Is Becoming a Journalist any Different?
A Study of Careers in Professional Journalism in Brazil

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Abstract

This communication seeks to analyze the changes on Brazilian journalists' professional careers. Its starting point is a scenario described by different authors of structural changes that affect journalism profession on the last 30 years. It is marked by the development of ICTs, the emergence of internet as a new media, the economical crisis of media organizations, the growing of corporate communication and PR sectors, the introduction of flexible working conditions and job insecurity on journalism professions. It suggests a reconfiguration of the modalities of accessing and mobility in the profession. The study is based on 32 semi-structured interviews with journalists and it will focus on three main dimensions: starting a career (internships and first jobs); the selection process and how it relates to mobility within the profession; and the stages in a Brazilian journalist's career. Our conclusions hope to promote further discussions on the change and permanency in professional identity.

Keywords: Journalism, Journalist, professional career, identity, Brazil.

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Introduction

Over the last few years the labor market for journalists has gone through a set of changes marked by the development of ICTs, the emergence of the Internet as a new media, convergence processes in newsrooms, the economic crisis in media organizations, increased public participation in news production, the introduction of flexible working conditions, and by job uncertainty in journalism.

This has led to several discussions on the impacts these changes have had on the professional identity of journalists. Some authors point towards the emergence of new skills necessary for practicing journalism nowadays (Cooper and Tang, 2010; Huang et. al., 2006; Kalume Maranhão, 2014), including the use of multimedia editing tools (García Avilés and Carvajal, 2008; Jorge and Pereira, 2009; Saltzis and Dickinson, 2008), and database information for producing and publishing (Barbosa, 2008). Other studies emphasize the emergence of new statutes or professional profiles most often found on the borders of journalism. This is the case for multimedia and multitasking journalists (Deuze, 2004), community managers (Tixier, 2014), social media editors, bloggers, etc. According to Fidalgo (2008, p. 110), this broadening of the professional group would have led to greater heterogeneity when "associated to progressive diversification of media support and trade might imply some sort of redefining of journalism".

All this suggests the need to shift attention to the actual negotiation process of these changes over the course of a journalist's career, the impact they have on starting a career (how one becomes a journalist), on the set of possible career choices, including the management of inter and intramedia mobility and the management of statutes in journalism.

This article aims to study the careers of Brazilian journalists, noting variations in the trajectory of individuals from different generations and the link to different media and newspaper companies. The study is based on 32 semi-structured interviews with journalists and it will focus on three main dimensions: starting a career (internships and first jobs); the selection process and how it relates to mobility within the profession; and the stages in a Brazilian journalist's career.

Career

A career can be defined as a typical sequence of statuses, roles and remunerations by which a profession is chronologically defined. They would be in the words of Becker (2009) "movements from one position to another within an occupation system undergone by any given individual inside the a system" (p. 35). Careers establish behavioral patterns that develop in an orderly manner in the course of time.

A career can be attributed an individual dimension. It describes the progress that an actor makes towards achieving a more prestigious position in the labor market (Hughes, 1960). The choice of a given career may be based on the attraction of material and symbolic benefits associated to the profession such as stability and the possibility of ascension (Treanton, 1960). On the other hand, other reasons may be involved in the choice associated to the individual's living experience such as family pressures, the quest for a better standard of living, personal affinity with the

profession, a sense of vocation and so on. In an analysis of individual trajectories this process of interpreting past experience shows out in the way people reconstruct their careers themselves, attributing meaning to former situations, actions and events (Becker, 2009).

Professional careers are also collective and structuring phenomena. When they orientate their careers, anticipating the mechanisms of ascension that the career offers, individuals interact with colleagues and competitors, with the ideologies and conventions that compose a given activity. "Each single career is interwoven in the greater network of careers. That must be seen as a stimulus to ambition but also as a capital prognostic instrument for organizing the company and the individual interests towards greater collective efforts and success (Treanton, 1960, p. 78).

At the limit, the study of careers contemplates gaining an understanding of the processes of defining norms and concepts (Becker, 2009) unfolded by the professional group responsible for organizing the labor space in question (Hughes, 1960) and by other sectors of society that in one way or another intervene in the definition of a given professional practice, such as legislators, companies, teaching institutions etc. Professional careers are also delimited by even more general factors such as economic growth forecasts or the technical progress of a given society.

