IN SEARCH OF ITS OWN IDENTITY: MASS-MEDIA IN POST-COMMUNISM

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Abstract:

The present research focuses on the mass-media system as it evolved in the first post-communist decade. Right after December 1989, hundreds of newspapers, magazines and other kinds of publications appeared in Romania. Likewise, the number of publishing houses grew exponentially, from a few scores to thousands of titles. During the following years, the first private radio stations started broadcasting and, shortly after them, commercial televisions surpassed the national television in terms of rating.

The journalistic career was embraced by thousands of people activating in all sectors of the media, who did not always have specialist studies in the field. As a natural consequence, the first faculties of journalism appeared and grew in number around the country. During this time, the professional elites emerged, yet the criteria of selection were disarmingly diverse, mostly targeting vocation and rather than, marginally, education.

Our research aims to address this paradoxical situation and, on the other hand, to offer, in a broader picture, the characteristics of the *landscape, the environment and characters* that occupied the foreground of the journalistic stage. Regarding the elites, the emphasis lies on the sheer struggle for primacy, alongside with stunning discrepancies between some people's biography (educational background) and their aims, which offers notable elements worth discussing.

However, in view of public opinion, the journalistic elites have succeeded in raising the professional (journalistic) status to a social position regarded as superior to most public occupations, thus switching the roles they used to have during the communist dictatorship. The relationship between the writer and the journalist is also substantially adjusted by favouring the latter, after decades when, during the communist period, writers seemed to be more sensitive to the contemporary problems than journalists. The research also seeks to establish the contribution of academic journalistic studies to the dynamic of mass-media and to the perpetuation of the silent conflict between certain opinion-leaders among journalists who support professional mentorship and the sphere of academic journalistic studies, which represent the educational alternative.

Keywords:

Post-communism, journalism, vocation, education, profession, statute, elites.

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The present text represents a continuation of our preoccupation[1] regarding the evolution of the Romanian media in post-communism. The subject caught the attention of numerous researchers, all the while becoming the legacy of certain specialised institutions, increasingly numerous, some of which were founded for the purpose of registering, quantifying or surveying, both the accelerated dynamic and the effects that mass-media produces in society. The fact is all the more explainable as, in almost five decades, communist totalitarianism created a historical *hiatus* between the Romanian inter-war media, with a very well established role in society, and the communist media, whose attributions were reduced to ideological propaganda.

If, during the time between 1944 and 1989, at different stages and through a sinuous succession, it was possible to regain certain cultural values (in literature, arts, sciences), the representative contributions to the media and the radio were denied the chance of such re-evaluation, due to the fact that the original principles underlying them – the freedom of speech and opinion – had been confiscated by the sole party. The communist media had to abandon their attributes of informing on the reality and, *in corpore*, journalists were transformed into some sort of alchemists in whose jars lies were supposed to turn into gold.

Out of the ashes of the December 1989 Revolution, the new media will be born, with the effervescence of any beginning, becoming the mirror of the burning issues and hot topics confronting Romanian society during the last two decades. While regaining its mission, the mass-media in our country has been going through profound structural transformations.

I. It is unanimously accepted that the liberalisation (be it political, economic or social) which came immediately after December 1989 has served the media in the highest degree. The media was the first to signal the transition to the market economy, achieving in the following years of

[1] *El Dorado sau despre peisaj, medii şi personaje în jurnalismul românesc de la sfârşit de secol şi de mileniu* (*El Dorado or about the Landscape, Environment and Characters in Romanian Journalism at the End of the Century and Milennium*), in the Spiru Haret University Archive (Journalistic series) no. 2, "România de Mâine" Foundation's Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001, p. 21-33, *Cultura* versus *media* (*cronica unui eveniment dinainte anunţat)* – (Culture versus the Media: the Chronicle of a Pre-Announced Event>), in the Spiru Haret University Archive (Journalism series) no. 3, „România de Mâine" Foundation's Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002, p. 21-33.

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dynamic evolution, highly significant success. From the very days of the revolution, a few "free" newspapers appeared, followed shortly after, by a veritable avalanche of publications, amounting to thousands at national level[2]. During this time, the main components of the mass-media, the radio and the television, have made noticeable progress. The new media has rapidly, naturally and necessarily connected with its old traditions from the inter-war period. In this respect, the most significant element was represented by the perpetuation of attitudinal journalism, illustrating the so-called "French model", which was individualised, subjective, repercussive, a vision in which talent, vocation and general knowledge were the ingredients of success in the journalist's craft. Thousands of journalists emerged almost overnight, as it were, lured by the wonder of the new occupation from all professional or occupational fields.

