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The Newspaper And Its Publics

By

Florangel Rosario-Braid
THE NEWSPAPER AND ITS PUBLICS

by

Florangel Rosario-Braid*

Introduction

In the newspaper industry, public relations is more than just a marketing strategy. It is in fact essential for a newspaper's survival. This is demonstrated by the growing influence of the various publics in defining the newspaper's role in society, in the shaping of its editorial policies and in ensuring its financial viability.

A newspaper has, what may be described, as its internal and external publics. While management has direct access and authority over its internal publics (i.e., employees/workers, stockholders and officers), this is not possible with its external publics (i.e., advertisers, competitors, readers, suppliers and the government). Decisions and actions of these publics vitally affect the operation of the newspaper company.

This study examines the nature of public relations in some Asean countries. Because of the paucity of data from other countries, the paper draws primarily from the Philippine experience.

*Director, Asian Institute of Journalism and President, Philippines Communication Society. Former Member, 1986 Constitutional Commission. This paper was written with Ramon R. Tuazon, AIJ Project Coordinator.
The emphasis is on the nature of public relations in newspaper companies operating as business enterprises.

Trends and issues are analyzed in the light of the growing conflict between the social responsibility of the press and the factors that affect its viability. How to support national development goals without losing autonomy and independence and how to provide greater access and participation to readers, etc. are among the crucial issues facing the ASEAN press.

A set of recommendations on establishing relationship with the newspaper's various publics is also provided.
A. The Newspaper and its Readers

Needs Vs. Wants

The challenge facing newspapers today is that of striking a balance between social responsibility and commercial viability. In a competitive environment, the goal of providing a free and responsible press must be supported by sound business. It is in this "balancing act" where conflicts arise.

In trying to reach wider markets, newspapers fall into the so-called "commercial mentality" trap as profit becomes their overriding concern. But journalism is more than a business. Publishers and editors must recognize their responsibility to provide information on matters of public concern.

Because of the profit motive, often, the social service objective of journalism becomes secondary. Information is treated as a merchandise, marketed in the same manner as other commodities.

Commercialism and Editorial Content

A study by the Asian Institute of Journalism on media trends in the Philippines found that while the increase in the number of newspapers provided readers more choices, there are however
negative consequences. For example, there is a greater tendency to sensationalize in an effort to attract more readers. Rumors are peddled as facts and police blotter stories are given prominence in screaming headlines.

The editorial board chairman of The Manila Chronicle observes that newspapers today use screaming headlines and seek out dramatic and action-packed stories rather than issues. In the fight to survive, the formula of personality-oriented rather than issue-oriented press still prevails.

A columnist of Philippine Star opined that much of what we read in the newspapers today smacks of yellow journalism; the broadsheets read like "scandal" sheets.

Despite the relatively freer environment (and therefore easier access to sources of information), many journalists still depend on press releases. This practice has encouraged corruption in the media and denied the public its right to more in-depth and investigative stories.

Another complaint against the national media is their urban bias. Provincial issues and events are often buried in the inside
pages. They make it to the front page only if they deal with crime, violence and natural disasters. This bias can be traced to the concentration of readership in urban centres.

**News as "Commodities"**

Stiff competition has forced marketing executives to come up with innovative selling strategies.* For example, during the 1987 Congressional elections in the Philippines, the *Manila Standard* daily offered cash prizes to those able to guess the 24 senatorial race winners in an effort to boost its circulation.

During the same campaign, another *The Manila Chronicle* invited readers to participate in a straw vote for senatorial candidates. Results were canvassed and published weekly. *The Manila Chronicle* also features a daily crossword puzzle which enables not only readers but newspaper agents and newsboys as well to win big cash prizes.

