Communication Variables Favoring Celebrity Candidates in Becoming Politicians: A Case Study of the 1998 and 2004 Elections in the Philippines

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Abstract

What conditions have made it possible for television celebrities to enter politics? Why are there many Filipino celebrities who are elected as national government officials? Most political analysts and media critics devoted time in analyzing public approval ratings and ad spending during the campaign period to understand voting behavior and political choice. While those studies may also be helpful, they do not cover the overall set-up that contributes to the rising trend of celebrity politicians. This article offers to fill a gap in current scholarship on celebrity politician phenomenon by identifying factors that affect the communication process between the celebrity candidate and voters even BEFORE the official campaign starts. For this reason, I chose to loosely base my framework on David Berlo's Source-Message-Channel-Receiver (SMCR) communication model. I found out that 1) the socio-cultural and political backgrounds of *Source* and *Receiver*; 2) the social role and spectatorship in relation to *Message*; and, 3) the television's nature as a *Channel* and its socio-economic background were critical communication factors in paving the way for Philippines to have 11 celebrity politicians as president, vice president and, senators during the 1998 and 2004 elections combined.

Keywords: celebrity politicians, Republic of the Philippines, media, communication, election

Introduction

The emergence and increase of celebrity politicians in the Philippine national government can be tracked down to communication variables that favor celebrities. To aid us in understanding this phenomenon, I patterned this paper's framework after David Berlo's Source-Message-Channel-Receiver (SMCR) model. Berlo is one of the pioneers to look at communication as an integral part of the society. Like him, I also believe that there is neither *Source* nor *Receiver* that communicates as a free agent. The existence of celebrity itself, which is a socio-cultural figure, lies in the constant interplay between the *Source* and *Receiver*.

The analysis starts with the socio-cultural and political systems affecting *Source* and

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Receiver, which include electoral laws, weak political party system and Filipinos' notion of kinship. It is followed by variables affecting the *Message*, which include *Sources'* social roles and mass spectatorship. Then, the last part is the variables affecting the *Channel*— the medium's nature and its network industry.

Common variables favoring celebrity candidates are pinpointed to explain the increase of elected celebrities in Philippines' political landscape. By drawing on the important variables at play even before the official campaign starts, the scope in examining and understanding voting behavior is widened.

Development of Media and Celebrity Politicians in the Philippines

Media celebrities aiming to hold a seat in Malacañang, the center of Philippine government, can be traced back in the 4th Congress (1958–61). The first elected senator from the film industry was matinee idol Rogelio dela Rosa, whose first film was *Ligaw na Bulaklak* (Wild Flower) in 1929. The film industry, at that time, was making more than 50 movies per year. There was no doubt that film viewing had established itself as a national past time among Filipinos by the end of 1930s [Tiongson 1994]. Two years before dela Rosa decided to enter politics, he was adjudged Southeast Asia's best actor in the 1956 Hongkong Film Festival [Philippines, Senate of the Republic of the Philippines].

The first senator among television personalities was Edgar Ilarde in the 7th Congress (1970–73). He is popularly known as *Kuya Eddie* (Brother Eddie) in his radio and television programs, wherein people share their personal lives and ask for his brotherly advice.

However, the tenure of the Senators of the 7th Congress was cut short by the declaration of Martial Law in 1972. During this regime, President Ferdinand and First Lady Imelda Marcos appealed to the public like media celebrities. Carmen Nakpil, a former Senior Aide of Imelda, revealed that "Filipino masses were convinced that it (Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos) was a love team. It was part of their political persona, together helping each other, together helping the country. It was very effective. It was like a soap opera" [Diaz 2003].

The Marcoses ruled for 13 years between 1972–86. Under mounting pressure, Marcos called a snap presidential election in 1986 where Corazon Aquino was installed as the new President through people power revolution.

In post-Marcos politics, television took a big role. By mid 70s television sets began to circulate in the countryside, permitting the country's poor to enjoy modern conveniences that until then had been the exclusive privilege of the rich. Television networks had to adjust to the new reality that the bulk of their viewers were no longer the middle and upper classes. The first adjustment was the usage of Filipino language because news and public affairs programs were broadcasted entirely in English until 1986, mirroring the print media's bias for English as a medium of serious political discourse. The democratization of television viewership compelled the use of Filipino as the language of public opinion. It produced the unintended but salutary effect of awakening the poor to their

political rights [David 2004].

In 1987, television broadcaster Orlando Mercado and multi-awarded action star Joseph Estrada made it to the 8th Congress (1987–92).

In the same year, the first post-Marcos Congress saw the need to control political advertising because only well-off candidates could use it to enhance their chances of winning. The ban, embodied in the *Act Introducing Reforms in the Electoral System by Amending Certain Sections of the Omnibus Election Code and for Other Purposes*, was signed into law in 1987 and saw its first implementation in 1992. The ban shut out newcomers from the race and ensured the re-election of incumbent officials as well as film and television celebrities. Indeed, from 1992 to 1998, while Congress dragged its feet on proposals to lift the ban, eight celebrities made it to the Senate [Gloria *et al*. 2004].

In the 9th Congress (1992–95), celebrities landed the top slots. Show host Vicente Sotto III ranked first, followed by actor Ramon Revilla, and basketball player Freddie Webb. They maintained their seats in the 10th Congress (1995–98). In addition, action star Joseph Estrada made one step forward by winning the vice-presidency.

At that time, the entire communication process between celebrities and voters cannot be ignored. By early and mid 90s, 5.7 million out of 12.7 million Filipino households owned a television. It grew at a rate of 10.4% in five years [Philippines, KBP 2004]. With such growth rate, television has reached an estimate of 6.3 million households by late 90s. By then, access to television could mean reaching out to 12.6 million voters at two eligible voters per household.

In the 11th Congress (1998–2001), Joseph Estrada won the presidency with the largest margin in Philippine history. His votes were 6.5 million more than that of the second placer, Jose de Venecia. The top three in senatorial race were news anchor Loren Legarda, public affairs show hosts Renato Cayetano and Vicente Sotto III. Former basketball player Robert Jaworski and actor Ramon Revilla claimed the number 9 and 10 spots that same year.

The political ad ban was lifted in 2001. Although the percentage of elected officials among celebrity politicians decreased, the celebrity candidates increased from 13% to 25% between 1998 and 2004.[1] As a result, celebrities continue to make inroads into politics even with the lifting of the ban and maintain a notable percentage in national politics.

