

**YANGON UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS
MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATIO PROGRAMME**

**A STUDY ON JOURNALISM CULTURE AT THE DAWN
OF DEMOCRACY IN MYANMAR**

**KYAWT KYAWT AUNG
EMPA-25 (16th BATCH)**

AUGUST, 2019

**YANGON UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS
MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMME**

**A STUDY ON JOURNALISM CULTURE AT THE DAWN OF
DEMOCRACY IN MYANMAR**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Public Administration (MPA)

Supervised by:

Dr. San Tun
Professor/ Head (Retd.)
Department of Philosophy
University of Dagon

Presented by:

Kyawt Kyawt Aung
Roll No. 25
EMPA (16th Batch)
2017-2019

August, 2019

YANGON UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS
MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMME

This is to certify that this thesis entitled “**A Study on Journalism Culture at the Dawn of Democracy in Myanmar**” submitted as a partial fulfillment towards the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Administration (MPA) has been accepted by Board of Examiners.

BOARD OF EXAMINERS

1. Professor Dr. Tin Win
Rector
Yangon University of Economics (Chief Examiner)

2. Professor Dr. Ni Lar Myint Htoo
Pro-Rector
Yangon University of Economics (Examiner)

3. Professor Dr. Phyu Phyu Ei
Programme Director and Head of Department
Department of Applied Economics
Yangon University of Economics (Examiner)

4. Daw Khin Chaw Myint
Associate Professor (Retd.)
Department of Applied Economics
Yangon University of Economics (Examiner)

5. U Thein Naing
Associate Professor
Department of Applied Economics
Yangon University of Economics (Examiner)

August, 2019

Abstract

This research study is intended to analyze the perception of journalists upon presenting information for public benefits and to reveal the changes of journalism cultures depending on the political system and policies. The research is conducted with mix method of qualitative and quantitative information. A total of 112 respondents were interviewed with structured questionnaire of 5 points Likert scales by means of self-administered answers. As demographic profile of respondents who are working in all media sectors of Myanmar are in middle aged group. Education achievements of youth respondents are in above the level of Bachelor Degree from Universities. Two-third of respondents are working in the printing media and its related fields because of printing businesses are majority of media publication. Regarding to opinions of respondents on quality changes of journalism in Myanmar, two-third of respondents answered as it is increased. From these findings, it can make conclusion as the perceptions of respondents on the journalism quality are being positive views. The quality of journalism depends on the efforts of all stakeholders in all kinds of media systems for implementation of democratic society. Regarding to opinions of respondents on the statements for self-perception of importance of their role in society, more than half of respondents responded as extremely important and very important for the statements. As descriptions of ideas of news coverage in presenting information, more than half of respondents agree the all statements regards.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge Professor Dr. Tin Win, Rector of the Yangon University of Economics for permission in my selection of the research topic as a partial fulfillment towards the Degree of Master of Public Administration. I also deeply thank Professor Dr. Ni Lar Myint Htoo, Pro-Rector, Yangon University of Economics. I also wish to extend deepest thanks to Professor Dr. Phyu Phyu Ei, Programme Director and Head of Department, Department of Applied Economics. I would like mention my deep thanks to Dr. San Tun, Professor and Head (Retired) Department of Philosophy, University of Dagon, for supervision and helping me to complete this thesis. I would like to express my indebtedness to all Professors, Associate Professors, Lecturers, and all staffs from Department of Applied Economics for helping in anyway in my study period for MPA courses. Finally, I would like to express my thanks to all class mates from 16th Batch of EMPA.

Table of Contents

	Page
ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	vii
Chapter I. Introduction	1
1.1 Rationale of the Study	1
1.2 Objectives of the Study	3
1.3 Method of Study	3
1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study	3
1.5 Organization of the Study	4
Chapter II. Literature Review	5
2.1 Journalism and Democracy	5
2.2 Innovation of Media Communication and Journalism Culture	13
2.3 Effects of Social Media on Journalism	15
2.4 Reviews on Previous Studies	17
Chapter III. History of Periodical Publishing in Myanmar	19
3.1 Periodicals Published in the 19 th Century	19
3.2 Periodicals Published in 20 th Century	23
3.3 Situation of Free Publication after 1988	25
3.4 Political Changes and Journalism in Myanmar	27
3.5 Historical Oppression Laws of Journalism in Myanmar	30
Chapter IV. Survey Analysis	33
4.1 Survey Profile	33
4.2 Survey Design	33
4.3 Survey Results	34

Chapter V. Conclusion	61
5.1 Findings	61
5.2 Suggestions	65
References	
Appendices	

List of Tables

No. of Table	Title	Page
Table 4.1	Demographic Features of Respondents	35
Table 4.2	Types of Journalism Organizations Respondents Working	36
Table 4.3	Number of Staffs in the Media Organizations	37
Table 4.4	Professional Position of Respondents	37
Table 4.5	Specific Tasks of job of Journalists	38
Table 4.6	Working Experiences (years) of Respondents	39
Table 4.7	Whether working only for one organization or working for others	39
Table 4.8	Terms of Journalists Employment	40
Table 4.9	Numbers of news items can be written/produced and/or processed in a usual week publication	40
Table 4.10	Having Gender Inclusive Culture in Media Organization	41
Table 4.11	Opinion on female journalists are paid equally in terms of salary for the same working time	42
Table 4.12	Awareness of Journalist on laws and policies for media freedom	42
Table 4.13	Knowledge Level on laws and policies by Journalists	43
Table 4.14	Well Known Associations for Journalists	43
Table 4.15	Opinions of Journalists in reporting about the issues concerning race and religion	44
Table 4.16	Opinions of Journalists in reporting about the issues concerning political corruption and criminal cases	45
Table 4.17	Opinions of Journalists for fulfilling Responsibilities for Democratization	45
Table 4.18	Opinions of Journalists on quality changes of journalism during last 10 years	46
Table 4.19	Opinions on Threats to the Printing Media	47
Table 4.20	Influence Percentage of Different Media on Public	47
Table 4.21	Top 10 Obstacle Factors for Freedom of Media	48
Table 4.22 (a)	Frequency Distribution of Scores for Self-Perceptions of Each Statement	50
Table 4.22 (b)	Frequency Distribution of Scores for Self-Perceptions of Each Statement (Cont'd)	51

No. of Table	Title	Page
Table 4.22 (c)	Frequency Distribution of Scores for Self-Perceptions of Each Statement (Cont'd)	52
Table 4.22 (d)	Frequency Distribution of Scores for Self-Perceptions of Each Statement (Cont'd)	53
Table 4.23 (a)	Frequency Distribution of Scores for descriptions of ideas of news coverage in each Statement	54
Table 4.23 (b)	Frequency Distribution of Scores for descriptions of ideas of news coverage in each Statement (Cont'd)	56
Table 4.23 (c)	Frequency Distribution of Scores for descriptions of ideas of news coverage in each Statement (cont'd)	57
Table 4.23 (d)	Frequency Distribution of Scores for descriptions of ideas of news coverage in each Statement (cont'd)	59

List of Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BSPP	Burmese Socialist Program Party
CD	Compact Disk
DVD	Digital Video Disk
FM Radio	Frequency Modulated Radio
IMS	International Media Support
IT	Information Technology
MJI	Myanmar Journalism Institute
MPC	Myanmar Press Council
MPT	Myanmar Post and Telecommunication
NAB	News Agency Burma
NLD	National League for Democracy
PSB	Press Security Board
PSRD	Press Scrutiny and Registration Division
SIM	Subscriber Individual Module
SLORC	State Law and Order Restoration Council
SPJ	Society of Professional Journalists
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
TV	Television
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VOA	Voice of America
WWW	World Wide Web

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As consequence of globalization of media economy and technology for journalism, its cultural changes also can be seen prominently. The changes can be differences between the degree of democracy adoptions and practices in political systems of societies. In journalistic production routines and applied principles, there are some common factors such as diminishing towards more popularized, more commercialized production of content (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Furthermore, journalism cultures in many countries around the world in basically similar professional environments of work; they use similar equipment and technology and share a common occupational ideology.

1.1 Rationale of the Study

Modern media comes in many different formats, including print media (books, magazines, and newspapers), television, movies, video games, music, mobile phones, various kinds of software, and the Internet. Among those, basic media of printing have been influenced by broadcasting and online media of digital technologies. In the globalization era, the printing media industry's very existence is threatened by the rise of digital media such as radio and TV and online communication media. In such circumstance journalism cultures also depend on the production trends and marketing routines, applied principles and technologies. Furthermore, journalists in many countries around the world work in basically similar professional environments; they use similar equipment and technology and share a common occupational ideology. This view of journalism embraces both professional journalism practices and the broader contextual dimensions.

In Myanmar, paradigm of information has been changed depending on political systems. Because of coverage of civil governments and political power in the current political system can cause bias in the reporting of journalists. In order to explore the journalism culture in Myanmar, it will have to learn the constituents and

dimensions that include the variety of journalists' role perceptions, the basic philosophical concepts of journalistic coverage and the ways how journalists respond to ethical problems in reporting. The concepts of professional culture of journalism and journalism cultures have remarkable distinction.

Therefore, it will have to make a distinction between "professional culture of journalism" and a broader definition of "journalism culture" that would also include journalism as a discourse in its various formats and practices (such as textual norms, genres, writing styles etc.) and institutional dimensions (such as organizational aspects etc.). Thus, the study has to unveil 'journalism culture' as the character and performance of journalism as an institution, profession and discourse in a concrete economic, political and cultural context of Myanmar. In Myanmar however, a post-censorship media landscape at the inception of democracy begins to take shape the journalism cultures. Observers say constraints on freedom of press also cause damages to media publication and there have been some threatening situations in the current situation.

The relationship between political philosophy, political system, democracy and media are the major issues that scholar concentrated to be freedom of speech, rights to discuss political matters, and the quality of journalists' reporting of the political life. Media should play as an important role in the peace and development process and even though it could not be told to support the government but must participate in the process. The policy maker of political system (government) needs to develop media freedom. Mutual trust between authorities and media is important and could be achieved only through working together. Media was seen to have produced problems in the society especially in the totalitarianism. That is not good for the people and such conducts are not freedom of expression. Journalists watch closely the actions of the government. The news presented in media have a direct or indirect influence on the democratic process of the country. Thus, media have many benefits for the society. The government needs to transparently inform the media openly of all situation and the media also need to inform the true situation to the public.

In Myanmar, research milieus are very weak in all socioeconomic sectors. Information and knowledge from research findings in every sector of society are essential in academic fields as well as in decision making in public policy and public administration. The dearth of new information and new knowledge upon journalism and its related fields of academic journalistic issues are problems in the journalism

studies. Findings from this study contributed for making policies of public administration at the dawn of democracy in Myanmar. Moreover, it could be solved some problems of knowledge gap in the academic field of journalism.

1.2 Objective of the Study

The objective of the study is to analyze the perception of journalists upon presenting information for public benefits.

1.3 Method of Study

Regarding to methodology, the research applied the mix method of qualitative and quantitative information. The study is conducted by utilizing the theoretical approaches in which the research has been tended to the new kind of study of journalism culture in the changing situation of political system in Myanmar.

Being a descriptive research, the required data and relevant information for this study have been collected from various secondary sources of officially published reports. For literature review, the text books and internet websites, the reports of various researches on journalism are used as references. In collecting primary data for the opinions and attitudes of journalists, structured questionnaire with 5 points Likert scales were distributed for the interview of self-administered by respondents. Descriptive research method examines the problem by measuring the representative characteristics of the issues with information from the respondents. In this study a total of 112 journalists were selected as the respondents in the primary data collection.

1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study has focused on the journalism cultures in the current situation of Myanmar in all media. It has emphasized on the perceptions, attitudes, and the determinations of journalists on the social, political, cultural and economic situation of Myanmar. In the processes of study, there are some limitations in data collecting. Since some journalists from some media organizations could not participate although they are willing to mention their feelings on working milieu of media and journalism. The scope of qualitative information and data in literature review is as wide as from colonial ruling era to up to date.

1.5 Organization of the Study

This thesis comprised of five chapters. The first chapter is introduction in which eight sub-titles are mentioned. Chapter II is about literature review on history of journals and periodicals publishing and concepts of journalism cultures. Furthermore, chapter III is about history of periodical publishing in Myanmar. Chapter IV is about findings and interpretations of analysis on the primary data collected by survey interview. Finally, Chapter V is conclusion and suggestions for further development of journalism culture in Myanmar.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Journalists in many countries around the world work in basically similar professional environments; they use similar equipment and technology and share a common occupational ideology. This view of journalism embraces both professional journalism practices and the broader contextual dimensions. There are remarkable similarities in journalists' professional roles, conceptions, ethical views, editorial procedures and socialization processes of journalism culture in countries as diverse in the stages of democratization.

2.1 Journalism and Democracy

Journalism is a professional activity of gathering, assessing, creating, and presenting news and information with related commentary through media. It is also the product of these activities. The term was originally applied to the reportage of current events in printed form, specifically newspapers, but it now includes electronic forms as well in such of media; radio journalism, television journalism, online journalism.

Journalism culture is described as a "shared occupational ideology among news-workers". The term journalism culture spans the cultural diversity of journalistic values, practices and media products or similar media artifacts. Journalism culture sometimes suggests an all-encompassing consensus among journalists "toward a common understanding and cultural identity of journalism." Worldwide journalism cultures can be empirically classified as Western Journalism Culture, European Journalism Culture, or even a common global journalism ideology. Research into journalism cultures is especially helpful in analyzing assumed influences of globalization, indicated by world-spanning major media corporations, on individual media cultures and its worldwide standard-setting potency. In scientific literature, journalism culture is also called "journalistic culture", "news culture", "newspaper cultures" or "culture of news production".

Journalism serves many different roles to inform the entire community or public. Once, the journalist reports the information in any means of media that is available to anyone wishing to receive it. For that reason, journalism is an essential component in a democratic society. The freer the society, the more news and information is available to the public. Citizens tend to be well-informed on issues affecting their communities, government, and everyday dealings. In a democracy political system, journalism has a fundamental role. It gives people information that would help them exercise their citizenship and participate in Government decisions. Journalism watches closely the actions of the government to make sure they do their jobs accurately and with honesty.

The news presented in mass media will have a direct or indirect influence in democratic processes of society and public administration issues. This can be seen from a community to an international level. To fulfill these essential roles, journalism cannot be controlled by the government or manipulated to serve the interests of those in power. Only free and independent journalism is the one truly useful for a democracy and clean good governance as tool for transparency. However, in many countries, free journalism only exists in theories or in only an illusion. Even in democratic countries, in many occasions, news media have worked only to benefit the interests of elites. Therefore journalism freedom is imperative in enhancing democratization of a society and responsible governments.