*Competition becomes more stiffer when one considers market characteristics. In the Philippines today, there are 14 daily broadsheets, 7 daily tabloids and five Chinese dailies (figures do not include those published in the provinces). All these compete for a mere 6.5 million readers most of which has an average reading fare of only three to four days a week. About 30 percent of the total circulation of major dailies are sold in Metro Manila, the rest are distributed to other regions of the country.*
The Philippine Daily Inquirer and Filipino Ngayon have involved the public in contests such as providing a slogan and essay contests on the February revolution respectively.

During the 1987 basketball season, Philippine Journalists, Inc, publications (i.e., The Manila Journal, People's Journal, Bagong Taliba and Women's Magazine) offered prizes to lucky readers who could guess the Philippine Basketball Association's (PBA) Most Valuable Player (MVP), Rookie of the Year and the Mythical Five. The publisher undoubtedly capitalized on the popularity of a game that is considered a national pasttime.

For more than a year now, the Philippine Star has alloted space for its "Roster of Heroes" which is a listing of names of citizens from all walks of life who took part in the historic 1986 EDSA Revolution. Readers simply fill out a registration form published in the paper.

The Role of Market Research

The role of market research becomes even more important in a highly competitive environment. Publishers rely on market research for data on readers' socioeconomic profile and preferences, circulation figures, etc. From these data, editors take their cue of public taste and interests. Lately, there has been a tendency
among editors to use readers' preferences as the sole criterion to select and package news stories. Thus, stories on sex, violence, prominent social personalities (which enjoy wide readership) are given undue prominence while issue-oriented "unpopular" stories are relegated to the inside pages.

Newspapers have yet to discover how to best utilize the services of market research in improving editorial quality. For example, results of public opinion polls can be translated into interesting news copies.

For market research to be useful, newspaper organizations must continually use it. However, the costs are prohibitive. Market research companies could devise a strategy where certain studies (such as demographic and content preference research) could be cost-shared by several newspapers.

Access and Participation

The relationship between the newspaper and its readers depends on how well reader's needs and expectations are met as well as on the degree of their involvement and participation in the editorial process and in some cases, in management.

In general, access to media is confined only to politically and economically dominant groups. In such a situation, the danger
of transmitting primarily the values and norms fostered by such dominant groups becomes amplified. Ordinary readers become mere passive receivers of information which may not reflect their concerns. Another danger of this so-called one-way communication flow is the possibility of imposing alien values on the minority groups.

Readers' access and participation in the editorial process appears to be limited to the traditional approaches. Letters to the editor are the most common. The letters provide readers the opportunity to: (a) express views and opinions on national and local issues and events; (b) correct alleged inaccuracies in news reporting; (c) suggest ways to improve the newspaper; and (d) call the attention of authorities to complaints, problems, etc. These letters also serve as a gauge of public opinion on specific issues and events.

As a feedback channel, letters are limited by the amount of space available. Similarly, these letters have to pass through a "gatekeeper" who screens and decides which letter merits publication. Letters to the editor should not be used as a principal indicator of feedback as there are cultures where the people are not normally inclined to writing letters. Sometimes, the readers are too preoccupied with "survival" matters to find time to write. In some societies, mailboxes and post offices are
not easily accessible to the majority. As a result, writing letters to editors often becomes the monopoly of a few.

Some newspapers feature opinion articles on specific issues sent in by readers. The experience is that only the articulate opinion leaders are able to avail of this "privilege."

Another means of gaining access is through press releases. This approach is popular especially among government offices, business enterprises, civic and professional organizations. To ensure publication of their press releases many individuals or institutions engage in corruption or what is now popularly known as "envelopmental journalism" (a term derived from envelope which contains the press release together with the editor's or reporter's honorarium).

In the Philippines, many newspapers (particularly tabloids) enjoy wide readership because of their public service section. In these pages, readers can send in free special announcements. Announcements include missing persons, death notices, fund raising for deprived and sick, reunions, etc. Recently, some Manila-based newspapers started providing space for announcements on job opportunities abroad.