That dual individual and collective connection makes it possible to envisage careers studies as being something more than a mere description of trajectories (Darmon, 2008). Based on analyses of individuals' experiences it is possible to understand how social actors negotiate status and norms and define the feasible forms of collaboration in a social world.

Methodology

This study is based on 32 biographical and semi-structured interviews with current journalists in Brasília. The interviews were conducted between 2012 and 2014. In order for representative amount of Brazilian journalists, we chose professionals of different ages and generations (those who had started their careers in the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000) who, at the time of the interviews, held distinct positions in the different media outlets: the press (newspapers and magazines), radio, TV, and the Internet. The study covered the major journalist outlets in the country including national and regional (see Table 01).

Table 01: Journalists selected by type of media, position held, gender, and age.

Interviewee	Type of media	Outreach	Type of coverage	Position	Sex	Age
B1	Internet	National	Generalist	Reporter	F	22
B2	Internet	Regional	Generalist	Area Editor	M	30
B3	Internet	National	Generalist	Reporter	F	23
B4	Internet	Regional	Generalist	Copyeditor	F	27
B5	Internet	National	Generalist	Trainee	M	20
B6	Internet	National	Specialist	Coordinator	M	38
B7	Internet	National	Generalist	Reporter	F	32
B8	Internet	National	Generalist	Reporter	M	24
B9	Internet	National	Specialist	Reporter	F	35

B10	Internet	National	Generalist	Reporter	M	30
B11	Newspaper	Regional	Generalist	Reporter	M	52
B12	Newspaper	National	Generalist	Reporter	M	56
B13	Newspaper	National	Generalist	Reporter	M	31
B14	Newspaper	Regional	Generalist	Reporter	F	22
B15	Newspaper	National	Generalist	Reporter	F	47
B16	Newspaper	Regional	Generalist	Reporter	F	25
B17	Newspaper	Regional	Generalist	Editor-in-Chief	M	37
B18	Newspaper	National	Generalist	Reporter	F	49
B19	Newspaper	National	Generalist	Reporter	F	27
B20	Newspaper	National	Generalist	Coordinator	M	45
B21	Radio	National	Generalist	Editor-in-Chief	M	31
B22	Radio	National	Generalist	Reporter	F	27
B23	Radio	National	Generalist	Reporter	F	24
B24	Radio	National	Generalist	Head of Journalism	M	31
B25	News magazine	Regional	Specialist	Reporter	M	37
B26	News magazine	National	Generalist	Reporter	M	54
B27	TV	Regional	Generalist	Production Coordinator	F	29
B28	TV	Regional	Generalist	Producer	F	24
B29	TV	Regional	Generalist	Production Manager	M	30
B30	TV	Regional	Generalist	Assistant News Director	M	-
B31	TV	National	Generalist	Reporter	F	40
B32	TV	Regional	Generalist	News Director	M	44

We chose not to interview freelancers or journalists who were working in public-related, in press offices, or in corporate communication (although some had previously worked in these areas during their careers). Our clipping also did not allow us to speak to journalists who had "failed" or had left the profession. We are aware of the shortcomings and limitations of these research results: difficulties in describing the trajectory of journalism graduates who had chosen careers in extra-media sectors and also of the profiles and careers considered emerging or "deviant" in journalism. Additionally, the interviews could not go into detail about the cases of non-enrollment or quitting. Some of these gaps will be covered in this article using empirical data from other research sources.

The series of interviews focused on narrative reconstruction of the interviewee's career: why they chose journalism, their experience at university, the internships, and working in different jobs and positions. The journalists were encouraged to describe and justify every choice and change made in their careers. The responses reflected the career structure in journalism and the state of the labor market, as well as the contextual factors ("invitations" and "opportunities") and personal nature of the given explanations.

The results obtained from the interviews were compared to data from other empirical research. For this comparison we used the work of Mick and Lima (2013) which consisted of a nationwide survey handed out to 2,731 journalists out of an estimated

145,000 currently active in Brazil. We also used research by Figaro, Nonato and Groham (2013) on the changes to professional profiles and the job market for journalists in the state of São Paulo. Some of the inferences regarding job market access were taken from a research project on journalism student profiles coordinated by the author, by reports from interns at the University of Brasilia, and by data from the National Student Performance Exam (Enade) written by journalism graduates throughout Brazil (Inep, 2012). The use of this data made it possible to consider and enrich the results of the interviews, and to recontextualize the analyzed careers from a more general journalism market scene in Brazil.

