

## JOURNALISM EDUCATION AT UNIVERSITIES AND JOURNALISM SCHOOLS IN PORTUGAL

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The current media system in Portugal and the recent political history of the country are deeply entwined. One cannot fully understand the current state of affairs in both the national media system and in journalism studies without considering the political dictatorship (1926-1974), the 1974 Revolution and the subsequent social and political instability.

During the dictatorship, attempts to develop journalism studies were halted. The first academic media program was set up in 1979; today there are around 30 higher education programs with a journalistic focus. This expansion does not, however, mean that the communication/journalism field is a well-developed scientific area. Indeed, due to the newness of the field, most programs lack human and financial resources.

In Portugal, there is no close relationship between academic qualifications and journalistic performance. Most professional journalists have no academic training and only a few have specific journalistic training. Still, the situation is changing and it is gradually becoming more common for media organizations to recruit people with a university background. Traditionally, journalism has been a badly paid although prestigious career, but the restoration and consolidation of democracy has created the necessary conditions for a progressive renewal of the profession.

### NATIONAL MEDIA: LOOKING BACK INTO THE PAST

During the political dictatorship, frequently known as Salazarism, the press in Portugal was under institutionalized censorship. Restrained in content, with poor distribution facilities and readership,<sup>1</sup> the press lost its republican<sup>2</sup> vitality. Indeed, there was a steady decline in the regional press: "from 210 papers in 1926, to 170 in 1933, 80 in 1944, and to a mere 17 by 1963" (Seaton & Pimlott, 1983, p. 94). At that time, a national press was virtually nonexistent. Most city newspapers were family businesses, whereas town and village newspapers were controlled mainly by the Catholic Church. The press was generally underfunded, with very low or nonexistent profits.

In terms of the electronic media, the first relevant intervention by the Salazar regime was the creation of the government station Emissora Nacional (EN; now called *Rádiodifusão Portuguesa*—RDP). EN resulted from the incorporation of almost all existing private stations and began transmitting regular broadcasts from Lisbon on short and medium wave on August 1, 1935. Nevertheless, due to the country's overall underdevelopment, "it was not until 1955 that some 80 per cent of the population were technically capable of listening to radio broadcasts, and not until the second half of the 1960s that the country came anywhere near a full nation-wide coverage" (Optenhögel, 1986, p. 240).

Recognizing the importance of the new medium, the Catholic Church—with a traditional involvement in the regional press—also set up its own radio station, *Rádio Renascença* (RR), which started broadcasting in 1937. *Rádio Renascença* and Emissora Nacional were clearly the most significant radio stations<sup>3</sup> whose importance grew not only during Salazarism and Marcelism<sup>4</sup> but after the 1974 revolution as well. The so-called radio oligopoly was only challenged in the 1980s with the explosion of illegal radio stations and with the subsequent attribution of frequencies to local and regional stations.

Although Salazar did not oppose the development of radio broadcasting, the same did not hold true for television. "Salazar felt at ease with radio but

<sup>1</sup>Illiteracy figures during Salazarism:

1930—61.8% of the population over 7 years old.

1940—49.0%

1950—40.4%

1960—31.1% (Serrão & Marques, p. 476).

Currently, 10% of the population is still illiterate.

<sup>2</sup>The Monarchy was abolished in 1910 and until the implementation of the dictatorship, the press was quite diversified and free.

<sup>3</sup>In addition to RR and EN, there were a few local radio stations and *Rádio Club Português*, a radio station owned by the Botelho Moniz family, a traditional ally of Salazar and Marcello.

<sup>4</sup>When Salazar became ill in 1968, Marcello Caetano assumed power, but the regime did not last for very long.

deeply mistrusted television" (Louro, interview: 512.01.95). Although television was set up in the mid-1950s by a more liberal faction of the Salazar regime, the same repressive mechanisms applied to television as to any other medium.

After the 1974 coup d'état, the media endured major convulsions. Censorship was immediately abolished, and a ferocious confrontation for the control of the most important media began. Very different factions co-existed within the so-called "winners" of the revolution. No consensus would be easily achieved as to what role the media should play in a postdictatorial society, and a chaotic situation could hardly have been avoided.