Innovative approaches in providing greater public access include The Manila Times' column, Someone's on Your Side (S.O.S.).
People Vs. Power which provides the "small" reader a leverage for redress of any grievances against the "powerful" (i.e., government and big business).

In some countries, the right to reply has been institutionalized. Editors are obliged to publish a counter-version or reply by the person or party affected by their report. The reply must be printed in the same typography and section (or page) where the offending report was published.

The most important factor which limits public access and participation in management is the ownership structure. In most Asian countries, media ownership is concentrated in the hands either of the government or of business and the elite who also enjoy political influence.

Efforts to democratize ownership has made some headway in some Asian countries although some experiments in democratization have failed. In Singapore, the Newspaper and Printing Press Act of 1974 limits individual ownership to three percent of the shares. Today, Singapore newspapers are published by publicly listed companies, with major shares controlled by several banks. The Singapore Press
Holdings (SPH) manages all English language papers and serves as a parent company for the Straits Times Press, Times Publishing Berhad and the Singapore News and Publications Ltd. The merger of these three companies was justified on the economic ground of avoiding costly newspaper wars. This means the profit motive superseded the public service objective of providing a variety of sources of information.*

In Indonesia, the 1982 Press Act prescribes that journalists and employees who have worked with a newspaper company for at least twenty years are collectively entitled to 20 percent of the shares of stocks of the company.

The new Constitution of the Philippines provides that media ownership be limited only to Filipinos and the monopoly in the commercial mass media be regulated or prohibited by the State (when public interest so requires). In 1985, two national newspapers pioneered the idea of broadened ownership. The Philippine Daily Inquirer was organized as a "cooperative" newspaper owned by employees. The need for more capital inputs however recently forced the Inquirer management to abandon its cooperative goal.

*Recently, the Singapore Press Holdings Ltd. had acquired the remaining 40.99 percent of Shin Min Daily News not already owned by it.

Shin Min publishes an evening Chinese newspaper which bears its name. It has an average daily circulation of about 90,000 copies on weekdays and 145,000 copies at weekends.
On the other hand, Malaya, another daily, sold 49 percent of its shares to employees, news dealers and the public with employees having the first option. Readers were invited to participate through a minimum investment of 50.00 per share. Such a novel undertaking, however, did not improve public participation in management as readers can only own so many shares. This experiment likewise failed because of the need for larger capital which can only be provided by wealthy investors.

In summary, although there had been some studies towards public participation in newspaper management, the existing economic and socio-cultural environment did not however allow the full flowering of the experiments in democratization.

B. The Newspaper and Its Advertisers

After readers, publishers (and editors) consider business/advertisers as their second most important publics. In the Philippines, advertising provides about 80 percent of the newspapers total revenue with the remaining 20 percent coming from circulation. Likewise, most newspapers allocate more space for advertisements than editorial content. The usual ratio is 70:30. By contrast, Indonesia limits advertising space to only 35 percent of the total space.
The heavy dependence on advertising as a source of revenue has given advertisers the means to control or influence editorial policies. The extent of their influence is reflected in the frequent requests for press releases which are forwarded either directly or indirectly to the editorial or advertising department. Requests for special consideration in toning down or "killing" stories inimical to the advertiser's interests are not uncommon. Such stories include: (a) labor disputes; (b) crimes such as robbery; (c) consumer issues, e.g. food poisoning, misrepresentation, overpricing; and (d) conflicts with competitive products. This arrangement has resulted in a dyadic relationship - "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours."

Conflicts with advertisers must be discussed through consultation between the editorial and advertising department. The value of the news and the value of the advertiser to the company's revenue must be considered. Where consensus is difficult to achieve, editorial independence must always prevail.

C. Government-Media Relations

The relationship of the press with the government is primarily dependent on the existing political order. In countries which espouse liberal democracy, the press has evolved as an independent institution (the "fourth estate") acting as a moderator or watchdog.
on behalf of the public. In socialist and authoritarian states, the press is regarded as an "ally" of the state and in some instances, a mouthpiece of the government.