Shortly after, the first journalism faculties appeared, as part of either state-owned or private institutions. In the absence of consolidated traditions (regarding the teaching of this discipline in the universities in our country), academic journalism adopted the so-called "English model" of media production, where "facts are sovereign, comments are free". Another interesting and pluralistic aspect is also revealed by the fact that the number of teachers specialised in journalism who actually teach at these academic institutions is insignificant. Having been retrained, they come from other various academic fields, some of them related to journalists, others not even by far. Beyond this paradox there is a strong justification: except for a few teachers of journalism from the former "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Academy, no other faculty could issue diplomas to attest qualifications in the profession.

Despite the serious impediments mentioned above, the system worked on both sides: with the contribution of such rising new journalists[3], issue of

[2] Some of the great circulation newspapers published since the communist period continue their activity under new titles (*Scânteia* becomes *Adevărul*, *Informaţia Bucureştiului* turns into *Libertatea*, *Scânteia tineretului* changes its name to *Tineretul liber*, etc.) most of the county official editions become *Libertatea* or add adjectives such as "new", "free", but we also note comebacks under "historical" titles, such as *Curierul naţional*, *Cuvântul*, *Azi*, *Dimineaţa*, *Ziua*, *Viitorul*, *Evenimentul zilei*, *Dreptatea*, *Curentul*, *Ora*, *Epoca*, *Viaţa Capitalei*, *Naţional*, *Cotidianul*, *Cronica română*, *Gândul*, *Observator*, *Meridian*, *Jurnalul naţional*, *Oglinda*, *Realitatea românească*, *Tricolorul*, *Agora*, *Acum*.

[3] We ought to note that many of the people initially engaged in the media had university degrees in the newly founded academic system.

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publications, as well as their diversity, continued to grow constantly. At the same time, the universities provided human resource for the media, fresh from the ranks of the youngest generations coming to take on the world in the fast lane.

Beside the unprecedented vigour of the media phenomena, perfectly explainable for those interested in studying its functional resorts in the context after December 1989, the media of this period presented itself in a fabulous-idyllic light, mostly due to the enormous gap between the real number of professionals and all those actively involved in the media.

II. The attempt to convey this new setting, circumstances, and characters in a panoramic picture, however necessary, could not be realised due to the dynamic of the phenomena, difficult to portray other than as a "moving picture". Even though it is difficult to draw certainties from transition periods, notable attempts[4] have been made, since statistics is the most efficient method of analysis and representation of the situation in the mass-media. Moreover, there were necessities related to the media's relation with the economic sphere (characterised by strong competition), which created lines of power with opposed interests, in which manipulation is not unknown, thus making the media stray from their natural ends of putting things into an ordered perspective. We notice that the existing attempts did not manage to draw a realistic picture.

In our opinion, such an unpredictable evolution of the phenomena can be described during several stages.

1. 1990-1997, the stage of the most accelerated progress of the mass-media (written press, radio, television), was characterised by the amorphous, chaotic and inertial accumulation of financial capital. As we described it in our previous research (see note 1), starting with 1990, the space of the media became a sort of holy land (or *El Dorado*), populated by a series of adventurers, some attracted drawn by the idea of fast profit, others by the image of the vigilante, prefigured by the media of those years due to the enormous interest for revelations. In the academic milieu, the attractiveness

[4] For this, see Mihai Coman, *1996 – Starea mass-media din România* (*1996 – The State of the Mass-Media in Romania*), in *Manual de jurnalism* (*Tehnici fundamentale de redactare*) (*Journalism Handbook – Fundamental Writing Techniques*), Polirom Publishing House, Iaşi, 1999, p. 211-226 and, especially, Marian Petcu, *Tipologia presei româneşti* (*The Typology of the Romanian Media*), Institutul European Publishing House, Iaşi, 2000.

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of journalism for the young generation seems to have been generated by a different model, generously distributed by the TV channels: *Super Man*, the hero who solves all the problems of society, is a newspaper writer.

During this first stage, professional association forms[5] started to appear and consolidate, as well as the first NGOs and institutions that granted the ever-necessary structural coherence of the mass-media system. The stage is dominated by the idea of accumulation.

2. 1998-2004 is the stage of the first crystallisations, which, even statistically, indicates progress, dominated by contradictory numbers and questionable results. The sources are rather numerous and each represents different initiatives, which leads to the disarming results.