2.1.1 The Role of Media in Democratization

Democracy is impossible without a free press. This is a precept that is deeply ingrained in democratic theory and practice. The role of media or press has often played significantly shaping the course of politics, and viewed as an important force in public administration, it has been referred to as the fourth estate in relation to the other three branches of government: legislative, executive and judicial. The term fourth estate is sometimes used to replace the press and media. The fourth estate refers to the watchdog role of the press, one that is important to a functioning democracy. The importance of Fourth Estate or the role of press in a representative democracy is twofold: it informs the citizenry and also serves as a feedback loop between the government and voters. The term fourth estate can be contrasted with the fourth branch of government. The term "fourth estate," or "fourth power," has also

been used to describe a political, institutional or societal force whose influence is not officially or consistently recognized.

As early as the 17th century, Enlightenment theorists had argued that publicity and openness provide the best protection against tyranny and the excesses of arbitrary rule. In the early 1700s, the French political philosopher Montesquieu, raging against the secret accusations delivered by Palace courtiers to the French King, prescribed publicity as the cure for the abuse of power. English and American thinkers later in that century would agree with Montesquieu, recognizing the importance of the press in making officials aware of the public's discontents and allowing governments to rectify their errors (Stephen Holmes 2015).

Since then, the press has been widely proclaimed as the "Fourth Estate," a coequal branch of government that provides the check and balance without which governments cannot be effective. For this reason, democrats through the centuries have tended to take the Enlightenment's instrumentalist view of the press. Thomas Jefferson, for all his bitterness against journalistic criticism celebrated the press, arguing that only through the exchange of information and opinion through the press would the truth emerge. Thus the famous Jeffersonian declaration: "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without government, it should not hesitate to prefer the latter."

Modern-day democrats are as hyperbolic in their praise of the press. Despite the present-day mass media's propensity for sleaze, sensationalism and superficiality, they are still seen as essential democratic tools. Contemporary democratic theory appreciates the media's role in ensuring governments are held accountable. In both new and old democracies, the notion of the media as watchdog and not merely a passive recorder of events are widely accepted. Governments, it is argued, cannot be held accountable if citizens are ill informed about the actions of officials and institutions. The watchdog press is guardian of the public interest, warning citizens against those who are doing them harm. A fearless and effective watchdog is critical in fledgling democracies where institutions are weak and pummeled by political pressure. When legislatures, judiciaries and other oversight bodies are powerless against the mighty or are themselves corruptible, the media are often left as the only check against the abuse of power. This requires that they play a heroic role, exposing the excesses of presidents, prime ministers, legislators and magistrates despite the risks.

The media also serve as a conduit between governors and the governed and as an arena for public debate that leads to more intelligent policy- and decision-making. Indeed, the Enlightenment tradition of the press as public forum remains strong. The press, (wrote by U.S. television journalist Bill Moyers in the early 1990s), should draw citizens to the public square and “provide a culture of community conversation by activating inquiry on serious public issues” (Bill Moyers).

In new democracies, the expectation is that the media would help build a civic culture and a tradition of discussion and debate which was not possible during the period of authoritarian rule. Not just journalists, but eminent contemporary thinkers like Nobel laureate Amartya Sen ascribe to the press the same cleansing powers that Enlightenment philosophers had envisioned. Sen outlined the need for “transparency guarantees” such as a free press and the free flow of information. Information and critical public discussion, he said, are “an inescapably important requirement of good public policy.” These guarantees, he wrote, “have a clear instrumental role in preventing corruption, financial irresponsibility and underhanded dealings.” Sen sees the media as a watchdog not just against corruption but also against disaster. “There has never been a famine in a functioning multiparty democracy,” he said. “A free press and the practice of democracy contribute greatly to bringing out information that can have an enormous impact on policies for famine prevention... a free press and an active political opposition constitute the best early-warning system a country threatened by famine could have” (Amartya Sen, 1999).

Since the late 1990s, donor countries and multilateral organizations have also been preaching the virtues of a free press not just in ensuring good and accountable governance but also as a tool for poverty reduction, popular empowerment and national reconciliation. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) says that addressing poverty requires not just a transfer of economic resources to the needy but also making information available to the poor so that they can participate more meaningfully in political and social life. After all, the poor cannot assert their rights if they don't know what these are. If they are unaware of the laws and procedures for availing themselves of their entitlements or the mechanisms they can use to remedy their deprivations, they will always remain poor. Democracy cannot take root if the poor and powerless are kept out of the public sphere. The argument is that effective media are the key as they can provide the information poor people need to take part in public life.

Ideally, the media should provide voice to those marginalized because of poverty, gender, or ethnic or religious affiliation. By giving these groups a place in the media, their views – and their afflictions – become part of mainstream public debate and hopefully contribute to a social consensus that the injustices against them ought to be redressed. In this way, the media also contribute to the easing of social conflicts and to promoting reconciliation among divergent social groups. All these are extrapolations on the media's role as virtual town hall or Public Square: by providing information and acting as a forum for public debate, the media play a catalytic role, making reforms possible through the democratic process and in the end strengthening democratic institutions and making possible public participation, without which democracy is mere sham.

2.1.2 Concepts of Ethical Journalism for Justice and Democracy

The most professional journalists believe that just because the press is 'free,' does not necessarily mean it should report, write or publish anything it wants. Journalists must tend to have a passion for promoting truth, awareness, accountability, and engagement within their communities and the world at large from the aspect of justice and democracy. That said, the field of journalism is only as noble as its individual outlets and practitioners. For that reason, establishing and maintaining a personal and professional code of ethics is essential for journalists because they are challenged regularly in their professional lives as the lines between working ethically and being labeled unethical. Indeed, most journalists believe there are ethics involved in practicing journalism and that a certain set of values should be followed by all journalists while doing their work.

Journalism ethics and standards are a set of principles that act as a guideline for professional journalists. These are often referred to as "code of ethics" or the "canons of journalism", and are aimed at ensuring that journalists maintain honesty and integrity in their profession. As far as the ethics are concerned, there isn't any standard reference book which journalists can refer to. Various associations come up with basic codes and canons frequently and most of them lay emphasis on the virtues of conducting yourself honestly, fairly and without any slant (Rahul Pandita, 2019).

Though there is not one single code of ethics that is observed by all journalists, there are several organizations around the world that have attempted to lay

down a set of rules and guidelines for ethical journalists to follow. According to the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ), there are four pillars of journalism ethics laid out as journalism guide (<https://www.spj.org/ethics.asp>).

1. Seek Truth and Report It

Ethical journalism should be accurate and fair. Journalists should be honest and courageous in gathering, reporting and interpreting information. Journalists should conduct themselves sincerely and honestly, and they should strive to present information in a lucid manner to public. Journalists have to ensure that they verify all relevant facts before airing/publishing the story.

2. Minimize Harm

Ethical journalism treats sources, subjects, colleagues and members of the public as human beings deserving of respect. Special care should be taken while interviewing children, mentally challenged individuals and people who are going through turmoil. If the person in question does not want to give an interview, journalists should respect his wish and not indulge in any kind of annoying and nagging. They also should be free from all prejudices concerning race, religion, sex and ethnicity, and every attempt should be made to ensure that no section of society is hurt by their reporting.

3. Act Independently

The highest and primary obligation of ethical journalism is to serve the public. Journalists should avoid conflicts of interest, real or perceived. Journalists should not use any secret means to obtain information and should make every attempt to ensure that they are not intruding into an individual's privacy. Journalists should not be influenced by any personal gains, consideration; advantage offered and should ensure that they do not publish/broadcast something for these gains.

4. Be Accountable and Transparent

Ethical journalism means taking responsibility for one's work and explaining one's decisions to the public. Journalists should explain ethical choices and processes to audiences. Encourage a civil dialogue with the public about journalistic practices, coverage and news content.

2.1.3 News Media and Journalism as the Fourth Estate of Democracy

The term Fourth Estate or fourth power refers to the press and news media both in explicit capacity of advocacy and implicit ability to frame political issues. Though it is not formally recognized as a part of a political system, it wields significant indirect social influence. The derivation of the term fourth estate arises from the traditional European concept of the three estates of the realm: the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners. The term the 'Fourth Estate' was first coined by Edmund Burke in 1787 when referring to the opening up of the House of Commons of Great Britain to newspaper reporting or the press. Thomas Carlyle in his book "On Heroes and Hero Worship" states as "Burke said there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important far than they all" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Estate).

The Fourth Estate refers to the press, print journalism and newspapers, but the definition is broader and refers to news media on the whole. Newspaper still seems to be the backbones of the Fourth Estate while other media also accountable. The Fourth Estate keeps government, legislators and big business in check by keeping society or the public informed. Investigative journalism plays a big part in uncovering bribery and corruption and in uncovering human rights violations.

The Fourth Estate describes the journalists' role in representing the interests of the people in relation to the business and political elites who claim to be doing things in public names. It goes on to say that it is often in the national interest to keep things from the citizens, but the public interest is about disclosure and the people's right to know. The Fourth Estate is a civil watchdog. Although governments claim to act in the public interest, it must face daily scrutiny of their actions. They must be called to account when overstepping the bounds of what citizens will support, or when taking actions that are clearly not in public interests. It must be relied on journalists and the news media to do this job on behalf of people.

One of the foundations and tests of a true democracy is a free press. In fragile and youthful democracy, there will need to fight to maintain each citizens' right to know. It also needs to fight to uphold the basic right to have access to accurate and balanced news reporting. With the impartiality of press and media, there should have a critical role to play in dispersing accurate news, presenting fair, balanced and impartial coverage of news events for the betterment of society. Governments need to

pay attention to the journalism integrity of the media environments in which they present themselves.

Freedom of press is being a constitutional right as well as under the UN Human Rights declaration; therefor press freedom is an important indicator of a stable democracy. The guarantee of freedom of expression and information is recognized as a basic human right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN in 1948, the European Convention on Human Rights, the American Convention on Human Rights, and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. In particular, Article 19 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

The positive relationship between the growth of the free press and the process of democratization is thought to be reciprocal. The core claim is that, in the first stage, the initial transition from autocracy opens up the state control of the media to private ownership, diffuses access, and reduces official censorship and government control of information. The public thereby receives greater exposure to a wider variety of journalism cultural products and ideas through access to multimedia such as radio and TV channels, as well as the diffusion of new technologies such as the Internet and mobile telephones. Once media liberalization has commenced, in the second stage democratic consolidation is strengthened where journalists in independent newspapers, radio and television stations facilitate greater transparency and accountability in governance, by serving in their watch-dog roles to deter corruption and malfeasance, as well as providing a civic forum for multiple voices in public debate, and highlighting problems to inform the policy agenda (Goran Hyden, 2002).

The role of journalists as watchdogs, the channels of the news media can function to promote government transparency, accountability, and public scrutiny of decision-makers in power, by highlighting policy failures, maladministration by public officials, corruption in the judiciary, and scandals in the corporate sector. Investigative journalism can open the government's record to external scrutiny and critical evaluation, and hold authorities accountable for their actions, whether public sector institutions, non-profit organizations, or private companies. Comparative econometric studies, and historical case studies of developments within particular countries such as Taiwan, have explored evidence for the

impact of the news media upon corruption. Brunetti and Weder, amongst others, found that there was less corruption in nations with a free press. The reason, they argue, is that journalist's roles as watchdogs promote the transparency of government decision-making process, and thereby expose and hinder misuse of public office, malfeasance, and financial scandals. In competitive multiparty democracies, voters can use information provided by the media to hold parties and leaders to account by 'kicking the rascals out'. By contrast, control of the news media is used to reinforce the power of autocratic regimes and to deter criticism of the government by independent journalists, though official government censorship, state ownership of the main radio and television channels, legal restrictions on freedom of expression and publication (such as stringent libel laws and restrictive official secrets acts), limited competition through oligopolies in commercial ownership, and the use of outright violence and intimidation against journalists and broadcasters. Media freedom organizations demonstrate that each year dozens of media professionals are killed or injured in the course of their work. Moreover, many journalists, broadcasters and editors have experienced intimidation or harassment, while journalists in many parts of the world face the daily threat of personal danger from wars or imprisonment by the security services (<http://www.ifj.org> and <http://www.hrw.org>)

2.2 Innovation of Media Communication and Journalism Culture

Any type of media can carry information to reach a large audience via mass communication. The most common platforms of media are primary means of communication used to reach the vast majority of the general public. These are newspapers, journals, magazines, radio, television, and the Internet. Through technologies all forms of media can take place communication to mass audiences in a variety of outlets of information. The common media can be classified as seven types of media derived from technology advancement. They are:

1. Printing media are books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, journals etc. from the late 15th century.
2. Recordings are gramophone records, magnetic tapes, cassettes, cartridges, CDs, and DVDs, and memory stick/card from the late 19th century.
3. Cinema from about 1900
4. Radio from about 1910

5. Television from about 1950
6. Internet from about 1990
7. Mobile phones from about 2000

According to Jennifer Alejandro (2010), during the last two decades the worldwide web (WWW) has changed the world and revolutionized how information is stored, published, searched and consumed. The ripple effect has spread so wide that it impacts not just businesses and industries but crosses over into also politics, medicine, media and breaches geographical locations, cultural boundaries and ultimately, affects people's day to day lives.

Moreover, Ruth A. Harper (2010) noted that technologies are changing so rapidly that many industries, including corporations and news media, can barely keep up. In the traditional world, newspapers, corporations, governments, or other types of leading organizations simply had to give out information, and people would consume it by reading or looking at it. But this seemingly tried-and-true method is transforming.

Web technology has invented social media as the great wave of web by Google since 1998. Wikipedia defined the social media as "*Social media is a term used to describe the type of media that is based on conversation and interaction between people online. Social media are media designed to be disseminated through social interaction, using highly accessible and scalable publishing techniques.*"

By social media people can make networking and communicating through text, video, blogs, pictures, status updates on sites such as Facebook, MySpace, LinkedIn or microblogs such as Twitter, etc. As the advantages of social media, it can make particular interest to journalism and it has become influential as a communication and news-breaking tool.

Simply making information available is not enough for today's public. Today's audiences expect to be able to choose what they read, and most believe they should be able to contribute content and opinions, too. This shift, sometimes called the social media revolution, is not the death of journalism; it's the birth of a democratic movement that emphasizes some of journalism's key factors: transparency, honesty, and giving a voice to the person who doesn't have one (Ruth A. Harper).

New type of news consumption today is not the same as traditional world of pre-satellite era. People had to wait for their morning papers or had to sit down at an

appointed time for the evening news on television. News consumption today is not the same as pre-internet news when people tune in to events happening around the world through 24-hour television news channels. More recently, a growing number of readers, viewers and listeners are going online for their news. Television, newspapers and radio are still here but there is a growing competition from interactive online media.