In the national level, television became the main channel of public information. In 2004, campaign strategists had predicted that 70% of the media budget went to television, which has emerged since late 1990s as the most influential media [Hofilena 2004]. Television has the widest reach, which is 96% in Manila and 85% in urban areas [Braid 2004]. Nationwide, 71% depended on it for campaign-related information. Sixty-seven

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1） From the film and television industry, there were 7 celebrities out of 60 candidates in 1998 and, 14 celebrities out of 57 candidates in 2004. Please refer to Appendices 1 and 2.
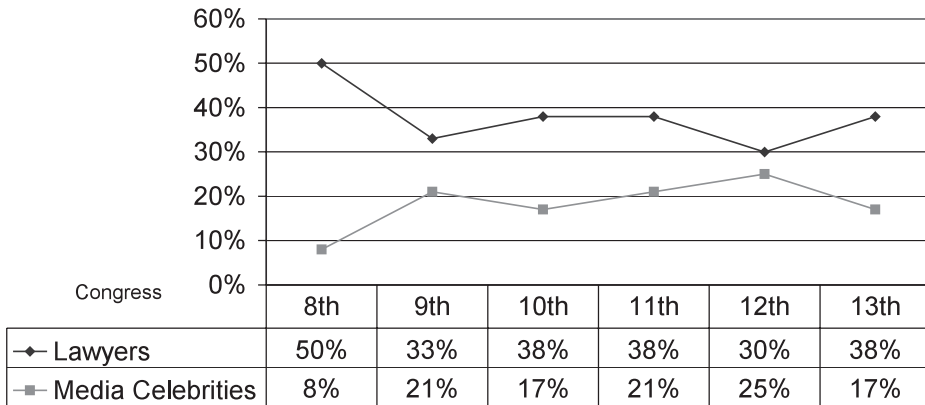
	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th
◆ Lawyers	50%	33%	38%	38%	30%	38%
■ Media Celebrities	8%	21%	17%	21%	25%	17%

Fig. 1   Percentage of Lawyers and Media Celebrities from the 8th to 13th Congress

percent believed in its credibility in delivering information and news about candidates [Hofilena 2004: Pulse Asia 2004].

In the 13th Congress (2004–07), the vice presidency was a race between veteran anchors of Alto Broadcasting Corporation-Chronicle Broadcasting Network (ABS-CBN). Vice President Noli de Castro won over Loren Legarda, both of whom were former top vote getters in the 1998 and 2001 senatorial race. Elected as senators were actors Lito Lapid, Ramon Revilla, Jr., Jinggoy Estrada and television host Alfredo Lim.

The Senate, being responsible for legislation, is dominated by lawyers in terms of professional field. All senate presidents, since the EDSA Revolution in 1987, were lawyers except for Blas Ople (1999–2000) who was a journalist. Lawyers had cornered a significant percentage of the total senate seats from the 8th Congress to 13th Congress; the highest at 50% during the 8th Congress, but down to just 38% in the 13th Congress. In contrast to the decreasing number of lawyers in the Senate, the percentage of media celebrities has been increasing from 8% in the 8th Congress to 17% in the 13th Congress. Within that time span, media celebrities became the second most dominant professionals, after lawyers.[2] The Senate is opening its gates to a new breed of politicians: the media celebrities.

Conceptual Framework

Previously published articles centered on voters' response in the context of candidate advertising and campaign tactics [Nicdao Jr. 2001; Gloria, Tabunda and Fonbuena 2004].

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2) Renato Cayetano, a lawyer and television host, was counted on both professions. Pilar Cayetano, his daughter, was counted as a lawyer.

However, their sole emphasis on what is happening during the official campaign period minimizes the intricate interplay of different peculiar factors at work in the entire communication process. In fact, the most helpful source of information about the candidates during the 2004 election was the television news program, gaining 55% as compared to 4% in candidates' advertising [Gloria, Tabunda and Fonbuena 2004]. Contrary to the hypodermic needle[3] theory of direct media influence, this study points out the factors affecting the communication process between celebrities and voters before the official campaign starts. This study would like to go beyond cause-and-effect description of campaign studies, which is what sociologist Stuart Hall labels as "over-determinism." Human behavior results from an interaction of several factors in the society. People do not simply respond to stimuli, either internal or external. Decision about voting always takes place within a broader range of information and activities. The celebrity politician phenomenon is difficult to attribute to a single cause.

With such consideration, I loosely based my framework on David Berlo's Source-Message-Channel-Receiver (SMCR) model. Berlo's model places emphasis on the role of the relationship between the *Source* and *Receiver* as an important variable in the communication process. *Source* and *Receiver* are affected by communication skills, knowledge, attitudes and socio-cultural system. *Message* is affected by content, treatment and code. *Channel* is affected by the five senses, which are seeing, hearing, touching, smelling and tasting [Berlo 1960].

The SMCR model was conceptualized in 1960 during the empirical revolution (1950–70) of communication theories. At that time, communication as a field of study was just

S	M	C	R
Source	**Message**	**Channel**	**Receiver**
- communication skills	- content	- seeing	·communication skills
- attitudes	· treatment	- hearing	- attitudes
- knowledge	- code	- touching	- knowledge
- social system		- smelling	- social system
- culture		- tasting	- culture

Fig. 2　David Berlo's SMCR Model of Communication

Source: [Berlo 1960]

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3) Hypodermic needle theory, or "magic bullet theory," suggests that media messages are "injected" or "shot" straight into a passive audience who are powerless to resist the impact of the message.

emerging, distinguishing itself from rhetoric and other social sciences. Theorists were predominantly interested in communication effects and effectiveness [McQuail and Windahl 1981]. Compared to the earlier stimulus-response models where *Source* manipulates the members of the audience, Berlo is one of the pioneers to look at communication as an integral part of the society. Unlike the earlier mathematical model of Shannon and Weaver[4] (1949) [*ibid.*], Berlo introduced a variety of factors affecting the interplay between *Source* and *Receiver*, considering the context in which communication takes place. He questioned the whole notion of "already shared reality" by incorporating the influences of the *Source/Receiver*'s socio-cultural background and personal traits.

In Berlo's framework, he did not specifically put arrows to indicate the flow of communication. He believes that the person at one end of the communication process and the person at the other end are quite similar. Berlo implies that communication is a continuous process. The only justification for the existence of a *Source*, for the occurrence of communication, is the *Receiver*, whom the purpose of the *Message* is aimed.

Berlo's model is mostly applicable to interpersonal communication so I remodeled it to address the election of celebrities in Philippines (Appendix 3). *Channel*, in this study, includes mass media in the form of film and television, which appeal to the auditory and visual senses. With regard to the *Source, Receiver* and *Message*, I excluded factors that could be peculiar to each celebrity. Also excluded are communication skills, knowledge, and attitudes, which are part of Berlo's *Source* variables. Treatment (distinctive style in presenting the content) and code (e. g. language and kinetics), which are peculiar too, are discussed when further illustrating a point. By setting apart peculiar factors, this study is framing the common communication variables among elected celebrities: 1) the socio-cultural and political systems of *Source* and *Receiver*, 2) social role and mass spectatorship in relation to *Message* and, 3) the nature and industry of television as a *Channel*. Compared to Berlo's variables, they are further analyzed by discussing more specific elements in the context of Philippine celebrity politicians. However, it disregards uniquely individual factors of the *Source* and *Receiver*, which may also reveal important facts in understanding the communication process.

When Berlo said that "only people mean" [1960], he was acknowledging that both *Sender* and *Receiver* are their own encoders and decoders of meaning. Nevertheless, his framework does not explicitly include the role of power and politics of signification in the communication process. The remodeled framework (Appendix 3) does not also discuss the concept of power because this study is concerned about the common variables favoring celebrity candidates rather than the production of meaning that would translate to a seat in the national government.

