important to differentiate units of analysis from units of observation, or what other researchers call units of sampling, units of data collection, or “sign-vehicles” such as what Bowen and Bowen used. Units of observation are the elements on which the variable is measured. Neuendorf (2002) gives an example when units of analysis and units of observation are different. For example, a study intends to find out the interaction of couples with record to marital discord. The interaction or the exchange itself becomes the unit of analysis, while the “turn” of each individual to speak, or the individual and separate messages of each of the partner will be the units of observation. Babbie (2013) gives a clearer example. A study which entails computing the family income, the family is the unit of analysis, but in order to get the family income, the researcher has to ask the individual members of the family. In that sense, each individual making up the family becomes the unit of observation

The content analysis done in this study involves two units of observation. First, in answering research questions involving the policy types, paragraphs in the speeches are the units of observation. Presidential speeches are usually formatted in such a way that the president can talk about a lot of things and move from one topic to another seamlessly. Speech writers divide these ideas in paragraphs, especially when the speech will be delivered orally and using special occasions. Neuendorf (2002), in her guidebook, understands the reason why the researcher chooses a particular unit of analyses over the others—that there are pragmatic or methodological reasons for doing so. She gave Gottschalk’s (1995) as an example when he and his colleagues chose the verbal clause as the unit of analysis instead of the word, the sentence, or the paragraph because they found that the clause was the smallest identifiable unit they could for their coding procedures.

On the other hand, the units of observation for the research question involving the democratic governance values will be phrases. Considering that the democratic governance values are abstract concepts and most likely be stated in a variety of ways in speeches, it is best to capture the frequencies and instances of democratic governance values through groups of words related to each value. In political speeches, each idea is presented as a paragraph, but more than one democratic governance values might be mentioned in one paragraph or even in one sentence; therefore, picking out phrases that implicitly or explicitly identify a democratic governance value will solve the risk of categorizing two or more values in one big unit.

3.4. Coding Categories

While other social research methods have survey questionnaires, content analysis has a coding schedule, which contains the different dimensions of the content to be analyzed. Coding is the process of categorizing the units of analysis to facilitate the analysis of the content. This step of classifying and assigning the chosen units of analysis into categories is critical to the success of any content analysis. Since the crafting of the coding schedule usually involves some degree of the investigator's idiosyncratic and subjective judgment, it requires high reliability as a minimum requirement, and inconsistencies in this process may become a potential source of error.

To overcome such potential threats to reliability, this study relies on previous scholarships and researches with regard to the development and use of coding schedules. Instead of the current researcher developing his own categories, those developed and used systematically and scientifically from reputable resources will be utilized.

The research questions postulated in this study can be divided into categories: the first two questions deal with the policy types discussed in the State of the Nation Addresses and the second set of questions deal with democratic governance values. For the first set of research questions, to

develop categories of policy types, this study refers to the dissertation of Gruszczynski (2007) where she examined the agenda of presidents of the United States using a variety sources including State of the Union Addresses. Specifically, she examined variation in the agendas of eight US presidents—from Lyndon Johnson to George W. Bush—and found out that there is tremendous variation in the number of issues and agenda prioritized by each of the presidents.

The types of public policies abound in literature, and there are a variety of ways to categorize public policies. The most widely used typology of public policy was developed by Theodore Lowi (1972, 1985). He categorized public policies according to their purpose or to the “intention of rulers,” thus creating the following categories: distributive, regulatory, redistributive, and constituent policies. However, this study will stay clear from Lowi’s typology of public policy and instead opt for simpler categorization. (For a more detailed breakdown of Lowi’s typology of public policies, please refer to Heckathorn and Maser’s (1990) critique.) This study will look at public policies as they address the needs of the people and the problems and concerns of the society, also known as policy areas or policy arenas.

Gruszczynski’s categorization of the agenda priorities of US presidents, which were also concocted from State of the Union Addresses, will be this study’s categories to be used in extracting the public policies in the State of the Nation Addresses of Philippine presidents. The categories are based on social issues which these public policies address. According to Gruszczynski (2007), these policy areas had some compromise “in that all policy is at least theoretically economic,” because all government policies requires some form of spending. What she did to resolve the difference between domestic and economic policies was that if a particular message in the speeches cited a specific domestic policy, it was coded as domestic. On the other hand, if the message primarily focused on economic issues, the unit was deemed an economic policy. This study agrees and adopts the rationale behind the

categorization. As a result, the following categories are adopted for public policies in this study, defined by giving examples under each category:

1. Domestic Public Policy
 - A. Civil Rights
 - B. Crime, Peace and Order
 - C. Education
 - D. Energy
 - E. Environment
 - F. Healthcare
 - G. Reorganization of Government: Regulations, Bureaucracy, Departments
 - H. Social Security
 - I. Welfare
2. Economic Public Policy
 - A. Budget
 - B. Deficit
 - C. Inflation
 - D. Jobs and Unemployment
 - E. Tax Policy
 - F. Revenue Sharing
3. Foreign Policy
 - A. National Security
 - B. Relations with Other Countries
 - C. Terrorism
 - D. International Trade
 - E. Treaties and Agreements
 - F. War

For the complete coding categories to be used in analyzing the presidential speeches in this study, see Appendix A.

For the second set of the research questions, this study will follow the concepts of democratic governance as postulated by the United Nations Development Programme (2002) in its Human Development Report in 2002. The report ties politics to human development and argues that giving political power to the people helps reduce poverty and increase opportunities for economic progress. In its overview, the report emphasized how the democratic system of governance is the most capable in securing and sustaining people's well-being and how political power and institutions shape human progress. It enumerated the democratic institutions and values that help advance human development of all people.

Thus, this study uses the democratic institutions listed in the Human Development Report 2002 and adopts them as the coding categories of democratic governance values to be used in the analysis of Philippine presidential speeches. The following are the democratic governance values adopted from the report:

- a. Representation System
- b. Electoral System
- c. Checks and Balances, Separation of Powers
- d. Civil Society
- e. Independent Media
- f. Civilian Superiority Over the Military

The selection of the democratic governance values above follows the methods developed by Holsti (1969) and Berelson (1952), where the subject of the study or research in question is given emphasis in identifying the theme. In their example, examining a treaty between the United States and China makes it necessary to choose a variety of themes associated with it to classify the content properly. Holsti further stressed that using thematic units may be more useful in conducting content analysis because they allow the "study of values, attitudes, beliefs, and other internal states of the communicator." In contrast, Krippendorff's (1980) methodology of classification reflects a different classification system where thematic units need not have a subject

and that theme is identified more by the structure within the content. (Riffe et al., 2005)

For data analysis, each of the state of the nation addresses will be fed into the computer program after having been converted into a readable and compatible format (Microsoft Word, .docx).

For all the research questions, content analysis will also be done using the computer program through the code schedule specified in the previous section. The frequency of democratic governance themes according to the code will be recorded, and results will be displayed in tabular form according to two time periods: during and after authoritarian rule in the Philippines.

3.5. Inter-Coder Reliability

Content analysis relies on scientific method in order to be credible. Among other requirements, reliability stands out among the rest of the criteria because content analysis relies heavily on its human coders for the investigation. Reliability can be defined as the extent to which “a measuring procedure yields the same results on repeated trials” (Carmines and Zeller, 1979). The use of humans in coding in the conduct of content analysis entails the use of inter-coder reliability, which demonstrates how two or more coders agree with their coding decisions and analysis.

Research literature on content analysis has consistently established that inter-coder reliability is essential and a necessary criterion for a research to be useful and valid when it uses human coders. Bingham and Bowen (1994) demonstrated inter-coder reliability (also called inter-rater reliability) when they examined 240 articles from the 52 volumes of the journal *Public Administration Review*. They put emphasis to this reliability test so that they could ensure that other investigators could replicate their study. The results they obtained was also found to be “adequate to justify a belief that the inferences made from the analysis were reliable reflections of the intrinsic content of the articles rather than the descriptions of any idiosyncratic

tendencies of the investigators.” Kappa statistic was used to calculate inter-coder reliability on all study dimensions. In a similar way, Sabharwal and his colleagues (2016) used inter-coder reliability to determine the consistency of coding between two hired coders in their study that involved finding out diversity in the field of public administration. The test returned with kappa values from 0.6 to 0.85 ($p < 0.001$), where results of at least 0.6 point to a good level of agreement; therefore, their study satisfied the test for reliability. (This study’s explanation of the statistical tests for reliability will be discussed later.)

This study utilizes inter-coder reliability only in the pilot analysis stage, which is the step before the researcher delves into all of the presidential speeches for the complete and exhaustive analysis using a qualitative data analysis software. Since the present study is a master’s thesis and requires only the principal researcher to complete it, the help of two other coders were availed of in this pilot stage. The purpose for inter-coder reliability during the pilot stage is to determine that the analysis and examination to be done by the present researcher will be reliable, systematic, and detached from the principal researcher’s idiosyncratic tendencies and biases.

In this study, the researcher asked two other researchers, both coming from the same graduate school as the principal researcher, to help in establishing reliability of the present content analysis. The coders’ profiles appear on the coding form. In addition, the principal researcher determined that it would be best to choose nationalities other than that of the principal researcher to further ensure the reliability of the coding procedures and eliminate some cultural and historical bias. Since all the presidential speeches used in this study are the official English language transcripts—and the units of analysis are paragraphs, which would be enough for non-Filipinos to understand and comprehend despite some inclusion of proper names and foreign terms—the coders would be able to understand the content of the speeches and would be able to categorize each of the unit of analysis to the coding categories. The role of these coders was to pore over one of the presidential speeches and categorize the units of analysis into the coding

categories determined previously in this chapter. The principal researcher then computed the reliability coefficients according to the statistical methods outlined in the guidebook of Neuendorf (2002). The results are presented and discussed below.