Among the ones worth mentioning, there are: *Catalogul Mass-media din România*, Sfera Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998[6], which appeared under the coordination of Valeriu Mangu, *Mass-Media din România*, edited by the Romanian Broadcasting Society, Bucharest, 1999[7], and *Top 99* (*Ghidul mass-media din România*), published by the National Forum Foundation/Freedom House, 2nd and 3rd edition, 2000, and 2002, respectively.

[5] The Romanian Association of Audio-visual Communication (1990); The Romanian Newspaper Writers' Union (UZP, 1994); The Independent Journalism Centre (1994); The Independent Romanian Radio Stations' Foundation (RIND, 1995); The Press Monitoring Agency (1994), The Romanian Editorial Auditing Bureau (BRAT, 1997); The Romanian Association for Measuring Ranking (ARMA, 2001), The National Council of Audio-visual Media (CNA),The Romanian Press Club (1998), The Romanian Centre for Investigation Journalism (2001), The Romanian Journalists' and Publishers' Syndicate Federation (2001).

[6] *Catalogul Mass-media din România* (*The Romanian Mass-media Catalogue*), Sfera Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, published under the coordination of Valeriu Mangu, can be listed under the significant bibliographies, useful as primary information, giving identification and contact information (name, address, phone number, fax, e-mail, territorial coverage in the form of network and some brief data about the administrative board, updated with the support of certain institutions such as the National Council of Audio-visual Media, the National Library of Romania, BRAT. Furthermore, the catalogue aimed to be a first quasi-complete edition regarding the mass-media and related fields (publishing houses, polygraphic activity, documentation, information) and, in standard modes, it also presents other segments of the informational fields in their territorial-administrative area.

[7] Realised during January-August 1999, the guide only offers quantitative information about the name or title of the press institution, the name of the leading team, address (phone, fax, e-mail, internet), frequency / broadcasting channel (for radio and television stations), as the editor aims to continue this effort in successive editions "intended to update all the information, so that our research and analysis work will be useful indeed".

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A. In our article published in 2001, we presented statistical data and characteristics regarding a larger category of mass-media, thus drawing attention to the important existing data. In this presentation we are restricting the area of the statistical data in the domain of the mass-media to the written press, radio and television, presenting a comparison of the data provided, one year apart from each other: 1998 (*Mass-media Catalogue of Romania*) followed by 1999 (*Mass-media in Romania*).

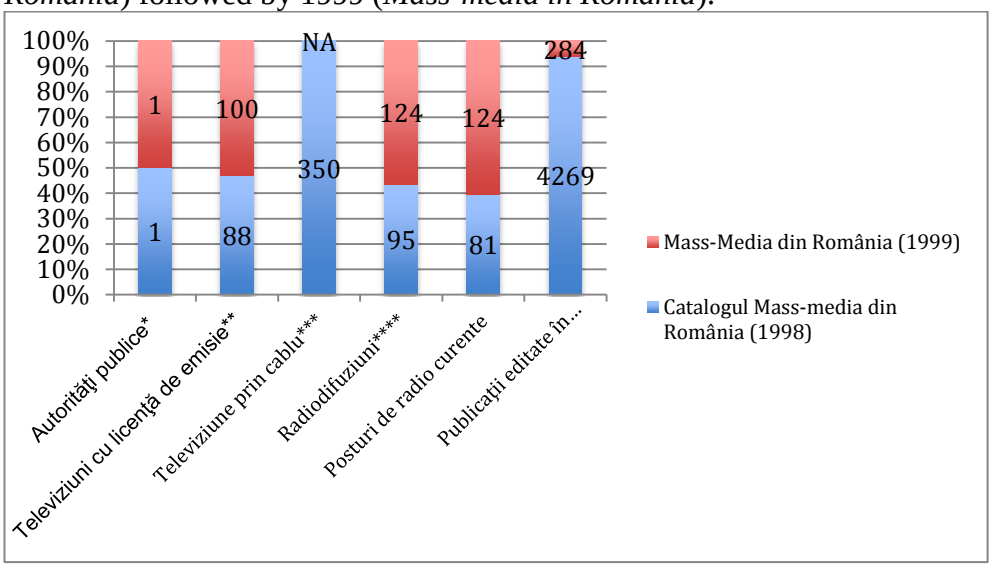


Image 1. Distribution of the media in the first quantitative "attempts"