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4) Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver initially developed a model to separate noise from the channel/transmitter. Later on, such information theory was "applied" to human communication.

　It is to be noted that the SMCR model is not a winning formula for celebrities. Using the same SMCR communication flow, celebrity candidates may still lose because of the following reasons:

1．a favorable communication variable was not applied by a particular candidate (e. g. non-usage of screen name as in the case of Revilla in 1987)
2．a communication variable worked double blade (e. g. association to a kin linked in a much publicized crime as in the case of Webb in 1998)
3． a possible intervention or emphasis of a peculiar variable, apart from the common communication denominator among celebrity candidates, working a- gainst the candidate (e. g. particular trait or background of a candidate; per- formance rating)
4． a possible emergence of intervening variable (e. g. paramount event such as revolution, change of form of government, impeachment; alleged cheating, claimed by non-celebrities and celebrities alike as in the case of Defensor in 1992 and Poe in 2004)
5．the candidacy of more than one celebrity in a single position (e. g. Legarda and De Castro in 2004 vice presidential post)

The critical importance of SMCR framework lies in the variables at play in the interac- tion between *Source* and *Receiver*. Factors affecting each variable are interrelated. If any one of the elements is pulled out, the whole structure collapses. For example, if the national leaders will be elected not through "one vote, one person standard" but through people's representatives, television as a *Channel* may not have similar accessibility and appeal to the *Receiver*. If the variables change, fidelity[5] in communication might change too.

Table 1　Common Variables Favoring Celebrity Politicians

I *Source* and *Receiver*	II *Message*	III *Channel*
I–1 Socio-cultural and poli- tical background	II–1 Social roles and message con- tent	III–1 Nature: visibility, acces- sibility and format
I–1–A The existing elector- al laws	II–1–A Public affairs' show hosts	III–2 The network industry and its socio-economic background
I–1–B Weak party system	II–1–B Film heroes	
I–1–C Filipinos' notion of kinship in politics	II–2 Mass spectatorship	
	II–2–A Message consistency be- tween social role and pub- lic image	
	II–2–B Language code	

5）Total fidelity refers to an ideal communication act where the information transmitted is received exactly as it was sent.

In this section, a table introduces the specific variables to be taken account at each communication element (SMCR).

The *Source* shares the same socio-cultural and political systems with the *Receiver*. Under electoral laws, both are governed by rules such as   a) the limitation of television exposure among candidates during campaign period,   b) the "one-vote, one person" policy,   c) the "write-in" ballot procedure, and   d) the granting of screen names as valid votes. Other factors to be considered are the weak political party system and the notion of Filipino kinship.

The role of most celebrities before they joined politics is either film heroes or hosts of social documentary programs. In fulfilling such social roles, they tend to convey *Messages* of hope and service. These *Messages* are maintained through spectatorship. The *Source* maintains his/her celebrity image by projecting similar social role in his/her public appearances and chooses a language code (i. e. Filipino, English) that is most appealing to the viewers.

Television, being the *Channel* of communication, gives the celebrities wide access to the home of Filipinos. Audio-visual in nature, it is persuasive in eliciting emotion as it stimulates interaction with real people and propagates political themes, whether intended or unintended. Due to its economic nature, wherein shows depend on ratings and ticket sales, the *Source* tend to produce *Messages* that are pleasing or interesting to the viewers.

This SMCR framework provides a general perspective on how communication process works in the case of Philippines' celebrity politicians. It does not aim to set aside the importance of campaign period itself. However, it emphasizes that the critical relationship of the celebrity and the viewer is established even before election campaign starts.

This framework is useful to depict the communication process among the 11 celebrity politicians in the 1998 and 2004 elections. Particular vantage points, especially content analysis and audience analysis, can be developed further.

This study focuses on the two latest presidential polls: the 1998 election under Estrada administration and the 2004 election under Macapagal-Arroyo's reign. It is inclusive of the President, the Vice President and the 24 Senators.

In this article, the word celebrity politician is coined to refer to newscasters, television hosts, sportsmen, actors and actresses. These celebrities had at least one year of television exposure or had three films, before being candidates in the national elections. Therefore, Attorney Melanio "*Batas*" Mauricio, "*Compañera*" Pilar Juliana Cayetano, Olivia "*Bong*" Coo, and "*Mayor Fred*" Alfredo Lim (in his 1998 presidential candidacy) were not considered as celebrity candidates in this paper.

I *Source* and *Receiver*

I–1 *Socio-Cultural and Political Background*

For communication to happen, the socio-cultural and political systems are important playing fields, shared by both *Source* and *Receiver*. In this section, there are three major factors affecting the communication process. First is the existing laws that lay rules in electing and being elected as a national government official. Second is the weak political parties, which contribute to the personality-based election. And, third is the Filipino's notion of kinship wherein the celebrity candidate projects and is seen within the context of his/her family.

I–1–A *The Existing Electoral Laws*
Allowed Television Exposure for Candidates

Under *Fair Elections Act 6.2*, national candidates are allowed only 120 minutes of television exposure during the campaign period. Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates have a 90-day campaign period while senatorial candidates have 45 days. Under Philippine *Republic Act 9006 section 6b*, any movie, cinematograph or documentary portraying the life or biography of a candidate that is publicly exhibited in a theater, television station or any public forum during the campaign period is prohibited.

Limited airtime was meant to level the playing field, channeling equal information from different candidates. However, working in the media industry before the campaign starts is not a violation of any kind. Media exposure is done without the usual political color, while establishing awareness and rapport with the viewers.

The celebrity politician phenomenon started with those who have been in the media industry, using their exposure as a political capital. Recently however, the dividing line blurs with those who have been in the government service, using the media as a mechanism to gain exposure.

Former Senator Renato Cayetano, for example, was already a bureaucrat before joining the media industry. In 1984, he was appointed Deputy Minister for Trade and Industry. In 1995, Former President Fidel Ramos appointed him chief presidential legal counsel.

Cayetano started broadcasting in radio through DZMM, radio news patrol of ABS-CBN network, giving free legal education on weekdays under the *Relos Reports*. His reach became wider when he hosted *Compañero y Compañera* with Gel Santos-Relos on television in 1997. Renato Cayetano, known as *Compañero*, gave legal advice on the issue portrayed in television drama. It had a lot of following for many Filipinos who have no access to lawyers, and were wondering where they stood legally in a gamut of situations. In 1998 when he ran for senate, Cayetano was elected with the second highest number of senatorial votes among the candidates.

A similar case is Senator Alfredo Lim. In 1989 after he retired as a Police Major General, he was appointed as the Director of the National Bureau of Investigation. He was known to the public for his dedication to eradicate crime, smut and corruption. Against six other candidates, he won as a mayor of Manila in 1992, and in 1995, he was re-elected. In the same year, a film entitled *Alfredo Lim: Batas ng Maynila* (Alfredo Lim: The Law of Manila) was shown in cinemas portraying his biographical account. The story had evolved in his role as a law enforcement officer and later a politician. Like Cayetano, Lim had a radio program, the *Pasada 630* at DZMM. In 1998, he ran in the presidential race but lost. In the same year, he hosted a television program *Katapat: Mayor Alfredo Lim* about real life documentaries, which was shown every Friday at ABS-CBN broadcasting network. In *Katapat*, he discussed real-life dramas and current issues using actual footage and re-enactment. Even before the show's first episode was aired, political observers interpreted Lim's foray into television as initial steps towards Malacañang. Truly in 2004, he ran in the senatorial race and won, ranking fifth among 48 candidates.

