Based on practices observed among Quebec journalists over the last twenty years, the author explains the meaning of their behavior in terms of ideal types of collective practices.

It has often been said and observed that in essence, journalism is a profession in which individualism prevails. Inclined toward individualism both by virtue of the nature of the work and customs of the profession, the individual journalist is nonetheless part of one or many social groups of variable dimensions beginning with the newsroom team. At a higher level, he might feel more or less linked to the entire staff of the firm that hires him. Likewise he is aware of being part of a larger and more homogeneous fellowship which potentially covers every journalist of the town, country even of a continental or international community. Finally, he might feel part of a certain social class (dominant or dominated), and even of a social movement or a Nation-State. No matter which level he positions himself on, the journalist is conscious of sharing aspirations and interests with other individuals who can sometimes best protect themselves collectively. Corollary to such a proposition is the fact that in other situations the journalist may consider that his aspirations and interests are better realized if he individually goes for a completely autonomous action strategy. This alternative may be kept in mind for the duration of the analysis; however in this article we will apply ourselves to explaining and understanding the meaning of the journalist’s behavior as a
collective actor [acteur collectif], based on practices observed among Quebec journalists over the last twenty years.

In most liberal industrial societies, journalists form more than a latent group, more than an unorganized set of individuals characterized by a common interest which is for instance, the case for information users. In fact, journalists constitute an organized social group provided with legitimate and democratic mechanisms of collective decision. We believe in fact that occidental journalists form the profession in which there are more group initiatives, voluntary associations, joint projects and interests; in brief, the largest diversity of what we call collective practices. In such a setting, Quebec journalists distinguish themselves by the wide multiplicity of collective behaviors, as we will demonstrate in the present article.

Here, we may summarily define as collective practices any system of coordination and orientation which includes ideologies, social representations, action strategies, mechanisms of collective decision-making, and organizational structures which puts journalists in a certain mode of relation with the other social actors in the field of information. A typology of collective practices in journalism should be general enough to embrace the set of organized experiences and conduct that have been put forward by occidental journalists since the birth of the mass industrialized press.

It is useful to distinguish eight fundamental types of collective practices in which occidental journalists are professionally engaged to defend their interests. The first set of collective practices is fundamentally inspired by the trade union model: class struggle, reformist and defense of economy practices. The second set, in contrast, is instituted in the form of professional and voluntary associations, somewhat like certain liberal professions: corporate, professional, and countervailing practices. Finally there is a third set of practices, neither unionist nor professional, which structures itself according to what we call the participatory model: self-managerial, and co-managerial practices. The third model of action, unlike the previous two, does not position itself outside the businesses that produce information, but rather at the center of businesses' daily functioning.

We will review each of these types starting with the ones that define themselves in relation to the professional model, going on to the unionist ones, wrapping up with the ones characterized by the participatory model. The typology we will present in this article, it should be underlined, is not a complete record of all collective practices promulgated by journalists of liberal industrial societies. More modestly, the objective is to account for the most important ones, presenting them as ideals in the Weberian sense, and to see which Quebec organizations of journalists can best illustrate each of these types.
Collective actions of the professional type consist of a strategy of developing an occupation in order to increase the members' level of competence, as well as the credibility and integrity of the profession in general. The notion of professionalism takes here its usual sense, that the individual attains knowledge, skills and the know-how which qualify him to produce and offer a quality service in a particular field of activity. As such, professional practices are recognizable by a central value: competence.

Among Canadian journalists, Michel Roy (former assistant-editor of daily newspaper Le Devoir and former publisher of La Presse daily newspaper) is, in our opinion, the most faithful and renowned examplar of this type of practice. In a certain way he is one of the most eager promoters of professionalism in the journalistic community. This is particularly true since he presided over the destinies of the late Union canadienne des journalistes de langue française (UCJLF), replaced since 1969 by the Fédération professionnelle des journalistes du Québec (FPJQ). Writes Michel Roy:

Today, in our profession the only way to serve a cause well is to gather all the facts, those at hand and those hidden, and to provide the public with all the pertinent data concerning the people and events surrounding the issue. The number one priority for the journalist is the struggle for information. Press coverage must rely on a complete and clear dossier accessible to the reader or risk failure. From this perspective, one must admit that the biggest obstacle to the conquest and spread of information in this society lies less in governments, federal civil servants and official institutions than in journalists themselves, who are more fond of surprises than truth, inclined to convenience, not really inclined to study attentively complex questions, often invoking short deadlines when neglecting to solicit the opinion of all parties in disagreement...Information is power... But between the two often arises incompetence, laziness or bad faith, when it's not faith per se in an issue that information could badly serve².