Abdul Razak, executive editor of the economic daily NERACA in Jakarta describes press-government relationship in Asean countries as far from adversarial. These relationships are governed by press laws which provide guidelines to editors and journalists. Among these laws are Broad Outlines of State Policy in Indonesia; Newspaper and Printing Press Act in Singapore; Printing Presses and Publications Act of Malaysia; and the Press Act of Thailand.

During the Marcos era in the Philippines, nearly 15 presidential edicts were issued, most of which restricted press freedom. Upon assuming office, President Aquino repealed most of these restrictive decrees.

Singapore Straits Times correspondent Ivan Lim describes the press-government relationship in his country as business-like. In general, he said, government policies are reported in a favorable light out of necessity than from conviction. Editors believe that government news deserves the widest publicity as they make the most impact on the people. According to him, coverage of government businesses is facilitated by public relations offices appointed by various ministries.
Although newspaper ownership is in the hands of private businessmen, government control is ensured through a provision of the *Newspaper and Printing Press Act* which reserves powers to the government to issue management shares to its nominees. These shareholders have extraordinary powers to appoint and dismiss any director or staff of the newspaper.

To Malaysian Prime Minister Mahatir Mohammad, the role of the press is to serve as a channel of communication between government and the people.

Prime Minister Mohammad criticized the attitude of some media people in projecting the government as always corrupt and evil. He said that both government and media must recognize that they do not have a monopoly on constructiveness and wisdom. In summary, the Malaysian press has a three-pronged task: (1) to promote unity among the people in a multi-racial society; (2) to mobilize people for the development process; and (3) to ensure survival of the democratic system.

Razak feels that the Indonesian press is overburdened with a long list of tasks beyond the traditional role of an informer, educator and entertainer. The Indonesian Press Council, the country's highest policy making body on press matters, provides that "the Indonesian Press is a *Pancasila* Press in a sense that its
orientation, attitude and behavior is guided by the values of Pancasila. The relationships between the press and other social entities should therefore conform to the "three-part positive interaction between and among the Society, the Press and the Government." According to Razak, this means that the press must not subscribe to the adversarial relationships with the other components of the three-party mechanism. On the other hand, it is obliged to support "national development."

Criticisms against government is allowed provided they are made in an indirect and allusive style of communication rather than confrontational. This practice of conveying the truth gently and with as little hurt as possible allegedly conforms with the dominant culture in Indonesia.

The press in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore are all required to promote national unity considering the multiracial nature of their societies.

The Philippines stands unique in the Asean region in terms of government-media relations. After more than two decades of suppression and control, it is now on its way to regain its title as the "freest in Asia." Its relationship with the government is best described as "adversarial" rather than supportive.
Based on pronouncements or President Aquino and other key government officials, the new government media policies may be summarized as follows: (1) recognition of people's right to information; (2) pluralism of ideas and the recognition of the people's right to be heard and participate in development planning and implementation; (3) privatization of media; and (4) support and encouragement of rural-based media.

The sudden proliferation of newspapers and the increased space allotment for columns, views and letters to the editors, not to mention the growing number of radio commentators allegedly loyal to former President Marcos who continuously criticize the present government, are evident signs of the new air of freedom not enjoyed by the press for 20 years.*

President Aquino reiterated her commitment to press freedom even if its exercise takes "destructive forms," as she told the trustees and directors of the Press Foundation of Asia in April 1986, "I would rather have a press that goes overboard than a censored press." Indeed irresponsible reporting seems to be

*Five major functions of the press under the 1982 Press Act are: (1) to help develop the popular practice of Pancasila; (2) strive for the achievement of people's aspirations; (3) fight for truth and justice by exercising a free and responsible press freedom; (4) boost zealous devotion to national struggle, strengthen national unity, responsibility and discipline, help uplift the nation's intellectual life, and encourage people's participation in national development; and (5) contribute to the formation of a new international information and communication order.
threatening the newly-regained media credibility. No less than the
President herself, on various occasions has complained of the
growing evidence of "irresponsible" reporting. The President
charged that "there is much disinformation going around," and added
that with a free press, it is difficult to distinguish which
newspaper is telling the truth.