"One Vote, One Person" Policy

The Philippines do not have geographical allocation of seats. The national selection of President, Vice President and 24 senators are directly elected at large by Filipino citizens through "one vote, one person" standard. This majority vote system favors celebrities and empower the masses, who are the biggest block of television viewers and also, the biggest block of voters.

Write-in Ballots over Block Voting

Different from that of many countries, the Philippine's election has "write-in" ballots voting procedure. The write-in system of voting was introduced in the early post-war years by *Republic Act 599*. It ended an earlier system of "block voting" wherein voters could cast straight party ballots by simply writing in the name of a political party. Block voting had been designed to encourage the growth of party government. But it had made it easy for others to manipulate voters. However, in "write-in" ballots system wherein voters are required to write the names of individual candidates, it was hoped that such outside influence would be curtailed and voters would act more independently [Lande 1996].

In retrospect, the write-in ballot favors celebrities whose names are known to the public due to their constant exposure on film and television nationwide. In the senate candidacy, only one will be elected out of a conservative estimate of four candidates. Since a voter is given a ballot that lists only the offices to be filled followed by blank spaces, the more exposure the candidate has, the more chances it has of being recalled during election. The situation in the local level, however, may vary because powerful families still hold a strong local network. Also, there are more opportunities to have

interpersonal interaction with the community members when addressing local issues and sentiments.

Screen Names as Valid Votes

Another favorable law for celebrities is the acknowledgment of aliases and screen names in ballots. Candidates are allowed to freely choose a nickname or stage name in order to be credited with what would otherwise be spoiled votes according to the *Omnibus Election Code*.

This alias serves as election brand, capturing the public image that the celebrity had established over the years. Way before the election, celebrities have the capability to emphasize their good points, with minimal scrutiny from their audience compared to non-celebrity candidates appealing during the official campaign.

I-1-B Weak Party System

Party system is not an influential factor for most Filipino voters. From 1946 until 1972, the Nacionalista and the Liberal dominated the Philippine political arena. The similarity between the two parties made possible easy party switching on the part of individual politicians when they saw opportunities for personal political advancement by changing party affiliations (e. g. Ramon Magsaysay in 1953 and Ferdinand Marcos in 1965). The imposition of Martial Law between 1972–86 brought an end to this two party rivalry. Two decades have passed since the end of the Marcos era, and no seemingly stable political party system has come to being. The two old political parties have become at best minor players in the margin of the political scene. Their places have been filled by shifting coalitions of unstable or new political parties [Lande 1996]. The number of political parties ranged from a high of 10 parties in 1998, to a low of 4 parties in 2004.

The 1998 election has the highest number of presidential candidates, 10 of which had a political party. Joseph Estrada for Laban ng Makabayang Masang Pilipino (Struggle of the Filipino Masses); Jose de Venecia for Lakas-NUCD (People Power-National Union of Christian Democrats); Raul Roco for Aksyong Demokratiko (Democratic Action); Emilio Osmeña for Progressive Movement for Development Initiatives; Alfredo Lim for Liberal Party; Renato de Villa for Partido ng Demokratikong Reporma-Lapiang Manggagawa (Party for Democratic Reform-Workers' Party Coalition); Miriam Defensor-Santiago for People's Reform Party; Imelda Marcos for Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (Movement for the New Nation); Santiago Dumlao for Kilusan para sa Pambansang Paninibago (Movement for National Renewal); Manuel Morato for Partido Bansang Marangal (Decent Nation Party); and Juan Ponce Enrile as an independent candidate.

In the 2004 presidential race, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo ran under Lakas-CMD (People Power-Christian Muslim Democrats), Fernando Poe Jr. for Koalisyon ng Nagkakaisang Pilipino (Coalition of United Filipinos), Raul Roco for Aksyon Demokratiko (Democratic Action), Eduardo Villanueva for Bangon Pilipinas (Arise Philippines) and Panfilo Lacson

as an independent candidate.

The absence of strong political party system continues to promote a personality-based electoral process. The seeming homogeneity of parties in terms of political philosophy and non-existence of significant differences in platforms will keep the votes identified with individuals. Although there is not much evidence to attribute celebrities' electoral success to the lack of substantially strong political party system, it can be surmised from its absence that it gives celebrities the advantage. In fact, other aspiring national leaders, including those politicians who are members of strong political descent, create a celebrity status of some sort (as television hosts, actors and actresses on films and television, product endorsers, program endorsers of government initiatives, supporters of civil societies' initiatives) to win in the elections.

I–1–C *Filipinos' Notion of Kinship in Politics*

Another factor to be considered in the cultural structure of Filipinos is the notion of kinship. Even in politics, the use of the body as a relational point of reference emphasizes the deep kinship base of Filipino leadership. The head of the state is called *pangulo*, derived from the word *ulo* which means human head. His trusted men are his *galamay* (hands and fingers), and his representative or envoy is *ang kanyang kinatawan* (his other body) [Jocano 2002a].

Most celebrity politicians are not necessarily new entrants in the field of politics, or at least from the point of view of the voters, who are also at the same time, the audience of broadcast visual media. In the context of Filipino kinship, celebrity politicians belonging to a family of politicians are not considered totally newcomers. They are technically new but since they belong to a similar social identity, they may be seen as one. When Senator Ralph Recto married actress Vilma Santos, widely known as the "star for all seasons," people somehow expected that Santos would be in politics because of her conjugal relations. Sure enough in 1998, when Ralph Recto was still the congressman representing the fourth district of Batangas, Vilma Santos-Recto was elected as the Mayor of Lipa City. And true to form, when Ralph Recto ran for senator, he campaigned as "Mr. Vilma Santos."

The second-generation celebrity politicians, like their fathers, had earlier national exposure on film and television. They are introduced as actors in the same film genre, even working with their fathers. Thus, it is easier for the public to welcome them as celebrities because they have taken the same role and narrative as their fathers have done. Aside from the advantage of being a celebrity, they have capitalized on kinship to propel their bids for public office a success. They appeal to the public, bearing their fathers' socio-cultural image and political support, during their candidacies. Since an individual is identified through his family, it is not surprising if sons and daughters will follow the footsteps of their parents and be accepted by the public in the same way. The idea is reinforced with the old saying, "*Ang santol ay di magbubunga ng mangga* (The

santol tree will not bear a mango fruit)."

Second generation celebrity politicians include Senator Jinggoy Estrada and Senator Ramon Revilla Jr. Those who have conjugal relations to celebrities include Senator Francis Pangilinan, whose wife is "megastar" actress Sharon Cuneta; and former Senator Luisita Pimentel-Ejercito who is married to action star Joseph Estrada-Ejercito.