Essentially, the same vision was offered by the President of the FPJQ, Jean Pelletier, when presenting his moral report to members of the federation's congress in 1984. He said:

I would be tempted to begin this report, being at the end of 1984, by declaring that George Orwell was wrong. The worst did not occur. The few "Big Brothers" that we all fear haunt neither our newsrooms nor even less our nights. We all maintain the deep conviction that we pursue our craft freely... So let's be candid. We are more comfortable than we have ever been in twenty years. We are, as we say, confidently going about our
business, to the point that the only "Big Brother" who threatens us looks like indolence, or maybe a satisfied wait-and-see attitude.

In North America and Europe, professional associations such as FPJQ that distinguished themselves as eager promoters of honorary tribunals like press councils, are major seats of professional practices. Over the past twenty years, the most original and imposing accomplishment of the FPJQ has certainly been the creation of the Quebec Press Council in 1973, in which public representatives, journalists and newspaper owners are equally represented. Thus, supporters of professional practices have always considered the morality issue as an aspect (if not the most important aspect) of their activities. But for them, the professional ethic is less to be found in normative and coercive control over the journalist’s practice (at which corporate practices aim) than in the goal of educating the public as much as members of the profession.

Another fundamental principle of the professional discourse is that of the largest and freest possible access to the profession. From this point of view, there is no reason to deny access into journalism to persons not holding a journalism diploma. Rather, it is advisable to hire from the largest range of academic, professional and human backgrounds as possible. This is the reason why their most ferocious critique is usually directed toward partisans of corporate practices. On the professional model, journalists do not have to be trained to become experts capable of working in the profession.

**Corporate Practices**

[pratiques corporatistes]

We define collective practices of the corporate type, institutionalized in certain occidental journalistic communities (notably in Italy), as the ones that aim to attain the model of the great liberal professions institutionalized into bodies like medicine and law. The ultimate goal of this type of collective action is to grant journalists all the privileges and powers attached to prestigious and powerful professions. The attributes sought can be summarized as follows: 1-University level professional specialization, delivered in specialized institutions. 2-Control over professional activities by members, who are solely competent to determine professional training, admission and practice of the profession. 3-High and prestigious position in the occupational structure. 4-State recognition of the vital function of journalism in society as well as the social status, competence and professional autonomy that such a function presupposes.

The dominant dimension of this type of practice is the quest for a prestigious professional identity and control over the means to obtain it. In this sense, the partisans of corporate practices dislike seeing journalists unionized like workers or office employees. The objective is to get to the status of a real profession, not to be associated with the working class. Thus, it is less a claim for direct control over
the field of information than it is for control over the occupation's development and its place in the social hierarchy.

Throughout their existence, the Quebec journalists' associations, both the UCJLF and FPJQ, have been pressured, internally and externally, by a fraction of their adherents and by public and private authorities to be institutionalized or simply transformed into professional societies. In Canada, the last example took place in August 1986 at the Canadian Bar symposium where eminent politicians such as former Secretary of State Lucien Bouchard (Prime Minister Mulroney's right hand), and high ranking jurists such as the head of the Quebec Bar, Guy Gilbert, together pleaded in favor of creating a professional society of journalists patterned on the model of those governing physicians and lawyers' conduct. For them, journalists have a power that is sometimes improperly used, particularly with regard to public personalities and therefore their acts must be controlled by their peers.

One understands the claims of these persons of rank when one realizes that in ethical matters, what distinguishes the corporate from the professional perspective is that for the corporate view it is necessary for the profession to establish a genuine code of ethics, with all the rules, norms and standards that are implied. Ethics have an important coercive aspect here. It is just the opposite of professional practices which perceive ethics as taking the form of a series of propositions naming desirable principles for the profession. Here we prefer to speak about a journalism charter rather than strictly a code, that constitutes sort of a lighthouse in the daily practice of the profession, although free of the power to impose constraints. It is the line chosen by Quebec journalists, with all due deference to public men.