Sampling of the Speeches for Inter-Coder Reliability. The researcher picked 1 out of the 42 State of the Nation Addresses of Philippine presidents from 1973 to 2015 using random sampling method. The researcher has deemed that one sample speech is sufficient to determine inter-coder reliability because one speech sample contains at least 50 units of observations (n); anything more than that may cause coder fatigue, one of the threats to reliability identified by Neuendorf (2002). As for the sampling method, all the speeches were arranged chronologically (from 1973 to 2015) and were numbered from 1 to 42. The sampling was done using an online number generator (<http://numbergenerator.org>) for ease and quickness of sampling. After one number is generated, the speech was printed out and given to the coders, including the principal researcher. Coding instructions and coding forms were also provided.

Results of the Inter-Coder Reliability Test. Two inter-coder reliability tests were done: one to test the agreement between the researcher (Coder A) and a coder (Coder B) with regard to the policy types in the speeches and another to test the agreement between the researcher and a third coder (Coder C) with regard to the democratic governance values.

For inter-coder reliability with regard to the types of policy in the State of the Nation Addresses, the following table indicates the agreement and disagreement of the researcher and Coder B. The second and the third columns in the table indicate whether the unit was Domestic, Economic, or Foreign policies or No Category (NC).

Table 1. Result of inter-coder reliability test for Coder A and Coder B.

Unit	Coder A	Coder B	Agree or Disagree
1	NC	NC	A
2	NC	NC	A
3	NC	NC	A
4	NC	NC	A
5	NC	NC	A
6	NC	NC	A
7	NC	NC	A
8	NC	NC	A
9	NC	NC	A
10	NC	NC	A
11	NC	NC	A
12	NC	NC	A
13	NC	NC	A
14	NC	NC	A
15	NC	NC	A
16	NC	NC	A
17	NC	NC	A
18	Economic	NC	D
19	Economic	Economic	A
20	NC	NC	A
21	NC	NC	A
22	NC	NC	A
23	Domestic	Domestic	A
24	Domestic	Domestic	A
25	Economic	NC	D
26	NC	NC	A
27	NC	NC	A
28	NC	NC	A
29	NC	NC	A
30	NC	NC	A
31	NC	NC	A
32	NC	NC	A
33	Domestic	Domestic	A
34	Domestic	NC	D
35	Domestic	NC	D
36	Domestic	NC	D
37	Domestic	Domestic	A
38	Domestic	NC	D
39	NC	NC	A
40	NC	Domestic	D
41	Domestic	NC	D
42	NC	NC	A
43	NC	NC	A
44	NC	NC	A
45	Domestic	Domestic	A
46	NC	NC	A
47	NC	NC	A
48	NC	NC	A
49	Economic	Economic	A
50	NC	NC	A
51	Domestic	Domestic	A
52	NC	NC	A
53	Domestic	Domestic	A
54	NC	NC	A
55	NC	NC	A
56	NC	NC	A
57	Economic	Economic	A
58	Economic	NC	D
59	Economic	Economic	A
60	NC	NC	A
61	NC	NC	A
62	Domestic	NC	D
63	Domestic	NC	D
64	NC	NC	A
65	NC	NC	A
66	NC	NC	A
67	NC	NC	A
68	NC	NC	A
69	NC	NC	A
70	NC	NC	A
71	NC	NC	A
72	NC	NC	A
73	NC	NC	A

Total A's = 62

Total n = 73

Total D's = 11

Percent agreement, or sometimes called “crude agreement,” is computed as follows, where PA_o means proportion agreement, observed, A is the number of agreements between the researcher and Coder B, and n is the total number of units coded:

$$PA_o = \frac{A}{n} = \frac{62}{73} = 0.8493 = 85\% \text{ agreement}$$

For inter-coder reliability with regard to the democratic governance values in the State of the Nation Addresses, the following table indicates the agreement and disagreement of the researcher and Coder C. The second and the third columns in the table indicate whether the unit was Representation System (Rep), Electoral System (Elect), Check and Balances or Separation of Powers (Check), Civil Society (Civil Soc), Free Media (Media), and Civilian Superiority over the Military (Super) or No Category (NC).

Table 2. Result of inter-coder reliability test for Coder A and Coder C.

Unit	Coder A	Coder C	Agree or Disagree
1	Rep	NC	D
2	Super	NC	D
3	Civil Soc	NC	D
4	Elect	Elect	A
5	NC	Rep	D
6	Elect	NC	D
7	Elect	NC	D
8	Rep	Rep	A
9	Rep	NC	D
10	Civil Soc	NC	D
11	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
12	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
13	Civil Soc	NC	D
14	Civil Soc	NC	D
15	Media	NC	D
16	Civil Soc	NC	D
17	Civil Soc	NC	D
18	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
19	Elect	NC	D
20	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
21	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
22	Elect	Elect	A
23	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
24	Civil Soc	NC	D
25	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
26	Rep	NC	D
27	Civil Soc	NC	D
28	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
29	Civil Soc	NC	D
30	Elect	Elect	A
31	Elect	Elect	A
32	Elect	Elect	A
33	Elect	Elect	A
34	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
35	Civil Soc	NC	D
36	Elect	Elect	A
37	Elect	Elect	A
38	Civil Soc	NC	D
39	Elect	NC	D
40	Elect	NC	D
41	Elect	Elect	A
42	Elect	Elect	A
43	Elect	NC	D
44	Elect	Elect	A
45	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
46	Rep	NC	D
47	Rep	NC	D
48	Rep	NC	D
49	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
50	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
51	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
52	Elect	Elect	A
53	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
54	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
55	Civil Soc	Civil Soc	A
56	Rep	Rep	A
57	NC	Elect	D
58	Rep	Rep	A
59	Rep	Rep	A
60	Civil Soc	NC	D
61	Elect	Elect	A
62	Elect	Elect	A
63	Elect	NC	D
64	Elect	Elect	A
65	Elect	Elect	A
66	Elect	Elect	A
67	Elect	Elect	A
68	Check	Check	A
69	Check	Check	A
70	Check	Check	A

71	Check	Check	A
72	Media	Media	A
73	Media	Media	A
74	Media	Media	D
75	Media	Media	A
76	Check	Check	A
77	Check	NC	D
78	Check	NC	D
79	Rep	NC	D
80	Super	Super	A
81	NC	Media	D
82	Super	NC	D
83	NC	Elect	D
84	Elect	Elect	A
85	NC	Elect	D
86	Super	Super	A
87	Elect	Elect	A
88	Elect	Elect	A
89	Elect	NC	D
90	Elect	NC	D
91	NC	Super	D
92	Elect	Elect	A
93	Super	Super	A
94	NC	Rep	D
95	Super	Super	A
96	Elect	Elect	A
97	Elect	Super	A
98	Elect	Elect	A
99	Elect	Elect	A
100	Civil Soc	NC	D
101	Elect	Elect	A

Total A's = 60

Total D's = 41

Holsti’s method of percent agreement is computed as follows, where PA_o means “proportion agreement, observed,” A is the number of agreements between the researcher and Coder C, and $n_{\text{Coder A}}$ and $n_{\text{Coder C}}$ are the total number of units coded by the researcher and Coder C, respectively:

$$PA_o = \frac{2A}{(n_{\text{Coder A}} + n_{\text{Coder C}})} = \frac{2(60)}{(65+92)} = \frac{120}{157} = 0.7643 = 76\%$$

agreement

According to Neuendorf (2002), scholars still debate about the acceptable level of inter-coder reliability. However, he cited several researchers who proposed their own rules of thumb. For Ellis (1994), correlation coefficients from 0.75 to 0.8 indicates high reliability, while Frey et al. (2000) argued that agreement of 70% and above are reliable.

3.6. Summary of Research Methods

This study analyzes State of the Nation Addresses of Philippine presidents from 1973 to 2015 using content analysis to thresh out the dominant and most frequently cited public policy types and democratic governance values during and after the martial law period. It also investigates whether there is significance differences in the frequency of public policy types and democratic governance values in the presidential addresses during and after martial law. Content analysis will be done with public rhetoric as a theoretical framework—that presidential speeches such as the State of the Nation Addresses are means of persuasion to Congress and the people to adopt, approve, and support the policies and values advanced by the president. To ensure objectivity and reliability, an inter-coder reliability test is done by asking help from two other fellow graduate students to code a sample of the presidential speeches. After obtaining sufficient and credible results for inter-coder reliability, content analysis will proceed using MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis program, to help out the researcher in coding and in analyzing and presenting the results.

Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

This study examined the State of the Nation Addresses of Philippine presidents from 1973 to 2015 and identified the various policy types and democratic governance values embedded in these presidential speeches. The investigation entailed understanding the emphasis given by Philippine presidents to certain types of policy and democratic governance values according to the political climate at the time of their leadership.

The unit of analysis used in this study was the individual State of the Nation Address from 1973 to 2015 derived from the *Official Gazette*, the official journal of the Republic of the Philippines. These speeches were the official transcripts and translations of those addresses in cases when the speeches were delivered in Filipino. Table 3 presents the list of the State of the Nation Addresses and the corresponding year and president who delivered them, based on the list made by the Presidential Communications Operations Office (2017b).