Note
Current radio stations
**Public authorities (The National Council of Audio-visual Media)*
***Authorised broadcasting TV stations, licensed to function*
****Cable television (broadcasting licenses, authorised, independent, broadcasting stations). Mass-media in Romania do not offer information*
*****Radio broadcasting stations (Companies owning broadcasting licenses and/or authorising decisions for radio broadcasting)*
******Written publications edited in Romania*[8]

[8] The main drawback of this guide is presenting it under the sign of ideality, turning it from a repertory to ... repertoire of the mass-media institutions in our country, without explicitly distinguishing between the active ones and those who own a functioning license but do not

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B. The discrepancy between the given data is easily noticeable, among others, because, as already mentioned, each of the initiatives had its own well-determined purpose. The main inconvenience of the 1998 guide is that its projection lies under the sign of idealism, transforming it from a repertory to ... a repertoire of the mass-media institutions in our country, without explicitly making a distinction between the active institutions and the ones holding a broadcasting licence but not using it. If, regarding some segments of the catalogue, this difference can be inferred, precisely where the nature of the difference was of major interest, such details[9] are missing. Entirely different representations are offered by the Mass-*media in Romania* guide, edited in 1999 by the Romanian Society of Radio and Broadcasting, meaning that it does not aim to account for the entire editorial activity in our country, but only to operate a selection out of the large area of offers. Its utility lies in the fact that it offers data regarding all sorts of media: newspapers, periodic publications, ethnic minority publications, radio and television stations around the country. Regarding the selection, we must also add that the authors used their own ranking system. It is obvious that the selection used such criteria as utility, notoriety, institutional affinities, all becoming an evaluating system[10]. As it was noticed, the criteria were typological, targeting the institutions having a tight collaboration with the Romanian Society of Radio Broadcasting. The only fact worth remembering

make use of it. If, referring to certain segments of the catalogue, this difference can be deduced, exactly where there was a major interest regarding the nature of the difference, the details are missing.

[9] For instance, on the press group, the authors do not operate typological distinctions, at least regarding periodicity (daily publications coexist with monthly, quarterly or even yearly publications) or even competence levels (where, through an irony of fate, international level publications of the Romanian Academy are intersected with names such as "Criminals' Academy", "Prostitution academy", "Sex academy"), and not even the geographical-administrative aspect; the sole operating criterion is that of alphabetical order.

[10] It is certain that the name of this guide can mislead. In reality, it illustrates the specificity of public relations activities, where this sort of data is accounted for by a clear purpose, that of creating a database which would be useful for the branch communication relations, with the possible (virtual) partners. Noting that there was the case for "documentation and analysis work", in relation to the name of the guide, we can see this institution more like a Balkan administration's figure of speech.

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from the *Note on the edition* is its characterising the phenomenon as "dynamic" and the information as "perishable".

C. By compiling the information from the sources above and also considering other related ones, which provide less information, our research aims to interpret some of the easily noticeable aspects, relevant after a statistical quantification. The determining emphasis for the second stage appears more nuanced and coherent in *Top 99* (*Mass-media guide in Romania*)[11], published in successive editions (the last in 2002), which augmented and updated *Top 99*, allowing us to eliminate interpretation differences by focusing on the same content and, to a considerable extent, to "approximate" the sketch portrait of the Romanian journalist, a decade after the revolution and the beginning of the new century and millennium.

In order to avoid tiring and useless repetitions, we sum up some of the conclusions, correlating them with the information offered by the 2002 edition, published shortly after our articles. Thus, we have renounced the distribution in terms of generations considered in our previous study, and chosen to operate with the simplified (age) distinction of *seniors/juniors* with its point of reference in 1969/1970, the (birth) years of those included in the second category both in the old and new catalogue. We have found the same 5/1 ratio for the seniors. However, if we take into consideration the "changes" in the catalogue, meaning the new names in *Top 99*, we can see that they target more than 50% of the previous content. These changes do not alter the mass-media format proportions ("written" press, radio, television), but increase the discrepancy in the seniors/juniors ratio to 8/1 for the first. One can conclude, by way of consequence, that the experience in exercising the journalistic craft represents one of the most certain eligibility criterion.

The facts are much more complexly presented as regards the profile of the successful journalist, worthy of *Top 99*, as the editors of the *Guide*

[11] The guide is edited by the *National Forum Foundation/ Freedom House*, which was published with a *Foreword* by James Denton which, aside from the politeness and the inherent congratulations (of any preface), contains the reference ideas of the act. After three years, the third edition of the *Guide* is published, under the same title (missing the *Top 99*, which is, however, present within the volume). The changes have occurred during this time and their significance is worthy of attention within our enterprise.