Results and discussions

Internships and first jobs
In general, the analysis of pre-professional experience and starting up a career in journalism is indicative of how the respondents anticipate the dynamics of a professional career and also of their own changes within the labor market in Brazil. The statements illustrate the evolution of an abundant supply of jobs (the end of the 1970s, beginning of the 1980s) in a profession which is becoming increasingly difficult to get into and become established.

Therefore, the once uncommon practice of undertaking internships for new journalists in the '70s and '80s (it was prohibited by a Presidential Decree in 1979) became almost compulsory for future journalists. According to Mick and Lima (2013), only 23.7% of active journalists in 2012 had not undertaken an internship. This number is a little lower among journalism students who sat the 2012 National Student Performance Exam: only 16.7% had not undertaken an internship (Inep, 2012).

Of the eight interviewees over the age of 40, five (B11, B12, B15, B18, and B26) were hired on to work in communication before they had graduated, without necessarily having undertaken an internship. All the interviewees under 40 had previously taken internships. The number of internships varies from one to seven. Contrary to what we had imagined, there is no correlation between age and the number of internships (the idea that more recent generations would have more work experience). We also did not find any indications that early entry into an internship or into a large number of work experience programs would facilitate entrance into the work force.

In the beginning, the interviewees tend to evaluate internships as a learning step. Furthermore, some consider internships more important when it comes to graduating than the actual journalism courses (which were mandatory in Brazil up until 2009). Here is an interesting role reversal generally applied to these two spaces: "At college I felt that there was a lack of writing practice. The writing classes were weak and there weren't very many of them either. So you end up learning on the job. I think I did" (B3).

Internships should also be seen as mechanisms for anticipating the dynamics of the labor market; for managing uncertainties within journalism careers. In fact, the interviewees look at internships as strategies for gaining exposure and for networking in journalism: "I see internships as a period where you learn everything the company has to offer you and you meet as many people as possible. I think our profession has a

lot to do with meeting people who will help you in the future, who will open doors for you and you learn everything about the company" (B1); "What is a reporter's most important asset? His name. So, the earlier he begins his career, the earlier his work will be read and evaluated" (B13).

Following this logic, we realized that the interviewees under 30 years of age see internships as the beginning of their journalism careers. They usually start their careers working in less reputable internships such as clipping services, small newspapers, and press offices (a situation observed in 20 of the 32 interviewees). Afterwards they "advance" to local or national media companies.

This situation is also reinforced through an analysis of the internship reports written by journalism students at the University of Brasilia: there is a predominance of internship experience in communication departments over media companies among students in their third year (43 to 32), and in the fourth year it is media company internships that carry the weight (47 to 30) (Pereira et. al., 2013). In fact, hiring processes for first internships are normally less demanding than for journalism publications, which tend to have up to five different selection stages before hiring a new intern.

Internships also reflect a duality in the ways one can be contracted in journalism where well-organized processes for hiring interns and positions obtained by colleague recommendations go hand in hand. In fact, according to Mick and Lima (2013), nationwide data shows that 42.4% of journalists would have been working in their profession through "open contracts" (selective processes, trainee programs, effective interns, government entrance exams), while 43.9% would have used "closed contracts" (invitations, recommendations). This duality can be expressed in the words of B6 who got his internship through a teacher recommendation. Since he is a boss he decided to structure a formal program for trainee selection at his newspaper:

> The selection was a more organized, well thought out filter for determining access. Everyone is on an equal level. A person may have done badly at university in some aspects that he or she was not comfortable with and yet perceive that during the course, during those two or three months of the course, he is going to become aware of certain things that he had not realized before simply because of being in contact with professionals who produce the newspaper every day. (…). It is also important for you to be able to pass on the newspaper's culture to the candidates.

Internships, especially the last internship taken by journalists before they graduate, have a fundamental role when starting their career. Of the 27 interviewees who took internships, 20 were hired on in the companies they had been interns at within three months after graduating. Appreciation of internships both by students and media companies actually shows how practical experience is highly regarded in the profession, more so than academic grades or theory knowledge. Of course, there are a few exceptions, like B3 who secured employment after handing out resumes to the main newspapers in Brasilia – even still, she had also undergone three different internships before she graduated.