**Countervailing Practices**

[pratiques de contre-pouvoir]

Resorting to the notion of power-balancing to qualify a certain type of collective practice in journalism refers to the idea of an institutional counterbalance assumed by journalists and the press, thus keeping the balance and warranting the integrity of the three main powers in liberal societies which are the executive, the judiciary and the legislative. Turning the press and the practice of journalism into the fourth power is more than just a fanciful idea out of fertile imaginations. In journalism, countervailing practices constitute a real, organized collective action, with its ideology, its representations and its action strategies. This type of practice finds its groundings mostly—though not exclusively—in the area of investigative reporting.

Indeed, at least in Canada and the US, investigative reporting is not simply a journalistic genre among others, nor the sole property of experienced journalists such as those of the Washington Post in the sad Watergate story. Instead, it is more and more the characteristic of this type of collective action that we call
countervailing practices. In Canada, it is the case with the Center for Investigative Journalism as it is in the US with the Fund for Investigative Journalism and the Investigative Reporters and Editors. These organizations have been very concerned about promoting investigative journalism amongst both leaders of the press and journalists themselves.

It is undeniably in the tradition of political liberalism that we must consider countervailing practices among journalists. Supporters of this type of collective practice would completely agree with the founders of the American constitution or with Montesquieu's liberal ideal, on the notion of "checks and balances" by which "power stops power". In other respects, we must observe that individuals who subscribe to countervailing collective practices in journalism don’t generally have a conception of society in terms of social classes or strata but rather in terms of elites. It appears difficult for them to assert that liberal industrial societies are dominated either by a class or a leading caste. According to them, it is more reasonable to consider that there is a plurality of leading elites maintaining relations of cooperation and relations of conflict between elites and those governed. It is a type of collective practice which is centered on what the Americans call a "watchdog" role, at all levels: aiming to respect the separation of power principle as well as intending to limit as far as possible the arbitrary actions of large bureaucratic organizations or the demagogy of manipulators of public opinion and individual consciousness.

Class-struggle Practices
[lutte de classe]

It is essentially through union action that we consider class struggle practices, since occidental journalists have developed this type of practice through unions. French, English, Italian, Spanish, Latin-American and Quebec journalists have strenuously promoted this type of political union action and despite the labor and trade-union movement crisis, nothing indicates a tendency for these types of conduct and collective representations to disappear.

Class-struggle unionism is strongly centered on relations of opposition. It entangled journalists in a large collective strategy (a class strategy) that extends beyond the profession's circle. This type of collective practice focuses on the journalist's role as an exploited wage-earner. It also looks at his privileges as an intellectual and his task which is to become a genuine working class intellectual, playing the particular role of the militant able to advance the cause and spread the directives of labor leaders (union or party).

Occidental journalists who identify themselves with practices and representations of the class struggle type are characterized by a principle of opposition to capitalism, so that the definition they give themselves leaves completely aside
the reference to their craft per se. Here, journalists are not professionals nor a social elite: they are "information workers", as are typographers or audio-visual technicians.

The Fédération nationale des communications (FNC) -affiliated with the Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN)- best represents class struggle practices amongst Quebec journalists. By far the most important consolidation of journalist unions in Quebec, the FNC is a thoroughly anti-capitalist organization. It recognizes the existence of irreconcilable interests of social classes and it works to create a political party able to take into account the interests of the working class and thus to bring about a socialist society. Since its foundation, the FNC has systematically tried with uneven success, to take back professional issues that the FPJQ ultimately has handled with much more authority and credibility. What FNC leaders try to regain, without explicitly asserting it, is a mobilization on the part of journalists for whom professional issues are often more important than bread and butter ones. By being more attentive to journalists' particular professional concerns, and by seeking to demonstrate a certain preoccupation for the quality and democratization of information, the FNC tries in a certain manner to revalorize union action which is too restricted to problems concerning the defense of materialistic interests.

The FPJQ and the Quebec Press Council have often ignored or refused to the FNC the position it claims in the debate in Quebec. On its side, the FNC endeavoured to denigrate the role of the other two organizations, sometimes with a vigor that could not hide the wish to see them disappear. Probably in order to have a stronger hold on professional issues and a stake with the information sector, the FNC has always pretended to ignore self-managerial and co-managerial experiences that occurred in Quebec news rooms. There was an enormous fear of seeing structures emerge parallel to the unions' information committees, reporters' societies, etc, that would have reserved for themselves the defense and promotion of the profession's moral interests, leaving unions to defend strictly materialistic interests.