Table 3. List of Philippine State of the Nation Addresses.

Year	President	Legislature
1973	Ferdinand Marcos	
1974	Ferdinand Marcos	
1975	Ferdinand Marcos	
1976	Ferdinand Marcos	Batasang Bayan (Legislative Advisory Council)
1977	Ferdinand Marcos	
1978	Ferdinand Marcos	Interim Batasang Pambansa (National Assembly)
1979	Ferdinand Marcos	Interim Batasang Pambansa
1980	Ferdinand Marcos	Interim Batasang Pambansa
1981	Ferdinand Marcos	Interim Batasang Pambansa
1982	Ferdinand Marcos	Interim Batasang Pambansa

1983	Ferdinand Marcos	Interim Batasang Pambansa
1984	Ferdinand Marcos	Regular Batasang Pambansa
1985	Ferdinand Marcos	Regular Batasang Pambansa
1987	Corazon Aquino	Eighth Congress
1988	Corazon Aquino	Eighth Congress
1989	Corazon Aquino	Eighth Congress
1990	Corazon Aquino	Eighth Congress
1991	Corazon Aquino	Eighth Congress
1992	Fidel Ramos	Ninth Congress
1993	Fidel Ramos	Ninth Congress
1994	Fidel Ramos	Ninth Congress
1994	Fidel Ramos	Ninth Congress
1995	Fidel Ramos	Tenth Congress
1996	Fidel Ramos	Tenth Congress
1997	Fidel Ramos	Tenth Congress
1998	Joseph Ejercito Estrada	Eleventh Congress
1999	Joseph Ejercito Estrada	Eleventh Congress
2000	Joseph Ejercito Estrada	Eleventh Congress
2001	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	Twelfth Congress
2002	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	Twelfth Congress
2003	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	Twelfth Congress
2004	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	Thirteenth Congress
2005	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	Thirteenth Congress
2006	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	Thirteenth Congress
2007	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	Fourteenth Congress
2008	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	Fourteenth Congress
2009	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo	Fourteenth Congress
2010	Benigno Aquino III	Fifteenth Congress
2011	Benigno Aquino III	Fifteenth Congress
2012	Benigno Aquino III	Fifteenth Congress
2013	Benigno Aquino III	Sixteenth Congress

2014	Benigno Aquino III	Sixteenth Congress
2015	Benigno Aquino III	Sixteenth Congress

The table above shows some peculiarity and it is best discussed here before proceeding with the results. First, Ferdinand Marcos was elected president in 1965 and reelected in 1969 under a democratic government and constitution (the 1935 Constitution), and thus his State of the Nation Addresses from his first election until the declaration of martial law were not included in this study. Martial law was signed on September 21, 1972, and was implemented immediately in the days that followed; Congress was immediately closed down upon the proclamation of martial law. A new constitution was ratified in 1973, based on which Marcos called his dictatorship a “constitutional authoritarianism,” evident in the text of his speeches. In 1976, there was a Batasang Bayan, an appointed legislative body, to which Marcos delivered his State of the Nation Address. Marcos was ousted from the presidency through a massive popular revolt in February 1986; there was no State of the Nation Address that year. Congress was restored in 1987 by virtue of the Constitution established that year. Members of the House of Representatives who serve for three years and members of the Senate who serve for six years make up each Congress; this is why in the table each Congress changes its membership every three years (PCOO, 2017c).

4.1. Public Policy Types

In the previous chapter, coding categories were defined. The definitions of the public policy types were adopted from Grusczyński’s (2007) categorization of the agenda priorities of United States presidents, which were also concocted from State of the Union Addresses. According to her categorization, public policies that are domestic in scope are the plans, goals, and actions taken by the national government to address issues and needs within the country. Issues involving civil rights, crime (peace and order),

education, energy, environment, health, government reorganization (bureaucracy), social security, and welfare fall under domestic policy. Similarly, the study categorized economic policies as the actions taken by the government to influence or control the economy, where topics such as budget, deficit, inflation, unemployment, taxation, and revenue sharing fall under. Finally, foreign policy, according to the same categorization, are public policies that refer to objectives and actions that guide the activities, relationships, and diplomatic dealings with other countries. Concepts such as security, diplomatic relations with other countries and international organizations, terrorism, international trade, treaties and agreements, and war fall under foreign policy.

In the coding process done to the State of the Nation Addresses of Philippine presidents, the researcher ensured that only specific public policies were coded. Policies that were broad in scope or do not mention any specific policy area such as those mentioned above were excluded from coding. For example, statements pertaining to the implementation of a medium-term development plan do not fall under any policy, because it is considered to be an umbrella policy that covers many aspects of domestic, economic, and foreign policies. Greetings and salutations that are usually found at the start of presidential speeches, especially formal ones such as the State of the Nation Addresses, were also excluded from coding. As a result, the coding process for public policies usually started after the president's greetings and acknowledgment of attendees. Rhetorical devices such as quotations and poems were also not coded. It was expected that since State of the Nation Addresses are largely political and persuasive in nature, as predicted by Aristotle's rhetoric, a large portion of the speeches would contain these.

During the coding process, public policies that fall under the domestic domain are, in fact, often difficult to categorize and separate from other policies, especially economic policies, because these policies change scope over time, are more visible to the public, and are often more controversial (Longley, 2016). As such, the researcher strictly followed the policy areas that

fall under domestic policies. Policy statements such as the creation of funds, wealth distribution, food and agricultural production, economic projections, building of industries and infrastructure, foreign direct investments, and policies regarding banks, cooperatives, and rural credit were categorized under economic policies. In contrast, statements and pronouncements involving agrarian and land reform and appointments in the president's cabinet were categorized as domestic policies. The researcher also made sure that rhetoric such as the president's dialogue with the people, recitation of statistics, transitional devices, and introductory statements were categorized as non-policies.

4.2. Democratic Governance Values

For the second set of coding categories, this study adopted the democratic governance concepts by the United Nations Development Programme (2002) in its Human Development Report 2002. The report tied politics to human development and argued that giving political power to the people helps reduce poverty and increase opportunities for economic progress. In its overview, the report emphasized how the democratic system of governance is the most capable in securing and sustaining people's well-being and how political power and institutions shape human progress. It enumerated the democratic institutions and values that help advance human development of all people.

In the conduct of this content analysis, words, phrases, and sentences that sufficiently identify and describe these democratic governance values were coded into six categories. A representation system (coded as "representation") pertained to a system such as a body, congress, or assembly where people's representatives contribute to governance such as legislation and is also where there is a well-functioning political parties and interest groups. An electoral system (coded as "electoral"), on the other hand, talks about a system that guarantees universal suffrage and ensures free and fair elections. Word variations of elections were automatically coded into this

category simply because its mention in the presidential speech acknowledges this democratic system and process. Further, a system of checks and balances and separation of powers (coded as “check and balance”) pertains to the concept of the branches of government being independent from each other yet checking and ensuring that neither one of them holds too much power. Meanwhile, the category civil society (coded as “civil society”) pertains to the concept of a society that monitors both government and private business and provides alternative forms of political participation. Free and independent media (coded as “media”) pertains to traditional and new media, such as newspapers, radio, television, and the Internet, that are free from influence by the government or corporate interests. Lastly, civilian superiority over the military (coded as “civilian superiority”) is the value where civilians have effective control over the military, the armed forces, and other state security institutions.

During the coding process, it was a fairly straightforward task of categorizing phrases and statements into the democratic governance values. Because the units of observation are phrases, the researcher did not include a category under which non-instances of democratic governance values could fall. It is also important to note that negative or disapproving statements about democratic governance values were not coded into their respective categories. For example, as expected during martial law, statements such as “the moratorium on elections,” “corrupt elections,” “manipulative system of representation,” and “the dismantling of Congress” were not coded as democratic governance values, because they are in contrast to the concept of democracy. The researcher also notes here the distinction between statements pertaining to representation and statements pertaining to check and balance—separation of power, because a system of representation has inherently different roles like formal law-making powers, serving as the communication link between government and the people, and forcing and holding the government accountable to public demand (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2011). Those phrases and statements that only mention a system of representation

such as Congress fall under that category, while those that explicitly identify the role of any branch of government to check the actions of another branch fall into the check and balance category. In addition, statements pertaining to the free exercise of people to hold rallies, demonstrations, and strikes and the decision of the government to include the private sector and the different sectors of society (in contrast to statements that simply tell that the different sectors of society are the beneficiaries of particular projects and policies) were categorized under civil society. Phrases and statements that point out the duty of the president to report to and ask help from Congress (such as the submission of budget to Congress for approval) were coded under the check and balance category. Instances when the president recognized, reorganized, or modernized—whether by his or her own initiative or through his or her cabinet, by virtue of his role as Commander-in-Chief—were coded as civilian superiority. Finally, mentions of the foreign press were not coded under free media.

4.3. Findings

This study examined the State of the Nation Addresses of Philippine presidents from 1973 to 2015 using content analysis and identified the public policy types and democratic governance values in those presidential speeches. As a result, it can be described which policy type(s) or democratic governance value(s) dominated or were advanced by a Philippine president during a particular political environment such as in an authoritarian or democratic government. Policy types will be discussed first and then democratic governance values. For the results involving the policy types, results will be discussed according to following sequence: (1) policy types during martial law, (2) policy types after martial law, and (3) comparison and contrast between two regimes. A similar order goes for democratic governance values: (4) democratic governance values during martial law, (5) democratic governance values after martial law, and (6) comparison and contrast between the two regimes.