Old media like publishing used to require a printing press. Circulation was limited to a fraction of a geographical location. Broadcasting via radio and television rely on expensive equipment to transmit signals around a country, regionally or globally. Now, once a user connects to the internet, he has access to a platform that is at once global and free. The new model assumes that the devices themselves are smart. This means that one may propose or explore new models of communication and coordination without needing to get anyone's permission. An individual with a camera or a keyboard is now a non-profit of one and self-publishing is the norm (C. Shirky).

New-media technology is not only having a serious effect because of its impact on established journalism. The way that the vast bulk of public and commercial media is changing that is more important than the emergence of citizen journalism or the independent blogosphere. Together they offer the opportunity to transform the news media into a more open, trustworthy and useful forum for information and debate. As news becomes non-linear and open-sourced, journalism will change and is changing. This is about more than posting a comment on a blog or sending in a photo to a website and social media (Jennifer Alejandro, 2010).

2.3 Effects of Social Media on Journalism

Mobile devices, especially mobile phones have played a critical role for social media. They have been primary social networking “hub” and the new citizen journalism has been very promising in the near future. Social media is one of the best ways to get traction with the mobile market. People can use powerful and smart functions of advanced and high tech mobile phones and computers.

Social media and networking online offer people the opportunity to re-connect with their old friends and acquaintances, make new friends, exchange ideas, share content and pictures, and many other activities. Users can stay abreast of the latest global and local news and information of developments, and participate in campaigns

and activities of their choice. It has now become quite easy to raise the voice of public who could instantly be heard at the events of other corner of the world. Everyone of public can create contact and relationship with professionals and journalists. This allows journalists to reach communities and minorities that news organizations have been overlooking.

To understand how social media has affected journalism, one should understand the most popular social media tools for journalists, the most popular of today being. Twitter and Facebook as well as web 2.0 applications like blogs and Google have changed the news industry and the journalism practice inside out. They present awesome possibilities and at the same time a high risk for errors. The challenges social media and web 2.0 have thrown to news managements and journalists have been like nothing seen before. Barriers to entry have been lowered since anyone with a PC, iPhone or Blackberry can be their own publisher. In the near future, social media effects could become citizen journalism, the concepts of collection, dissemination, and analysis of news and information by the general public, especially by means of social media in the Internet. General public can send photographs, amateur video, text messages and emails (Jennifer Alejandro, 2010).

The public are now becoming partners with journalists in the production of news. Aside from citizen journalism, there is also another developing trend called networked journalism. It takes into account the collaborative nature of journalism of professionals and amateurs working together to get the real story, linking to each other. It is a process of mining public knowledge to add value to the community by sharing facts, questions, answers, ideas, and perspectives. Charlie Beckett, author of Super Media describes networked journalism as “the journalist still reports, edits, packages the news. But the process is continually shared. The networked journalist changes from being a gatekeeper who delivers to a facilitator who connects.”

Thus, social media has made journalists easy in accessing the news sources, rather than going in the field, many journalists could use the news and information shared on social media. However, unreliable and unverified news becomes part of the media, and people are misguided as negative effects of social media.

In future, it should think about media freedom as the human right to be free expression. Media freedom must be formulated by shifting power to the public in news production. By means of networked journalism and citizen journalism can create the liberalization of media markets around the world. Improving levels of literacy,

increasing wealth and progressive political changes can provide more information and news of the world than ever before. Applicability of new technologies for information and communication will only be meaningful in the democratic societies rather than the societies ruled by authoritarian regimes. But the power shift to the public in news production is now not struggle of the journalist alone for press freedom. If the public are part of the process and they value what is created then they will also want a freer and open news media. Both of networked journalism and citizen journalism are business model and practical strategy to secure the future of journalism and its freedom.

2.4 Reviews on Previous Studies

Kyaw Thu is a journalist who has written a path-breaking research study on how a long history of censorship of the media in Myanmar. The title of the research is “The Impact of Censorship on the Development of the Private Press Industry in Myanmar”. The findings of research are referred in literature reviews in this study. Kyaw Thu mentioned as finding the effects on the nature and quality of the print media and the economic prospects of the press and media industry.

This research report has been organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 includes introduction that describes censorship in Myanmar and the rationale behind the research study. Chapters 2 emphasize the history of censorship, why governments use censorship and how it evolves. In addition, a comparative study of the censorship of authoritarian states such as Zimbabwe, Syria, and Vietnam is also being presented. Chapter 3 includes a brief history of print news media in Myanmar. This part focus on the period after independence and up to the present day. Because the British introduced the newspaper to Myanmar, a brief background of colonial rule in Myanmar will also be included to explain the history of the press industry in Myanmar. In addition, newspaper history is presented in order to compare the newspaper industry in the colonial period, after independence, under the socialist regime and most recently, under the military government. Chapter 4 contains the major part of this study, covering the impact of censorship on journalistic work and the production of quality newspapers. Moreover, it closely looks into the relationship between the development of the private press industry and censorship. Surveys and in-depth interviews with nearly 80 reporters and editors participated to assess the impact of censorship on journalistic

works and publishing quality newspapers. Interviews with ten publishers and media executives described in order to assess the impact of censorship on newspaper businesses. This chapter also explores the censorship's impact on revenue, readership and brand image of the newspaper. In addition, chapter 4 looks at the prospect of media freedom and market potential. Finally, chapter 5 is the conclusion of the research report. This chapter presented major findings and give recommendations based on the findings.

In this research, researcher draws on unprecedented access to nearly 80 journalists and several publishers to give a remarkable snap-shot of the press in his country. The researcher first sets out the history of the press in Myanmar as reminding the reader of the extraordinary measures the previous military Governments. They used as media oppression weapon of the censorship known as the Press Scrutiny and Registration Division (PSRD) in order to pre-censor a whole range of sensitive issues. The PSRD procedure requires all the weekly newspapers to submit two-thirds of the draft copy to the board two to three days in advance. It also mentioned as wonderful of history that "Reporters without Borders in 2010" put Myanmar at 174 out of 178 countries in its annual Press Freedom Index. Based on questionnaires and interviews, researcher shows the devastating impact that censorship has had on the quality of journalism in his country and on the profitability of the newspaper industry.

Editors said that about 30-40 percent of stories were rejected by the censorship board every week. A majority of the journalists said the censorship policy not only blocked the flow of information to the public, but also destroyed the impartiality of the news and articles. But there are grounds for optimism. Since the civilian government led by President U Thein Sein came to power in March 2011, the censorship board has been relaxing its policies. Publishers and media executives said the circulation of news-focused journals jumped by 30% to 50% as a consequence of the relaxing of censorship and the permission to publish pictures of Nobel Peace prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi and her activities. But researcher was cautious about the future. Researcher also mentioned that due to the flow of new investment in the media sector soon after the civilian government was sworn in, it can already see fierce competition between old and new media companies to control the market within the next few years.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF PERIODICAL PUBLISHING IN MYANMAR

Myanmar had been colony of British Empire for 124 years. Under the colonial rule, journalism had been thrived with so many periodicals of newspapers and journals. However, after independent in 1948, rules and regulations that control the freedom of journals had been enacted by successive Governments. Historical progress of journalism and publishing in Myanmar will be explored in this chapter.

3.1 Periodicals Published in the 19th Century

History of periodical publishing shows the steps of journalism development. Newspapers and periodicals are recordings of history as mirrors of society. Reading newspapers and periodicals is a good habit that can provide a great sense of educational value. Periodicals and newspapers carry information about politics, economy, entertainment, sports, business, industry, general knowledge, and trade and commerce. With this habit, it will not only enhance the knowledge about general information but it will likewise improve the language skills and vocabulary. For a society, the habits of reading newspapers make people well informed and advanced of ideas for development. Periodical literature (also called a periodical publication or simply a periodical) is a published work that appears in a new edition on a regular schedule. In Myanmar, publishing of Periodicals was started before second Anglo-Burma war, 1852~1854. Since then Journalism of Myanmar have developed as essential and needs of society. Early newspapers were published even under the absolute Monarchy and colonial rules of British. In this sub-chapter heading, the history of periodical publishing will be presented in the chronological orders in every decade after subjugation of British by first Anglo-Burma War, 1824~1826.

During the period of 1836~1846, the first English-language newspaper was launched under British-ruled Tenasserim (Tanintharyi Region), southern Myanmar. The first ethnic Karen-language and Burmese-language newspapers also appear in this period. On March 3, 1836, the first English-language newspaper, The “Maulmain

Chronicle”, appeared in the city of Moulmein in British-ruled Tenasserim. The newspaper, first published by a British official named E.A. Blundell, continued up until the 1950s. However, after British had captured Rangoon, City of Lower Myanmar after second Anglo-Burma war, it changed the name to “Rangoon Chronicle” and started publishing from 5 January 1853. It was published only on Wednesdays and Saturdays, owned by Mr. Louis who was a lawyer.

In September 1842, Hsa-tu-gaw (the Morning Star), a monthly publication in the Karen-language of Sgaw, is established by the Baptist mission. It is the first ethnic language newspaper. Circulation reached about three hundred until its publication ceased in 1849.

In January 1843, The Baptist mission publishes a monthly newspaper, the “Christian Dhamma Thadinsa” (the Religious Herald), in Moulmein. Supposedly the first Burmese-language newspaper, it continued up until the first year of the second Anglo-Burmese War in 1853. In 1862, the paper resumed publication under a different name, the “Burman Messenger”. In the year of 1846, “The Maulmain Free Press” newspaper was published by an English merchant in Moulmein.

During the period of 1847~1857, about four English-language newspapers emerge. One is published by ethnic Arakan (now named as Rakhine) in the capital of Sittwe, Arakan State. The British legislation council enacted a law, known as the Press Law to shut mouth and banning the publication of news without prior approval.

In July 1, 1848, the English-language paper, the “Maulmain Advertiser”, was published in Moulmein. It may have first appeared as early as 1846. The paper, published three times a week by W. Thomas & Co, altered its name to the “Maulmain Times” in 1850, but the following year it resumed its previous name. In 1849, a weekly publication, the English-language “Friend of Burmah” newspaper, started in Moulmein.

In January 5, 1853, the “Rangoon Chronicle” newspaper was published twice a week. Later, it changed its name to the “Pegu Gazette”. It ceased publication in May 1958. In 1853, under the colonial rule of British, the twice-weekly English-language “Akyab (Sittwe) Commercial Advertiser” was published in Sittwe, by Arakan Weekly News Press. The following year, the paper changes its name to the “Arakan News”. The Circulation copies reached about 150 in those days.

In June 13, 1857, Lord Canning, the Governor General of India from 1856~1862, introduces a law banning the publication of any news without prior approval as an attempt to regulate the press.

During the period 1858~1868, at least three new newspapers emerged. There were six newspapers being published during this period. On June 2, 1858 the English-language “Rangoon Times” was published, possibly as early as 1854. The newspaper began as a twice-weekly publication; however, it increased to three times a week by 1861 and later became a daily. It ceased publication in 1942, when the British left Rangoon. In 1861, The Rangoon Gazette is established as a rival of the Rangoon Times. It was published twice a week and later daily. The Times Commercial Advertiser, the Daily Advertiser, Pole Star, British Burma Gazette, the Mercantile Gazette and the Arakan News were still published during this period according to newspaper research conducted in 1868.

During the period 1869~1879, before third Anglo-Burma war, the first Myanmar Newspaper was “Yadanapon Naypyidaw”; the newspaper which was the first newspaper printed in Mandalay Yadanapon and owned by Authority of Myanmar King of upper Burma. The Kingdom published an official newspaper. The first issue of “Yadanapon Naypyidaw” was released on 9 Mar 1874. King Mindon enacted a law of 17 articles on 15 August 1873 for establishing this newspaper. By this Law, freedom of the press was guaranteed and bestowed immunity on the local press corps by King Mindon, the second last Burmese monarch, in introduction of Act consisting of 17 articles that can be regarded as Southeast Asia's first indigenous press-freedom law.

In 1869, “Myanmar Thandawsint Thadinsa” (the Burmah Herald) was published once a week by “Myanmar Thandawsint Press”, possibly as early as 1871. It was the first Burmese-language newspaper in Rangoon. In 1884, it became a daily with a circulation of around 500. It ceased publication in 1912.

On May 8, 1871, the Burmese-language paper, the “Burmah Gazette”, appeared in Rangoon. This weekly newspaper altered its name to the “Burma News” in May 1872. It ceased publication in 1916.

On January 11 of 1873, “Law-Ki-Thu-Ta” (the Worldly Knowledge) newspaper emerged in Rangoon. In November 1874, The Burmese-language “Friend of Maulmain” newspaper appeared in Moulmein. In 1875, “Yadanabon Thadinsa” (British Burma News) appeared in Rangoon.

In March 20 of 1875, “Yadanabon Nay-Pyi-Daw” (with the heading of Mandalay Gazette in English on the masthead) is published weekly by King Mindon, possibly as early as 1874. Publication ceased in 1885 when Upper Burma is annexed by the British. In 1876, The Burmese-language “Tenasserim Thadinsa (The Tenasserim News) appeared in Moulmein.

In 1878, “The Burma Herald” was set up by the King of Mandalay to counter the pro-British views of Rangoon newspapers. Two other English newspapers, the “Rangoon Daily Mail” and the “Daily Review”, were established, however, it was halted six months later.

On March 11 of 1878, the British government enacted a law called the “Vernacular Press Act” to ban newspapers from reporting and picturing defamation of the government.

During the period of 1880~1890, King Thibaw, the last Burmese monarch, was removed and Upper Burma is annexed by the British. One of the most outspoken newspapers, “Hanthawaddy Thadinsa”, was established along with some other new newspapers. In 1884, The English-language weekly, the “Maulmain Almanac”, was published in Moulmein. The Burmese-language “Friend of Burma” was also set up in Rangoon and eventually becomes a daily newspaper before its publication stopped in 1929.

In 1886, the “Mandalay Times” newspaper appears twice a week in Mandalay. On March 3, 1887, the “Mandalay Herald” emerged three times a week in Mandalay. It becomes a daily in 1899 up until 1902, when the paper stopped being published. In 1889, the “Hanthawaddy Thadinsa” (the Hanthawaddy Weekly Review) appears twice a week in Rangoon. It is regarded as one of the most outspoken newspapers of its time. The newspaper covered foreign news from Reuters news agency through an agent. In 1904, its circulation reached about 1,000. In 1892, The English-language papers, the “Daily Advertiser”, the “Arakan Echo” and the “Arakan Advocate” were established in Sittwe. Later, the “Daily Advertiser” and the “Arakan Echo” combine to form the Arakan Times.