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call it, whose main "ingredients" (studies, qualifications and professional training courses), seen from the perspective of the great changes affecting Romania during the last decades, still offer astonishing answers. For a better focus and visibility of the information, we shall offer some of the data in comparison, as it was presented in the *Freedom House* outlook of the two editions, where we can see the increasing role that the television holds within the system.

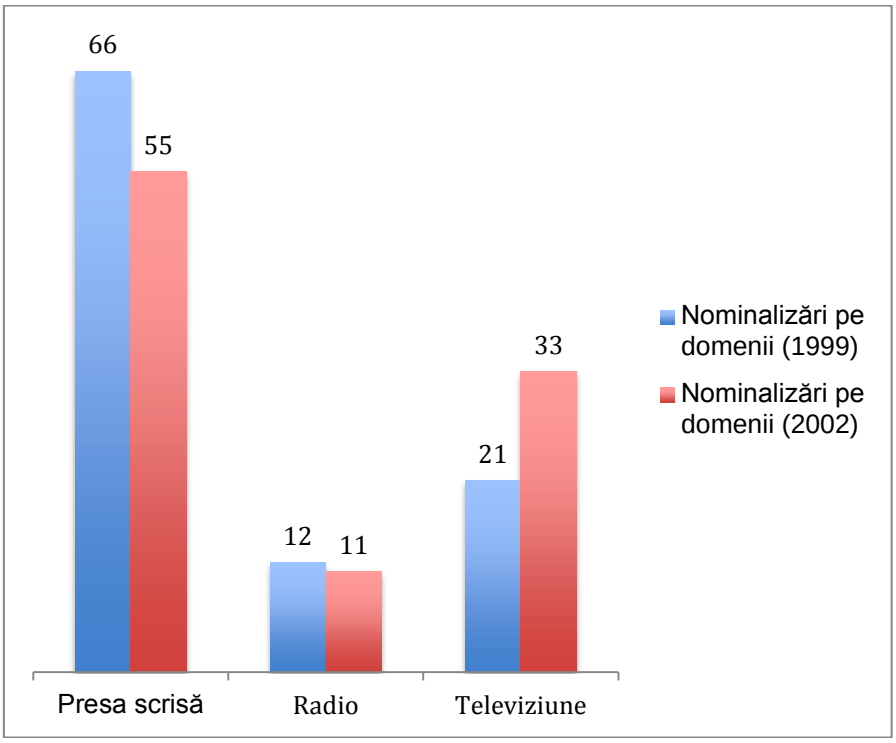
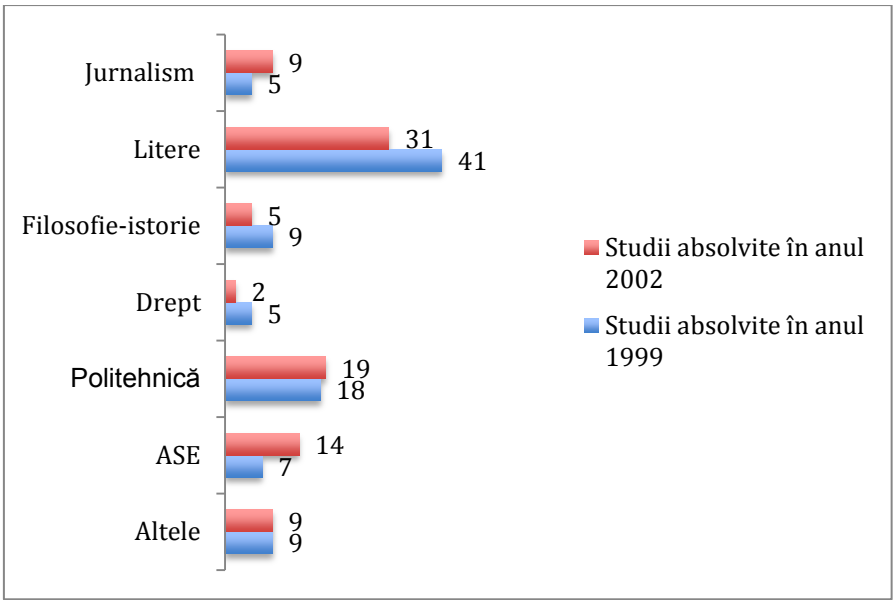


Image 2. The evolution of the media phenomenon according to Freedom House "rankings"

Presa scrisă = Written press
Radio = Radio
Televiziune = Television
Nominalizări pe domenii = Nominations by domains

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Img. 3. The journalist's profile according to qualifications held.
Comparative data from 1999 and 2002

Jurnalism = Journalism
Litere = Letters/Literature
Filosofie-istorie = Philosophy-History
Drept = Law
Politehnica = Engineering, Technical studies
ASE = Economic studies
Altele = Others
Studii absolvite în anul = Studies graduated in...