Research Question 1: Do State of the Nation Addresses during martial law cite more domestic policies than any other policy? According to the results, domestic policies are generally greater in number than any other policy in the State of the Nation Addresses during martial law. In total, there were 687 instances of domestic policies, compared to 316 economic policies and 69 foreign policies in the addresses that Marcos delivered during martial law, bringing the ratio of domestic to combined economic and foreign policies to 1.7844. Figure 1 shows the distribution of his public policies from 1973 to 1985, while Figure 2 shows the proportion of each policy throughout his term.

Figure 1. The distribution of policy types in the State of Nation Addresses of Marcos, per year.

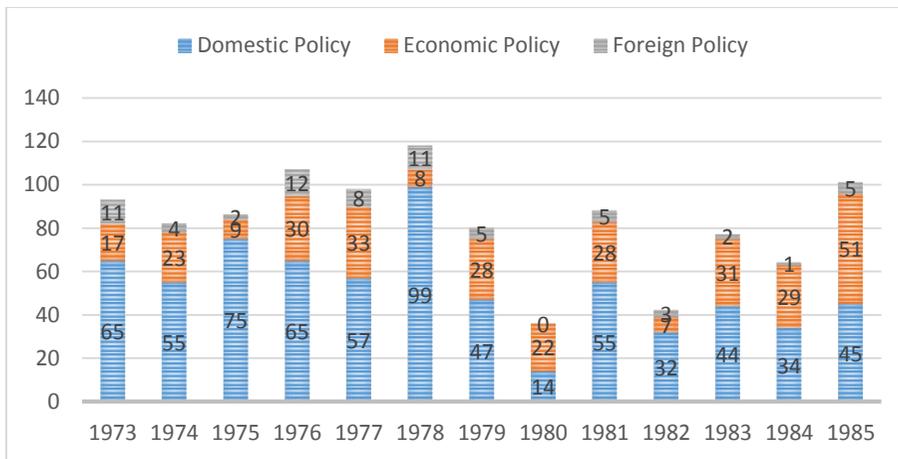
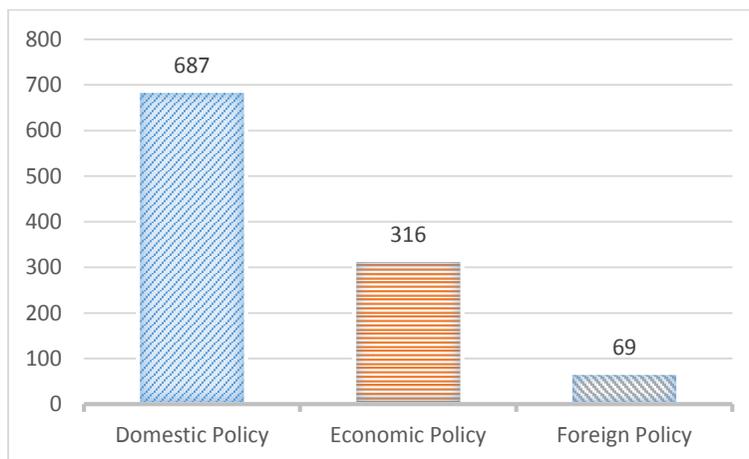


Figure 2. The distribution of policy types in the State of Nation Addresses during martial law.



As can be seen in Figure 1, the frequency of domestic policies is particularly high in 1975 when domestic policies numbered at 75 compared to 9 economic policies and just 2 mentions of foreign policies. This is primarily due to the reorganization of the cabinet and a string of appointments to both the parliament and judiciary. The same can be seen in 1978 when there were 99 domestic policies compared to 8 economic and 11 foreign policies, which was brought about by Marcos' continuing legislative power and the expansion

of diplomatic ties around the world, especially his commitment to regional cooperation with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Muego, 1979). There were only two addresses where economic policies outnumbered both domestic and foreign policies combined. In 1980, Marcos decided to depart from the customary report to the nation and instead recalled the economic progress from the past decades. He also included in his address the slew of infrastructure projects including rural electrification, roads and bridges, housing projects, and irrigation systems. In 1985, his last State of the Nation Address, there was already a growing public clamor for his removal from his office. With 51 economic policies compared to 45 domestic and 5 foreign policy statements, he immediately put forward in his address the “National Economic Recovery” program as a response to the declining economy due to the control of manufacturing industry by favored sectors, non-conducive incentive system, increased government intervention, and increased reliance on foreign debt (Solon and Floro, 1993).

As previously predicted, the informational theory of dictatorship is in consonance with the findings. According to Guriev and Treisman (2015), dictators try to convince the public that the country is in good shape and they stay in power by manipulating the information environment, in this case the presidential speeches addressed to the public. This is more evident in periods of crisis such as (1) when Benigno Aquino, Jr., was assassinated in 1981 and the corresponding State of the Nation Address the following year was short and policy statements made up 58 percent of the address and (2) in 1985 when Marcos revealed his economic recovery plan amid the falling economy and growing popular demonstrations. Guriev and Treisman (2015) also made the reference to the Marcos situation when they reasoned that dictators often make up non-political pretext to put political opposition in jail and that dictators usually vehemently deny responsibility for the suppression of political rivals.

Research Question 2: Do State of the Nation Addresses after martial law mention more domestic policies than any other policy as a way to rebuild

democratic institutions? Results show that after martial law, across all presidencies, domestic policies likewise dominate economic and foreign policies in the State of the Nation Addresses. Out of total of 1,700 units of observation for just the three policies, domestic policies amount to 1,069, or 62.88 percent, while economic and foreign policies comprise 519 and 112 mentions, or 30.53 percent and 6.59 percent, respectively. Figure 3 below shows the sum frequencies of the three policy types, while Figure 4 illustrates the distribution of the policy types for each president after martial law.

Figure 3. Distribution of policy types in the State of the Nation Addresses after martial law.

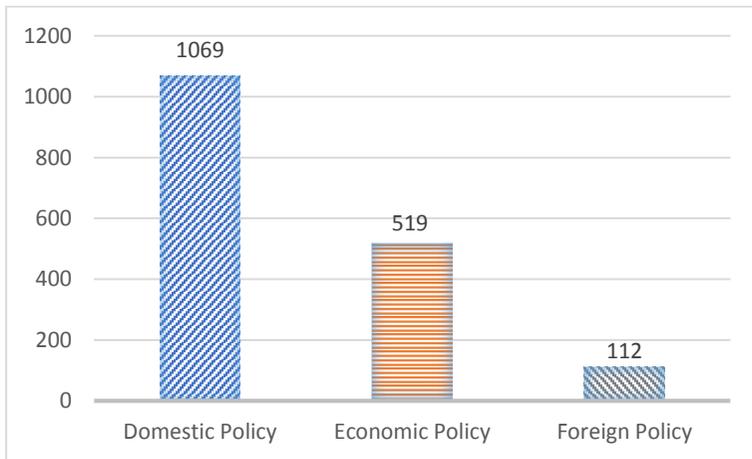
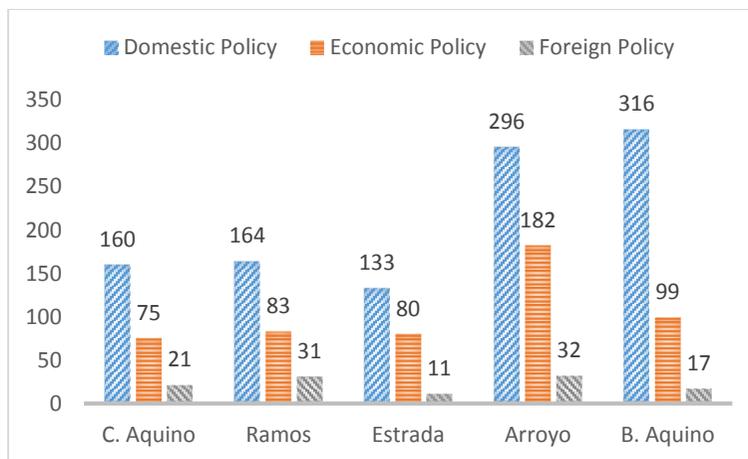


Figure 4. Distribution of policy types in the State of the Nation Addresses after martial law, per president.