The new Philippine Constitution provides some insights into
the type of government-press relations it envisions. Section 4 of
the Article on the Bill of Rights provides that:

No law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech,
of expression, or of the press, or the right of the people
peaceably to assemble and petition the government for redress
of grievances.

Section 7 of the same article provides that:

The right of the people to information on matters of public
concern shall be recognized. Access to official records, and
to documents, and papers pertaining to official acts,
transactions, or decisions, as well as to government research
data used as basis for policy development, shall be afforded
the citizen, subject to such limitations as may be provided by
law.
A new provision on communication is found in Section 10 of the General Provisions Article. It states:

The State shall provide the policy environment for the full development of Filipino capability and the emergence of communication structures suitable to the needs and aspirations of the nation and the balanced flow of information into, out of, and across the country in accordance with the policy that respects the freedom of speech and of the press.

In this provision, communication and information are seen as vital national resources, which can serve as links between individuals and groups, as purveyors of desired social change and mobilizers of communities toward these changes; as inputs in economic and other decision-making; and as catalysts for international peace and understanding. Implied here is the partnership between the State and the communication industry in promoting a comprehensive communication policy toward cultural identity, national integration and common good.

Communication must contribute to the liberation of mankind from want and oppression. What is emphasized is not so much the actual physical infrastructure of communication but the functions that it performs in the daily life of society -- education, rural
mobilization, national unity in cultural diversity, and providing an effective information system between the government the people.*

An important lesson can be acquired from the experiences of Asean countries in terms of press-government relationship. A completely free press leads to licentiousness and irresponsibility. On the other hand, a highly controlled press is likely to violate basic human rights.

Asean countries are in their transitional stage (as most developing countries are). The challenge to Asean (and Third World) journalists is how to help bring about political and economic stability in their country without necessarily abandoning their "watchdog" function or assuming the role of a government propagandist. The key phrase is critical cooperation. The press must always be ready to support development efforts but at the same time, must not be compromising in promoting the common good.

In many societies, the press has been nurtured in the adversarial and confrontational tradition in dealing with governments. Such orientation must be re-examined in the light of our quest for reconciliation peace. Media criticisms against the

*Two other constitutional provisions on the mass media provides for the limiting of media ownership and management solely to Filipinos, prohibiting and regulating media monopolies (if public interests so requires) and Filipinizing the advertising industry.
government must be viewed as a sincere effort to present realities that need to be corrected rather than to malign or undermine the stability of the government.

D. Dealing with Competitors

Competition between or among newspapers could be ideologically and economically motivated. In autocratic societies, diversity of sources (i.e., many newspapers are available in the market) does not ensure variety of news or opinions. On the contrary, there is uniformity of thought and content. All newspapers promote the status quo. Competition exists only in terms of gaining market dominance.

In a free society, newspapers not only compete for market dominance but also for ideology. In the Philippines, some newspapers are known for their nationalistic or progressive stance on national and local issues. Others are perceived as conservative or "rightist." There is a tendency to segment the market (readers) not only in terms of economic class but in terms of ideological philosophy as well.

Despite competition, relationship among newspapers remain formal and business-like. Journalists and editors claim that there seems to be an informal agreement among the publishers not to print
stories that will put into bad light the interest of their competitors.

In the Philippines, two organizations have been formed to promote the interests of publishers and work toward responsible journalism. The Publishers Association of the Philippines, Inc. (PAPI) was established in October 1974 as a private, non-profit organization representing the publishers of newspapers, magazines, comic books, house organs and books throughout the country. Its tasks include maintaining internal discipline, enhancing the integrity, self-reliance and unity among publishers for the development of a truly independent and respectable press.