II *Message*

II−1 *Social Roles and Message Content*

The next communication variable to be examined is the *Message*. Mostly, it is discussed in relation to the Source-encoder who has the first intention to communicate, therefore eliciting meaning that will serve his/her purpose.

Role behaviors become positioned within the system [Berlo 1960]. As media celebrities, they have more authority to influence the masses because of their access to public spaces such as film and television. The social roles of media celebrities as newscasters and public affairs show hosts directly affect the *Message* because they have the duty to inform, educate and empower the public. Thus, the general content of their *Message* epitomizes public service. Network's profit is tempered with programs looking after the common good by offering access to public and political life.

Specific relationships are developed among roles [*ibid.*]. Trust is essentially formed, for the communication process to continually flow, because the *Receivers* are to rely on the *Source* for information that is not easily accessible to them. Trust is maintained by presenting various viewpoints and reassuring the *Receiver* with familiarity of treatment: face, voice, narrative and structures of programming that the *Receivers* recognize and understand. Empathy too, like trust, is cultivated over time. In order to deliver the information that is useful for the *Receiver*, the *Source* has to know and constantly understand the situation of his/her viewers by addressing issues of current concern (eg. a hero for the underdogs; a watchful eye for the corrupt). On the other hand, the *Receiver* empathizes by making inferences and by role-taking. When the situation in the film or television is familiar for the *Receiver*, response will be more subjective—closer in terms of psychological distance. The more the *Receiver* can personally identify with the characters and situation, the more he/she is likely to respond.

II−1−A *Public Affairs' Show Hosts*

Since screen names are allowed to be registered during political candidacy, celebrities naturally took advantage of the trust and image that they have built in fulfilling their social role as public affairs hosts. The screen names served as the candidates' personal brand, bearing the *Message* content and style of their own shows. Manuel "Noli" Leuterio de Castro, a multi-awarded broadcast journalist, chose the alias *Kabayan*. Throughout his

television career, he was known as *Kabayan*, which means co-citizen in Filipino language. Such alias embraces his credibility in reporting news and current affairs program over the years by exposing irregularities in the government and other significant sectors in society. De Castro got his break into television as the segment host of ABS-CBN's *Good Morning, Philippines' At Your Service* in 1986. In 1987 until his bid for the senatorial race in 2001, he was the news anchor of the primetime *TV Patrol* during weekdays and host of another primetime public affairs program *Magandang Gabi Bayan* during Saturdays. His program paved the way for inquiries and investigation, which made individuals or groups accountable for their actions. As the name *Kabayan* implies, de Castro's interest to have a better society projected an image that he is one with the people.

Public affairs show hosts and newscasters, like actors, have an established image. Even when their reports are completely scripted and rehearsed, there are inevitably aspects of the newscaster's appearance and demeanor that viewers can use to gain an intuitive understanding of the personality behind the stage persona. Show hosts have been important testimonial advertisers of consumer goods. Former news anchor and senator Loren Legarda use to pony tail her hair and wore a white-collared shirt most of the time. Presenting herself to be always neat and clean, she was chosen as the product endorser of *Ariel* detergent. Another example is former anchor and Vice President Noli de Castro, who has a commanding voice and has projected himself to be a man of integrity in public, was chosen the commercial model of *Emperador* brandy.

All celebrities used their screen names during the campaign period. Renato Cayetano chose the name *Compañero*, from his radio and televison program *Compañero y Campañera*. In his program, he translated the law into layman's term, helping the citizens to fight for their rights and respect the rights of others. The word *compañero* refers to a special camaraderie wherein the English translation "companion" is quite inadequate. *Pan* in Spanish means bread. *ComPAÑero* is a person whom we trust so completely that we will sit down and break bread with him. It signifies that special friendship between the speaker and the listener.

Renato Cayetano did not deny that his image as *compañero* did much to catapult him next to the number one position in the Senate race. Although radio and television shows gave him an edge over many of the other candidates, these were not enough to ensure his win. That he did so well, said Cayetano, was largely because he had succeeded in bringing the message to the people that the administration of criminal justice should be improved [Balgos 1998].

In the past decades, scholars had believed that candidate images[6] are part of a rational process of evaluating candidates [Niemi and Weisberg 1984]. This is so because few voters have participated in legislative hearing or researched any of the issues of

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6) The message that a celebrity projects through his or her roles on screen. This also refers to the celebrity's public appearance, including his or her rapport with the viewing public.

public policy in detail.

Alfredo Lim, Manila mayor who later became television commentator against crime, chose the alias *Mayor Fred Lim*, also from his program *Katapat: Mayor Fred Lim*. Public affairs' commentators Vicento Sotto III and Lorna Regina Legarda used their screen names *Tito Sotto* and *Loren Legarda* during the election.

All the celebrity candidates previously mentioned had programs that served as legitimate avenues for public service. They play the role of a social watchdog, which enables them to intervene political processes, deriving from the respect for the principle of free speech and media independence. Media, called as the Fourth Estate, has a fiscal function in relation to the three co-equal branches in a republican form of government such as Philippines. Because of this function, the role of public affairs show host is adversarial and investigative in nature. The host should always project to report, without fear or favor, the shenanigans in government such as malpractice of public officials and misappropriation of funds [Malinao 1997].

These roles of being service-oriented are cultivated over time and survived many scandals. It reinforces media's psychological power [Thomas 1983], especially during election time. The credibility and trust that the host had developed with their audience enhance television's persuasive effectiveness.

II–1–B　*Film Heroes*

The other half of celebrity politicians is a hero on screen. They give the audience a sense of hope by overcoming evil in the narratives where they participate. Action stars Jose Marcelo Ejercito, Jose Bautista and Manuel Lapid chose their screen names, *Joseph Estrada*, *Ramon Revilla* and *Lito Lapid* respectively. Jose Ejercito and Jose Marie Bautista, second-generation celebrity politicians, chose to adapt their fathers' surname or alias on screen. Thus, they registered *Jinggoy Estrada*, and *Bong Revilla* at the Commission on Elections during the electoral campaign. Robert Jaworski, a popular basketball player, chose *Jawo*, a shortcut of his family name, known to sports commentators and spectators.

Aside from the benefit of name recall, screen names serve as capsules in preserving the image and maintaining the trust between the celebrity and the spectators. Ramon Revilla Sr., during his first candidacy in 1987, registered his birth name Jose Bautista as a senate candidate and lost. The Commission on Elections threw out the votes meant for Ramon Revilla because he failed to have his screen name accredited. In the 1992 election however, he used his screen name and became the number two senator-elect after Vicente Sotto III. His son, Jose Marie Bautista, who is now a senator (13th Congress 2004–07), recognized that the greatest thing that he ever received from his father is the screen name Ramon Revilla, Jr. [Domingo 2002].

Image recall and viewers' empathy are more obvious with film stars as they perform the same stereotypical roles all over again. Filipino movies tend to be formula oriented to ensure acceptability among audiences. Each actor and actress projects peculiar traits

and values that could single-handedly determine the box-office success or failure of a movie. Joseph and Jinggoy Estrada are known for being street-smart heroes who protect the underdogs. They would engage in fights to ensure the rights of a common man. On the other hand, Ramon and Bong Revilla are popular for their talisman that gave them a cloak of invincibility in combating creatures of the underworld. They have spectacular sceneries and costumes, and would end up victorious against evil.