**Reformist Practices**

[pratiques reformistes]

Political sociology defines reformism [réformisme] as a collective practice which consists of introducing political, social and economical reforms, while staying in the existing institutional frame and using legal proceedings. This minimal definition tallies well enough with reformist union practices as we want to conceptualize them. More precisely, "reformism" is also a tendency appearing among Marxist inspired political parties. It aims to modify this doctrine by adapting it to new historical circumstances. By extension, reformism is a tendency
that also appears among Marxist inspired trade-union organizations in order to render them more consonant with these new historical circumstances.

Two strong motivations are at the basis of reformist practices amongst occidental journalists. The first consists of claiming state intervention in order, for instance, to see all property transfers submitted to governmental control. The second rests on asking the state to create or nationalize information businesses. As opposed to the first type of intervention, the last one implies that the state become the direct employer of journalists as it has in many occidental democracies for teachers, social workers or nurses.

In the 70s, the FPJQ was the main instigator of reformist measures. (Its position has evolved since 1980 toward one of a strictly professional practice). FPJQ argued that it was impossible to expect full and acceptable solutions to problems from the current system and management of the press industries. Consequently, for the FPJQ, state intervention was necessary to assert the public service character of the press. At the FNC, an important reformist stream, although minor, has constantly urged its leaders to claim a larger state intervention in the domain of communications. That is how they came to call for reforms that would change the organization of communications in Canada and in Quebec, even specifying in certain cases in which way the state intervention should be made, and where. In sum, it is as if on the one side, the FNC has a "radical" and "revolutionary" outlook, while on the other side, it adopts a reformist attitude and methods inspired by managerial unionism. This apparent contradiction seems in fact "accepted" by the Federation's leaders, to the extent that they recognize the limits of a unionist action, which is, in the short term, aimed at the possible, following rules established by the political and economic system. It explains why it is so important for FNC activists to obtain another lever to reach the main objectives: to create a mass political party which would gather together all the leftist forces in Quebec.

**Economic Defense Practices**

*[pratiques de défense économique]*

Fundamentally of unionist nature, this type of collective practice is less revolutionary than the class struggle practices. What matters here is to defend the standard of living and purchasing power, as well as obtaining professional and material guarantees (protection against under-employment, unemployment, irregular schedules, mobility and internal promotional mechanisms, willingness to shorten working hours and days, etc).

One can easily associate practices of economic defense with the business unionist tradition of Gomperism. It is legitimate for the most part. Samuel Gompers, business unionist spiritual father and famous founding-president of the American Federation of Labor, conceived capitalism not as an enemy, but rather
as the essential element to obtain higher wages. In Gompers' wake, the most important American union of journalists (the American Newspaper Guild), in fact affiliated to the very powerful AFL-CIO, does not in any way question the basis of capitalism and free enterprise. For supporters of this type of practice, there is no inevitable hostility between labour and capital. They need each other, each developed by the presence of the other; the interest of one is the interest of the other and the prosperity of one is also the prosperity of the other. In sum, capital brings money, workers, work and each part must receive an equal income from the marketing of a product.

The most recent and typical example of a unionist practice of economic defense among Quebec journalists is the union of newsroom journalists at Télé-Métropole, which pronounced itself favorable towards the acquisition of the Montreal station by the Power Corporation financial conglomerate. The FPJQ organized a debate on the issue at its symposium in January, 1986. It was a unique occasion to observe the articulation of such practices among a section of the Quebec journalistic community. FPJQ leaders essentially held that a mixed holding of print and broadcast media in the same urban center opens the gate to the worst abuses and threatens the pluralism necessary for the survival of a free and democratic press.

Adopting a position opposite to the one taken by the FPJQ and the FNC, the union of Télé-Métropole journalists maintained that an improvement in the quality and freedom of information was conditional on the acquisition of Télé-Métropole by Power.

Claiming to be economically and professionally underprivileged in comparison with journalists from other large press businesses, Télé-Métropole journalists put forward the idea that a financial organization as strong and dynamic as Power Corporation would allow access for its journalists to larger means to accomplish their task which would consequently improve the quality of information of their broadcasts.