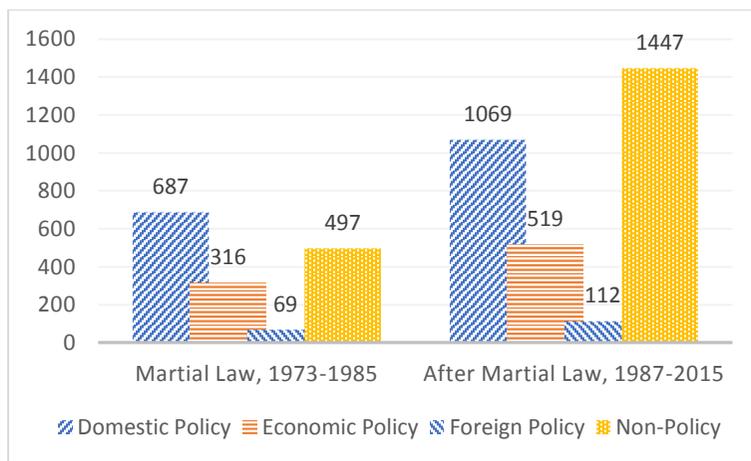


The dominance of domestic policies in the presidential speeches covered could be ascribed to the predictions of the Bernhard's (2005) institutional choice theory, which assumes that institutional choices make or break democracies, i.e., democratic survival. According to Collier (2002), when he used institutional choice theory to study corruption, a central theme in institutional choice is the urgent need to craft and establish anti-corruption policies, which usually involves government reorganization that falls under domestic policies. For example, in the 1990 State of the Nation Address where domestic policies outnumbered economic policies 3-to-1, various legislation proposals were sent to Congress for the strengthening of institutions like election watchdogs, youth participation, various magna cartas, and the monumental Local Government Code. The same reason applies in the 2000 State of the Nation Address where policies regarding peace and order, quashing the rebellion in Mindanao, modernization of the military, and various social welfare programs were put forward by Joseph Estrada, taking up 60 percent of the total number of coded policy-related segments. Likewise, Benigno Aquino riddled his 2012 State of the Nation Address with various policies on reorganization, appointments, and legal actions against erring government corporations, making domestic policies occupy three-fourths of

all his policy statements. Moreover, policies presented that year were the result of anti-corruption drives under the principle that “there has to be punishment if you commit transgressions against the people.” Together with this aggressive anti-corruption campaign, a host of sound and conservative macroeconomic policies were laid out as well, earning the country impressive economic growth in 2012 and 2013, a drop in inflation rates, strong stock exchange, and a historic investment-grade rating from the main credit-rating agencies (Tepperman, 2014).

Research Question 3: How does the composition of policy types during martial law compare with that after martial law? After describing separately how policies comprise the presidential addresses both during and after martial law, it is fitting to compare the policy composition of both types of regimes. Figure 5 below shows the sum frequencies of each of the policy types, including instances of non-policies, in the State of the Nation Addresses both during and after martial rule.

Figure 5. Frequencies of policy types, including non-policies, during and after martial law.



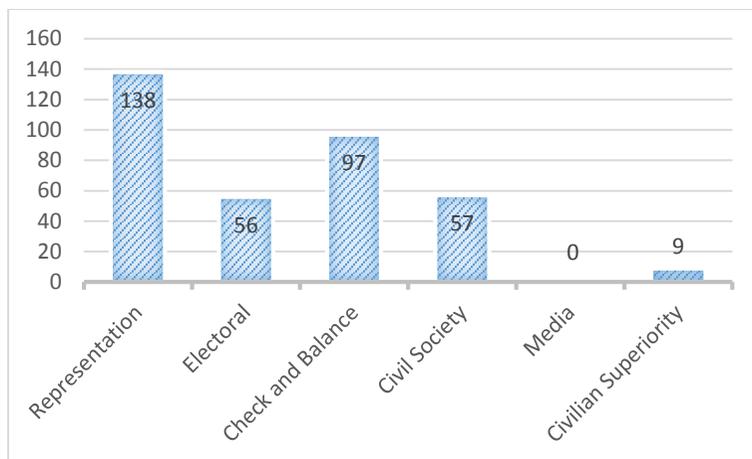
An initial look at the graph shows that domestic policies dominate both economic and foreign policies in the two types of regimes alike. The number of domestic policies during martial law is significantly lower than that after martial law; however, Marcos’ domestic policies make up 43.79 percent

of all the policy and non-policy statements, compared to just 33.97 percent for those during the restored democracy era. The number of economic policies and foreign policies likewise appear not too far apart; indeed, both eras show that the percentages of economic and foreign policies are almost alike: economic policies during martial law comprise 20.14 percent compared with 16.49 percent for the presidential addresses after martial law, and foreign policies constitute 4.4 percent during the dictatorship compared with 3.56 percent during the post-dictatorship era. The most notable difference in the composition of policy statements between martial law and post-martial-law is the number of non-policy statements. Marcos put a lot of substance to his State of the Nation Addresses by making all policy statements constitute 68.32 percent of his presidential addresses, while non-policy statements made up 31.68 percent. This is in stark contrast with the 45.98 percent of non-policy statements (and 54.02 percent for policy statements) in the State of the Nation Addresses during the restored democracy era. To put this in context, there were only 13 addresses during martial law, while there were 29 speeches after martial law. The similarity in the emphasis on domestic policies could be explained by Mulligan's model, which claims that democracy has little impact on the provision of social services to the public. In addition, should both democracy and autocracy have similar policies, it would be those related with elections and ways of maintaining power. Marcos' law-making powers or ruling by decree gave policies swift passage and immediate implementation during martial law, as the president was vested with executive, legislative, and judicial powers and technocrats had the liberty to run the country's economy (Tadem, 2014). This also means that Marcos did not have to rely on rhetoric because he had complete control over the government and the public information services, explaining the fewer instances of non-policies in his presidential addresses. Each action he took in the government constituted public policy. For example, in explaining land reform in his State of the Nation Address, touted as one of his outstanding accomplishments, he touched on many aspects of social welfare such as building of road and bridges, rural electrification, and rural credit (Durdin, 1975). Marcos'

statements on armed uprising and separatists and his moves in the international and diplomatic arena also comprised a huge chunk of his public policies (Tilman, 1976).

Research Question 4: During martial law, are there more government-related democratic governance values (representation system, electoral system, checks and balance/separation of powers) in the State of the Nation Addresses than society-related values (civil society, independent media, and civilian superiority over the military)? Results surprisingly show that democratic governance values related to government institutions abound in the State of Nation Addresses of Marcos from 1973 to 1985, numbering at 291 coded segments out of the overall total of 357 coded values. Looking at the data, Marcos in his addresses did not regularly mention democratic institutions such as Congress and electoral systems in the first five years of martial law, but the number of coded segments pertaining to the representation system shot up in 1978 with 54 instances and in 1982 with 23 coded segments. Everything else, including electoral systems and check and balance in the government tallied at 20 and below. Figure 6 below shows how government-related democratic governance values (representation system, electoral system, checks and balance—separation of powers) dominate the other values.

Figure 6. Distribution of democratic governance values in the State of the Nation Addresses during martial law.



Both spikes can be explained by the constant inclusion of Marcos of the duties and responsibilities of the Batasang Bayan, or the Legislative Advisory Council. Despite being called a “consultative assembly,” its primary task was to serve as the legislative advisory council that would help formulate decrees to be promulgated by Marcos, because he still held the combined power of both executive and legislative granted to him by his 1973 Constitution. His Presidential Decree No. 99 was actually clear about its function: “As such powers and functions shall consist of but not limited to assisting and advising the President of his lawmaking functions, providing a forum for the citizenry, through the herein designated representatives, to ventilate their views on national issues, as well as their opinions on the manner of administering the affairs of the government” (Arellano Law Foundation, 2017). In addition, Marcos also peppered his address that year with mentions of the Interim Batasang Pambansa, or the Interim National Assembly mandated to be established by the 1973 Constitution, which he delayed implementing. Both the Batasang Bayan and the Interim Batasang Pambansa was a way for Marcos “to provide a semblance of a return to political normalcy” (Fowler, 2015). In 1982, a year after the assassination of Benigno Aquino, Jr., the staunchest political opponent of Marcos, the State of

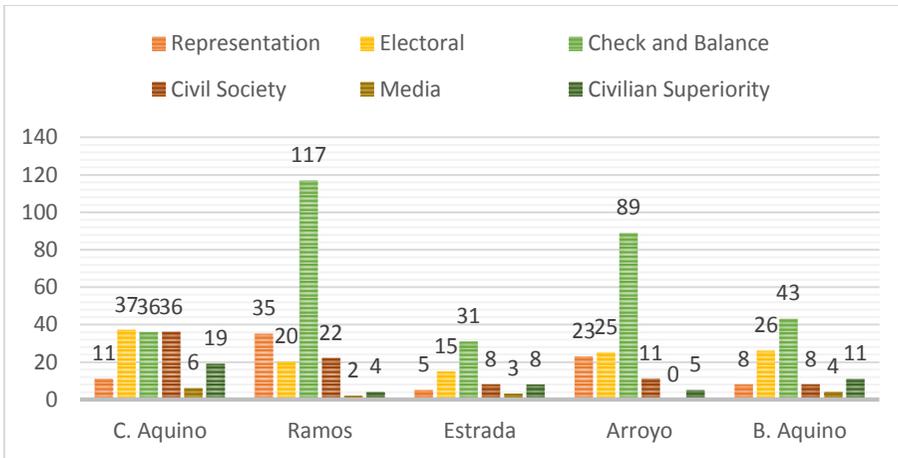
Nation Address that year recorded the highest number of coded segments for electoral systems and checks and balances because of the lifting of martial law, although Marcos still held some power over the Congress. It is important to note here that although martial law was officially lifted in January 1981, Marcos continued his authoritarian rule under various constitutional provisions and security conditions did not change (Fowler, 2016; Encyclopedia Britannica, 2017).

In contrast, and expectedly, society-related democratic governance values in the State of the Nation Addresses during martial law were minimal, with coded segments on civil society at 16 percent, civilian superiority over the military at 2.5 percent, and independent media at zero. The lack of mention of free and independent local media in all of the 13 State of the Nation Addresses during martial law can be attributed to Marcos' suppression of the free press and the ban on media. He also put his cronies in charge of media outlets (Fowler, 2016). This lack of society-related democratic governance values and the unexpected big number of instances of representation system could be explained by the other assumption of informational theory of authoritarianism by Guriev and Treisman (2015). According to the theory, a dictator relies on co-optation and censorship to prevent the publicizing of the dictatorial governments failures. Marcos collusion with the elite and cronies who occupied positions in his advisory legislative bodies and in traditional media gained him some leverage in hiding the economic failures experienced by the Philippines in the 1980s. This theory correctly predicts the use of institutions such as legislatures and elections to convince the public that he is competent and "democratic" and thus is able to hold on to power.