In the eyes of the viewing public, such roles of heroes and social watchdogs give a sense of service and hope. When these celebrities, along with their screen names and the roles imbedded in it, decide to bring those *Messages* not just on screen but in the real world through politics, the most probable reaction of their fans is to give them a chance.

Voters first learned to judge image in correlation to performance in their daily interaction with family, friends and co-workers. When they respond to situation such as elections, with the notion that the actor, actress or television host will perform in the national seat parallel to one's screen image, the only difference is that they are perceiving social reality through media-created mental frames.

II−2 *Mass Spectatorship*
II−2−A *Message Consistency between Social Role and Public Image*

The exposures of celebrity candidates before the election are not confined to their own shows. As socio-cultural figures, their lives are often open to the public because they are potent source of news. The hope and service that are projected in the narratives of their shows, as well as the empathy and trust that are established while building their image, are much more strengthened as they project similar social roles in their public lives.

The complex relationship between celebrities and the public has been a prime element of the mythic nature of film ever since. Contemporary studies of stardom have challenged the assumptions of apparatus theory and textual analysis, primarily focusing on the intertextual system at work in the creation of the persona of stars. The possibility for overlap is obvious. There is the proverbial chicken-and-egg enigma about celebrities' "real life" versus "screen life," and which imitates which. The "life imitates art," and vice versa syndrome is a crucial component of the construction of star personae [Monaco 1981].

In this section, celebrities who attained the two highest legislative positions are considered to elaborate spectatorship. Former President Joseph Estrada's public image and Vice President Noli de Castro's language code are discussed.

Former President Joseph Estrada, like the folktale heroes, began his life as "nobility" but circumstances conspired to rob him of his birthright. Thus, he endures humiliation and learns early in life about the hardship of the masses.

Coming from a well-off family, Estrada did not finish his collegiate education. Instead, he joined the film industry. He sought fame and fortune as movie actor, packaged as a man for the masses who, in the end, always managed to beat his

oppressors. Estrada's career in Tagalog movies, mainly patronized by the masses, gave him a strong pro-poor image that was used in his public relations and vote mobilization efforts. Estrada's political strategy did not actually advocate "class war" but in its contents and rhetoric, it pursued an explicit "rich versus poor" theme [Laquian and Laquian 2003].

He lives up to his screen reputation as a tough hero with a good heart. In 1979, he established the Movie Workers Welfare Foundation Incorporated (Mowelfund), an organization ensuring the rights and opportunities available to film directors, crews and actors. In the movies, Joseph Estrada is the tough but kindhearted hero, protecting the underdog, who beat his adversaries in a rousing comeback at the end. In political campaigns, he epitomized the downtrodden ordinary citizen whose time had come to achieve victory in elections and exacted revenge from the elite.

Estrada headlined what were heralded as landmark Philippine films in the 60s, including *Asiong Salonga* (1961) and *Geron Busabos* (1964). His roles were known to be tough on wrongdoers. He cultivated a "Robin Hood" figure, committed to redistributing wealth and power from the rich to the poor.

His parents did not think acting was a respectable job so he was forced to drop Jose Marcelo Ejercito, his birth name, and adopted a stage name. He chose the screen name Joseph Estrada. He is also known as *Erap* which in Tagalog slang, is the reverse form of *Pare*, meaning buddy or pal. It was his diamond-in-the-rock image as Joseph "*Erap*" Estrada that made him a celebrity persona. His career in the movies helped most in establishing a pro-poor image. Having been the first and only Filipino actor who ever won five Filipino Academy of Movie Arts and Sciences (FAMAS) awards, Estrada knew his craft well and used it to his advantage.[7] Such image came hand in hand with his 30-year experience in public service as a government official.[8]

During Joseph Estrada's candidacy as vice president, he campaigned for "*Jeep ni Erap*" (Erap's Jeepney). Jeepney, being the most common public transportation in the country, called for a bandwagon appeal. The ad invited everyone to join Estrada's cause while he does the driving. With such campaign scenario, it was not surprising that Estrada got almost 40% of the votes cast in 1998 elections. In fact, the Social Weather Station confirmed that Estrada won on the basis of the votes of the lower classes, classes D and E in the Philippine market research parlance. During the presidential campaign, he had "*Erap para sa Mahirap*" (Erap for the Poor) as his selling point, same role that he performed in films. He won with more than six million votes, compared to non-celebrity

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7) Estrada had made over a hundred films from 1954 (*Kandelerong Pilak*) to 1989 (*Sa Kuko ng Agila*).

8) In 1969, Estrada was elected Mayor of the municipality of San Juan in Metro Manila, serving in this capacity for 17 years. In 1987, he was elected to the Philippine Senate. In 1992, he became the Vice President and in 1998, the 13th President of the Philippines.

Jose de Venecia. Instead of using Jose Marcelo Ejercito, he even brought Joseph Estrada-Ejercito, his screen name plus his real surname, to presidency.

However, public image works double blade. If it is consistent with one's screen role, *Message* is enhanced and trust is maintained. If the public image becomes contradictory to one's screen role, the *Message* tend to be unreliable because of the dichotomy. It was a historical lesson for Filipinos when former President Estrada was forced out of office in 2001, just in the middle of his term. Charged with corruption, the same people who voted for him, rallied against him because he ceased to project his screen image as the hero of the underdogs.

II-2-B *Language Code*

Another way to maintain spectatorship is to use the language code that is more often used by *Receiver*. Speaking the same language shared by the members of the target audience created a perception of similarity that could lead to effective persuasion. It tends to cultivate empathy. To speak in the same code as the *Receiver* is to be aware of his/her worldview. Among the celebrity politicians, only Loren Legarda used English language. The rest communicated in Filipino.

Vice President Noli de Castro banked on the language code, particularly Filipino language, to communicate with mass spectators. Apparently, there is a high degree of correlation between proficiency in English and interest in the more intellectual type of communication. In the broadcast media, national news are in English while local news and entertainment shows are either in Filipino or local dialects. However, when Noli de Castro started to host the public affairs show *Magandang Gabi Bayan*, he used the Filipino language, reaching a huge number of audience. The usage of Filipino provided a social bond in depth, not possible with the "standard English" that began only half a century ago. Undoubtedly, he is the most respected anchor that mastered the national language. This gave the masses the opportunity to form opinions, and participate in discussions regarding public affairs.

Being an anchor of the primetime newscast *TV patrol* on weekdays and the host of popular *Magandang Gabi Bayan* every Saturday, Noli de Castro became the people's representative. His exposés paved the way to track anomalies in the different sectors of the society. During the 2001 pre-election surveys, his name emerged among the top choices of the people for senatorial race although he had no political background. He ran for Senator that year and won.