Arguably because of dangerous "reactionary forces," leftist elements within the *Movimento das Forças Armadas* (MFA) contended that the media would have to be controlled during the revolutionary period. There was a clear contradiction in the MFA program, which contemplated both the "abolishment of censorship and previous examination" and the creation of an "ad hoc committee to control the press, radio, television, theatre and cinema" in order to "safeguard military secrets and to prevent disturbances which could be provoked in public opinion by ideological aggressions from the most reactionary sections of society" (quoted in Bruneau & MacLeod, 1986, pp. 165-166).

This ad hoc committee transformed itself enormously, according to which faction was more powerful within the MFA movement and within the *Junta de Salvação Nacional*. First, radical leftist media were censored but, with the removal of the more conservative General Spínola after the September 28 crisis, the leftist wing gained strength progressively and the ad hoc committee concentrated its activity among the rightist/conservative press. From September 6, 1974 to February 28, 1975, 28 publications were suspended, the majority of which were connected to the Catholic Church (Mesquita, 1988, p. 89).

The battle for the right to control the media after the revolution, particularly after September 28, was far from being fought only within the ad hoc committee, which had powers to suspend and punish newspapers that did not adhere to the leftist "revolutionary" line. Elements close to the MFA movement were appointed to leading posts both in radio and television. By early 1975, the panorama in the electronic media was chaotic. This highly volatile situation got even worse with the installation of the communist provisional governments of Vasco Gonçalves, after the March 11 coup.

During this revolutionary period, the press, which was still in private hands was "transferred" to public ownership. Important sectors of the economy such as banking and insurance were nationalized. Because many leading newspapers were owned by strong economic groups and banks, they became state property. "From the important dailies, only the *República* in Lisbon and *O Primeiro de Janeiro* in Oporto remained in private hands" (Mesquita et al., 1994, p. 368). The nationalization of the press was never explained as a political

<sup>5</sup>Soares Louro was formally chairman of both *Rádiatelevisão Portuguesa* and *Rádiodifusão Portuguesa*, and was a longstanding member of the Socialist Party.

option. "It was presented as an indirect consequence of the nationalisation of the banking sector" (Mesquita et al., 1994, p. 368). But behind this option was clearly the will to control what was left out of government's direct influence. Significantly, the nationalization process was not reversed with the removal of the communist prime minister, Vasco Gonçalves, in November 1975.

What is remarkable about media development in Portugal is that laws drawn up during an exceptional period shaped the media until the 1980s. This aspect suggests that the authoritarian nature of the provisional leftist governments suited the newly created democrats. Despite the 1976 Constitution, with its impressive display of civil liberties, no elected government was prepared to grant freedom to the press. Generally, following the political measures introduced during the revolutionary period, politicians from all affiliations have not openly designed media policies but have merely taken the necessary steps to ensure that the nationalized media would be favorable to those in power.

Given the nature of political, economic, and technological developments in the mid-1980s, changes in the national media were bound to happen. At a regional level, the European Union was developing its policies for telecommunications and television broadcasting. Conservative governments in the United Kingdom, Germany, and France (not to mention the United States) persuasively argued for the liberalization of markets and privatization of state property; and last but certainly not least, important technological advances—mainly the development of satellite and optic fiber and the subsequent convergence of distribution technologies—had enormous implications. The proliferation of European satellite TV channels, for instance, started being used as an argument against the national Rádiatelevisão (RTP) monopoly. RTP's critics argued that, once one could receive international private TV channels, there was no reason why one should not have national private channels.

At a national level, important changes were also taking place. Up to the mid-1980s, the political instability in the country was so acute that any comprehensive set of political decisions was hard, if not impossible, to implement. In 1987, one year after Portugal joined the EEC, the first majority government was elected since the 1974 revolution. At that time, the country's economy was booming, that being the main reason for a substantial rise in advertising revenue which had increased, in total, from around £52 million in 1986 to around £400 million in 1994.<sup>6</sup> Under these economic circumstances, relatively unconstrained newspapers such as *O Independente* and *Público* were set up, and their existence seriously impaired the government's ability to suppress politically damaging material. In addition, the climate of opinion was turning against the concentration of the media in the state's hands. Cavaco Silva's government itself believed that if Portugal was to be seen as a truly European partner, changes in the economy, and consequently in the media market, had to be introduced. A probusiness approach was taken and the liberalization of the media market and privatization of a substantial share of state media was immanent.