Research Question 5: After martial law, are there more society-related democratic governance values (civil society, free media, and civilian superiority over the military) in the State of the Nation Addresses than the government-related values (representation system, electoral system, checks and balance/separation of powers)? According to the results, as shown in

Figure 7 below, democratic governance values related to government functions, i.e., representation system, electoral system, check and balance–separation of powers, still outnumber those values related to society, such as vibrant civil society, free and independent media, and civilian superiority over the military. In fact, the former values outnumber the latter 3.5-to-1, with government-related democratic governance values totaling 521 coded segments compared with the 147 instances for the society-related democratic governance values in the 29 presidential addresses studied. Among the six democratic governance values, check and balance–separation of powers dominates them all, accounting to almost half, or 47.31 percent (316 coded segments), of the total number of the units of observation. The value of the electoral system is the second most frequent, with a total 123 coded segments, or 18.41 percent. The civil society and representation system values were practically tied, as they registered 85 and 82 coded segments, respectively, or each approximately 12.5 percent of the total number of coded segments. It is also interesting to note that all the presidents after martial law put emphasis on the check and balance–separation of powers democratic governance value, as can be seen on the figure below, except Corazon Aquino who gave weight almost equally to electoral system, check and balance–separation of powers, and civil society (with 37, 36, and 36 coded segments, respectively), perhaps because she had richer experience on and closer relationships with the civil society groups toward peace-building and holding government accountable (Uhlen, 2016; Leguro and Kwak, 2016).

Figure 7. Distribution of democratic governance values in the State of the Nation Addresses after martial law, per president.



Institutional choice theory correctly predicts that democracies, especially newly recovered ones, will strengthen democratic institutions to prevent another dictatorial government. Even though martial law in the Philippine was terminated through peaceful and popular revolution led by civil society and supported by church leaders and military, the newly restored democratic government still chose electoral systems and the system of checks and balances and separation of powers as premier institutions to rebuild and restrengthen democracy and prevent another autocratic power. Post-martial law presidents' decision to intensify the check against the executive power follows the reasoning of Bernhard (1998) that dictators tend "to exercise power through freestanding executive apparatus" and avoid delegating power with other bodies such as a parliament. Choosing electoral systems in establishing a democracy is also the primary consideration of Sisk (1992), especially in reconstructing divided societies, because electoral systems build cooperation between the government and the people at the constituency level. In the same study, Sisk (1992) lists next the system of check and balance inherent to the choice of establishing a system of representation as a critical factor in institutional choice, because it ensures the dispersal of power and

lowers the chance of any particular political institution gaining too much power.

Research Question 6. How do dominant democratic governance values during martial law compare with those after martial law? Results show that martial law and post-martial law regimes have different principal democratic governance values. As shown in Figure 8, during Marcos' authoritarian rule, values such as representation system and the system of check and balance were given emphasis, while the post-Marcos era gave weight mostly to the system of check and balance and then to the electoral system and to civil society. It seems that Mulligan's model also adequately addresses the difference here, because in the era of the restored democracy, leaders put emphasis on preventing the president to hold too much power by making sure that the other branches of the government were equally strong. This is evident in Ramos' and Arroyo's consistent pleas to Congress to pass legislative actions for economic revival. Benigno Aquino, meanwhile, tried to bring erring and corrupt officials to court. Corazon Aquino, however, noticeably gave equal importance to the electoral system, check and balance, and the civil society as a nod to the "people power" that brought a dictatorship down and her to the presidency. Institutional choice could also be cited to give rationale to leaders of restored democracy in choosing the government-related democratic governance values plus the democratic value of civil society value (Bernhard, 2005). Institutional choice advances the idea that to sustain democracy, top choices for institutions include electoral system and decentralization of power (Sisk, 1992). On the other hand, Marcos' attention to the representation system and check and balance could be explained by, as discussed previously, his persistent efforts to delay the establishment of a Congress and instead by his creation of an appointed legislative advisory council and an interim national assembly that were mere rubber-stamp lawmaking bodies.

Figure 8. The distribution of democratic governance values in the State of the Nation Addresses during and after martial law.

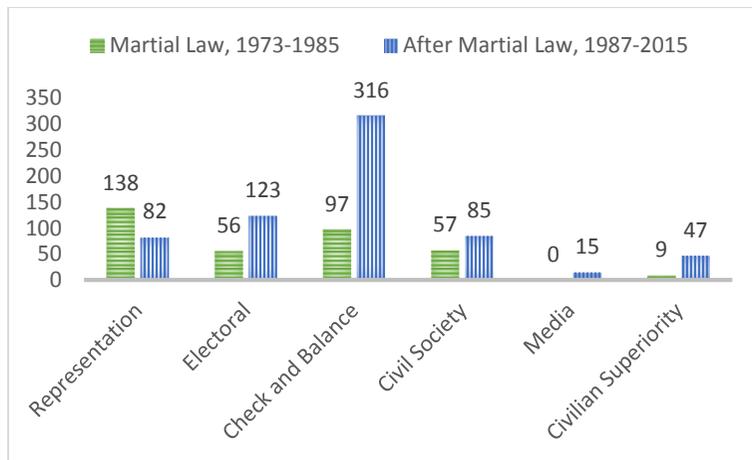
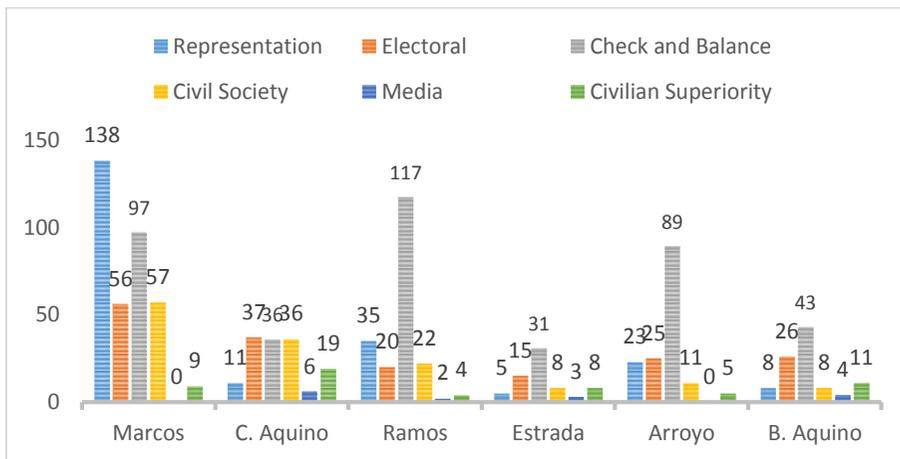


Figure 9. Comparison of democratic governance values in the State of the Nation Addresses from 1973 to 2015 for each president.



It is also worth reiterating here that in 13 State of the Nation Addresses of Marcos, there was zero segment for media, verifying as well the informational theory of dictatorship which states that autocrats invest in state propaganda and censorship of independent media to create and maintain an equilibrium (Guriev and Treisman, 2015). In contrast, Estrada and Aquino mentioned the bulk of media coded segments because of their peculiar relationship with the press. Estrada, with his acting background, preferred

“ambush” interviews where he answered quick, unscheduled questions from the media. Later on, he would lament about the allegedly critical coverage of his administration and would veer away from conversations with journalists and appearances on live radio (The Economist, 1999). Benigno Aquino, on the other hand, was the first to address an online blogger and directly acknowledged the role of media in his first and last State of the Nation Address. His parting words to the press in his 2015 address was “To all those in the media who have strived to do their work in the fairest manner possible.” Curiously, however, Gloria Arroyo also had zero mention about the press, and this could be explained by her marred relationship with the Philippine media. In 2005, she restricted the access to presidential briefings to local media only and turning away journalists, photographers, and television crews of international news agencies (BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific, 2005). The next year, even her vice president who was formerly a broadcast journalist joined the calls for her to respect freedom of the press when the national police took over the Daily Tribune, a national daily, and warned other media outlets to follow government media standards (BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific, 2006).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1. Conclusion

Using content analysis, this study examined the State of the Nation Addresses of Philippine presidents from 1973 to 2015 and identified the policy types and democratic governance values extolled in these presidential speeches. As a result, the emphasis given by Philippine presidents to certain types of policy and democratic governance values was unearthed according to the political climate and type of government at the prevailing time and setting. Using presidential rhetoric as a general theoretical framework, along with other theories that look through the decision-making and communication aspects of politics and public administration, presidential speeches were treated and investigated to find out how much weight was given to particular public policies and democratic institutions in a particular era of Philippine democratic history.