In Haskell Wexler's *Medium Cool*, an incisive, even brilliant, analysis of the relationship between media and politics, a group of Black militants challenged a TV reporter: You put him on the 6, the 10, and the 12 o'clock news, they demand for one of the characters, that he be real. The function of media in determining the validity of an action, person, or idea was one of the central truths of radical politics in the 60s and still is [Monaco 1981].

De Castro's image as a social watchdog that ceaselessly find ways to improve the country, and his use of Tagalog, enable the mass people to empathize with him. By using the Filipino language in public service broadcasting, he offered new possibilities in participatory democracy. He was able to maximize the peculiar power of media as "primordial"[9] in setting a public agenda. Thus, De Castro's access to the living rooms of Filipino families was the elicitation of more citizen participation in national issues, and ultimately, the delivery of more votes.

In the 2004 election, President Arroyo's tandem with Vice-president de Castro was an effective strategy. Arroyo, being the daughter of former President Diosdado Macapagal, was handicapped by her upper class background. Filipinos have traditionally been ambivalent about superior status to political figures, and any obvious attempt to display power is a risky move. De Castro, with his modulated voice and *Kabayan* image, was convincing enough to be one of the plain folks. In their campaigns, Arroyo utilized this asset using the town-hall approach, where instead of full-blown rallies in various places, they met with local officials and media. De Castro raised issues with incumbent President Arroyo to start a dialogue, serving as a bridge between Arroyo and the masses.

III *Channel*

III–1 *Nature: Visibility, Accessibility and Format*

With regard to the conception and existence of media celebrities, the distinction between film and television media has a very thin line. In Philippines, almost all of the television personalities, with the exception of anchors and newscasters, are also film artists. In fact, actors and actresses are groomed first on television. It is a venue for regular exposure and for honing up the skills of movie hopefuls under build-up contracts. They are seen hosting television shows, acting, singing and dancing. Weekly drama anthologies provide good vehicles for them to display their acting talents. Once they get a certain level of popularity, they take roles on films. On the other hand, those who started on film maintain their celebrity status through television shows. In addition, movies are also broadcasted on television channels and vice versa, successful television programs make good film material.

Audio-visual in nature, television and film play an important component of visual persuasion during advertisements and political campaigns. The fact that images can reproduce the appearance of reality also means that they can call forth a variety of "pre-programmed" emotional responses. Film stars can elicit emotions by simulating appearance of real person, objects and events. Television broadcasters, reporting in front

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9) The media help set the public agenda by defining and legitimizing issues which are open for public debate.

of an important event, serve as photographic proof that something really did happen. This audio-visual quality strengthens the viewers' illusion of interacting with real-world people and places. Television relies, almost exclusively, on conventional realist forms of image construction that mask the workings of the camera [Holtzman 2000].

The average Philippine television consumption of 2.8 hours daily is slightly higher than Hong Kong, China, Singapore, Malaysia and Taiwan [Braid 2004]. The Philippines has 29 channels, 15 of which are free television and 14 are from the cable network [Philippines, KBP 2004]. The television reach in Manila and urban areas is 96% and 85% respectively. In terms of audience share as a mass medium, television has bested radio, newspapers, magazines, and the internet. Aside from its accessibility, television is enjoying phenomenal credibility as indicated by a survey of registered voters conducted by Pulse Asia in 2004. When asked which sources of information and news about the candidates and the campaign are the most credible, 67% said it was television. Radio was a distant second with 20%, followed by newspapers with only 5%.

Television is often the best way to reach the outer wing of the electorate, who do not attend party rallies. First-hand information about policies, parties, and politicians is rarely available to most voters. The typical voter depends for the majority of his/her information about candidates upon news update, entertainment programs and campaign advertisements.

Technological determinist Marshall McLuhan believed that the political candidate who understands television—whatever his party, goals or beliefs—can gain power un-known to history [Griffin 1997]. Television is the medium through which voters typically encounter political candidates and officials. It links citizens to their representatives. Thus, skillful use of television to cultivate personal support is regarded as essential to political success in every democracy that is well along in the modernization process [Swanson and Mancini 1996].

Film and television, no matter how apolitical it presents itself, regularly propagate certain political themes by stereotyping and by carefully avoiding taboos. Theorist George Gerbner argues that all media carry a "hidden curriculum" of values and explana-tions about how things happen. Sociologist Hal Himmelstein believes that through its settings, music, words, and stories, television has become one of our society's principal repositories of ideology. Herbert Schiller, a leading communications critic, writes that one central myth dominates the world of fabricated fantasy—the idea that media entertainment and recreation are value-free. He believes that it has no point of view and exists outside the social process. Critic Erik Barnouw concludes that popular entertain-ment is basically propaganda for the status quo [Parenti 1992].

What film and television actually give us is something that is neither purely entertainment nor purely political. It is a hybrid that might be called "political entertain-ment." The entertainment format makes political propagation all the more insidious. Beliefs are less likely to be preached than assumed.

III−2　*The Network Industry and Its Socio-Economic Background*

Access to television and overseas contract employment changed "command voting," wherein the political beliefs of the mass people were shaped by those who wielded political, economic and moral power over them.　The new prosperity brought in by overseas remittances from the mid '70s onwards has scattered television sets, not to mention video recorders, all over the countryside.　The broadening of audiences led to a change in television fare, and, more importantly, compelled the use of the Filipino language as a medium of serious political opinion.　The masses felt entitled to have their own opinions on issues that affected the whole nation.　Television also demystified government and, with it, the politicians who run it [David 2004].　With continued poor governance and increasing government dissatisfaction, the masses had started to look for alternatives.

The commercial thrust of Philippine broadcasting has made it unique among other countries, where television is controlled and operated by the government.　There are two major networks, which are both privately owned: Alto-Broadcasting Corporation-Chronicle Broadcasting Network (ABS-CBN) and Global Media Arts (GMA) Network, Incorporated.　ABS-CBN has 11 originating stations, 14 relay stations, and 8 affiliate television stations.　GMA Network has 2 originating stations, 40 relays and 7 affiliate stations [Philippines, KBP 1998].　Each has its own station ID to court the empathy of the viewers—*Kapamilya* (One as a Family) for ABS-CBN and *Kapuso* (One in Heart) for GMA.　Both stations played an important part in the 1998 and 2004 elections because all the elected celebrity show hosts came from either ABS-CBN (Legarda, De Castro, Cayetano, Lim) or GMA (Sotto, Revilla).　All of their shows were broadcasted on primetime once a week.　Such continued and sustained media exposure of the candidates, gave them an edge over non-celebrities. Because of television, candidates can campaign directly to the voter without passing through local leaders who functioned as gatekeepers.　The spread of television resulted to what political analyst Eric Gutierrez calls "retail politics." Along with the electoral laws, television fosters individualization.

Attorney Ricardo Puno, who was ABS-CBN senior vice president for news and current affairs, said that "in an ideal world, there should be a dividing line between the politics and the media." But the world is far from ideal and personalities who are constantly in the public eye and who shift to politics evidently enjoy a built-in advantage [Hofilena 2004].

Conlusion

The interlocking of socio-cultural and political systems creates conditions of subjection. Philippine electoral laws, and the absence of strong political parties, privilege the role of the individual candidates.