<sup>6</sup>These figures were estimated, utilizing data from Sabatina and the opinion of several experts in the field.

In this context, the two Cavaco Silva majority governments<sup>7</sup> undertook the most comprehensive changes in the media system since 1974-75. The first set of measures directly related to the structure of the media concerned the reorganization of the radio broadcasting sector. By mid-1980s there were so many illegal radio stations operating that the government could no longer ignore that reality. Nevertheless, it was only in 1989 that 310 local frequencies were allocated. In the following year, two regional frequencies were attributed: one went to Rádio Press, part of the Lusomundo group, and the other to Correia da Manhã Rádio, which belonged to the Carlos Barbosa group.

In 1991, the two most important state-owned newspapers were privatized. The government had been following a wide privatization program and there were no grounds to justify the maintenance of state control over the *Jornal de Notícias* and *Diário de Notícias*. The government was caught in a dilemma between its interest in controlling those newspapers and the ideological and political belief in privatization. In a controversial process, both were bought by Lusomundo, one of the most important multimedia groups in Portugal, perceived—at the time—as having close links with the government.

The opening up of TV channels to private ownership had been on the political agenda throughout the 1980s but materialized in 1992-93. Three candidates bid for the two TV national channels that would be set up to add to the existing ones; RTP1 and RTP2. One channel was granted to Sociedade Independente de Comunicação (SIC), a company led by the former prime minister, Pinto Balsemão, an historic member of the Social Democrat Party (in power at the time); the other channel was granted to Televisão Independente (TVI), a company made up of entities and individuals close to the Catholic Church.

Currently Portugal has four national terrestrial TV channels: two private/commercial channels and two public service channels. In addition to terrestrial television, throughout the 1980s the most well-off were able to receive dozens of foreign television channels mainly from Eutelsat and Astra satellites. Cable TV is a more recent development. The first licenses were granted by the government in 1995. Several companies are now operating in the most affluent urban areas of the country. It is estimated that around 200,000 households are connected to cable networks.

Both the radio broadcasting subsystem and the press are far more diversified than television broadcasting. With the exception of small local radios and local/regional newspapers, the media in Portugal are in the hands of so-called multimedia groups. The state itself owns, in addition to RTP and RDP, a number of magazines and 50% of the sole national news agency, LUSA. The Catholic Church is a major player in the media scene. Rádio Renascença is the most popular national radio and the Church owns more than 600 publications.

<sup>7</sup>The first majority government since 1974 ran the country between 1987 to 1991; the second majority government was in power from 1991 to 1995 (these were respectively the XI and XII Constitutional governments).

Besides the state and the Church, the most important multimedia actors are Impalagést, Lusomundo, Presslivre, Impresa, and Público/Sonae.

### THE LONG WAIT FOR JOURNALISM EDUCATION

If there is a close relationship between the overall media system in Portugal and political/historical development in the country, this connection is particularly obvious in the way journalism education has developed. Indeed, the political dictatorship has had a strong negative influence in the cultural arena in general and in education in particular.

In cultural terms, the Salazar regime was dominated by an elite who believed that people should be educated to be passive and nonparticipatory in political life. The authoritarian and centralist regime did not favor the development of social sciences and humanities in the country. People were to be indoctrinated by the cultural/political elites, led by Salazar. "Due to the lack of equilibrium in the human spirit, order is not spontaneous; someone must command for the benefit of all" (Salazar, 1945, p. 138). In these circumstances, there was no point in providing journalists with superior education or professional training that could bring them public recognition and/or intellectual tools that might put at stake the ideological apparatus of the regime.