The Philippine Press Institute (PPI) was established in 1964 by a group of publishers. Its objectives are: (1) to provide a professional institution to improve and develop journalism through training programs and (2) to maintain professional contacts with Asian and international press bodies. It is also engaged in research and publications.

E. Employees As Public

Employees form the most important internal public of a newspaper. Unfortunately, their plight is often ignored by
management whose time is primarily taken up with financial matters. Recent events in the Philippine media however, had forced many publishers to re-examine their management-labor relations to avoid the unfortunate experience of the defunct *Business Day*.

*Business Day*, Southeast Asia's first business daily (established in 1967) was considered the model newspaper in the country and the most financially successful. Although it had a limited circulation of only 50,000, its readers were top decision-makers in government and business. The newspaper was unceremoniously closed early this year because of labor-management disputes that resulted in a strike. The contentious issues included, among others, alleged union-busting activities by management vs. management right to discipline erring employees and dismiss "unneeded" staff. Before both parties could engage in a collective bargaining agreement, the Department of Labor, citing "national security reasons," assumed jurisdiction over the case for compulsory arbitration. It ordered the publisher to provide pay increases and reinstate dismissed employees. The publisher viewed this decision as a transgression on his management prerogative and shut down the paper.

The Kapisanan ng mga Manggagawa sa Media ng Philippinas (KAMMPCI), an alliance of nine newspaper and broadcast unions
condemned the decision to close Business Day and described it as "a new weapon for union busting."

Another much-publicized labor-management dispute is the strike at the 87-year old Manila Bulletin. For more than a month (starting August 1987), some 200 employees of this largest circulated newspaper in the country (circulation 350,000) went on strike to force management to enter in a collective bargaining agreement. The management called the strike illegal and dismissed 37 strikers, mostly officers of the Bulletin Employees Union. This striking union is also at loggerheads with a rival union, the Bulletin Progressive Union which BEU describes as a "company union." The Department of Labor stepped into the dispute for compulsory arbitration.

Recently, the Supreme Court ruled that the Department of Labor has the power to assume jurisdiction of the Manila Bulletin labor problem because it involves "national security." BEU officials contend that the Court's decision is dangerous as it eventually bans all media unions from staging a strike which is contrary to the right to strike provision of the 1987 Constitution. They also claim that with 11 competing national English broadsheets, national interest can never be endangered.
The experiences of Business Day and Manila Bulletin raise fundamental public relations issues which must be answered if Philippine's newly found press freedom is to perseve.

Beyond the need for job security and adequate economic compensation, journalists today (particularly the young ones) are concerned about professional achievement and performance. Full of idealism and energy, they demand greater independence and autonomy. Many are becoming more critical about important issues and have taken a progressive stance on vital concerns. Says Razak, "the new generation of journalists tend to bring into the profession fresh outlook and better ways of carrying out their jobs." He added that in dealing with these young journalists, supervisors (editors, publishers, etc.) must be well-versed with managerial skills and understanding of human motivations.
Recommendations

A. Relating with Readers and the General Public

Over the past five years, the Filipino media audience, especially the readers, has acquired some degree of critical awareness toward the media. It all started in September 1983 when a group of concerned citizens launched a boycott movement against the so-called "establishment press." The boycott was a response to the deplorable coverage made by the newspapers to the Aquino assassination and the absence of press freedom in general. The boycott was so successful that the circulation of Bulletin Today (now Manila Bulletin) -- then the largest circulated daily -- dropped by as much as 30 percent. The two other then existing dailies (i.e., Daily Express and Times Journal) were reported to have suffered heavier losses.

Ever since, the readers have come to realize that they can be a powerful pressure group in demanding editorial reforms from newspapers. In turn, newspapers tried to become more responsive to their readers. More space is now allotted to readers’ views and opinions.
Specifically, readers (general public) - newspaper relations can be enhanced through the following measures:

1. Pursue highest degree of journalistic standard and editorial excellence. A newspaper's overriding responsibility is to provide the public with timely, adequate and accurate information that will help them develop politically, socially, economically and spiritually.