Looking for an internship position also brings about a sense of insecurity and uncertainty for future journalists about to enter the work force. In fact, many interviewees mentioned that internships were unavoidable experiences when initiating a career in journalism. Analysis of the interviewed journalists' careers gives the impression that there would have been a correlation between internships taken in the last year of the course and the almost direct access to employment. It is worth noting here that the interviewees for this research can be considered "success" cases as they were selected out of a group of active journalists, in other words, they had already established their careers. Yet it is possible that many other journalism graduates, who also might have taken internships in good media companies, have not been able to find employment. There is no empirical data which measures the failure rate for entering the profession, but data from the Ministry of Education (Inep, 2012) suggests that about 13,000 journalism graduates look for employment every year in a market estimated to have 145,000 professionals including media journalists, university professors, and those who work in press offices (Mick and Lima 2013).

This challenge of finding employment in the profession is reflected in the interviewees' responses, especially among the younger ones. They say they were "lucky" to have found their first jobs when compared to their classmates: "I see my classmates who I graduated with working as freelancers, so I know I'm doing well, but I'm not happy with what I do. This isn't what I want to do" (B1); "In general, when we leave university we begin to worry: 'My god I'm unemployed! What now?!' Not me! I was already working when I left university" (B23). Our analysis shows, however, that the last internship is more and more important for securing employment in the market but even obtaining an internship does not guarantee future employment in journalism.

The idea that a career in journalism starts with an internship also has a symbolic unfolding: the idea that a journalist's status is acquired through practical experience and not through formal or legal requirements such as higher education (Frith and Meech, 2007; Marocco, 2011). Many of the interviewees in their responses remembered their experiences as interns as the moment in which the neophyte sees himself (or his colleagues and sources see him) as a journalist: "I think I started to feel like a journalist when I was still an intern. (…) When you start to making street agendas, you are in contact with colleagues and you start fitting into that group, that journalistic niche (...). You end up being part of the group of reporters" (B24); "I felt like a journalist when I was still an intern. That was when I started covering the 2010 elections and also the Pandora's Box scandal; the political scandal of governor of Brasilia José Roberto Arruda" (B28).

This is not a unanimous situation. As we have stated, some interviewees were hired before they graduated and never needed to take an internship. Other interviewees stated that they only felt like journalists after they had been hired, a fact that came about through knowledge (symbolic and material) of the profession.

Analysis of the first jobs shows a relatively balanced distribution of media type, with a slight predominance for local newspapers (9) and radio (8), followed up by TV (6), press offices (4) and the Internet (3). Only one interviewee (B20) started his career at a nationwide newspaper. This distribution further reinforces the correlation between the final internship and first employment in the field. What is more interesting,

however, is the way in which these media types form hierarchies within the profession. The national newspapers, magazines, and television would be destined for the veteran journalists who are more accomplished in their careers. Beyond this, most of the interviewees started working in journalism as reporters or in television production. The tendency to start a career in the less respected areas had already been highlighted by Hughes (1962) when he talked about the division of tasks within the profession, the ones which would be more respected and the ones considered as "dirty works".

Career choices and mobility

Through analyzing journalism outlet mobility, this study allows us to observe general transformations within the job market. Indeed, one of the characteristics of journalism is the frequent job changes. In the case of the interviewees, we counted an average of 4.5 jobs (excluding internships and freelance work) per journalist where the average age was 34. Taking into account that the average age of entrance into journalism is 25.5 years old (Inep, 2012). Our findings are consistent with those found in the national research from Mick and Lima (2013) which states that around 53.9% of media journalists have been working in their current positions for a maximum of three years.

Upon analyzing the total number of employment positions by age one can see some changes in the job market. In fact, for the interviewees between the ages of 22 and 30 the number of positions ranges from one (B4, B14, B23, B27, B28), two (B8, B16, B19) or three jobs (B1, B2, B3, B29). Then five (B22) and eight (B10) for these two journalists who started their career outside of Brasilia. This number is pretty stable for the 31 to 40 age group. Some journalists still work at the same job (B17), but there were interviewees who had three (B7, B21), four (B24; B30), five (B25) and six employment positions (B6; B9; B13). The career profile is quite erratic in the above 40 group, varying between 19 (B26) and 15 (B15) jobs to five (B31) and six (B11) .