A positive fact regarding the role of academic qualifications, in *Top* 99/2002, the number of those having special journalistic education grows from 5 to 9, almost doubling. There are fewer journalists with *Literature* degrees, from 41 to 31. The professional environment remains dominant, representing almost a third of the total. The so-called opinion (attitudinal) journalism, obstinately practiced in our country, superseding the British model, could argue that the persistently high ranking of this category of studies always represents an open door to all kinds of media. The same decreasing tendency are noticed in regard to other humanistic fields (history, philosophy, law, sociology), ranked as less likely to provide access in the

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domain of journalism. In turn, graduates of technical faculties are increasingly present in the profession, while the Academy of Economic Studies, which currently has only optional economic-financial press classes, doubles its visibility, a fact worth noting. Under the chapter *Other (graduated studies)*, the same curiosities[12] occur, some of them being plainly exotic (if sociology-psychology studies seem appropriate for the journalistic profession, it is rather exotic to find that, among the most appreciated 99 journalists of the year 2002, there are no fewer than five graduates of Music School or of the Theatre and Cinema University).

The conclusions we reached twelve years ago showed, as a first observation, that a decade after our country's release from the totalitarian political system, the journalist was still not professionally established, despite the efforts made and the successes achieved. Unlike other areas of social life, where professional inclusion required specialised education, the mass-media were accessible to a huge wave of newcomers, from the most unexpected backgrounds, which constituted the grounds for the now historical dispute between the partisans of the two types of journalism (vocational and academic) to become more acute. Our feeling is that both sides are ignoring each other from the height of their absolute certainties. The opinions of some very influential journalists (Cristian Tudor Popescu[13], Ion Cristoiu, Cornel Nistorescu) were answered on a rather similar note: "The essence of journalism is extremely heteroclite from the point of view of professional education. Between the two poles, those of amateurism and professionalism, one can meet a large variety of situations, in general lines, where most of the journalists have gained habits and competences in exercising their profession (...). Some of the journalists have attended short

[12] We are astonished that some of the nominees of the three editions of *Freedom House* (we had the last two for consultation) have "betrayed" the gained position for another, a better one (from the financial, social and political point of view), while others have simply disappeared from the space of the media, partly because of the financial crisis, which had terrible effects on the traditional press published on paper, and partly because of the unprecedented evolution of technologies and the penetration into a new electronic medium, where some of the newspapers with a great tradition in Romanian press history can be found "lock, stock and barrel".

[13] "Being a newspaper writer means something completely different from having good writing skills : it means having a detective's intuition, stubbornness, courage, physical and psychological resistance, the ability of establishing relationships with people, having an explosive expression that is at the same time easily accessible on the popular level. There is no journalism school: it can only be learnt at the newspaper, by seeing and doing. A good writer has equal chances of becoming an engineer or a Chinese language teacher" (*Noroiul din afară şi noroiul dinăuntru* – 'The Mud Outside and the Mud Inside', an editorial by C. T. Popescu in *Adev. Lit.art*., April 23, 2002, p. 1.).

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training courses or have benefited from grants for training or internships abroad; for many, these have been an exotic experience, under the bias that the practices specific to occidental journalism cannot be applied in Romania; moreover, as a defensive reaction, an ideology of talent and innate vocation dominates the discourse of those working in the media, thus valuing amateurism and minimising any attempt of performance training."

3. 2002 - 2011, the third stage, marks a stable grounding of information as a result of the emergence and activity of "caste" associations, unions and agencies, tanking measurement offices NGOs or other official institutions. The emergence of institutional organisms has increased the interest for defining the professional profile, yet, in current activities, the disputes, which now have turned into polemic, are set on the "rigid" positions perpetuated during all this time, although new researches on the professional profile of the journalist have been added to them.