It is an attitude of economic defense which accepts the basis and evolution of capitalism toward concentration, even turning it into a condition for the improvement of the quality of information and working conditions. In sum, what Télé-Métropole unionized journalists ask for is an employer who will be a modern manager, strongly positioned in the financial market, and possessing human and financial resources to efficiently manage the business and face the particularly harsh competition in the sector. Used to a business weekly administered by more or less competent people, more or less at the avant-garde of the evolution of mass media communications, Télé-Métropole journalists applauded the entrance of real managers.
Self-managerial Practices
[pratiques autogestionnaires]

Social sciences, especially in France and to a lesser extent in Quebec, have played a very significant role in the elaboration of self-managerial theory and ideology. Even though sociologists did not create this system of ideas out of nothing, they were inspired by a new political culture that was emerging, in America and in Europe, from a series of social experiences more or less marginalized and divided. We must acknowledge that they were the main craftsmen and catalyzers of the so-called self-managerial discourse, which in contour was vague and imprecise. In our opinion, there lies the most important dimension of self-managerial practices, in circumstances of self-managerial ideology.

Now, contrary to Marxist or Leninist communism, sociologists and political scientists don’t conceive self-management as a normal and inevitable movement inscribed into an evolutionary science of history. They see it as a lucidly chosen movement which requires theoretical knowledge to evaluate the progress of the self-managerial movement, and to recognize difficulties, conditions and limits of democratic practice of power. The recourse to social science scholars is justified by the fact that self-management seeks to built itself in a pragmatic way upon the analysis of reasons why the practice of democracy stumbles in liberal and people’s democracies.

This is how the notion of experimentation-typical concept of scientific activity- became the heart of the self-managerial doctrine. Revived by conflicts and social movements that marked the late 60s and the early 70s, the self-managerial idea left out the intellectual and academical circles to assert itself more and more in the social struggle. In such context, Quebec and French journalists were not indifferent to self-managerial ideas, conceptions and projects. Indeed, in both societies, the experiences of self-management in the press caught the attention of the other journalistic community. In Quebec, self-management was the leitmotiv of journalists from a national weekly newspaper (Québec-Presse) which left its trace in the animated Quebec political history at the turn of the 70s. In France, the reference is to the experience of the daily newspaper Libération. In both cases, self-management had the particular distinction to be not only a discourse or a doctrine, but a concrete collective practice, though in experiment, from which one could learn lessons about the willingness of journalists (who talked about self-management) to collectively engage themselves in self-managerial practice.

Today, what do self-managerial ideology and doctrine mean in the information world? The answer is pathetic. For economic reasons, after five years of existence, the weekly Québec-Presse disappeared in 1974. The few political and cultural magazines considered self-managerial which tried to carry the torch have, for the same reasons, rarely survived more than four years. In France, for economic
and organizational efficiency reasons, self-management is not proclaimed by Libération any more, neither in its internal functioning nor, consequently, in its editorial and editing policy. But above all, Quebec and French journalists have realized that a collective action of self-managerial type requires too much of personal investment and involves risks that are too large given the professional benefits they can be anticipated in return.

Co-managerial Practices
[pratiques cogestionnaires]

At a first level, co-managerial practices may be seen as the set of participatory practices of employees -or their representatives- in the business decision and management process. Characteristically, they are more than a simple participation in the business functioning, but they never run over nor want to go beyond the business' "co-management", in order to extend -as it is the case with self-managerial practices-to almost all levels in society, from daily life to state management. In sum, co-managerial practices are partial and there is no project for a co-managerial society, as it is with self-managerial type practices.

In the social field of information, in Quebec but principally in France, co-managerial practices have mainly been issues for reporters' committees. Their main goal: gaining a right for journalists to have a say in editing policy and on the management of the newspaper for which they work, in order to ensure the independence, the integrity, and the public service mission of this newspaper. The desired co-managerial ideal is that journalists have a substantive part of the newspaper ownership in order to be directly included in business decisions. It is the prevailing situation at Le Monde, where journalists hold 40% of the business capital. The admitted aim is not to achieve financial advantages for journalists, but only to give them the means of assuring their public service mission.