In 1894, the English-language newspapers, the “De Vaux Press Advertiser”, the “British Burma Advertiser”, the “Rangoon Commercial Advertiser” and the “Burma Chronicle News” were all being published in Yangon. “De Vaux Press Advertiser” circulation was said to be around 1,000 a day. The “Karen National News”, the “Bassein Weekly News” and the “Advertiser” were also published weekly

in Bassein, Irrawaddy Division. The “Karen National News” written in the Karen-language of Sagu (Sgaw) reaches circulation of about 500. In February 1895, the “Mawlamyaing Myo” (Moulmein Town) was published in Moulmein. In 1899, the “Times of Burma” and the “Upper Burma Gazette” were established in Rangoon and Mandalay.

In 1900, the pro-British Burmese-language “Star of Burma” was published in Mandalay. It continued to be published up until independent from British Colonial Rule in 1948.

In the history of publishing periodicals, there were many newspapers published during the 19th century under of colonial rule (1824~1900). Especially newspapers (journalism) publishing in early Myanmar was in Rakhine (Arakan) and Tenasserim (Tanintharyi) closely parallel to ruling system of politic. It can be learned that limited development of newspaper markets with small circulation amount of newspapers meant that publishers were less likely to be self-sustaining. By the findings from literature reviews, it can make conclusion as journalism development in Myanmar had been thrived since last decades of 19th century. However, in the whole period of colonial rule, the authority intervention interrupted the development of journalism as a profession. The level of professionalization in journalism thus has remained lower in Myanmar.

3.2 Periodicals Published in 20th Century

During the period of 1901~1912, there were about 15 newspapers running with circulations of up to 1,500. New newspapers continue to be established. “Reuters” News Agency opens in Rangoon by 1904. Other outspoken newspapers appear, such as the Thuria (the Sun). In 1909, the “Dawkale”, published in the Karen-language of Sagaw, is published once a week by Karen Magazine Press in Bassein, Irrawaddy Division.

July 4, 1911, one of the most outspoken Burmese-language newspapers, Thuriya (the Sun), emerges three times a week. In March 1915, it becomes a daily newspaper and continues to be published until October 14, 1954. In the same year, the “Salween Times” appears in English. In 1910s, the “Rangoon Gazette”, the “Rangoon Times”, the “Friend of Burma”, the “Rangoon Advertiser”, “Publicity”, the “Maha-Bodhi News”, the “Burma Herald”, the “Burma Printer News” were all published in Rangoon. The “Upper Burma Gazette”, the “Mandalay Herald”, the “Star of Burma”,

the “Mandalay Times”, “Moulmein Advertiser”, “Moulmein Gazette” and the “Burma Times” were all published in Mandalay.

During the period of 1924~1934, about 40 new newspapers emerged, tripling the number of papers since the press laws of 1908 and 1910 are repealed and amended. During the decade of 1935~1945, more than 60 newspapers were emerged across the country, including Japanese-language and ethnic newspapers.

During the period of 1946~1957, there were about 70 newspapers came out during this period. In 1947, Burma’s first constitution of Independent Government, guaranteed citizens the right to freely express their opinions and convictions. This gave the country a reputation for having one of the freest presses in Asia. There are 39 newspapers published in various languages throughout the country. Seven of the papers are printed in English, 11 in foreign languages, five in Chinese and six in Gujarati, Urdu, Tamil, Telgu and Hindi. In 1948, Burma gained independence from British Government.

During the second half of 20th Century, under the Governments of independent Myanmar, there seemed journalism was developed because of so many newly published newspapers and periodicals were appeared.

In August 21 of 1949, the parliamentary government introduces a Bill in Parliament to limit press criticism, saying: Any person, making criticism, defamatory allegations or charges concerning public servants, including ministers, and officials, would be recognized as committing a criminal offense. On April 16, 1957, The “Mirror” Daily, the “Reporter” Daily and the “Pyidawsoe News” Daily appeared on Burmese New Year day.

During the period of 1958~1970s, about 30 newspapers were emerged. The year 1964 is said to be Burma’s last year of press freedom. At this time, Dictator Ne Win’s Revolutionary Council shuts down some newspapers and nationalizes most newspapers.

In 1962, the “Burma Press Council” (BPC), was founded to promote and preserve freedom of the press through a voluntary observance of a “code of press ethics.” Writers and journalists from 52 newspapers, journals and magazines signed the BPC Charter. Later that year, the Dictator Ne Win’s Revolutionary Council revoked all existing “press laws” and enacted a single law, the “Printers and Publishers Registration Act” in 1964. The act established “Press Scrutiny Board” to scrutinize all material prior to publication, or in some cases after publication.

In July 1963, “The Revolutionary Government” established the News Agency Burma. At the same year, the military government (Revolutionary Council) closed down the “Nation Newspaper”, an outspoken defender of press freedom, arresting its editor Law Yone three months later. In October 1963, the government launched the “Loktha Pyithu Nezin” (the Working People’s Daily) to compete with exiting private newspapers.

In January 1964, the English version of the “Working People’s Daily” appeared. In 1964, the last year Burma enjoyed a free press, the government nationalized all private newspapers, the liberal Kyemon (the Mirror), Botataung, (The Vanguard, A Thousand Officers) and the Guardian. The left-wing Vanguard offered itself for nationalization. Smaller newspapers were forced to shut down and several editors and journalists were arrested. In 1966, the Revolutionary Government announced that private newspapers were to be banned altogether. All Chinese and Indian language newspapers were also stopped as printing was required to be done in Burmese or English language only.

In 1969, the right-wing “Hanthawaddy” and the “Myanma Alin” (the New Light of Burma) were nationalized. Eventually, only six newspapers were left: the “Loktha Pyithu Nezin”, the “Botataung”, the “Kyemon” and the “Hanthawaddy”, the “Guardian” and the “Working People’s Daily”.

The News Agency Burma (NAB) controlled the flow of news in and out of the country. All foreign correspondents, except those working for the Soviet Tass and China’s Xinhua, were expelled. Visits by foreign journalists were officially banned. Locally based foreign news agencies were forced to appoint Burmese citizens as correspondents that must be approved by the authorities. In the late 1960s, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Voice of America (VOA) pulled out after being unable to appoint their own correspondents.

In 1974, the Socialist party’s new constitution granted freedom of expression. However, all forms of public expression were subject to Press Scrutiny Boards to ensure that these “freedoms” were only expressed within the accepted limits of the “Burmese Way to Socialism”.

3.3 Situation of Free Publication After 1988

In 1988, Myanmar enjoyed press freedom for the short time of one month due to pro-democracy uprisings. In August and September of 1988, the uproar period,

after 26 years of silence, about 40 independent newspapers and journals, including the “Light of Dawn”, the “Liberation Daily”, “Scoop”, the “New Victory” and “Newsletter”, appeared in Rangoon for about a month during the period of nationwide pro-democracy uprisings. The publications ran political commentaries, biting satires and humorous cartoons of the rulers. Even the state-run newspapers like the “Guardian” and the “Working People's Daily” published outspoken political articles.

On 18th September 1988, “Immediately after the military ceases power of state, all newspapers are banned except for the “Loktha Pyithu Nezin” and its English version, the “Working People Daily”. Strict censorship was imposed and many journalists were arrested. At first, foreign journalists were allowed into the country but later they were banned and only a few selected foreign journalists were given press visas.

In 1989, after taking power again, the military government amended the 1962 Printers and Publishers Registration Act to heavily increase the fine payable by offenders. In April 1993, the authority changed the name of the “Loktha Pyithu Nezin (the Working People Daily) to “Myanma Alin” (the New Light of Myanmar) that was banned in 1969.

In Mid-1990, the military junta launched the “Kyemon” (the Mirror) that was also nationalized in 1964. In 1997, US-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) described Myanmar and Indonesia as the regions of two foremost enemies of the press. Yet, since the fall of Suharto in the same year of 1997, Indonesia mass media blossomed, leaving Myanmar as the region number one adversary of the press. In 1997, Myanmar was labeled as the regions number one adversary of the press.

As remarkable of private newspaper and journal publication in February 2000 was, “The English-weekly Myanmar Times & Business Review” was launched by an Australian businessman and military officials. Sonny Swe, the son of Brig-Gen Thein Swe who is a high ranking Military Intelligence officer, is the deputy CEO of the journal. Later, it started to publish a Burmese-language version.

In April of 2004, an international pro-democracy group, Freedom House, ranks Myanmar as one of the top five Worst of the Worst countries for press freedom in the world. In September of 2007, Kenji Nagai, a Japanese photojournalist seasoned in conflict reporting, was shot dead by an Army soldier during the 2007 anti-government protests in Yangon. The 50-year-old was the only foreign national killed in the protests. The military regime of the time, which ruled as the State Peace and

Development Council, ultimately quashed the demonstrations and continued to hold a tight grip on the media until Thein Sein's government came to power in 2011.

3.4 Political Changes and Journalism in Myanmar

In Myanmar, the role of media is imperative to become nation-wide development and a truly open society. Transition of Myanmar's new democratic political system began in 2011 which has given media freedoms and situations for media development. Since then, dramatic changes happened in Myanmar's media landscape and can be seen with taking steps to unshackle. As an important stage, media publish outlets flourished to serve a highly literate population that had been starved of independent news and free voice of people.

However, there are still oppressive laws and regulations which have been handed over from successive military governments to target journalists and publications dating back to 1962. Because of more than 50 years of military dictatorship, total control and censorship of the media and press have been still effective on journalism and all media. During the period of military regime, the strong body for controlling the press and media; the Press Scrutiny and Registration Division (PSRD) have full power to censor all publications in Myanmar. The content must be submitted to PSRD for approval before printing and distribution. All publications in Myanmar are required to submit their contents to the PSRD for approval before printing and distribution (Michael Lidauer).

After the 2010 election, conditions of media began to change for the better in the immediate. Results per constituency of election started to be published in the *New Light of Myanmar*, but any reporting on the elections other than in the governmental mouthpiece was soon overtaken by the news of the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from her third house arrest. One local reporter was convinced that "journalists were allowed to see the Lady to distract from candidates and the elections" (Michael Lidauer). Local publications were allowed to feature articles written by—and interviews with—pro-democracy icon Aung San Suu Kyi for the first time. To their surprise, journals were allowed to publish articles about the release, although the contents and size of the reports were strictly regulated. Heavy punishments followed for those who did not follow the rules – all in all, nine papers were shut down within a week, something that had not occurred since 1990 (Michael Lidauer, 2012).

According to Kyaw Thu, a journalist has written a path-breaking study on how a long history of censorship of the media in Myanmar has affected the nature and quality of the print media and the economic prospects of the industry. The PSRD procedure required all the weekly newspapers to submit two-thirds of the draft copy to the board two to three days in advance. Results from the study of Kyaw Thu showed the devastating impact that censorship has had on the quality of journalism in Myanmar and on the profitability of the newspaper industry. According to the findings from Kyaw's study, editors participated in interviews said that about 30-40 per cent of stories were rejected by the censorship board every week. A majority of the journalists said the censorship policy not only blocked the flow of information to the public, but also destroyed the impartiality of the news and articles. But there are grounds for optimism. Since the civilian government led by President U Thein Sein came to power in March 2011, the censorship board has been relaxing its policies. Publishers and media executives said the circulation of news-focused journals jumped by 30% to 50% as a consequence of the relaxing of censorship and the permission to publish pictures of Nobel Peace prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi and her activities (Kyaw Thu, 2012).

As significant landmarks in 2012, the government allowed international news agencies, which were technically banned under the military regime, to conduct reporting in Myanmar. Exile media like The Irrawaddy are also allowed to return. Founded by Aung Zaw in 1993, The Irrawaddy distributed its magazine for the first time in Myanmar in December 2012, and also shifted its online operations to Yangon while maintaining a small office in Thailand's Chiang Mai. The Irrawaddy published its first Myanmar-language weekly in January 2014, and switched to an all-digital format early in 2016.

As part of its media reforms, the quasi-democratic government announced in December 2012 that it will allow the uncensored publication of private daily newspapers, dissolving its notorious Press Scrutiny and Registration Division (PSRD) under the Ministry of Information in a follow-up move after it did away with decades-long draconian pre-publication censorship in August 2012.

On 1st April of 2013, four Myanmar-language private dailies began publishing after the government granted licenses to 16 private dailies. In August of the same year, Myanma Freedom Daily emerges as the first English-language daily in almost five decades. The paper folds less than a year later. According to government figures,

the Ministry of Information has so far issued 35 licenses for private and state-run dailies, and 22 are in publication. It has granted licenses for 32 news agencies, of which 23 are in operation. And 260 out of 437 licensed journals are being published in 2016.

After 2013, Myanmar mobile telecommunication industry has been improved with low price of SIM cards offered by three service providers; MPT, Telenor, and Ooredoo. At the same time, online social media usages of people are quickly surged. The government enacted Telecommunications Law 2013. There was a substantial increase in authorities' prosecution of online speech under the 2013 Telecommunications Law, which was frequently invoked against people who purportedly insulted or defamed the military, the president, or NLD leader Aung San Suu Kyi, who in April 2016 stepped into the powerful new position of state counselor. At least two journalists in 2016 were prosecuted for defamation under Article 500 of the penal code, which dates back to the era of military rule.

In 2014, the 2014 News Media Law of Myanmar was enacted by Parliament. The Law introduces some guarantees for media freedom, such as the prohibition of censorship and the recognition of specific rights of media workers. This may be seen as a positive attempt to begin dismantling the extensive apparatus of censorship in the country, and the government should be encouraged to build upon the positive elements of the Law.

As inauspicious event happened for Myanmar's media with the detention of four journalists and the CEO of the "Unity" journal in connection with a January report alleging the existence of a government chemical weapons factory. Charged and convicted under the State Secrets Act, the men were sentenced to 10 years in prison, which was later reduced to seven. The men were released as part of a broader amnesty by the new NLD government in 2016.

During the year of 2015, much of the year's news coverage was devoted to the November 8 general election, Myanmar's first poll in more than half a century to take place in a relatively free media environment. The Myanmar Times, for 15 years a weekly, goes daily in March, taking up the mantle of Myanmar's only English-language daily newspaper, a title previously held by the now defunct Myanma Freedom Daily.

The media landscape in 2018 was marked by the delay of legislative reforms, and the increasing use of litigious tactics to hamper media freedom. The 2015

Broadcasting Law, which would enable private companies to enter the broadcasting media market for the first time, had yet to take effect at year's end because lawmakers failed to approve legislation necessary for its implementation. Similarly, the parliament failed to undertake any noticeable work on a law that would guarantee the right to access government information.