A. The new contributions come from the area of academic studies. During the same period, some mediation attempts (better called trials) have been made, as a form of cohabitation between vocational and academic journalism. There has been some agreement that any sort of training – practical activity with the editorial staff or internships in the West, student meetings with great editors, even attending lectures given by them – can contribute to an increasingly better certification in the field.

The issue has been approached in the books of certain well-known specialists. In the study *Formarea identităţii profesionale a jurnaliştilor* (Formation of The Professional Identity of Journalists), Polirom, Iaşi, 2000, Luminiţa Roşca showed her preoccupation with defining the professional playfield characterising journalism. She emphasizes the role of the extra-professional domains, which impose the requirements of the field over the profession. *Independence*, connected to the freedom of speech and *legitimacy*, is invoked in the sense of establishing a strategy that allows the professional group to preserve the monopoly over a certain activity. Like other representatives of academic journalism, the author believes that the professional group of journalists is absorbed by the idea that their profession is different from the traditionally established ones (law, medicine, engineering) and states: "Associating journalism with medicine and law is not random, the comparison is made both in specialised works, and, according to the journalists themselves, who, more than once, claim that they exert a profession in the same family as those mentioned" (p. 10). According to Denis Ruellan[14], the author shows that the process of

[14] Denis Ruellan, *La professionalisme du flou: identité et savoir-fairé des journalistes français*; Grenoble, Press Universitaires de Grenoble, 1963 (apud Luminiţa Roşca, in *quoted works*).

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demarcating the journalistic field from the other professional areas is the open access to the profession, where special qualifications and training is not mandatory for those writing for a publication" (p. 17). The work of Luminița Roșca pursues different coordinates. Following the evolution of the Romanian media during the last years, the debates over its professionalism or its lack of professionalism, the diverse and most often controversial argumentations, more than once I have found myself shrugging my shoulders and wondering rhetorically: "What is the use of all these? After all, what is *professionalism*? An honourable answer could be obtained by comparing the norms presented in any journalism textbook, with the practices of the present Romanian media. This sort of comparison is obviously unfavourable for present-day Romanian journalism, if we were only to list the findings of our comparative undertaking: information that is (often) unverified and lacking credibility, headlines that create expectations not always "met" by the content of the text, a lack of clarity at the level of presenting and ranking the information within the text, editing errors, low readability of the newspaper page, incoherent editorial policy. Taking these criteria into consideration, without a doubt you could find yourself on the side of those who state that today's Romanian press is in a state of transition and – in many cases – manifests a lack of professionalism." (p.7)

B. Much closer to the type of our investigation is Marian Petcu's study, *Jurnalist în România. Istoria unei profesii* (*Journalist in Romania. History of a Profession*), comunicare.ro, Bucharest, 2005, which approaches the subject heads-on, making a first and most documented history of the theme, with an impeccable achievement on the diachronic coordinate, without missing the essential data of the preoccupation for journalism in our country, with a stress on academic journalism, from the first attempts up to its institutional edification, whose history is obviously old. Throughout the work, which contains over one hundred pages of documents and annexes (statutes, laws and decrees), the author pleads in favour of academic journalism, mostly supported in the forty pages of the second chapter, called *Învățământul jurnalistic românesc – istoria unei polemici* (*Romanian Journalistic Studies – The History of a Polemic*). The title itself indicates the bitterness at the end of the study: "The fascination generated by the journalistic profession has not diminished, not even after 15 years of post-communist evolution. That is why an impressive number of faculties (unequal in performance, equipment and teachers) prepare journalists for the roughly 2000 newspapers and magazines, 194 television stations and over 130 radio stations in Romania. The high rate of aeration of the editorial staff makes most of the journalism graduates work even for short periods of time. The relationship between the professional community – quite heteroclite and going through an identity crisis – and the journalism schools remains deficient; many of the journalists that hold important positions in the mass-