Inspired by the experience of their French homologues, Quebec journalists experienced co-managerial practices at the independentist daily newspaper Le Jour. Born after the October provincial elections, while the Parti Québécois had elected only six candidates despite the fact it gained 30% of the votes, Le Jour was founded by three PQ leaders (including René Lévesque and Jacques Parizeau) who believed it was necessary to gain a larger forum for the independentist movement than the one supplied by the National Assembly.

At first non-unionized, journalists of Le Jour were consolidated in a "société des rédacteurs" that concretely had control over the newspaper's content (except for the editorial page), with yet a restrained share of the stock (10%) and over the Board of Directors (2 members out of 9). Le Jour's life was brief. On August 27th, 1976, it closed after 30 months of publication. Even though the newspaper did not have the level of profitability that other large daily newspapers had in Quebec,
observers (and some leaders of the newspaper) agree that the disappearance of Le Jour was not due to financial reasons. Instead, its death was attributable to an open conflict, both political and managerial, between the directors and the "société des rédacteurs", plus a dissension amongst journalists between a "professional" and a "labour" tendency. For some of those involved at Le Jour, co-management was only a myth and an intellectual fraud aimed to attract journalists at a reduced price. For others, it was at last the opportunity to make good journalism outside the beaten track, less grey and more in depth. In other respects, from the political point of view, certain journalists, in harmony with the direction, had no discomfort with the newspaper openly being the mouthpiece of the Parti Québécois. Others, on the contrary, said they were willing to work for a social democratic and independentist newspaper on condition that it be under the wing of no power or political party. With such clear cut union, professional, managerial and political opposition, a newspaper with no tradition nor leadership such as Le Jour could hardly survive.

**Conclusion**

Harold L. Wilensky—one of the important promoters of the functionalist approach in the sociology of professions—describes a five stage process through which any occupation becomes professionalized: 1-Full time occupation; 2-Establishment of a non academic training school; 3-Establishment of a training school linked to a university; 4-Creation of local professional associations; 5-Creation of a national professional association; 6-Acquisition of legal support from the state in order to protect the exclusive competence area; 7-Establishment of a code of ethics.

It is interesting that the development of the journalistic profession over the past 20 years in Quebec has followed a path very similar to this "evolutionist" model. In fact, the first training programs of journalism were instituted at the CEGEP level before being established in university departments. Besides, in the first place, Quebec journalists organized themselves on a local basis, according to their region or to the business that hired them, before endowing themselves with a national association. Also, more recently the professional status of journalists was clarified before the state and the public, mainly with the creation of the Quebec Press Council. With regards to the establishment of an ethical code, this project was the FPJQ’s priority in 1986-1987.

Can we say that the journalistic "craft" as practiced in Quebec follows the path taken by traditional professions such as medicine and law? We believe not. The majority of Quebec journalists have always refused the corporate model which constitutes the final stage of Wilensky’s genealogical schema. We would conclude that Quebec journalists prefer professional practices; next they favour economic defense practices and third come reformist practices. Finally, and subsidiary to the
others, come countervailing practices. But in the practice of journalism, everything is a question of socio-political conjuncture and working conditions.

Thirty years ago, the priority was rather toward a pure and simple unionization of the large newsrooms, in defence of journalists' "materialistic" interests. In a period of political and cultural exuberance as at the turn of the 70's, co-management, self-management and class-struggle were on the agenda. Today, very few Quebec journalists believe in the class-struggle. FNC leaders are allowed to believe in it, but they are rapidly called to order when they go beyond the level of talk. As far as self-managerial and co-managerial practices are concerned, they have no chance to reemerge soon. In the atmosphere of the 70s, they were reactions against the direct and coarse interference of newspaper owners in the information content. Nowadays, the control of the large newsrooms by journalists (or by their opinion leaders) is practically a fact. In any case, owners and their designated managers now show more keenness and delicacy when distributing responsibilities in newsrooms.

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NOTES

1. The typological essay we are presenting here is the result of two theses. The first, entitled Sociologie d'une profession: les journalistes québécois, was submitted in 1986 for the completion of a Master's degree in sociology at the University of Montreal. The second one, prepared in 1987 while pursuing doctoral studies at the Université de Paris II, was about collective practices among occidental journalists, focusing particularly on the French case. (Les journalistes occidentaux: organizations et pratiques collectives). Research data comes from interviews, from internal documents (conference reports, theses, newsletters, reports of meetings, etc.) produced by the main organizations of journalists cited in this article.