3.5 Historical Oppression Laws of Journalism in Myanmar

Freedom of expression had been one of the prime casualties of prolonged military rule in Myanmar. Since the military first began controlling the levers of state power in 1962, numerous publications had been censored or banned; hundreds of journalists, writers, poets, playwrights and cartoonists, as well as pro-democracy activists had been arrested, detained or sentenced to long prison terms, tortured, ill-treated or otherwise harassed, even killed, and tens of thousands of ordinary people had been punished simply for peacefully expressing their views. The impact has been immense and crippling, reverberating through all aspects of life in Myanmar and blighting the country's social, cultural and, particularly, economic development. During the years of strong arm military dictatorship and misrule until 2010, freedom of media and systematic abuse of human rights were oppressed by buttressed the severe censorship regimes as strong weapons of oppression laws upon Journalism.

Freedom of expression is vital to democracy, good governance and ensuring official accountability, as the United Nations and other authoritative international bodies have repeatedly recognized. Freedom of expression, including the right to "seek, receive and impart information and ideas" is also vital to the enjoyment of basic human rights and to the individual's ability to take informed decisions about many aspects of their lives, including their health and livelihood.

During the Myanmar's independent period of more than 70 years, freedom of expression had enjoyed full play for only a relatively short time. This was in the period from 1948 to 1962 when, despite the increasing political and economic turmoil which followed the departure of the British, parliamentary democracy and the rule of law were allowed to prevail under the stewardship of Prime Minister U Nu. At the time, Myanmar had a generally free and vibrant press, with over 30 daily newspapers, including six in Chinese and three in English. Although the U Nu administration kept check on newspapers, magazines and books through the Press Review Department,

there was no serious attempt at censorship or harassment of journalists or writers (Venkat Iyer, 1999).

That atmosphere of freedom and openness abruptly changed following the military coup in 1962. The Revolutionary Council announced its intention to centralize the dissemination of official information — a decision which was implemented soon by the closure of all departmental journals and the publication in their place of a state-run newspaper, the “Working People’s Daily” and decided to nationalize all private newspapers and bring them under the control of the Ministry of Information; it announced, in classic official-speak, that journalists would be able to enjoy “full freedom of expression within the accepted limits of the Burmese Way to Socialism.”

A legal regime had already been put in place to underpin these changes. The Printers and Publishers Registration Act 1962 made it obligatory for all printers and publishers to register with the government and to supply the government with certain specified information about themselves. Publishers were also required to submit two copies (subsequently increased to five) of every book which they wished to publish to the Press Scrutiny Board (PSB), an official censorship body which was empowered to prohibit the distribution of books deemed undesirable. Similar censorship mechanisms were set up for film scripts, songs, paintings, and the ideological content of works in all these media were subject to close monitoring by the authorities. An additional weapon in the government’s armory was its control over the supply of subsidized papers.

The following laws had historically been the main instruments of official censorship on freedom of expressions. By those laws, it required all books, magazines, other periodicals, song lyrics, and motion picture scripts to be submitted for scrutiny to the government prior to publication or, in some cases, prior to distribution. Those are:

1. The Printers and Publishers Registration Law 1962
2. Emergency Provisions Act 1950
3. State Protection Law 1975
4. The Television and Video Law
5. The Motion Picture Law
6. The Computer Science Development Law
7. The Official Secrets Act 1923, and

8. The Burma Wireless Telegraphy Act 1933,
9. Section 122, Penal Code of Myanmar,
10. The Law Protecting the Peaceful and Systematic Transfer of State Responsibility and the Successful Performance of the Functions of the National Convention Against Disturbances and Oppositions
11. The Unlawful Associations Act 1908

By those laws, restriction on freedom of expression or information in anyways being imposed against a large number of people over the years, usually in retaliation for their peaceful expression of dissenting views. Sometimes, those laws were used in conjunction with some of the other laws, such as the Emergency Provisions Act or the Printers and Publishers Registration Law, so that those targeted receive longer sentences of imprisonment.

The tasks of vetting publications under the 1962 Act were entrusted to the Press Scrutiny Board (PSB), a 30-member body answerable to the Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs. It was headed by a former army officer. The PSB enjoys extensive powers, including the power to prohibit the publication of material submitted to it. The Board carried out its censorship duties through a number of departments, each responsible for a different medium — for example, articles, book covers, and so on — but decisions were taken by the Board as a whole. The PSB was widely believed to work in close co-operation with military intelligence and other security agencies of the regime.

This plethora of laws — including some passed by a democratically elected legislature in the early years of post-colonial government — had impacted, directly or indirectly, on freedom of expression in Myanmar since the country became independent in 1948. Nearly five decades of military rule had been accompanied by the systematic and virtually total denial of the right to freedom of expression of the people of Myanmar. This process can be directly traced to the accession to power of General Ne Win in 1962 and the quasi-democratic government at the times of 2010s; the dawn of democracy.

CHAPTER IV

SURVEY ANALYSIS

This chapter presents research design, data collection method and the results of survey data analysis. It also presents the interpretation of results as indicators to the research findings.

4.1 Survey Profile

In order to explore the journalism culture in Myanmar, it will have to learn the constituents and dimensions that include the variety of journalists' role perceptions, the basic philosophical concepts of journalistic coverage and the ways how journalists respond to ethical problems in reporting.

The study has focused on the journalism cultures in the current situation of Myanmar in the all media. It has emphasized on the perceptions, attitudes, and the determinations of journalists on the social, political, cultural and economic situation of Myanmar. The views on journalistic autonomy: the professional duties of journalists, the degree of autonomy they enjoy in their day-to-day work, as well as journalists' opinions about the development of press freedom in Myanmar. Since the aims of study are to explore the views of journalists working in the current epoch of political changes, it has to conduct interview for primary data.

Primary data were collected by using survey method with structured questionnaire. The research participants for this study are Myanmar journalists working in different media. The interviewed with structured questionnaire set were conducted with informed consent of respondents for the information. By convenient sampling method and snowball method, (112) respondents are participated voluntarily as sample size of this survey.

4.2 Survey Design

Since this research applies descriptive research method, it needs to describe the situation of media and journalism culture and information required and

availability. There are two types of data searching sources: primary and secondary data sources. The primary data approach is data collection from primary source which is a first-hand source of data. Data collected method used in this research is only method of interview with structured questionnaires; in which two types of questions are asked. First type of 20 questions are closed or open type. The second types of questions are statements to be answered by choosing one score from 5 points Likert Scales. In the second set of questionnaire, there are two set of statements. The first 12 statements are about degree of being important of perception on culture of a journalist. Five point scales are; 5 is extremely important, 4 is very important, 3 is somewhat important, 2 is little important, 1 is not important.

In second type of statements, total of 16 statements are mentioned to choose with one score of the 5 point Likert Scales; such as 5 is strongly agree, 4 is Agree, 3 is Neither agree nor disagree, 2 is Disagree, and 1 is Strongly disagree. These statements are about the descriptions of different approaches to ideas of journalist coverage for presentations of news.

Since required primary data are about the journalism culture, that will have to be collected from all journalists working in every field of media. However, there has not been considered statistical techniques of sampling. In choosing sample media organizations for respondents, it applies convenient and snowball method of sampling because of questionnaire format is designed as self-administered answering. Descriptive research method examines the problem by measuring the representative characteristics of the issues with information from the respondents. In this study, a total of 112 journalists were participated in the primary data collection.

4.3 Survey Results

4.3.1 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

First, respondents of journalists were asked to provide basic general information of personal data of demography. Included were questions about his/her age and race of the respondents, educational achievement, religion, and media organization of work. Table 4.1 shows the demographic facts of respondents.

According to the Table 4.1, among the 112 total respondents, 46 journalists are female and 66 are male. Regarding to age groups, 36 female (32.1% of total) and 40 male journalists (35.7% of total) are in the 20-29 year age group. In 30~39 year age group, 10 respondents are female and 24 respondents are male. Only 2

respondent of male is 40 years over age group. From this finding, it can be made conclusion as journalists in Myanmar are quite young, nearly 98% of respondents are between 20 and 40 year age groups. There are also nearly equal in gender of male and female working in the journalism.

Table 4.1 Demographic Features of Respondents

	Gender		Age		Education		Race		Experience of Work (Year)		Position Level	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Male	66	58.9										
Female	46	41.1										
20 to 29 year			76	67.8								
30 to 39 year			34	30.4								
40 to 49 year			2	1.8								
50 and above			0	0								
Undergraduate					17	15.2						
Bachelor Degree					81	72.3						
Master Degree					4	3.6						
Diploma of Multimedia Journalism					4	3.6						
Engineering technology					6	5.4						
Burmar							82	73.2				
Kayin							8	7.1				
Shan							10	8.9				
Rakhine							12	10.7				

Source: Own Survey

Regarding to education achievement of respondents, the most proportions of journalist respondent, (72.3%) 81 of 112 of total respondents interviewed, are graduated with Bachelor Degree in education. There are 15.2% (17 respondents participated in survey) are undergraduates. Moreover, there are 3.6% (4 respondents

participated in survey) are graduated with master degree. And then, only 4 journalists of interview respondents are Diploma of Multimedia Journalism. From this finding, there are no journalists under the level of Bachelor Degree in education. However, journalism education is still not widespread in journalism profession of Myanmar.

Moreover, according to the Table 4.1, 73.2% (82 in numbers) of respondents are Burmar, 7.1% (8 in numbers) of respondents are Kayin, 8.9% (10 in numbers) of respondents Shan and 10.7% (12 in numbers) of respondents are Rakhine.

Table 4.2 Types of Journalism Organizations Respondents Working

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Radio and TV	28	25.0
2	Weekly Printing Journal	54	48.2
3	Daily Newspaper	26	23.2
4	Online Media	4	3.6
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.2, the most proportion of respondents' working organizations are Weekly Printing Journals with 48.2% (54 numbers of total) and the second most are Radio and TV with 25% (28 numbers of total). Other 26 media organizations are daily newspapers comprising 23.2% of total interviewees of the survey. Regarding to profession of journalism, journalists are working in the printing press, radio, television and online with no real training of journalism education. It should improve their skills in Journalism keeping abreast with international standards.

4.3.2 Work Force Size of Media Organizations

In the survey, the sizes of work force in media organizations were asked in order to know the circumstance of job and work for journalism of Myanmar. Table 4.3 shows as frequency table of organizational work force of media in which respondents working who participated in this interview of the study.

Table 4.3 Number of Staffs in the Media Organizations

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Less than 10 Staffs	22	19.6
2	10~19 Staffs	34	30.4
3	20~29 Staffs	22	19.6
4	30~49 Staffs	16	14.3
5	50~99 Staffs	12	10.7
6	100 and above	6	5.4
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.3, the most proportion of organizations (30.4%) 34 media organizations have 10 to 19 staffs as work force of media and journalism works. Other larger organizations working with 20 to 29 staffs in work force are comprised (19.6%) 22 of total 112 media organizations. In general, the media organizations with work force between 10 to 30 staffs comprised 50% (56 of total) organizations in Myanmar. The organizations with more than 50 staffs comprised only 16.1%. From this finding, it can make conclusion as the working strength of media organizations in Myanmar is still weak in general.

4.3.3 Positions and Specific Tasks of Journalists

Regarding to positions of journalists participated in survey interview, Table 4.4 shows as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.4 Professional Position of Respondents

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Interviewer and Reporter	48	42.9
2	Editor	30	26.8
3	Video Journalist	22	19.6
4	Translators	2	1.8
5	Producer	10	8.9
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.4, the most proportion of journalists working for media organizations are reporters in interviews those comprised 42.9% (48 in 112 of total numbers). The other second most professional group is Editors with comprising 26.8% (30 in 112 of total numbers). There are also Video Journalists with comprising 19.6% (22 in 112 of total numbers). From this finding, it can make conclusion as interviewers and reporter Journalist positions are essential in the Myanmar media working milieu because of prerequisite of interactive and online information system.

Regarding to specific tasks of job of journalists participated in survey interview; Table 4.5 shows the results as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.5 Specific Tasks of job of Journalists

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	News Editing	8	7.1
2	Business, products and Price Lists News	2	1.8
3	Morning News Section	2	1.8
4	People Voice	2	1.8
5	Health and Beauty News	4	3.6
6	Local News	2	1.8
7	Political News	4	3.6
8	Transportation News	12	10.7
9	Education and IT News	12	10.7
10	All kinds of Events and News	64	57.1
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.5, the most proportion of journalists' tasks performing for media organizations are tasks in all kinds of events and news activities comprising with 57.1% (64 in 112 of total numbers). Other tasks performed by journalists in specific section of media are transportation news and education and IT news. From this finding, it can make conclusion as journalists working in Myanmar media have to work for all section of events and news.

4.3.4 Working Experience, Capacity and Employment Condition of Journalists

Regarding to Working Experience of journalists participated in survey interview; Table 4.6 shows the results as frequency table with percentages of items.

Table 4.6 Working Experiences (years) of Respondents

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	1~5 Years	54	48.2
2	6~10 Years	52	46.4
3	11~15 Years	4	3.6
4	16~20 Years	2	1.8
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.6, the most proportion of journalists' working experiences is in ranging from 1 to 5 years by comprising 48.2% (54 in 112 of total numbers). Other 46.4% (52 in 112 of total numbers) of journalists have 6 to 10 years of working experiences in journalism. In general, nearly all respondents of journalist have experiences up to 10 years. This is relevant and reasonable because of media development is started and happened in 2010s.

Regarding to working in more organizations of journalists participated in survey interview; Table 4.7 shows the results as frequency table with percentages of items.

Table 4.7 Whether working only for one organization or working for others

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Yes, working only for one media organization	90	80.4
2	No, I have to work for other media organizations	22	19.6
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.7, the most proportion of journalists 88.4% (90 in 112 of total numbers) are working for only one media organization. Other 19.6% (22 in 112 of total numbers) are working for more than one media organization.

Regarding to employment condition of journalists participated in survey interview; Table 4.8 shows the results as frequency table with percentages of items.

Table 4.8 Terms of Journalists Employment

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Full time Employment	72	64.3
2	Part time Employment	28	25.0
3	Freelance Journalist	12	10.7
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.8, the most proportion of journalists 64.3% (72 in 112 of total numbers) are appointed as full time employment in the organization they work. Other 25% (28 in 112 of total numbers) are working as part tome in the media organizations. Other 10.7% (12 in 112 of total numbers) are working as freelance journalists.

Regarding to working capacity of journalists participated in survey interview; Table 4.9 shows the results as frequency table with percentages of items.