Interestingly enough, decades before the implementation of the dictatorship, in 1898, Lisbon hosted the fifth International Press Conference and one of the resolutions was precisely the recognition that journalism schools had to be set up. Still, according to the available data,<sup>8</sup> it was only in 1940 that a first attempt in terms of journalistic training was made by the National Journalists' Union (Sindicato Nacional dos Jornalistas). The Union was set up in 1934 and its first president, António Ferro, later became the head of the government's Propaganda Department.

The Journalists Union' project was a two-year course that could be attended by candidates to the profession with a minimum of nine years schooling (four years of elementary school and five years of secondary grade school) or by journalists who had worked in a company for at least one year. The studies plan included theoretical matters in the journalistic area and practical journalistic exercises. Although this project was fully developed and the program had actually been scheduled, it never materialized. "The program did not get the indispensable official support," states the Journalists' Union bulletin (November, 1968, n°8). Both the objectives and the content of this training program were new ideas that were possibly seen as a danger for a regime concerned in maintaining the status quo. Furthermore, the lecturers invited by the Union to teach the different study areas were not all devoted supporters of the regime. Some, such as Marcello Caetano, certainly were, but others, such as the priest Abel Varzim, clearly diverged from the

<sup>8</sup>The information about the topic is scarce because historical research about the media and journalism is in the early stages.

regime's views. This diversity certainly compromised the viability of the program. In 1942, in a veiled criticism, the journalist Luis Quadros wrote: "whilst the Portuguese mental aristocracy has been dignifying the liberal professions . . . conferring them academic degrees, the most delicate activity in a nation—the orientation of the public opinion—has been devoted to an incomprehensible ostracism" (quoted in Marcos, 1986, p. 282).

Apart from the regime's lack of interest in the development of journalism studies, a considerable number of journalists did not recognize their training as a priority. As a prestigious journalist put it: "the newcomers were instructed not to become professionals but to follow the rules of the book" (quoted in Correia, 1995). Still, the Union continued voicing the need to train its members. In 1967, for example, the Union's bulletin *Jornalismo* published several articles about the importance of journalistic training in the country.

In 1970, with Marcello Caetano already in power, the Journalists' Union presented another proposal. At that time, there was a belief that the regime would open up and therefore this would probably be good timing for another attempt. A new union leadership—relatively independent from the political establishment—set up a commission whose task was to develop a project of superior studies in journalism. This commission brought together prestigious journalists in the country and professionals with journalism degrees from foreign universities.<sup>9</sup>

This new project, approved by the Union's General Assembly in late 1970, contemplated a five-year program with theoretical and practical courses lasting 24 hours per week. All in all, there were 60 semestral courses distributed in the following manner: in the first three years, the students would have general social sciences studies (e.g., history, languages and literature, political science, economy, public opinion, etc.); during the last two years, the focus would be on journalistic/communications topics. It is interesting to note that this program included highly sensitive courses such as contemporary history and research methods in journalism and social sciences.

At that time, there were high hopes about the future of this graduate program. On the one hand, the regime was preparing a wide educational reform, led by the Education Minister, Veiga Simão; on the other hand, the Union's project, submitted to the government, was the result of profound research and prolific dialogue among a great number of actors. It was believed that the conditions had been met to initiate journalism studies in Portugal. But once again politics determined otherwise.

According to the then president of the Journalists' Union, Silva Costa, the program did not receive the go-ahead because too many people were inter-

<sup>9</sup>The foreign universities "represented" in this commission were: the Superior School of Journalism of Lille, the French Press Institute (University of Paris), the Journalism School of Madrid University, the Journalism School of Navarra University (Spain), and the International University Pro Deo (Rome). Important names in the journalism scene were associated to this project: Silva Costa, António Reis, Cáceres Monteiro, Oliveira Figueiredo, and Jacinto Baptista, among others.

ested in the tutelage of journalism studies (Costa, 1983). At least three government departments were said to be interested in "supervising" this initiative: the Education Ministry, the Corporations' Ministry, and the Media Office. This reveals not only political struggles within the government but also its inability to solve internal contradictions.