These results suggest the reduction in positions in the job market and the insecurity of journalism in Brazil (Figaro, Nonato and Groham, 2013) would not have promoted an increase in outlet mobility. The relation between mobility and market evolution exists, but they are not the sole explanation of instability within the profession. In fact, as the interviewees who started their journalism careers between 1970 and 1980 stated, the constant changes in jobs up until 1990 were due more to the great number of positions available (job offers from other companies, larger salaries) than to layoffs or job insecurity. Those who started their journalism careers from the middle of the 1990s seems to have found a more stable market where layoffs (it was at this time that traditional organizations were in crisis) were compensated by the creation of new job opportunities on internet sites and other new media outlets in the country (such as radio and TV all news). As far as the newer generation is concerned, despite a few cases of high turnover in media (B22 and B10 as previously mentioned; B21 and B3 who had had three different jobs before the age of 25), there is no conclusive data on any significant increase in job turnover in the profession.

We noticed that job insecurity is more visible among youths and when entering the job market (and the role internships play in this). But it also resurfaces when the interviewees complained about work conditions, low salaries, and the lack of

prospective promotions. There are also cases where people have just quit the profession. In informal conversations, we discovered that B3 had quit his job to go back to university. B22 stated in the interview that she intended to do the same, and the veteran B18 quit the newspaper on mutual terms.

More recent studies on careers tend to highlight mobility as a structural change in the job market showing that professional life is not built within one organization anymore (Hoekstra, 2011). As far as journalism goes, this scene is brought up by the interviewees who talk about the constant search for better salaries and work conditions as their main motivation for changing jobs. Furthermore, they complain about the lack of structured career plans in most of the media companies: "People who work in this area generally have many interests and take advantage of them because the salary is low, the work is arduous, so you don't create any bond with the company" (B10).

In this case, changing jobs would also be a form of career progression: journalists, in general, usually get offers to make more money from the competition: "I think it's an issue of competition: 'Ah, that guy is good and he's getting the shaft at that newspaper, so me, being the competition, will bring him to work here'. Now, I value this professional" (B7). In all these cases, it's possible he decides to leave if he doesn't receive a better counterproposal from his current employer. There are cases where the salary offered does not compensate for changing jobs, especially when the journalist is comfortable at his current job (B20, B30). In this case, some media outlets in Brazil are still considered local ones where one can build a career over time since they offer greater stability and a few material benefits (health plan, rewards, etc.). Lastly, a change of job might just be the result of a dismissal, a financial crisis, or mechanisms the interviewees use in order to anticipate market dynamics.

Stages of a journalism career

In this last section, we will propose a classification for the choosing process and for the change/stability inside the profession. We were very cautious when using the term "stages" We are looking primarily to organize our inferences and have no intention of proposing a mandatory sequence or other deterministic generalization.

The first stage to emerge out of the interviews was what we called *Managing uncertainties* in the profession. We based this on the "principle of uncertainty" concept used by Pierre Michel Menger (2009) in his analysis of artistic careers in France. According to him, the lack of objective mechanisms capable of explaining one's success or stability results in weaker careers that are gradually built out of numerous transactions between the artist and different employers. A successful career would depend not only on the artist's effort or competence but also on his capacity for being in touch with the institutions that usually evaluate the quality of such works and to build contact networks, to produce mechanisms of self-reinforcement. Transposing the principle of uncertainty as a part of journalism careers is imperfect. After all, we are talking about a social world in which the percentage of temporary and unstable contracts is much less than artistic careers, 26.8% of all employment in Brazil (Mick and Lima, 2013). The idea is that uncertainty would manifest itself at the beginning of a journalism career when the take-up rate for new graduates is relatively low and the

preparation mechanism for the market (training, internships, trainee contracts) have a reduced impact on employability.

In this career stage, the first objective for an aspiring journalist is to secure employment. What they are doing is looking to increase the possibilities of employment in the profession by taking good internships and creating a contact network. Some of the interviewees worked as freelancers for a considerable amount of time before getting hired. Others mentioned the fact that they had worked for free or took on duties that were not in their intern contract and were not paid for. According to them, it was supposed to be a way of "learning" and "demonstrating interest" to their employers.