Table 4.9 Numbers of news items can be written/produced and/or processed in a usual week publication

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Not mention	12	10.7
2	Less than 5 items	18	16.1
3	5~15 items	54	48.2
4	16~30 and above	28	25.0
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.9, regarding to the capacity of journalists in writing of news articles, most proportion of journalists 48.2% (54 in 112 of total numbers) could write 5 to 15 items in a usual week publications. Other 25% (28 in 112 of total number) could produce 16 to 30 and above of articles/news episodes in a usual week publications.

4.3.5 Awareness of Journalists on Gender Issues

Regarding to awareness of journalists on gender issues, Table 4.10 shows the results as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.10 Having Gender Inclusive Culture in Media Organization

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Yes, there are full gender inclusive cultures in organization	36	32.2
2	There are somewhat of gender inclusive culture in organization	22	19.6
3	No, there are no gender inclusive culture in organization	54	48.2
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.10, regarding to the awareness of journalists on gender issues, the most proportion of journalists 48.2% (54 in 112 of total numbers) answered that there are no gender inclusive culture in their media organizations. Total of 22 media organizations (19.6% in total) have somewhat of gender inclusive cultures and 36 (32.2% in total) have gender inclusive cultures of management and working environment. In general, Myanmar have gender equality in most the lives of the people. In every business organization, there have no special issues to gender equality in formal sectors in ensuring that workplace is gender inclusive. However, a gender-inclusive workplace is not simply a function of policy, but a function of organization leadership.

Regarding to awareness on pays of female journalists, Table 4.11 shows the results as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.11 Opinion on female journalists are paid equally in terms of salary for the same working time

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Yes, I think female journalists are paid equal salary	36	32.1
2	No, I don't think so	46	41.1
3	I don't know	30	26.8
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.11, regarding to the awareness of journalists on gender issues, 32.1% (36 in 112 total numbers) have thought that female journalists are paid equal salary. Other 41.1% (46 in 112 total numbers) have thought that female journalists are not paid equal salary. Some 30 of respondents do not know the issues related to gender of equal salary.

4.3.6 Awareness of Journalists on Laws and Policies for Media Freedom

Regarding to awareness of journalists on laws and policies, Table 4.12 shows the results as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.12 Awareness of Journalist on laws and policies for media freedom

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Yes, I am aware those laws	98	87.5
2	No, I am not aware those laws	14	12.5
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.12, regarding to the awareness of journalists on laws and policies, 87.5% (98 in 112 total numbers) have been aware those prohibited freedom of media and other 12.5% (14 in 112 total numbers) are not aware on such laws and policies. From this finding, journalists working in Myanmar at the inception time of democracy have good awareness on the hindrance for media freedom.

Regarding to knowledge of such laws and policies by journalists, Table 4.13 shows the results as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.13 Knowledge Level on laws and policies by Journalists

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Not Know	14	12.5
2	Excellent	6	5.4
3	Very Good	16	14.3
4	Good	40	35.7
5	Poor	36	32.1
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.13, regarding to the knowledge level of journalists on laws and policies, only 5.4% (6 in 112 total numbers) answered as excellent and 16 respondents have answered as very good and other 40 respondents also answered as good in knowledge of such laws and policies. Other 36 respondents answered as their knowledge on such laws and policies are poor.

4.3.7 Well Known Journalist Associations to Promote the Freedom of Media and Journalism Development

Regarding to respondents' comments related to associations of journalists for promotion of media freedom and journalism development, Table 4.14 shows the results as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.14 Well Known Associations for Journalists

Sr. No	Associations of Journalists	Frequency	Total	Percent
1	Myanmar Journalist Network	56	112	50.00
2	Yangon Journalist School	50	112	44.64
3	Myanmar Journalism Institute	34	112	30.36
4	Myanmar Journalist Association	30	112	26.79
5	Myanmar Press Association	20	112	17.86

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.14, there are 5 well known associations of journalists to promote the freedom of media and journalism development. Myanmar Journalist Network is recommended by 50% of respondents and Yangon Journalist School is

recommended by 44.6% of respondents. Myanmar Journalism Institute is also a well-known and recommended by 30.4% of respondents. Myanmar Journalist Association and Myanmar Press Association are also recommended by 26.8% and 17.9% of respondents respectively as their beliefs in promoting freedom of media and journalism development.

4.3.8 Opinions of Journalists in Reporting about Race and Religion

Regarding to opinions of Journalists in reporting about the issues concerning race and religion, Table 4.15 shows the results as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.15 Opinions of Journalists in reporting about the issues concerning race and religion

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Yes, It is important	58	51.8
2	No, it is not important	12	10.7
3	Refuse to answer	42	37.5
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.15, regarding to reporting about issues for race, ethnicity and religion, 51.8% (58 in 112 total numbers) answered as it is important. Some of respondents, 37.5% (42 in 112 total numbers) refused to answer. Only 10.7% (12 in 112 total numbers) answered as it is not important. Regarding to issues related to ethnicity and religion, these are very sensitive cases in peace and tranquility of society in Myanmar.

4.3.9 Opinions of Journalists in Reporting Political Corruption and Criminal Cases

Regarding to opinions of Journalists in reporting about political corruption and criminal cases, Table 4.16 shows the results as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.16 Opinions of Journalists in reporting about the issues concerning political corruption and criminal cases

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Yes, it is important	86	76.8
2	No, it is not important	4	3.6
3	Refuse to answer	22	19.6
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.16, regarding to reporting about issues of political corruption and criminal cases which are being defamed the society, 76.8% (86 in 112 total numbers) answered as it is important. Some of respondents, 19.6% (22 in 112 total numbers) refused to answer. Only 3.6% (4 in 112 total numbers) answered as it is not important. Regarding to issues related to issues of political corruption and criminal cases, these are widespread defamation of society in Myanmar. For being more quick formation of democracy in Myanmar, forceful journalists are necessary to support and to bring to account politicians who run democracy. Moreover, they are needed to expose the systemic failures of political systems that have brought so many corruption problems.

4.3.10 Opinions of Journalists on their Roles in Fulfilling for fully Democratization

Regarding to opinions of journalists in fulfilling their responsibilities of society to the fully democratization, Table 4.17 shows the results as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.17 Opinions of Journalists for fulfilling Responsibilities for Democratization

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Extremely important	60	53.6
2	Very important	28	25.0
3	Somewhat important	24	21.4
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.17, regarding to being important for the journalists in fulfilling their responsibilities of society to the fully democratization, 53.6% (60 in 112 total numbers) answered as it is extremely important. Some of respondents, 25% (28 in 112 total numbers) answered as it is very important. Other 21.4% (24 in 112 total numbers) answered as it is somewhat important. From this finding, the perceptions of journalists on their role in political system to be fully changed are positive.

Journalism cultures of journalists are key factors in public sphere, in political changes as well as in fully formation of democracy in society. It could be driven with acceleration in the era of growth of network in society that changes the conditions for journalism. The journalistic practices and values should influence the public opinions to keep abreast with the media development.

4.3.11 Opinions on Quality Changes of Journalism

Regarding to opinions of journalists on quality changes of journalism during last 10 years, Table 4.18 shows the results as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.18 Opinions of Journalists on quality changes of journalism during last 10 years

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Increased	76	67.9
2	No Change	14	12.5
3	Decreased	22	19.6
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.18, regarding to quality changes of journalism during last 19 years, 67.9% (76 in 112 total numbers) answered as it is increased. Some of respondents, 19.6% (22 in 112 total numbers) answered as it is decreased. Other 12.5% (14 in 112 total numbers) answered as it has not been any changed in quality of journalism. From this finding, it can make conclusion as the perceptions of journalists on the journalism quality are being positive views. The quality of journalism depends on the efforts of all stakeholders in all kinds of media systems for implementation of democratic society.

4.3.12 Opinions of Journalists on the Threats of Printing Media

Regarding to opinions of journalists on the threats to printing media, Table 4.19 shows the results as frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.19 Opinions on Threats to the Printing Media

Sr. No		Frequency	Percent
1	Yes, I think it has big threats	76	67.9
2	No, I do not think so	12	10.7
3	Do not know	24	21.4
	Total	112	100.0

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.19, regarding to opinions of journalists on the threats to printing media, 67.9% (76 in 112 total numbers) answered yes for being big threats to printing media. Some of respondents, 21.4% (24 in 112 total numbers) answered as do not know it. Other only 10.7% (12 in 112 total numbers) answered as there has not been any threat to printing media.

4.3.13 Estimation of Media Influences on Public

Regarding to estimation of percentages of media influences on public, Table 4.20 shows the results as descriptive statistics. Opinions of respondents on figures (%) are calculated with SPSS for descriptive statistics.

Table 4.20 Influence Percentage of Different Media on Public

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Printing Media	112	32.05	26.368	695.252
Television (TV)	112	12.83	28.994	840.649
Radio	112	20.04	26.156	684.144
Online (Internet/Facebook)	112	35.08	34.104	1163.083

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.20 of SPSS output, regarding to opinions of journalists on percentage of different media influences on public, the mean values of 4 types of media show the proportions estimated by of respondents. Respect with the standard deviation and variance, the values are so large compared to mean values. This is because of estimated percentage values for each media are so different and not consistent. According to the results, influence of online (internet/Facebook) is estimated by respondents as 35% on public media utilization. From this finding, it can be said that the role of printing is diminishing.

4.3.14 The Biggest Obstacles to Freedom of Media

Regarding to opinions of journalists on the obstacles to freedom of media, the question in questionnaire was open ended. Thus, respondents can give their reflections on journalist roles in society. Table 4.21 shows the results of top 10 obstacles perceived by respondents in frequency table with percentages.

Table 4.21 Top 10 Obstacle Factors for Freedom of Media

Sr. No	Biggest Obstacle Factors	Frequency	Total	Percent
1	Government policies for media sector	24	112	21.43
2	Policies and procedures of Ministry of Information	18	112	16.07
3	Weakness in releasing information by departments	14	112	12.50
4	Less Freedom of Media	12	112	10.71
5	Section 66 (d) of Communication Law	12	112	10.71
6	Widespread Corruptions in society	10	112	8.93
7	Slack in enforcement of laws and regulations	10	112	8.93
8	Less accountability and responsibility of respective departments	4	112	3.57
9	Less of Government encouragement to journalist	4	112	3.57
10	Less of transparency for freedom of media	4	112	3.57

Source: Survey Data

According to the Table 4.21, regarding to obstacles for media freedom, the respondents perceived on top 10 factors. Among those, two factors are the most consensus of opinions of journalists; which are *Government policies for media sector* and *policies and procedures of Ministry of Information*. These two factors comprised 37.5% (42 in 112 total numbers). From this finding, it can be said that journalists are general perceived the government's policies as obstacles for their working for society.

4.3.15 Analysis on the Scores of Self-Perceptions of Journalist

Total of 12 statements were mentioned in questionnaire part II with 5 points Likert Scales in order to determine the self-perceptions of journalists on importance of their works in society. Regarding to opinions of journalists on the statements for self-perception of importance of their works in society, 5 points Likert Scale with scales ranging from 1 to 5; in which *5 is extremely important, 4 is very important, 3 is somewhat important, 2 is little important, 1 is not important* are given in questionnaire. Thus, respondents can give their reflections on journalist roles in society. Table 4.22 (a) of frequency table shows the results of analysis on the score for first 3 statements of self-perception of journalists.

Table 4.22 (a) Frequency Distribution of Scores for Self-Perceptions of Each Statement

Scale	Extremely important		Very important		Somewhat important		Little important		Unimportant		Total Mean Score
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Do you feel how much important of yourself to be an absolutely not connected observer of society?	36	32.1	44	39.3	24	21.4	8	7.1	0	0	3.96
Do you feel how much important of yourself to act as watchdog of the government?	36	32.1	30	26.8	26	23.2	16	14.3	4	3.6	3.70
Do you feel how much important of yourself to provide citizens with the information they need to make political decisions?	44	39.3	44	39.3	10	8.9	12	10.7	2	1.8	4.04

Source: Survey Data

According to the results of data analysis, as mentioned in Table 4.22 (a), the scores for the scales on “extremely important and very important” are more than 50% of respondents for all three statements. Thus, it can be made conclusion as the perceptions of journalists upon presenting information for public benefits are generally important for them. From the result of total “Mean Score”, the values for all statements are nearly 4. Thus, it can make conclusion that perception scores of respondents regarding to the statements mentioned in Table 4.22 (a) are extremely important or very important.

Table 4.22 (b) of frequency table shows the results of analysis on the score for second 3 statements of self-perception of journalists.

Table 4.22 (b) Frequency Distribution of Scores for Self-Perceptions of Each Statement (Cont'd)

Scale	Extremely important		Very important		Somewhat important		Little important		Unimportant		Total Mean Score
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Do you feel how much important of yourself to concentrate mainly on news that will attract the widest possible audience?	40	35.7	30	26.8	40	35.7	2	1.8	0	0	3.96
Do you feel how much important of yourself to set the political agenda?	20	17.9	18	16.1	40	35.7	22	19.6	12	10.7	3.11
Do you feel how much important of yourself to convey a positive image of political and business leadership?	24	21.4	34	30.4	28	25	20	17.9	6	5.4	3.45

Source: Survey Data

According to the results of data analysis, as mentioned in Table 4.22 (b), the scores for the scales on “extremely important and very important” are more than 50% of respondents for Statement No. 4 and Statement No. 6 except Statement No. 5. Thus, it can be made conclusion as the perceptions of journalists upon presenting information for public benefits are emphasized with concentration mainly on attractive news for the widest possible audience and to convey a positive image of political and business leadership which are generally important for them. From the result of total “Mean Score”, the values for all statements are above 3. Thus, it can make conclusion that perception scores of respondents regarding to the statements mentioned in Table 4.22 (b) are extremely important or very important.

Table 4.22 (c) of frequency table shows the results of analysis on the scores for third 3 statements of self-perception of journalists.

Table 4.22 (c) Frequency Distribution of Scores for Self-Perceptions of Each Statement (Cont'd)

Scale	Extremely important		Very important		Somewhat important		Little important		Unimportant		Total Mean Score
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Do you feel how much important of yourself to provide the audience with the information that is most interesting?	62	55.4	30	26.8	16	14.3	4	3.6	0	0	4.34
Do you feel how much important of yourself to influence public opinion?	22	19.6	44	39.3	32	28.6	10	8.9	4	3.6	3.63
Do you feel how much important of yourself to support official policies to bring about prosperity and development?	16	14.3	42	37.5	30	26.8	22	19.6	2	1.8	3.43

Source: Survey Data

According to the results of data analysis, as mentioned in Table 4.22 (c), the scores for the scales on “extremely important and very important” are more than 50% of respondents for all statement of No. 7 and Statement No. 8 and Statement No. 9. Therefore, it can be made conclusion as the perceptions of journalists upon presenting information for public benefits are generally important for them regard to presenting most interesting information, be influence public opinion by them, and to support official policies to bring about prosperity and development. From the result of total

“Mean Score”, the values for all statements are over 3.4. Thus, it can make conclusion that perception scores of respondents regarding to the statements mentioned in Table 4.22 (c) are extremely important or very important.