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media system are unable to understand the need for special studies and promote the old theme of talent – vocation – general knowledge" (p. 187). In terms of discourse, Marian Petcu's undertaking is a *pro domo* one and we agree on its necessity, except for the idea that the journalists holding power positions refuse to step aside in order to make room for academic journalism. No competition functions by apologising and power positions always generate deficient relationships. The need for dialogue remains, and if sometimes the vehemence of oppugn goes beyond limits, that is due, as Marian Petcu "appositively" notices, to academic journalism, which is heteroclite and going through an identity crisis. Latin has a saying: *qui custodet custodies?*, which fits the described situation perfectly. Most of the teaching staff in the faculties of journalism come from areas related to this profession, however eclectic, from philology, sociology, psychology, law, philosophy, history and, recently, computer studies, but also from, in harsher terms, exotic areas. The reality that academic journalism was started in our country by mercenaries of different "weapons" cannot be ignored, all the more as some of them do not teach journalism, but, as study programmes show, keep on teaching philology, philosophy, sociology, etc. This has not stopped some of them to mark their territory as founders and then fiercely protect it against...strangers. The Latin saying *qui custodet custodies?* was never taken into consideration while calculating these deficient relationships. Moreover, the situation is being perpetuated and anyone browsing through a journalism textbook written by multiple authors will be surprised to learn that, at the beginning, the prophets had a different professional orientation. These realities are also part of the present subject's case.

C. The most recent publication in the field belongs to Camelia Popa[15], a doctor in psychology and, for almost decades, a journalist for "România liberă", who aims to scan the profession in two stages. The first introduces us into the intimacy of psychological research, in order to establish the basic concepts (profile, features) of the personality factor and the second continues by creating a psycho-professional sketch of the journalist based on the personality profile previously made. The work is unprecedented in the space of national research and, after acquainting us with the theoretical body of coordinates able to represent the value "scaffolding" of the personality traits obtained by abstraction, it advances from the theoretical field, by means of a series of tests given to journalists, to the reality and actuality field activities, thus obtaining the generic "portrait" or the collective (group) profile. Regarding the first two stages, Camelia Popa's research can be considered a conclusive image of the profession, a picture whose high resolution has been obtained due to using certain scientific

[15] Camelia Popa, *Jurnalistul: personalitate şi profesie* (*The Journalist: Personality and Profession*), University Publishing House, Bucharest, 2012.

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instruments and conceptual filters leaving little room for error. That is why the result is not different from the reality on the field and does not conclusively bend the balance in favour of any of the "sides" claiming authority in the field of journalism[16].

IV. Instead of conclusions, we must frankly admit that the profile of the journalist in the post-communist period holds a series of characteristics that belong, in terms of purpose, to favouring one's access to all environments, from the highest elite, to the social *underground*, nothing being completely unknown. Its style does not belong to an artist of the word, because his preoccupation is not the inventiveness of language, but "translating" it from Romanian into Romanian. As a means of approaching the realities he enters, he is a communicator who could perfect his methods due to an academic specialization. To me, it seems that those betting on qualities such as investigative intuition, stubbornness, courage, physical and psychological strength, the ability to establish relationships with people, the explosive and easily accessible verb – are right. In general, much like native talent, these cannot be taught in classrooms. The professional space belongs to all these, and if we were to invoke history, the past and the traditions of the media, it becomes easy to understand how much they have in common.

Furthermore, during the last period of time, the evolution of technologies has caused a mutation within the profession. Due to these unpredictable changes, continuously fluid, the profile of the journalist changes almost daily. Without consuming its initial flame, he has already entered a new stage. The Informational Society, also defined as a Society of Knowledge, is open to individual freedom and initiatives, while the electronic environment claims a great future. The consequences in the field are well-known. Under the double effect of the economic crisis and the technological revolution, paper is almost gone. The most notorious journalists have migrated towards television or have become *bloggers*, and newspapers moved online, just like the writers. The number of candidates for journalistic academic programmes is dramatically dropping. Before gaining a strong autonomy, journalism has been integrated in the very new

[16] In fact, the author does not respond to this dispute, joining it with a relevant comment: "He is not a writer, because, due to the custom of his job, he does not have the right to invent, nor to act, even if he intensely takes part in the show of life. He is not a politician, because his decisions do not have an electoral argumentation... nor is he a judge, because his judging does not pass sentences (...) the journalist represents the exponent of a heteroclite professional category, difficult to comprise within the patterns of classic professions. Seen as an incurable dreamer or, at times, as a rigorous analyst, the journalist is a «social product» of his time, but also a well-defined individual, with a set of features that grant him success in his profession (p.7).

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and extremely vast field of *communication sciences*, whose specialists have again reconfigured their professional structure.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the domain of journalism and its professional domain are both interdisciplinary. The future itself is envisaged like this, in all areas of activity. It is not a novelty that the first ten top professions did not even exist five years ago. In conclusion, the need for the adepts of the different forms of journalism – currently ignoring each other from the height of their absolute certainties – to meet halfway should become stringent.

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