Another factor that might have influenced the halting of this project was the parallel development of another journalism education project in the private sector. An important economic group, Grupo Quina—with interest in the media and ownership of the newspapers *Diário Popular* and *Record*, and the magazine *Rádio-Televisão*—decided to set up a Superior School for Media Studies, the *Escola Superior de Meios de Comunicação Social*. This potential link between the interests of this economic group and the failure of the Union's project has yet to be researched. In any case, neither the Journalists' Union nor the government were the architects and founders of the first journalism program in the country. It was the Quina group that, in 1973, laid the foundation of superior studies of journalism in the country. However, this program did not last long because the economic private groups close to the authoritarian regime were dismantled right after the 1974 Revolution and the journalism program of the *Escola Superior de Meios de Comunicação Social* was closed down as a result. A very small number of current professional journalists were trained in this school.

Considering the aforementioned, it is quite clear that it was mainly among the Journalist's Union members that the need for academic training was felt and has consolidated throughout the years. Even if the initiatives were unsuccessful, the union made an effort to develop journalism studies. For political reasons, the government and the academy did not take any initiative in this study area.

Indeed, higher education was far from a priority to the regime. From 1927 up until the Veiga Simão reform in 1973, higher education did not receive any serious attention (Carreira, 1996a). The regime was particularly concerned with making primary education a privileged space for political/religious indoctrination. As minister Carneiro Pacheco would put it in 1937, it was less relevant to "teach the alphabet" than to "model souls" (quoted in Carreira, 1996b, p. 14).

The university population was therefore very small. In 1960, for example, among the 18- to 22-year-old group, only 3.9% attended university. When the 1974 Revolution took place the percentage was still around 10% (Carreira, 1996a).<sup>10</sup> The fact that, in 1960, of the whole university population, only 6.4% studied social sciences is remarkable. In 1970, this figure increased to 11% and after the Revolution it was around 20% (Carreira, 1996a). After the Revolution,

<sup>10</sup>Percentage of population in higher education in the 18- to 22-year-old population:

1960—3.9%
1970—8.5%
1980—11.7%
1990—23.0%

Source: Official data quoted in Carreira (1996a).

important changes took place in the academic world. More students were allowed to enter higher education and new programs were developed. Despite the initial political instability, the new democratic regime created the necessary conditions for a fresher approach towards various study areas, namely journalism. The implementation and development of journalism degrees were made possible by a new political and social climate.

### COMPETING PERSPECTIVES IN JOURNALISTIC TRAINING

In 1979, five years after the Revolution, the first university Communication program in the country was set up. The initiative was taken by the Faculty of Human Sciences of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Duarte Adriano Rodrigues, who acquired his Ph.D. at the Catholic University of Lovain (Belgium), developed the program and became the head of the Communication Department. In the same drift, other Communication programs were developed at the Universidade da Beira Interior and in the Universidade do Minho.

Rodrigues (1985) explains the philosophy behind the program structure as follows:

- Students have to have a philosophical background that helps them understand the historical trends and contradictions.
- Special attention should be paid to language sciences in order to prevent journalists from being manipulated.
- A sociological and political knowledge is needed so that journalists can understand their strategic role in the social/political arena and the conflicting interests they will have to deal with.
- Technical expertise should go far beyond the mere handling of tools; it should provide means to understand its limits and possibilities (for more, see Rodrigues & Miranda, 1989).

This university project has a strong theoretical basis. The emphasis is clearly on broad communications issues rather than specific communication areas such as journalism, advertising, or public relations. It might therefore be argued that in the early beginnings of communication higher education, technical expertise was not at the top of the university programs' agenda.

In the communication field, the gap between university education (generally with a theoretical basis) and polytechnic education (mainly concerned with practice) became increasingly evident. In fact, these two perspectives on the education of media professionals can be identified because conditions were met for public debate. Obviously, a fruitful discussion had not been possible before the 1974 coup d'etat, and immediately after the revolution the political climate was still highly volatile. Therefore, these two viewpoints became clear and started producing different initiatives a few years later.

Alongside university projects, more technical ones were also being developed. In 1983, the Centro de Formação de Jornalistas (CFJ) was set up in Oporto and two years later this center produced a Polytechnic school, the Escola Superior de Jornalismo (ESJ). The ESJ resulted from combined efforts of a group of journalists and professors from Oporto University, Universidade do Porto. With the outgrowth of ESJ, CFJ redefined its role, being now mostly concerned with career development of professional journalists, whereas ESJ provides mostly academic degrees to young candidates to the profession.