This study looked at each of the presidential speeches, taken from the *Official Gazette*, the official journal of the Republic of the Philippines, to ensure that speeches were official transcripts and English translations of the speeches, but took two different approaches in choosing the units of observation of the content segments to be analyzed in detail. In answering research questions involving the policy types, paragraphs comprise the units of observation, since presidential speeches are usually formatted in such a way that the president can systematically discuss and jump from one specific policy or social issue to another. The other units of observation, used for the research questions involving democratic governance values, are phrases to facilitate the coding of each of the values which could appear several times in a sentence or in a paragraph. The requirements of system, objectivity, and generality were also achieved in order to produce a scientifically sound content analysis research (Bowen and Bowen, 2008). Reliability was also ensured through inter-coder reliability by asking the help of two other graduate researchers and measuring the general agreement between the coding

processes of the primary researcher and other coders. This was done to ensure that other investigators could replicate this study and that only the intrinsic content of the speeches was objectively investigated. Using the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA, presidential speeches were coded according to the three types of public policy (including one category for non-policy statements) and six democratic governance values. Various theories were used to explain the underlying assumptions in the decisions of the presidents in choosing the policy types and democratic governance values placed in their presidential addresses.

The informational theory of dictatorship by Guriev and Treisman (2015), which postulates that dictators try to convince the public that they are competent in order to stay in power, runs consistent with the results for State of the Nation Addresses delivered during martial law in the Philippines from 1973 to 1985. Marcos' domestic policies consistently outnumbered his economic and foreign policies all throughout his dictatorial government. With a policy-to-non-policy ratio of 2.1569, Marcos mentioned two policies for every rhetoric or non-policy-related statements in his State of the Nation Addresses. According to Marcos, the declaration of martial law in the Philippines was a response to the growing threat of communist insurgency and rebellion, which brought him to feature more policy-related statements compared to rhetoric, as a way to convince the people that the declaration of martial rule was justified and that he could eliminate insurgency through complete military control. The dominance of domestic policies over economic and foreign policies could also be attributed to the frequent reorganization of the cabinet and the string of appointments to the cabinet, legislative bodies, and judiciary, all of which were under the control of the presidency.

Moreover, the informational theory of authoritarianism explains the lack of society-related democratic governance values and the unexpected big number of instances of representation system in the presidential speeches during martial law. According to the theory, a dictator relies on co-optation and censorship to prevent the publicizing of the dictatorial governments

failures. This explains the surprisingly big number of democratic governance values related to government institutions (representation system, electoral system, check and balance–separation of powers) in the State of Nation Addresses from 1973 to 1985, especially the spike in the frequencies of representation system in the years 1978 and 1982 due to the mentions of Marcos’ Batasang Bayan (Legislative Advisory Council) and Interim Batasang Pambansa (Interim National Assembly), although both functioned simply as advisory bodies because both executive and legislative powers still resided with the presidency. Censorship, on the other hand, explains the low and almost negligible frequencies of society-related democratic governance values, especially the zero instance of coded segments for free and independent media, because of the total suppression of and ban on the freedom of the press during the authoritarian regime.

Bernhard’s (2005) institutional choice theory, on the other hand, explains the dominance of domestic policies over economic and foreign policies in the presidential speeches after martial law from 1987 to 2015. Comprising of two-thirds of the total number of policy-related statements in all the 29 speeches during the era of restored democracy, the abundance of the domestic policies is characteristic of institutional choice which assumes that democracies, especially newly restored ones, craft and establish anti-corruption policies as integral part of government reorganization and public policy. In various points during the era after martial law, Philippine presidents stressed in their addresses legislation proposals to Congress for the strengthening of institutions like election watchdogs, youth and civil society participation, various magna cartas, and the local government code. Policies such as those involving peace and order, quashing the rebellion in Mindanao, modernization of the military, and various social welfare programs also comprise the domestic policies during this time. Various policies on government reorganization, bureaucratic appointments, and legal actions against erring public sector agencies and government corporations were also frequent during the latter part of the restored democracy period. Institutional

choice also explains the immense discrepancy between the numbers of coded segments between democratic governance values related to government functions, i.e., representation system, electoral system, check and balance—separation of powers, and values related to society, such as vibrant civil society, free and independent media, and civilian superiority over the military. The government-related values outnumber the social-related ones 3.5-to-1, registering 521 instances out of the 668 total number of coded segments in the 29 presidential addresses covered in that period. Among the six democratic governance values, check and balance—separation of powers dominates them all, while the value of the electoral system follows at second, and three other values with practically the same number of frequencies are closely behind. Institutional choice theory correctly predicts the selection of primary basic institutions such as the electoral and checks and balances systems—or decentralization of power according to Sisk (1992)—to fortify democracy. Martial law in the Philippines may have ended through peaceful and popular means in 1986 led by civil society, church leaders, and military, but the newly restored democratic government led by Corazon Aquino still chose electoral systems and the system of checks and balances and separation of powers as premier institutions to rebuild and strengthen and to prevent another rise of autocratic power.

The study of Mulligan and colleagues (2004) corroborates literature in sociology, economics, and political science that says democracy has minimal impact on public policies, particularly social welfare, and that democracies and non-democracies usually adopt the same policies. The main differences, according to them lie on policies related to elections and maintaining power such as that which ensures winning elections, censors the press, regulates religion, and promotes military expenditure. In this study, the similarity in the emphasis on domestic policies could be explained by the preceding model. Marcos' law-making powers or ruling by decree gave policies swift passage and immediate implementation during martial law, as the president was vested with executive, legislative, and judicial powers.

Similarly, the model adequately addresses the stark difference in the domineering democratic governance value, because in the era of the restored democracy, leaders put emphasis on preventing the president to hold too much power by making sure that the other branches of the government were equally strong, while Marcos' authoritarian government chose another government related value which is the system of representation (although with a rubber-stamp status during the regime). This is evident in Ramos' and Arroyo's consistent pleas to Congress to pass legislative actions for economic revival during the post-martial law era.

5.2. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This study delved into discovering the types of policies and the democratic governance values in Philippine State of the Nation Address from 1973 to 2015 using content analysis under various approaches including rhetorical, democratic, and non-democratic theoretical frameworks. Among the multitudes of typologies of public policy, this study adopted the categorization made by Gruszczynski (2007) who examined presidential agenda and priorities by United States presidents using a variety of sources including State of the Union Addresses, limiting the types of policies only to domestic, economic, and foreign and giving much emphasis on the separation between domestic and economic policies. Further research in the Philippine setting could utilize other typologies such as the classic one used by Lowi (1972, 1985), Peters and colleagues (1977), and Bahmueller and Quigley (1991). Research could also investigate deeper into subcategories of public policies, such as that of Rutledge and Price (2014) where they studied the agenda-setting capabilities of the president in issue areas such as defense, environment, health care, international affairs, law and crime, and macroeconomics. Democratic governance values, on the other hand, were derived from the key institutions cited by the Human Development Report 2002 (United Nations Development Programme, 2002) that are key in deepening democracies. Future research into Philippine presidential speeches may look into other classifications of democratic institutions or into

democratic values themselves such as that studies done by Ozymy and Lee (2007) who focused on the rule of law and tolerance of other persons in associative democracies.

Another limitation of this study was that it stayed within the State of Nation Addresses, capturing public policies and democratic values in a rather formal communication setting. Presidential communication covers a wide range of media and avenues that a researcher could use to extract concepts and segments from. One may also look into inaugural addresses either as separate or complementary to the State of the Nation Addresses (Toolin, 1983; Day, 1973; Lewis 1997; Lim, 2002). One may also do away with fanfares of speeches by examining presidential issuances (Trimble, 2010) and even social media (Davis, 2017) to properly investigate policies and decision-making process by presidents and policymakers. The scope of presidential addresses could also be widened such as the content analysis of Lim (2002), who studied all the inaugural and annual messages from 1789 to 2000.

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APPENDIX A

CODEBOOK FOR CODING POLICY TYPES

Policy Types and Democratic Governance Values in Presidential Speeches: Content Analysis of Philippine State of the Nation Addresses from 1973 to 2015

Emerson Kim Lineses, Seoul National University

This codebook is designed to help you in the process of coding Philippine presidential speeches in order to extol from them certain types of concepts based on the purpose of this study. Coding is the process of transforming raw data, in this case components or text of presidential speeches, into standardized form. Simply put, coding is assigning or classifying some units of analysis into categories. These categories are defined here and you will refer to these definitions and only these definitions while coding. You may remember or know other definitions of these concepts, but those do not apply those while coding here.

Instructions

This is a content analysis of Philippine State of the Nation Addresses from 1973 to 2015. This study investigates which public policy types are frequently cited in these speeches. Since the method of content analysis is innately weak in reliability, the researcher asks for your help to determine that his own analysis is valid, reliable, and free from personal bias. The results of this analysis will be statistically tested and compared with those of the researcher to determine whether he could proceed with his own independent and objective analysis. In the event that reliability results turns out to be low, this coding process will be repeated until a strong reliability test results are obtained. Your utmost sincerity and cooperation are respectfully requested.

Your job here is to read a sample speech and identify the public policy type in the speeches. After identifying them, you will mark the paragraph with the policy type you have just identified. Or you could write the policy type in the corresponding codesheet. In this codebook, you will

find definition of the concepts and categories stated above. Please familiarize yourself with the concepts and their definitions.

Specific Instructions

1. Read the speech completely. Please pay attention to each paragraph and use the codesheet if you determine that each paragraph correspond to a particular public policy type. If a paragraph identifies, contains, or describes a public policy that is either domestic, economic, or foreign, please mark the paragraph as “domestic,” “economic,” or “foreign” accordingly. Examples of each policy type are found below in the **Definitions** section.

2. It is okay to categorize a paragraph as a No Category. Because speeches are usually filled with rhetorical devices, greetings, and emotional appeals, there will be many paragraphs that will contain no public policy. For example, the one-sentence paragraph “With such reversals of fortune, is progress for our country a hope in vain?” would fall under No Category.