These are particularly advantageous to *Sources* (media celebrities) who had presented themselves as socio-cultural figures on national television even before the official campaign starts. Candidates who have both celebrity and political lineage are more strategically positioned to inherit power due to Filipino's context of kinship. They are afforded public visibility and political network at the same time.

Due to the social roles of candidates as action stars and public affairs hosts, the narrative of their program tend to formulate *Messages* of hope and service, which are maintained through spectatorship. Celebrities are favored when they project public images, which are similar to their roles as heroes and social watchdogs on screen. These *Messages* are encoded in Filipino language to reach the most number of viewers/voters.

Aside from spectatorship, the nature of television enhances the *Message* because of its audio-visual format and wide reach. The celebrity candidate has the benefit of having national exposure to the biggest bloc of voters. Its role to disseminate information for the common good sometimes blur the distinction between broadcast journalists and politicians, who are both working in the name of public service. The film's entertainment format makes political propagation, intended or unintended, insidious.

The majority vote system, the usage of Filipino language, and the commercial nature of television empower the masses in selecting legislators to address national problems and international agenda.

Mainly because of all these SMCR variables, the *Receiver* tends to have favorable *Feedback* to the *Source*'s intention during national elections. Therefore, unless there will be changes in communication variables, celebrity candidates will continue to benefit from communication privileges even before the official campaign starts. With such compelling political advantage, it can be expected from politicians aspiring for national positions to include as vital part of their winning strategy to create and use, as an imposing necessity, these privileges.

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Appendix 1 1998 Filipino Celebrity Candidates Who Ran For National Positions

Candidate Name	Position Sought	Role on Screen	Film/Television Exposure
Estrada, Joseph*	President	Actor	*Geron Busabos, Asiong Salonga*
Legarda, Loren*	Senator	Anchor, Show host	*The World Tonight, The Inside Story*
Sotto, Vicente III*	Senator	Show host	*Eat Bulaga, Brigada Siete*
Cayetano, Renato*	Senator	Show host	*Compañero y Compañera*
Revilla, Ramon*	Senator	Actor	*Anting-Anting, Exodus*
Jaworksi, Robert*	Senator	Basketball player	Philippine Basketball Association
Webb, Freddie	Senator	Basketball player, Show host	Philippine Basketball Association

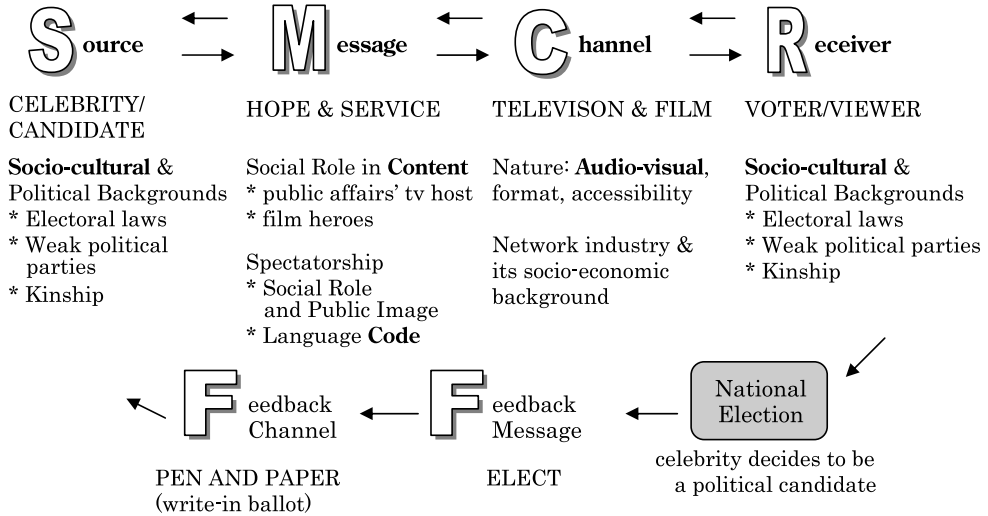* means elected

Appendix 2 2004 Filipino Celebrity Candidates Who Ran For National Positions

Candidate Name	Position Sought	Role on Screen	Film/Televison Exposure
Poe, Fernando Jr.	President	Actor	*Panday, Kapag Lumaban ang Api*
Villanueva, Eduardo	President	Show host	*Diyos at Bayan, Philippine for Jesus Movement Forum*
De Castro, Noli*	Vice-President	Anchor, Show host	*Magandang Gabi Bayan*
Legarda, Loren	Vice-President	Anchor, Show host	*The World Tonight, The Inside Story*
Anson-Roa, Maria Elisa	Senator	Actress, Show host	*Mano Po III, Kadenang Bulakalak*
Estrada, Jinggoy*	Senator	Actor	*Ang Erpat kong Astig, Walang Iwanan Peksman*
Ilarde, Edgar	Senator	Show host	*Napakasakit Kuya Eddie*
Jaworski, Robert	Senator	Basketball player	Philippine Basketball Association
Lapid, Manuel*	Senator	Actor	*Lapu-lapu, Hari ng Gatilyo*
Lim, Alfredo*	Senator	Show host	*Katapat: Mayor Fred Lim*
Pilapil, Pilar	Senator	Actress	*Marupok Mapusok Maharot, Hiram*
Revilla, Ramon Jr.*	Senator	Actor	*SPO4 Santiago, Idol Ko si Kap*
Sonza, Jose	Senator	Show host	*Mel and Jay*
Mercado, Orlando	Senator	Show host	*Kapwa Ko, Mahal Ko*

* means elected

Appendix 3　This Papers' Remodeled Framework Based on Berlo's SMCR model

Source → **M**essage → **C**hannel → **R**eceiver

| CELEBRITY/ CANDIDATE | HOPE & SERVICE | TELEVISON & FILM | VOTER/VIEWER |

Socio-cultural &
Political Backgrounds
* Electoral laws
* Weak political parties
* Kinship

Social Role in **Content**
* public affairs' tv host
* film heroes

Spectatorship
* Social Role and Public Image
* Language **Code**

Nature: **Audio-visual**, format, accessibility

Network industry & its socio-economic background

Socio-cultural &
Political Backgrounds
* Electoral laws
* Weak political parties
* Kinship

Feedback Channel ← **F**eedback Message ← National Election

celebrity decides to be a political candidate

PEN AND PAPER (write-in ballot)

ELECT

The variables in bold letters are borrowed from Berlo's original SMCR model while the rest are incorporated to illustrate the celebrity politician phenomenon.

Berlo's original model can be easily misinterpreted that there is neither flow nor relationship because it lacks arrows to represent direction. In my framework, I opted to put unparallel arrows to show the constant interaction between the *Source* and *Receiver*. But, the left to right flow of communication from *Receiver* to *Source* is only of an inferential type: viewers appreciate or stop watching films. Thus, I incorporated *Feedback Message* in which the *Receiver acts* by electing the celebrities as legislators through pen and paper (*Feedback Channel*) during national election. My main concern, therefore, is the clockwise flow of communication to illustrate the election of celebrities, starting with the *Source* who has the initial intention to communicate.