In 1986, the Centro Protocolar de Formação de Jornalistas (CENJOR) was founded in Lisbon along the same lines of thought and action. This center, which might be seen as a replica of CFJ, results from combined efforts of the government (namely the Employment and Career Development Agency and the Media Office), the Journalists' Union, and press owners associations. Currently, CENJOR is developing specific programs for professional journalists and is paying special attention to local and regional media professionals.

The work developed by CFJ and CENJOR, with a greater technical emphasis, has evolved in tandem with university journalism education. Whereas in the early 1980s, the university communication/journalism programs were indeed very few,<sup>11</sup> things changed dramatically in the second half of the 1980s. Mário Mesquita, a former journalist and prestigious journalism professor has ironically called this phenomenon the "the miracle of multiplication" (1995a). Currently there are 27 higher education programs with a focus on journalism issues, even if their denominations vary from communication to journalism. Another 30 university programs are related to communications but do not have a predominantly journalistic focus. Typically, these degrees are called "Public Relations," "Entrepreneurial Communications," "Advertising," and "Institutional Communications," among others.<sup>12</sup>

This expansion can only be understood within the overall expansion of superior education in Portugal in recent years. The growth has been particularly significant in the private sector; the public sector, although growing considerably, could not absorb a great number of candidates from higher education. Under pressure, the government has facilitated the creation of private universities and schools mainly in areas such as social sciences with few laboratorial needs. As it is now relatively easy to set up a media program—and in light of the "media-chic" phenomenon—there is a risk that along with the multiplication of programs, there is also the "multiplication of fraud" (Mesquita, 1995a). In general, most communication programs in the country have very limited financial and human resources. Despite the great number and diversity of university programs and the increasing number of students looking for a journalis-

<sup>11</sup>The first one was, as we have seen, set up by the Universidade Nova de Lisboa in 1979 and the second one was set up in 1980 by the Universidade Técnica de Lisboa.

<sup>12</sup>These figures were advanced by Mário Mesquita in a public debate about journalism education in Portugal, Auditório da Reitoria da Universidade do Porto, October 18, 1997.

tic job, it should be noted that there is only one university degree called Journalism. This program started in 1993 at the Universidade de Coimbra and is led by Mário Mesquita who, in addition to his long journalistic career, lectured in journalism at a polytechnic school (Escola Superior de Jornalismo) and at a university (Universidade Nova de Lisboa). This is the only program in the country with a specific focus on journalism, although Mesquita does not see journalism studies in a narrow perspective of professional/technical expertise, apart from critical analysis and research (1995b, p. 11). The increasing number of university programs necessarily means that there has been an increasing number of communication/journalism students. Currently, it is estimated that 500 per year start their academic career in the public sector and 1,000 per year initiate their studies in private universities and schools. Obviously, not all students finish their courses and not all try to enter into the journalistic job market, but competition for a place in newsrooms is already fierce.

So far, it has not been possible to overcome the dichotomy between practice and theory. There are still strong controversies about the best way to prepare journalists. On the one hand, there is an ongoing debate about newsroom practice and technical programs versus media/journalism higher education. A considerable number of professional journalists still believe that one becomes a journalist in the newsrooms and do not trust journalism schools. On the other hand, there is—within higher education—a somehow adverse relationship between university and polytechnic programs. In general, universities believe that polytechnic schools have been proliferating for political rather than academic reasons and that these schools have been set up in a frivolous way.

In time, the development and consolidation of the field will bring some consensus on a number of issues that are still highly polemical. In countries with well-developed journalism studies, few argue that higher education is not desirable for a professional journalist, and probably few argue that a synthesis between a strong theoretical basis and technical expertise should not be attempted in an academic journalism program. Still, it is feasible that there will always be space for more career-oriented programs with a strong connection to the professional world, and for research-oriented programs particularly concerned with critical analysis of the journalistic profession.