3. If a paragraph contains a bulleted list, a numbered list, a block quote, or a poem, the preceding paragraph and the list are considered as just one paragraph.

4. For text in Filipino, translation in English are placed immediately after the sentence or paragraph. For a long series of Filipino paragraphs, the translations in English that immediately follow them will not be moved. Please code only the text in English.

5. Text in Filipino with no translation provided shall be coded as is.

6. Greetings, salutations, expressions of gratitude, and some other rhetorical sentences found usually at the beginning and end of speeches will also be coded. You may code these under “No Category.”

7. If a paragraph seems to be difficult to categorize, please choose the policy type which you feel represent the paragraph.

Definitions

Public Policy Types

1. **Domestic Policy.** Public policies that refer to the plans, goals, and actions taken by the national government to address issues and needs within the country. Issues involving civil rights, crime

(peace and order), education, energy, environment, health, government reorganization (bureaucracy), social security, and welfare fall under domestic policy.

Example: “We have made the first serious effort to arrest environmental degradation—already so far advanced in the previous regime that it set up an agency that did nothing about it, anyway.” - Domestic

2. Economic Policy. Public policies that refer to the actions taken by the government to influence or control the economy. Topics such as budget, deficit, inflation, unemployment, taxation, and revenue sharing are under economic policy.

Example: “The rate of unemployment was reduced, the volume of new investments significantly increased. New industrial projects were introduced, hitherto idle industrial capacity was fully utilized. The foundation of new regional industrial zones was laid. Public infrastructure and services strained under the load of expanding economic activity.” – Economic

3. Foreign Policy. Public policies that refer to objectives and actions that guide the activities, relationships, and diplomatic dealings with other countries. Concepts such as security, diplomatic relations with other countries and international organizations, terrorism, international trade, treaties and agreements, and war fall under foreign policy.

Example: “Over the foreseeable future, we see East Asia’s security interests as best served by a security balance among the great powers, and by their increasing economic interdependence. This is one more reason we are pushing for liberalization of the trading system through the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.” - Foreign

APPENDIX B

CODEBOOK FOR CODING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE VALUES

Policy Types and Democratic Governance Values in Presidential Speeches: Content Analysis of State of the Nation Addresses from 1973 to 2015

Emerson Kim Lineses, Seoul National University

This codebook is designed to help you in the process of coding Philippine presidential speeches in order to extol from them certain types of concepts based on the purpose of this study. Coding is the process of transforming raw data, in this case components or text of presidential speeches, into standardized form. Simply put, coding is assigning or classifying some units of analysis into categories. These categories are defined here and you will refer to these definitions and only these definitions while coding. You may remember or know other definitions of these concepts, but those do not apply those while coding here.

Instructions

This is a content analysis of Philippine State of the Nation Addresses from 1973 to 2015. This study investigates which democratic government values are frequently cited in these speeches. Since the method of content analysis is innately weak in reliability, the researcher asks for your help to determine that his own analysis is valid, reliable, and free from personal bias. The results of this analysis will be statistically tested and compared with those of the researcher to determine whether he could proceed with his own independent and objective analysis. In the event that reliability results turns out to be low, this coding process will be repeated until a strong reliability test results are obtained. Your utmost sincerity and cooperation are respectfully requested.

Your job here is to read a sample speech and identify the democratic governance value in the speech. After identifying them, you will underline the

phrase that you think contains or describes a democratic governance value. The definition of each of the six democratic governance values is listed below in the **Definitions** section. Please familiarize yourself with the concepts and their definitions.

Specific Instructions

1. Read the speech completely. Please pay attention to each sentence. Underline the phrase that you think identifies, contains, or describes a democratic governance value. The underlined phrase may, in exceptional circumstances, be a single word (for example, “media”). It can also be a sentence if the sentence is very short. After you underline the phrase, please write in the margins or on an empty space near the phrase which democratic governance value the phrase represents. You may use a code or abbreviation for each of the democratic governance value; suggestions are indicated in the **Definitions** section below.

2. It is okay for a sentence or paragraph not to have any democratic governance value. Because speeches are usually filled with rhetorical devices, greetings, and emotional appeals, there will be many sentences and paragraphs that will contain no democratic governance value.

3. For text in Filipino, translation in English are placed immediately after the sentence or paragraph. For a long series of Filipino paragraphs, the translations in English that immediately follow them will not be moved. Please code only the text in English.

4. Text in Filipino with no translation provided shall be coded as is.

5. Greetings, salutations, expressions of gratitude, and some other rhetorical sentences found usually at the beginning and end of speeches will also be coded. You may leave these untouched.

6. If a phrase seems to be difficult to categorize, please choose the democratic governance value which you feel represent the phrase. For example, the phrase “to give power to the people” may mean either “election” or a strong “civil society.” Please decide according to your preference.

Definitions

Democratic Governance Values

1. Representation System (Suggested code or abbreviation: Rep). A system such as a congress or assembly where people's representatives contribute to governance and there is also a well-functioning political parties and interest groups. For example: "one of the proudest achievements we share with the legislature" - Representation
2. Electoral System (Suggested code or abbreviation: Elect). A system that guarantees universal suffrage and ensures free and fair elections. For example: "giving them elections every three years" - Elections
3. Checks and Balances, Separation of Powers (Suggested code or abbreviation: Check). The concept of the branches of government being independent from each, other yet checking and ensuring that neither one of them holds too much power. For example: "I uphold the independence of these bodies" - Check and balance
4. Civil Society (Suggested code or abbreviation: Society). A society that monitors both government and private business and provides alternative forms of political participation. "empowerment of the people" - Civil society
5. Independent Media (Suggested code or abbreviation: Media). Traditional and new media, such as newspapers, radio, television, and the Internet, that is free from influence by the government or corporate interests. For example: "optimism of foreign media" - Media
6. Civilian Superiority Over the Military (Suggested code or abbreviation: Super). Civilians have effective control over the military, the armed forces, and other security institutions. For example: "I could have promoted only military officers" - Civilian superiority

국문초록

대통령 연설에 있어서 정책 유형과 민주적 통치의 가치:

필리핀 국정 연설 내용 분석, 1973-2015

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글로벌행정전공

대통령학은 공공행정학과 통치학의 중요한 구성요소이다. 특히 대통령 연설에서는 행정부의 의사결정, 제도와 국민에 대한 대통령의 관계, 그리고 공공 정책 문제에 대한 대통령의 개입을 엿볼 수 있다. 대통령의 의사소통을 분석함으로써, 정치학자와 공공행정학자는 민주적인 혹은 권위적인 대통령의 생각, 특히 대통령이 어떤 정책과 민주적 가치를 선호하는지에 대한 생각을 수집할 수 있으며, 또한 궁극적으로 지도자들의 공개적인 코멘트와 선언들에 대한 책임을 지을 수 있다. 필리핀 대통령 연구에 기여하기 위해서 1973 년부터 2015 년까지의 필리핀 대통령 국정연설을 조사하고, 이 대통령 연설에 담겨있는 다양한 정책 유형과 민주적 통치의 가치를 확인하였다. 이 분석을 통해 필리핀 대통령들이 그들의 리더십이 처한 정치적 환경에 따라 특정한 정책 유형과 민주적 통치 가치를 강조한 것을 이해하고자 한다.

본 연구는 질적 내용 분석을 이용하여, 계엄령 시기와 그 이후의 가장 지배적이고 빈번하게 인용되는 공공 정책 유형과 민주적 통치 가치를 검토한다. 이론적 틀로서는 각각의 정권에 맞는 의사소통 및 정치학 이론 외에 대중 수사를 사용한다. 즉 국정연설과 같은 대통령 연설은 대통령이 제시하는 정책을 국회와 국민이 수용하고, 찬성하고, 지지하게 설득하는 수단이라는 것이다. 객관성과 신뢰성을 확보하기 위해 동료 대학원생에게 대통령 연설문 샘플의 코딩을 요청하여 상호 코더 신뢰도 테스트를 마쳤다. 질적 연구 분석 프로그램인 MAXQDA 가 코딩과 분석, 그리고 결과 제시를 위해 사용되었다.

분석 결과는 필리핀의 계엄령 시기 동안 행해진 국정연설은 경제나 국제관계보다는 국내 정책을 상당히 많이 인용한다는 것을 보여준다. 이는 독재자들은 권력을 유지하기 위하여 자신들이 역량이 있다는 것을 대중에게 확신시키려고 한다는 독재에 관한 정보이론과도 일치한다. 정부 제도, 특히 대의제와 관련 있는 민주적 통치 가치 또한 상당히 높았는데, 이는 마르코스(Marcos)대통령의 입법위원회와 국회에 관한 언급 때문이다. 민주적 통치 가치로서 언론 자유가 계엄령 시기 대통령 연설에 한 번도 등장하지 않았다는 점도 주목할만하다. 반면 계엄령 이후 연설에서는 국내 정책이 정책과 관련한 모든 연설의 삼분의 이를 차지한다. 이는 민주주의는 정부 재조직과 공공 정책의 불가결한 부분으로서 반부패 정책을 확립한다고 가정하는 제도 선택 이론의 특징이다. 여섯 가지 민주 통치 가치 중 견제와 균형 권력분립이 가장 우세하며, 선거제도가 이를 따른다. 세 가지 다른 가치들은 사실상 같은 빈도로 그 뒤를 따른다.

주제어 : 공공정책 유형, 민주적 통치, 민주적 제도, 대통령 연설, 국정연설, 필리핀

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