Table 4.22 (d) of frequency table shows the results of analysis on the score for fourth 3 statements of self-perception of journalists.

Table 4.22 (d) Frequency Distribution of Scores for Self-Perceptions of Each Statement (Cont’d)

Scale	Extremely important		Very important		Somewhat important		Little important		Unimportant		Total Mean Score
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Do you feel how much important of yourself to advocate for social change?	24	21.4	36	32.1	26	23.2	20	17.9	6	5.4	3.46
Do you feel how much important of yourself to act as watchdog of political elites?	32	28.6	32	28.6	24	21.4	16	14.3	8	7.1	3.57
Do you feel how much important of yourself to motivate people to participate in civic activity and political discussion?	26	23.2	28	25	38	33.9	20	17.9	0	0	3.64

Source: Survey Data

According to the results of data analysis, as mentioned in Table 4.22 (d), the score for the scales on “extremely important and very important” are more than 50% of respondents for the statement of No. 10 and Statement No. 11 except the Statement No. 12. Therefore, it can be made conclusion as the perceptions of journalists upon presenting information for public benefits are generally important for them regard to advocate for social change and to act as watchdog of political elites. From the result of total “Mean Score”, the values for all statements are more than 3.5. Thus, it can

make conclusion that perception scores of respondents regarding to the statements mentioned in Table 4.22 (d) are extremely important or very important.

As to the statement for motivation people to participate in civic activity and political discussion, the most proportion (33.9%) of journalists mentioned as somewhat important. However, in general, more than 90% of respondents mentioned as important for all statements any way.

4.3.16 Analysis on the Scores for Ideas of News Coverage of Journalist

Total of 16 statements were mentioned with 5 points Likert Scales in order to determine the degree of score on agree to the statements described in different approaches to ideas of news coverage. Regarding to determination of journalists on the statements of descriptions of different approaches to ideas of news coverage, 5 points Likert Scale with scales ranging from 1 to 5; in which *5 is strongly agree, 4 is agree, 3 is neither agree nor disagree s, 2 is disagree, 1 is strongly disagree* are given in questionnaire. Thus, respondents can give their decisions on statements describing the news coverage by journalists. Table 4.23 (a) of frequency table shows the results of analysis on the score for first 4 statements for descriptions of ideas of news coverage. These four statements concern with the behaviors of journalists in presenting news to public.

Table 4.23 (a) Frequency Distribution of Scores for descriptions of ideas of news coverage in each Statement

Scale	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total Mean Score
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
I do not allow my own beliefs and convictions to influence my reporting.	78	69.6	14	12.5	10	8.9	6	5.4	4	3.6	4.39
I provide analysis of events and issues in my work.	34	30.4	46	41.1	26	23.2	6	5.4	0	0	3.96
I think that facts speak for themselves.	30	26.8	16	14.3	46	41.1	8	7.1	12	10.7	3.39
I remain strictly impartial in my work.	58	51.8	30	26.8	18	16.1	6	5.4	0	0	4.25

Source: Survey Data

According to the results of data analysis, as mentioned in Table 4.23 (a), the score for the scales on “strongly agree and agree” are more than 50% of respondents for the statement of No. 1, Statement No. 2 and Statement No. 4 except the Statement No. 3. Therefore, it can be made conclusion as the most proportion of journalists are generally agree regards to not influence on reporting by the own beliefs and convictions as of attitudes, approaches and practices for presenting news in public information system. From the result of total “Mean Score”, the values for all statements are more than 3.4. Thus, it can make conclusion that perception scores of respondents regarding to the statements mentioned in Table 4.22 (a) are agree or strongly agree.

As to the statement for providing analysis of the events and issues in work, the most proportion of journalists are also generally agree. Regard to statement of staying strictly impartial in presenting news, nearly 80% percent of journalists are generally agree on the statement. For the statement of facts speak for themselves, the most proportion (41.1%) mentioned their attitudes as neither agree nor disagree. From this finding, it can be made conclusion as some parts of journalists have doubts on the consequential implication of truth.

Table 4.23 (b) of frequency table shows the results of analysis on the score for second 4 statements for descriptions of ideas of news coverage. These four statements related with the responsibility and accountability of journalists in presenting news to public.

Table 4.23 (b) Frequency Distribution of Scores for descriptions of ideas of news coverage in each Statement (Cont'd)

Scale	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total Mean Score
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
I make claims only if they are substantiated by hard evidence and reliable sources.	74	66.1	30	26.8	8	7.1	0	0	0	0	4.59
I think that journalists can depict reality as it is.	16	14.3	16	14.3	68	60.7	10	8.9	2	1.8	3.30
I always make clear which side in a dispute has the privileged position.	28	25	30	26.8	38	33.9	14	12.5	2	1.8	3.61
I always stay away from information that cannot be verified.	76	67.9	30	26.8	4	3.6	2	1.8	0	0	4.61

Source: Survey Data

According to the results of data analysis, as mentioned in Table 4.23 (b), the score for the scales on “strongly agree and agree” are more than 50% of respondents for the statement of No. 5, Statement No. 7 and Statement No. 8 except the Statement No. 6. Therefore, it can be made conclusion as the most proportion of journalists are generally agree regards to making claims on the presenting news if they are substantiated by hard evidence and reliable sources. Furthermore, the most proportion of journalists also generally agree on the hypothesis such as making clear in which side has the privileged position in a dispute in system of news presentation. For this hypothesis, there are some proportion of journalists (14.3%) disagree the statement.

Regarding to the statement No. 8, which means if the information could not be verified they are not involved in presenting such news, most proportion (94.7%) of journalists agree to the statement. For the statement of journalists can depict reality as it is, the most proportion (60.7%) mentioned their attitudes as neither agree nor disagree. From the result of total “Mean Score”, the values for all statements are more than 3.3. Thus, it can make conclusion that perception scores of respondents regarding to the statements mentioned in Table 4.22 (b) are agree or strongly agree. From this

finding, it may make conclusion such as some proportion of the journalists have no confidence on their profession.

Table 4.23 (c) that is frequency table shows the results of analysis on the scores for third 4 statements of descriptions of ideas about news coverage. These four statements related with the ethics of journalists in presenting news to public.

Table 4.23 (c) Frequency Distribution of Scores for descriptions of ideas of news coverage in each Statement (cont'd)

Scale	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total Mean Score
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
There are ethical principles which are so important that they should be followed by all journalists, regardless of situation and context.	78	69.6	30	26.8	4	3.6	0	0	0	0	4.66
Journalists should avoid questionable methods of reporting in any case, even if this means not getting the story.	80	71.4	20	17.9	10	8.9	2	1.8	0	0	4.59
Ethical dilemmas in news coverage are often so complex that journalists should be allowed to formulate their own individual codes of conduct.	46	41.1	20	17.9	40	35.7	4	3.6	2	1.8	3.93
Reporting and publishing a story that can potentially harm others is always wrong, irrespective of the benefits to be gained.	34	30.4	36	32.1	34	30.4	6	5.4	2	1.8	3.84

Source: Survey Data

According to the results of data analysis, as mentioned in Table 4.23 (c), the score for the scales on “strongly agree and agree” are more than 50% of respondents for all statements of No. 9, Statement No. 10, Statement No. 11 and Statement No. 12. From the result of total “Mean Score”, the values for all statements are nearly 4 and

above. Therefore, it can be made conclusion as the most proportion of journalists are generally agree regards to important ethical principles that should be followed by all journalists, regardless of situation and context. Furthermore, regards to statement No. 10, nearly 90% of journalists agree on the hypothesis of avoiding questionable methods of reporting in any case, even if this means not getting the story.

Regarding to the statement No. 11, most proportion (59%) of journalists agree to the statement which means as ethical dilemmas in news coverage are often so complex that journalists should be allowed to formulate their own individual codes of conduct. For this statement, there are also 35.7% of journalists mentioned their attitudes as neither agree nor disagree. Moreover, for the statement No. 12, (62.5%) of journalists responded as agree on the ethical related hypothesis of harmful reporting and publishing a story to others is always wrong and irrespective of the benefits to be gained. From this finding, it may make conclusion such as most proportion of the journalists have respected their journalists' ethics.

Table 4.23 (d) of frequency table shows the results of analysis on the score for the fourth 4 statements for descriptions of ideas of news coverage. These four statements related with the attitudes of journalists in presenting news to public.

Table 4.23 (d) Frequency Distribution of Scores for descriptions of ideas of news coverage in each Statement (cont'd)

Scale	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total Mean Score
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Ethical situations in journalism are varied from one situation to another.	36	32.1	52	46.4	18	16.1	6	5.4	0	0	4.05
There are situations in which harm is justifiable if it results in a story that produces a greater good.	32	28.6	52	46.4	26	23.2	0	0	2	1.8	4.00
I think incorrect facts are often published because of less verification	66	58.9	20	17.9	20	17.9	2	1.8	4	3.6	4.27
I think it is better to publish unverified information than to be slower than the competitors; others publisher of same kinds	20	17.9	18	16.1	20	17.9	8	7.1	46	41.1	2.63

Source: Survey Data

According to the results of data analysis, as mentioned in Table 4.23 (d), the score for the scales on “strongly agree and agree” are more than 50% of respondents for all statements of No. 13, statement No. 14, and statement No. 15 except the statement No. 16. From the result of total “Mean Score”, the values for statement No. 13, statement No. 14, and statement No. 15 are more than 4 except statement No.16.

Therefore, it can be made conclusion as the most proportion of journalists are generally agree regards to ethical situations in journalism are varied from one situation to another. Furthermore, the most proportion (75%) of journalists also generally agrees on the statement such as situations in which harm is justifiable if it results in a story or news that produces a greater good.

Regarding to the statement No. 15, which means that incorrect facts are often published because of less verification; the most proportion (76.8%) of journalists agree to this statement. For the statement No. 16, the journalists strongly disagree the statement meaning that it is better to publish unverified information than to be slower than the competitors; others publisher of same kinds. In the literal meaning of this statement, it is not acceptable for public from the aspects of business ethics, and standards of conduct. Thus, the most proportion (41.1%) mentioned their attitudes as strongly disagree. From this finding, it may make conclusion such as most proportion of the journalists are well conscious on making mistakes in presenting news.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1 Findings

By 2010 and 2015 general election, the regime of new democratic government opened an era since 2011 that may be called dawn of democracy in Myanmar. With the dynamics of the ongoing reforms, the working conditions for journalists, an important part of civil society – have been better freedom than earlier military regime. The restrictions to the freedom of expression were lifted and regular publications licenses for journals (weekly) and magazines (monthly), and private newspapers (daily) were allowed to private sector. Since then, inception of media businesses has adopted the journalism professionals.

At the same time, as prominent reforms, a law on freedom of the press was promulgated to promote the emergence of new media in the national arena and as liberalization of the media sector, an independent school of journalism; Myanmar Journalism Institute (MJII) could be opened by a European consortium in partnership with the Myanmar media group "Forever". Myanmar Journalism Institute (MJII) offers professional quality education that meets international standards: compliance with ethical rules, neutrality, pluralism and methodology of investigation, focusing on two areas: training for working journalists and entry-level training for students. It provides training for media professionals who play a part in strengthening democratic processes and good governance.

Myanmar youth are very interested to participate in newly open academic field of profession. This study scrutinized the journalism cultures of journalists working in new era of democracy regime since 2011. As finding from sample survey interview, regarding to age of journalists it is found that journalists working in all media sectors of Myanmar are quite young; nearly 98% of respondents are between 20 and 40 year age groups. There are also nearly equal in gender of male and female working in the journalism. With respect to education achievement of youth journalists, there are no

under the level of Bachelor Degree from Universities. However, journalism education is still not widespread in journalism profession of Myanmar.

It is also found that more than two-third of journalists are working in the printing media and its related fields because of printing businesses are majority of media publication. The most proportion of media organizations has less than 30 staffs and journalists. A little portion of media organizations have more than 100 staffs and journalists. Regarding to experiences of journalists, nearly all of journalists have experiences up to 10 years. This is relevant and reasonable because of media development is started and happened in early 2010s.

Regarding to the numbers of news items that can be written/produced and/or processed by a journalists in a usual week publication, it is found that nearly half of journalists could write 5 to 15 items. Other quarter could produce 16 to 30 and above of articles/news episodes in a usual week publications.

As an important issue of working conditions, it is found that three-quarter of media organizations have no gender inclusive culture. With respect to female journalists' pay, there are only one-third of media organizations have paid equally in terms of salary for the same working time as male journalists. Therefore, it should be provided gender awareness trainings and concepts to those organizations.

Regarding to the awareness on the laws and policies, more than three-quarter of journalists have been aware on freedom of media is prohibited. From this finding, journalists working in Myanmar at the inception time of democracy have good awareness on the hindrance for media freedom. Moreover, half of the journalists have good knowledge level about laws and policies. It is also found that at least nearly quarter of journalists know any one of Myanmar Journalism Associations is also a well-known and recommended by 30.4% of respondents. Myanmar Journalist Association and Myanmar Press Association are also recommended by 26.8% and 17.9% of respondents respectively as their beliefs in promoting freedom of media and journalism development.

With respect to the race and religion which are very sensitive issues to the society, only nearly half of journalists feel these as serious and important in reporting those cases. Regarding to reporting about issues of political corruption and criminal cases, more than three-quarter of journalists convinced that it is important and being defamed the society. Related with the issues of political corruption and criminal cases, these are widespread defamation of society in Myanmar. For being more quick

democratization in Myanmar, forceful journalists are necessary to support and to bring to account politicians who run democracy. Moreover, they are needed to expose the systemic failures of political systems that have brought so many corruption problems.

In the main responsibilities of journalists, to fulfill society with fully democratization is imperative. More than half of Myanmar journalists believe it is extremely important. From this finding, it can be made conclusion as journalists have positive perceptions on their role in political system to be fully changed.

Journalism cultures of journalists are key factors in public sphere, in political changes as well as in fully formation of democracy in society. It could be driven with acceleration in the era of growth of network in society that changes the conditions for journalism. The journalistic practices and values should influence the public opinions to keep abreast with the media development.

Regarding to opinions of journalists on quality changes of journalism during last 19 years, two-third of journalists responded as it is increased. From this finding, it can be made conclusion as the perceptions of journalists on the journalism quality are being positive views. The quality of journalism depends on the efforts of all stakeholders in all kinds of media systems for implementation of democratic society. With the advancement of communication technology, there are threats for printing media. Regarding to such threats to printing media, more than two-third of journalists responded that there are big threats.