Of course, the novelty of journalism as a study area in Portugal has consequences in terms of postgraduate studies. Before the mid-1980s, there were virtually no postgraduate studies in communication in general or in journalism in particular. The first master's program in communication was set up in 1984 at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, with a theoretical approach. Since 1996, this program allows students to specialize in media and journalism studies. Apart from Universidade Nova, few universities have initiated master's programs. The Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa and the Universidade da Beira Interior are already running their master's in communication programs; Universidade do Minho is, at this stage, developing its own.

### FROM STUDIES TO ACTION: WHO ARE THE JOURNALISTS TODAY?

Journalism studies are, in fact, so recent that only a small percentage of professionals have a communication/journalism academic degree. In any case, formal education or the lack of it is bound to be one among other aspects that determine the journalistic outcome in the country.

In Portugal, various legal instruments regulate the profession and dictate its ethics. The constitution and the press law lay down the wider legal framework and the Journalist Statute, the Ethical Code of Journalists, and the Profession Press Card Regulation deal with more specific professional topics.

The constitution guarantees the freedom of press and identifies the role of the state in the media, namely concerning public service broadcasting. Fundamental media rights such as independence and freedom of expression are, according to the constitution, to be safeguarded by the High Authority for the Media (*Alta Autoridade para a Comunicação Social*). The Press Law deals not only with rights and duties of journalists but also covers judicial matters and organizational issues of journalistic companies.

The Ethical Code, approved in May 1993, states the rules of what is perceived as high-quality journalism: objectivity, impartiality, identification of sources, nondiscrimination, and respect for privacy, among other attributes. The Journalist's Statute is more concerned with access to the profession. Basically, one becomes a journalist when one has a contract with a journalistic company to perform journalistic tasks as his/her main occupation. During the first two working years, the journalist is not considered to be a professional, but a candidate to the profession. Apart from that, individuals older than eighteen with a high school education and no criminal record might become journalists. Professional journalists are identified as such by a press card. The press card is attributed by a special commission (*Comissão da Carteira Profissional de Jornalista*). This commission is an independent public entity headed by a magistrate.

Basically these legal requirements tell us who might become a journalist, under what circumstances, and what their rights and duties are. But they tell us very little about those who perform journalistic tasks in Portugal. As we have seen before, the media underwent dramatic changes after the mid-1980s and these changes have had direct consequences in the profession. Political/social stability and economic prosperity created the necessary conditions for a substantial increase in the quantity of publications and broadcasting stations. In this context, the number of professional journalists has expanded rapidly. According to Garcia, before the Revolution there were 700 journalists in the entire country. From 1975 to 1980 another 821 joined the profession. By 1990, there were 2,374 and recently 3,850 (1994, p. 69).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Updated figures were expected to be published in 1998.

The first attempt to characterize journalists as a group was developed by Oliveira (1988). More recent research (Garcia, 1994; Garcia & Castro, 1993; Garcia & Oliveira, 1994) has shown that most journalists work in the press (51.9%), whereas 13.8% work in the radio sector and 11.4% on TV. Journalism is also a profession exercised mainly in Lisbon. 50.7% of the professionals work in the capital, which is not surprising considering that Lisbon is the locus of political power and considering the country's overall asymmetric development. Although it is now more common for women to become journalists, journalism is still a profession dominated by men. Three-quarters of all professionals are male. In terms of ages, it can be said that mostly young people are now journalists (70.1% are younger than 44 and 23.4% are younger than 30). These aspects suggest that journalism is in a state of flux. It has "young blood" and a stronger than ever female participation.

Although media companies are progressively recruiting journalists with academic backgrounds, no degree is actually required. Therefore, there is an enormous variety of both levels of formal education and types of degrees. Garcia and Oliveira's (1994) study reveals that 8.8% of journalists have primary education (these journalists joined the profession before high school was required), 18% completed high school, and 45.2% have either a technical degree or high education frequency (did not complete their university programs). Only 27.9% have a first degree in a given scientific field (most frequently in social sciences and humanities). The high percentage of journalists who have not finished their academic programs suggests that journalism has created working opportunities for those who were not satisfied with their academic choices. Until now, no research has been conducted to find out the percentage of journalists with specific journalistic training.