2. Provide measures that will broaden readers' access and participation in the editorial process and newspaper management while recognizing the proprietary rights of investors.

Access and participation may be broadened by:

2.1 institutionalizing the right to reply (equal space) principle to allow aggrieved parties to express their side in the controversy;

2.2 providing various sectors (e.g., labor, peasants, women, youth) adequate space (i.e., through regular columns) where sectorial concerns and interests can be expressed;
2.3 democratizing of ownership through such schemes as selling of shares to employees and readers, organization of cooperatives, etc. The government should provide incentives to encourage broadening of ownership;

3. Provide public service institutions in the community (i.e., community library, learning and information centers, village hall) free subscription.

Public (readers)-Newspaper relationship can also be enhanced through the following:

1. creation of an ombudsman or a press (media) council that shall receive and investigate complaints from the public against erring editors and journalists. The council should be empowered to discipline abusive editors and journalists.

2. Media education. This is intended to:
   . develop critical awareness among readers on editorial quality, responsibility, etc.;
   . promote public understanding of the role of the press -- its operation, policies, problems,
etc. -- to achieve public enlightenment of issues affecting newspaper institutions.

3. Exercise of the right of the readers to assess media performance through civic and consumer groups. This may be possible through annual awards. (In the Philippines, the Catholic Church and Manila Rotary Club separately provide annual recognitions to journalists for outstanding performances).

B. Newspaper Management-Employee Relations

To improve relationships, increase productivity and attain industrial peace, it is recommended that:

1. Salaries and wages (including benefits) of journalists and other newspaper workers be standarized and increased regularly subject to reasonable market changes. The concept of profit-sharing must be examined for its applicability.

2. A system of rewards (merit and recognition) be institutionalized within each newspaper organization. This will encourage more in-depth, investigative and analytical stories.
3. Professionalism be promoted through in-house training programs, scholarship, etc.

4. Concept of productivity improvement circles be examined in terms of its applicability to newspaper organizations.

5. A voice clause be integrated in collective bargaining agreement or any other means for regular dialog/consultation between management and representatives of employees.

6. Newspapers be encouraged to sell shares of stocks to their employees not only as a form of incentive but as a mechanism for broadening ownership.

7. Newspaper workers' union or guilds be recognized by government and management to effectively promote and protect workers' interests, rights and privileges.

8. Journalists' Code of Ethics should also include responsibilities of newspaper organization.

9. Foundations be established to improve the welfare of journalists.
D. Government-Media Relations

To promote more harmonious relationship between the press and the government, it is recommended that:

1. Publishers initiate dialogue with proper authorities who can provide rules and provisions related to issues of conflict (e.g., national security and interests, role of media). Such a dialogue will remove mutual distrust and enable governments to understand and appreciate the role of the press.

2. The development of comprehensive communication policies be given national priority to provide general directions on the thrust of the communication/media sector in society. Such policies should call for a review of all laws that directly infringe on press freedom. Policy-making should be participatory and as broad based as possible.

3. Governments should give priority attention to laws which will (a) democratize or broaden media ownership; (b) ensure access to information; (c) provide protection to journalists; and (d) define clearly roles and functions of government or publicly-owned media organizations.
C. Newspaper-Advertisers Relationship

To promote an equally profitable and business-like relationship between newspaper and advertisers, it is recommended that:

1. Other sources of newspaper revenues be identified to reduce excessive dependence on advertising. Such new sources may include: engaging in printing business, requesting financial incentives from government, cost pricing policies, tariff exemptions or deductions, etc.

2. Self-policing bodies by advertisers be organized (i.e., an ombudsman for advertisers). Advertisers code of ethics must be promulgated and strictly enforced.
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