Regarding to proportions of media influence on public, opinions of journalists are given with percentage for 4 types of media: printing media, TV, Radio, and Online (Internet/Facebook). According to the results, influence of online (Internet/Facebook) is estimated by journalists as 35% on public media utilization. From this finding, it can be said that the role of printing is diminishing.

Among the top 10 obstacles to freedom of media perceived by journalists, the most perceived two are “Government policies for media sector” and “policies and procedures of Ministry of Information”. From this finding, it can be said that journalists are generally perceived the government’s policies as obstacles for their tasks for society.

Regarding to opinions of journalists on the statements for self-perception of importance of their role in society, more than half of journalists responded as “extremely important and very important” for the statements of public benefits such

as absolutely not connected observer of society, as watchdog of the government, and in providing information citizens need to make political decisions. Thus, it can be made conclusion as the perceptions of journalists upon presenting information for public benefits are generally important for them.

Regarding to the statements that emphasized with concentration mainly on attractive news for the widest possible audience, and is to convey a positive image of political and business leadership which are generally important for them; self-perception of importance for those statements, more than half of journalists responded as “extremely important and very important” for their role in society.

The statements regard to presenting most interesting information, to be influence public opinion by them, and to support official policies to bring about prosperity and development; more than half of journalists gave opinions as as “extremely important and very important” for their role in society.

The perceptions of journalists upon presenting information for public benefits are generally important for them regard to advocate for social change and to act as watchdog of political elites. As to the statement for motivation people to participate in civic activity and political discussion, one-third of journalist mentioned as somewhat important. However, in general, nearly all journalists mentioned as important for all statements any way.

As descriptions of ideas of news coverage in presenting information, more than half of journalists agree the statements regards to not influence on reporting by the own beliefs and convictions as of attitudes, approaches and practices for presenting news in public information system. As to the statement for providing analysis of the events and issues in work, the most proportion of journalists are also generally agree. Regard to statement of staying strictly impartial in presenting news, more than three quarter of journalists are generally agree on the statement.

The statements regards to making claims on the presenting news if they are substantiated by hard evidence and reliable sources and making clear in which side has the privileged position in a dispute in system of news presentation, more than half journalists agree to those statements. For the statement of journalists can depict reality as it is, more than half of journalists mentioned their attitudes as neither agree nor disagree. From this finding, it may make conclusion such as some proportion of the journalists have no confidence on their profession. The statements regards to

important ethical principles that should be followed by all journalists, regardless of situation and context, more than half journalists agree to the statement.

For the last statement, the journalists strongly disagree the statement meaning that it is better to publish unverified information than to be slower than the competitors; others publisher of same kinds. In the literal meaning of this statement, it is not acceptable for public from the aspects of business ethics, and standards of conduct. Thus, nearly half of journalists mentioned their attitudes as strongly disagree. From this finding, it may make conclusion such as most proportion of the journalists are well conscious on making mistakes in presenting news.

5.2 Suggestions

For journalism development, in other words, freedoms of expressions Government's policies to control media are major hindrances. Although the democratic regime, there are policy, rule and regulations of Government in threatening to media freedom. Development of journalism cultures and society development are related each other as well as media development. At dawn of democracy in Myanmar, to accelerate the pace of democratization and establishing peaceful society, journalism professional will have to be thrived. Therefore, rules and regulations those are oppressing media freedom must be slack. Furthermore, training of journalism professional as academy subject should be encouraged. And also it should encourage the people to acquire knowledge from mass media for individual as well as society benefits. Information from public sectors should be published with transparency as up-to-date of the facts. Journalism also should take the responsibility and accountability on their side of presenting news and information on public media

REFERENCES

- Alejandro, J. (2010), *Journalism in the Age of Social Media: Unpublished Fellowship Paper*, Reuters Institute for the Studies of Journalism, University of Oxford.
- Amartya Sen, *Development and Freedom*, New York: Anchor Books, 1999.
- Arshad, S., & Ashraf, B. N. (2014). *Journalism Ethics: Evidence from Media Industry of Pakistan*. *Global Media Journal: Pakistan Edition*, Volume (7), Issue (2), pages 25-36
- Balčytienė, A. and Lauk, B. (2009), *Some reflections on journalism education and journalism culture*, (*Journalism Research*) *Science journal (Communication and information)* 2009 No. 2).
- “Chronology of the Press in Burma” *THE IRRAWADDY DAILY*, issued on Saturday, May 1, 2004: retrieved from www.irrawaddy.com.
- Goran Hyden, Michael Leslie and Folu F. Ogundimu. Eds. (2002). *Media and Democracy in Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Hanitzsch, T. et.al (2011), *Mapping Journalism Cultures across Nations, (A comparative study of 18 countries)*, *Journalism Studies*, retrieved from <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713393939>
- Harper, R., A. (2010), *The Social Media Revolution: Exploring the Impact on Journalism and News Media Organizations*; available at www.inqueiesjournal.com.
- Htin Gyi (1993) *Index of Burma Newspapers, Volumes 1 and 2*, Sarpay Beikman, Ministry of Information, Government of Myanmar.
- Kyaw Thu, (2017) *The Impact of Censorship on the Development of the Private Press Industry in Myanmar/Burma*, Unpublished Fellows' Paper of Journalism & Democracy, Business of Journalism Media Policy, Reuters Institute for the Studies of Journalism, University of Oxford; retrieved from <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk>.
- Lidauer, M., (2012), *Democratic Dawn? Civil Society and Elections in Myanmar 2010–2012*, in: *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 31, 2, 87-114, retrieved from www.CurrentSoutheastAsianAffairs.org.
- Maiko Ichihara, Niranjana Sahoo, I Ketut Putra Erawan, (2016), *Asian Support for Democracy in Myanmar*, Carnegieendowment.org.

- Melin, M., (2008), *Gendered Journalism Cultures: Strategies and Tactics in the Fields of Journalism in Britain and Sweden*, JMG Department of Journalism and Mass Communication University of Göteborg, Sweden.
- Moyers, B. "Overcoming Civic Literacy" in *Media Reader: Perspectives on Mass Media Industries, Effects, and Issues*, 2nd Edition, Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1993.
- Nygren, G., and Degtereva, E., (2016), *Russian and Swedish Journalists: Professional roles, ideals and daily reality*; retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication>.
- OECD (2010), *News in the Internet age: New trends in news publishing*, OECD Publishing, Paris and IFJ (2010), "Journalism: In touch with the future", Brussels.
- Pandita, R., (2019), *Journalism Ethics and Standards*; retrieved from <https://opinionfront.com/create> on 15th November, 2019
- Shirky, C., (2008), *Here Comes Everybody: The Power of Organizing without Organizations*, The Penguin Press, New York, USA.
- Venkat Iyer, *Acts of Oppression Censorship and the law in Burma*, ARTICLE 19 Lond on ISBN 1 902598 04 0, March 1999

Internet websites

www.irrawaddy.com (Access on July 14, 2019).

<https://www.mediasupport.org> (Access on July 14, 2019).

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263119319>.

_RUSSIAN_AND_SWEDISH_JOURNALISTS [Access on July 31 2019].

<http://www.cbc.com> (Access on July 14, 2019).

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263335387> (Access on July 8, 2019).

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fourth_Estate

<http://www.ifj.org>

<http://www.hrw.org>

<https://www.spj.org/ethics.asp>

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Some Pages of Early Myanmar Newspapers



Source: <https://www.irrawaddy.com>

Appendix B

List of Respondents' Media Organization

1. MRTV-4 (Myanmar Radio and Television Channel 4)
2. The Voice daily News
3. Sky Net (Private TV Channels for Sports, Entertainment, News and Information by means of satellite broadcasting)
4. Myanmar Media 7 (Online)
5. Internet Journal
6. MNTV (Myanmar National Television)
7. Automobile Journal
8. Akon Thi News
9. Myit Ma Kha Journal
10. News Watch journal
11. Eleven Media Group
12. Beauty Creator Journal
13. The Revenue Journal
14. Myanmar Times Newspaper
15. The Sun Rays Weekly News Journal
16. The Myanmar Herald
17. Myanma Alinn Daily Newspaper
18. Net Guide Journal
19. Innya Online Media
20. 7 Day News Journal
21. Irrawaddy News
22. DVB TV (Television Channel of Democratic Voice of Burma)
23. B.B.C
24. Radio Free Asia (RFA)
25. Mizzima TV
26. Information Matrix Journal
27. VOA Myanmar
28. MCNTV News

- 2) Work on different types of information/subject area ()
- 3) Refuse to answer ()
- Q.4 How many years have you been working in journalism?
- A.4 () years
- Q.5 Do you work for only your primary news organization?
- A.5 1) Yes () 2) No ()
- Q.6 In addition, do you work for other media outlets? (Which other media do you work on?)
- A.6 1) Yes, in _____ media organization 2) No ()
- Q.7 What are the terms of your employment?
- A.7 1) full-time employee (), 2) part-time employee (),
3) freelancer () 4) Other (_____)
- Q.8 On average, how many news items could you write/produce and/or process in a usual week?
- A.8 (_____) news items
- Q.9 Do you feel your news organization has a gender inclusive culture?
- A.9 1) Yes (), 2) Somewhat (), 3) No ()
- Q.10 Do you think male and female journalists are paid equally in terms of salary for the same working time?
- A.10 1) Yes (), 2) No (), 3) Don't know ()
- Q.11 Are you aware of laws and policies of Myanmar which prohibit freedom of media?
- A.11 1) Yes (), 2) No () **skip to Q.13**
- Q.12 (If Yes), what is your knowledge of such laws and policies of the national level in Myanmar?
- A.12 1) Excellent (), 2) Very good (), 3) Good (), 4) Poor ()
- Q.13 Do you know how many of associations for journalists to promote the freedom of media and journalism development?
- A.13 Those are;1. _____ 2. _____
3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____
- Q.14 Do you think that it is important to report about the issues concerning race and ethnicity or religion?
- A. 14 1) Yes (), 2) No (), 3) Refuse to answer ()
- Q.15 Do you think that it is important to report about the issues concerning political corruption and criminal cases which are being defamed the society?
- A. 15 1) Yes (), 2) No (), 3) Refuse to answer ()
- Q.16 Do you think it is important for the journalists in fulfilling their responsibilities of society to the fully democratization?

- A.16 1) Extremely important ()
2) Very important ()
3) Somewhat important ()
4) Little important ()
5) Not important at all ()
- Q.17 Do you think that the quality of journalism has increased or decreased during last 10 years?
- A.17 1) Increased ()
2) No change ()
3) Decreased ()
- Q.18 Do you think there are very big threats to the printing media?
- A.18 1) Yes (), 2) No (), 3) Not know ()
- Q.19 How do you estimate the percentage or proportion of influence of different media platform to Myanmar people?
- A.19 1) Printing Media (%)
2) TV (%)
3) Radio (%)
4) Online (internet/Facebook) (%)
- Q.20 What are the biggest obstacles to reporting about any issues concerning to public information for transparency?
- A.20 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____

QUESTIONNAIRE PART II

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INTERVIEWING JOURNALISTS

This part of questionnaire contains statements about some descriptions of things in the working environment of journalists (news media) do or tries to do. Please circle on the scales of 1 to 5 how important are each of these things you feel about the statement by using the following scoring system: *5 is extremely important, 4 is very important, 3 is somewhat important, 2 is important, 1 is not important.* Please be honest about your choices as there are no *somewhat important* right or wrong answers — it is only for your own self-assessment.

Sr. No	Statements	Extremely Important	very important	Somewhat Important	Important	Not important
		5	4	3	2	1
1	Do you feel how much important of yourself to be an absolutely not connected observer of society?	5	4	3	2	1
2	Do you feel how much important of yourself to act as watchdog of the government?	5	4	3	2	1
3	Do you feel how much important of yourself to provide citizens with the information they need to make political decisions?	5	4	3	2	1
4	Do you feel how much important of yourself to concentrate mainly on news that will attract the widest possible audience?	5	4	3	2	1
5	Do you feel how much important of yourself to set the political agenda?	5	4	3	2	1

6	Do you feel how much important of yourself to convey a positive image of political and business leadership?	5	4	3	2	1
7	Do you feel how much important of yourself to provide the audience with the information that is most interesting?	5	4	3	2	1
8	Do you feel how much important of yourself to influence public opinion?	5	4	3	2	1
9	Do you feel how much important of yourself to support official policies to bring about prosperity and development?	5	4	3	2	1
10	Do you feel how much important of yourself to advocate for social change?	5	4	3	2	1
11	Do you feel how much important of yourself to act as watchdog of political elites?	5	4	3	2	1
12	Do you feel how much important of yourself to motivate people to participate in civic activity and political discussion?	5	4	3	2	1

The following statements describe different approaches to ideas of journalist (news) coverage. For each of them, please circle on a scale of 5 to 1 how strongly you agree or disagree. *5 means you strongly agree, 4 means somewhat agree, 3 means neither agree nor disagree, 2 means somewhat disagree, and 1 means strongly disagree.*

Sr. No	Statements	<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
1	I do not allow my own beliefs and convictions to influence my reporting.	5	4	3	2	1
2	I provide analysis of events and issues in my work.	5	4	3	2	1
3	I think that facts speak for themselves.	5	4	3	2	1
4	I remain strictly impartial in my work.	5	4	3	2	1
5	I make claims only if they are substantiated by hard evidence and reliable sources.	5	4	3	2	1
6	I think that journalists can depict reality as it is.	5	4	3	2	1
7	I always make clear which side in a dispute has the privileged position.	5	4	3	2	1
8	I always stay away from information that cannot be verified.	5	4	3	2	1
9	There are ethical principles which are so important that they should be followed by all journalists, regardless of situation and context.	5	4	3	2	1
10	Journalists should avoid questionable methods of reporting in any case, even if this means not getting the story.	5	4	3	2	1

11	Ethical dilemmas in news coverage are often so complex that journalists should be allowed to formulate their own individual codes of conduct.	5	4	3	2	1
12	Reporting and publishing a story that can potentially harm others is always wrong, irrespective of the benefits to be gained.	5	4	3	2	1
13	Ethical situations in journalism are varied from one situation to another.	5	4	3	2	1
14	There are situations in which harm is justifiable if it results in a story that produces a greater good.	5	4	3	2	1
15	I think incorrect facts are often published because of less verification	5	4	3	2	1
16	I think it is better to publish unverified information than to be slower than the competitors; others publisher of same kinds	5	4	3	2	1

Thank you very Much for Your Participation