The period of managing uncertainties would have its beginning during training and up until the point of securing stable employment. The duration varies: some journalists manage to find a stable employment shortly after they graduate, some take longer, and some never find any. In fact, the dropout rate is probably high during this period although no data is available to confirm this. It is mainly the younger generations of journalists who experience this dropout rate (up until 30 years old); there is already a reduced number of positions in the market when they start their careers. The older journalists apparently did not have any problems getting their first job.

The journalists who were successful in finding jobs in the market go through a *search for symbolic benefits*. At this stage of the career, issues such as salary and stability are secondary. The professionals are younger, usually single, who are more concerned in being recognized in the profession. The interviewees talked about the need to "progress" towards more reputable companies and positions. They talked about the need to "not get comfortable" at their first jobs. Many interviewees classified this stage as a moment to gain work experience which would qualify them for the labor market. Therefore, they look to take on new responsibilities, to frequently change their place of employment as a way to gain experience and, according to some statements, to build up a more "multimedia" resume able to meet the demands of the market. They are willing to take on multiple duties and work longer workdays. There are also some cases of working two jobs or juggling more than one job as a freelancer.

This is also a relatively instable moment of the career. Some interviewees shared feelings of frustration (due to work loads, salary, and lack of prospects) or even disappointment with the profession. Many of them mentioned that under the aforementioned conditions it would be impossible to plan out a career or start a family. Some expressed their desire for work improvements in the short or medium term. Some think about working for the government or at a press office at the end of this stage in their career and have a little more quality of life. Others mentioned the idea of leaving journalism. At any rate, this stage, generally experienced by journalists between 25 and 35 years of age, represented a kind of turning point in the profession in which a young journalist has a clearer perspective of their chances at being successful and starts to plan their professional future.

The third stage is where journalists seem to concern themselves more with *looking for material benefits*. The media outlet reputation is less important. Journalists start rating issues such as stability, salary, and work conditions very highly. They concern themselves less with building up their reputation and more about their children's

education, the possibility of building a professional and family life, the newsroom environment, and autonomy in journalism.

This stage of the career offers greater stability to journalists who have built a certain professional reputation. In some cases, this stability is shown in the form of lengthy contracts. Mick and Lima (2013) show that 53.6% of professionals aged 51 to 64 had been working in one job for more than 20 years or had always been employed. There are also interviewees had changed jobs because they are continually offered to better conditions. This stability, however, does not impede on the eventuality of older journalists leaving the profession due to difficulties in adapting to new market demands (for example, technology), to keeping up with the pace of work, or to the actual financial crisis in media. These are journalists who have higher salaries and are used to being the first ones to be laid off due to downsizing in newsrooms (Adghirni, 2013). Some journalists foresee this process and make plans to retire or relocate to more stable communication sectors. Others work in media organizations which still offer some stability and they express their desire to continue working in the profession.

There is no linear path connecting these three stages together. It is possible to skip stages or revert back to instability. There were also interviewees (B31 and B32) who had careers that did not fit in this categorization.

Conclusions

This article analyzes changes in professional identity and the labor market through an analysis of the careers of 32 journalists in Brasilia. Our conclusions hope to promote further discussions on the change and permanency in professional identity and highlight some limits in this study.

When referring to the impact of changes in journalism and the advent of digital media, we observed an integration and appropriation of these innovations instead of a more radical change in career structure as we had anticipated. We are speaking here of conservative innovations in journalism (Ruellan, 2006). In this case, it would be interesting if this study integrated studies on emerging journalists' careers and profiles (such as *community managers* and social media editors, blogger journalists, etc.) as a form to better measure their impact on journalism.

The study showed that the uncertainty about the labor market in Brazil is a more recent occurrence and less radical than the discourses on "professional crisis" suggest. The lack of jobs and the increase of precarious work contracts seems to have become more frequent since the year 2000.

This study does present some limitations. There are small gaps in the material and we have not yet integrated aspects such as university education, professional ideology, and socialization in newsrooms into the analysis of journalism careers. We have also not been able to elaborate on mobility within the media companies, on how salary increase or promotion to higher positions in the newsrooms advances the interviewees' careers. In fact, we focused a great deal on changing jobs at this stage of the study. This is partly due to time and length restrictions attached to this article.

A question that arises is to what extent the changes in the labor market lead to the symbolic and material benefits stages during an increase in uncertainty; this is something that already happens in European journalism (Devillard, 2002; Standaert, Grevisse 2013). In this case, a longer period for monitoring these careers would be necessary for more consistent conclusions.

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