Traditionally, journalism has not been a prestigious profession. Censorship and the nonexistence of specific academic qualifications made it a low-qualified and low-paid profession. Although the situation has been steadily improving since the 1974 Revolution and particularly since the mid-1980s, journalism is still a poorly paid job. In terms of pay, Garcia and Oliveira's (1994) study suggests that journalists are well below, for example, the pay level of doctors and lawyers. The authors believe that journalists' income might be compared with those of nurses and accountants. This is probably one of the reasons why a quarter of professional journalists have taken a second job as, for instance, translators or teachers. Within the profession, there are obviously well-paid journalists, such as news editors or TV news presenters, but these are a minority.

The political dictatorship has clearly shaped the relationship between political power and journalists for a long period of time. Once the government had complete control over media content, journalists ended up reproducing state views or printing/broadcasting harmless news. With the implementation of democracy, the situation was bound to change, but it took quite some time for most media to achieve relative editorial independence from the political estab-

ishment. In any case, and despite obvious progress, journalists still lack autonomy as a professional group and their relationship with policymakers is frequently ambiguous.

### CONCLUSIONS

For historical/political reasons, there is no tradition of journalism studies in Portugal. The authoritarian regime did not show any interest in developing journalistic teaching and research. Under these circumstances, the Journalist Union's efforts to train its members were all fruitless and it was only a few years after the revolution that the first academic program in communication could start. Basically, before the mid-1980s there were no professional journalists in Portugal with specific academic training.

In recent years, the number of communication programs has increased enormously. The vast majority of them are not journalism studies per se; journalism is rather taught as part of broader communication programs. The study-area is still poorly defined mainly due to the novelty of communication/journalism as an academic degree. Most programs have deficiencies in terms of human resources and technical infrastructures. It follows that research is obviously in its early stages and the number of scientific journals dealing with communications issues is indeed very restricted. It is therefore too early to think about communication and/or journalism as an autonomous scientific area or research field.

The newness of communications studies naturally has implications for the relationship between the journalistic profession and academics. A considerable number of professional journalists still view higher education in their field with suspicion and are great believers in on-the-job-training, whereas academics perceive professionals (in general) as inadequately prepared for the role they are supposed to play.

A second level of disagreement exists within academics itself. On the one hand, universities tend to be sceptical about the quality of training in polytechnic schools. On the other hand, polytechnic schools generally believe university teaching is too theoretical and does not prepare students for the "real world." Implicit behind these splits are long-standing views about what is more valuable: some say "theory," others say "practice." In the future, the development of the field should bring the debate to a more intricate and specific level of analysis.

As we have seen, journalism education in Portugal is recent and developing. However, because media organisations and journalistic companies are undergoing enormous changes, which follow from economic and social transformations, attention should be paid to new ways of thinking both in the profession and work environment. The present ebullience of the discussions is basically healthy, but it could also have some pernicious overtones: overlooking new technological developments or the increasingly multilayered nature of the work market. Rather than measuring the comparative advantages of practice and theory, academics and journalists should concentrate on the evolving nature of the media and their ever-changing role in society.

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## JOURNALISM EDUCATION IN GERMANY: A WIDE RANGE OF DIFFERENT WAYS

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In the former West Germany, about 25,500 people work as journalists with about one fourth being women. Nearly half of the journalists are occupied at daily newspapers (23% female). In the former East Germany, we have about 4,800 journalists. Here the percentage of women is considerably higher: More than one third (36%) of the journalists are women. More than three fourths of the journalists in the eastern part of Germany work for daily newspapers (35% female). Table 10.1 gives an overview of the latest available data for the East and West German *Länder*.

Due to the booming communication field in Germany, a lot of different possibilities for journalism education have come into existence here. Apart from the traditional in-house on-the-job training known as *Volontariat*, there are schools of journalism owned by publishing houses, university-level training and study programs. By now, there are also schools and courses given by private, public, or even clerical organizations. In this respect, the diversity in Germany is the highest in Europe, with only Switzerland offering a similar range of different ways of becoming a journalist. In Germany at present, about 2,400 people are educated outside the media organizations at different institutions and through different programs. Only a few of them actually succeed in entering the